

**TOWARD A GENERAL HISTORY OF
AUSTRALIAN MUSICAL COMPOSITION**

**FIRST NATIONAL MUSIC
1788-c.1860**

Graeme Skinner

A thesis submitted in fulfilment
of requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

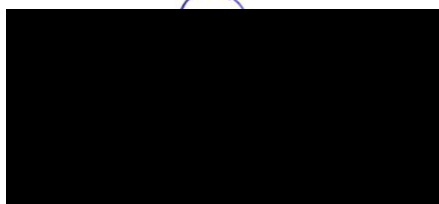
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The University of Sydney
2011

I declare that the research presented here is my own original work and has not been submitted to any other institution for the award of a degree.

Signed:



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31 August 2010

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Abstract

Toward a General History of Australian Musical Composition: First National Music 1788-c.1860

This study is a first attempt at a history of musical composition in early colonial Australia. It demonstrates that the existing general literature gives an inadequate account of the role of composers, and the function and reception of locally composed music within colonial society. That such a study has not been undertaken earlier is due partly to a lingering historical prejudice that the music itself is not very interesting, and not very good; and partly to the intractability of musical and documentary sources. Since 2005, a National and State libraries initiative has built a freely accessible online archive of around 300 printed early colonial compositions; nevertheless, most of these prints were undated, and few of the works or composers featured in previous literature. Since 2008, another NLA initiative, Australian Newspapers 1803-1954, has solved the documentary problem, with its searchable online archive of the colonial press. Using both new resources, it has been possible for the first time to date almost all of the existing prints precisely, and to identify from press advertisements a further 140 prints that are presumed lost. Systematic searches also identified a large number of unpublished compositions previously unknown. Since manuscripts survivals from this period are rare, almost none of these works is still extant. However, their identification adds greatly to the understanding of the profile of composed music in the era and to the careers of individual composers. Whereas fewer than 50 individual works have been cited in previous literature on the period, an appendix checklist identifies 880. This new data is used to chronicle the early history of compositional activity in Australia, from the European takeover onward. While no attempt has been made to hypothesise prior creative activity, early European transcriptions of Indigenous song, characterised at the time as the authentic “Australian National Music”, are one focus of the early chapters. Early colonial composed music, meanwhile, answered the immediate needs of the founding British colonial establishments, and later settler colonial society, mainly in dance music and songs. A first performance by professionals (theatre and concert artists, and military bands) was often followed by publication in sheet music format for the domestic market, complementing a limited supply of imported print music. Composers also regularly arranged and reorchestrated imported theatre music for local forces, and improvised. The press greeted new works as contributing to “colonial production” and social improvement. Contemporary commentators theorised that local conditions—geographic, climatic, social, and economic—would help form an Australian national music distinct from its British and European antecedents. The study argues that, responding creatively to colonial realities, composers indeed produced a body of music locally distinctive, modest in ambition, broad in appeal, and functionally supportive of social and national interests. Insufficient infrastructure to support advanced repertoire and larger forms effectively quarantined Australia from canonic influence until the 1860s, allowing a popular early-Romantic music culture to continue to flourish in isolation. The study provides the first bibliographic apparatus and historical framework to assist researchers, performers, and students in using the online materials. The online format prototypes a novel approach to delivering history in which live links to primary sources allow readers to engage with the author’s discussion critically.

Acknowledgments

An “Acknowledgment of Country” is especially appropriate in a study of a settler music culture that, with an occasional enlightened exception, turned its back on both the Indigenous people it displaced, and their music. The poet Charles Harpur may as well have been speaking for most of the composers in this study when he wrote in 1835:¹

*Wild Harp of Australia!—will none ravish thee
From the dark trackless forest the hand unrefin'd,
Yea—the savage no more thy sole master shall be,
No longer thy lay be but wrote on the wind [...].*

Fortunately, Australia’s first music was neither “unrefined” nor “wrote on the wind”, but on the memory. Against huge odds, enough of it survives to be sung and owned today by its traditional community, while, paradoxically, for modern settler Australians, surviving colonial compositions are quaint museum pieces; they may be viewed, but seldom heard.

We would not have so much colonial music today were it not for donations by enlightened bibliophiles, private collectors, and custodians of family memorabilia to national and state libraries; especially the late William Crowther (1887-1981) to the State Library of Tasmania; and the late Kenneth Snell (1940-1993), Kenneth Hince, and Patricia Bailey to the National Library of Australia, but for whose inspired finds, and dedicated “trackings down”, the National and State collections—and our knowledge—would be inestimably smaller and poorer.

The NLA and the State Libraries—in particular, for the period covered in the study, those of NSW, Tasmania, and Victoria—have been extraordinarily good stewards of this national musical heritage, growing it systematically, with strategic purchases (when funds allow), and soliciting donations. Past and present NLA heads of music, Prue Neidorf and incumbent Curator of Music, Robyn Holmes, have been enlightened custodians and managers of the greater part of this national resource. I was especially fortunate to be awarded a 2007 Harold White Fellowship by the NLA. Ostensibly, my brief was to continue my research into the life and work one of pinnacles of Australian composition, Peter Sculthorpe. But during the cold Canberra winter at the NLA, watching fascinatedly as Robyn and her team-member Jeff Brownrigg managed the sorting and listing of several huge donated archives of early twentieth-century Australian music, I found my thoughts being inexorably redirected earlier and earlier, and ultimately toward this project, to review Australia’s colonial musical origins.

The NLA and State Libraries, and various national and state archives, have only recently made the task I have undertaken here tractable. World leaders in their digitisation programs, they now deliver, free of access and free of charge, a huge slice of Australia’s

¹ “MELODY: TO THE HARP OF AUSTRALIA”, *The Sydney Monitor* (19 September 1835), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article32149736>; for a later version of the same poem, in W. A. Duncan’s Sydney Catholic paper, see “AUSTRALIAN LYRICS NO. 3. TO THE LYRE OF AUSTRALIA”, *Australasian Chronicle* (27 October 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31737678>; most of the primary source material cited in this article is freely viewable online, and web addresses are provided should readers wish to consult the sources themselves.

historical record online. The NLA-hosted “Historic Newspaper” and “MusicAustralia” archives, were of crucial importance to my work. These virtual archives, and rising to the challenge of how best to use them in research, and to utilise them in writing history, have been two inspirations.

A small number of dedicated twentieth-century Australian music historians also deserve our acclamation, and my thanks, notably the late James Hall, Errol Lea-Scarlett, the late Andrew McCredie, Ann Carr-Boyd (Wentzel), the editors of the exemplary *Currency Companion to Music and Dance in Australia*, Richard Divall, and pre-eminently Roger Covell and Thérèse Radic, though for a fuller (and thus fairer) list I refer you to my Introduction.

My particular thanks of help given goes to Tony Way, musical director of St. Francis’s Church, Melbourne; Tony Marshall, of the Tasmanian Archive and Heritage Office; Meredith Lawn, music curator at the State Library of NSW; and Margy Burn, Lee Cristofis, Brad Cummings, Rose Holley, Kaye McIntyre, Alexandra Naunton, and Kyunghee Kim, among their many colleagues at the National Library of Australia.

To friends, mentors, teachers, and colleagues, my sincere gratitude for help, advice, information, encouragement, inspiration, and all manner of support, over many years: Peter Sculthorpe, Barry Conyngham, the late James Murdoch (whose book *Australia’s Contemporary Composers*, read while I was still at school, inspired a lifelong interest in Australian musical creativity, and whose friendship later helped fostered it), John Carmody, Graham Pont, Gordon Kerry, Siobhan Lenihan, Justin Macdonnell, Gordon Kalton Williams, Phillip Sametz, Michael Noone, and, at the University of Sydney, the late Peter Platt, Kathleen Nelson, Claire McCoy, and foremost my supervisor, Peter McCallum.

And finally, my deepest thanks to Gary Dowsett, and David Riordan; and, above all others, to my partner, Stephen Williams.

* * *

Definitions, textual conventions, online references

Definitions

In this study **colonial composition** is defined broadly. Generically, it applies principally to musical composition as actually practised within the colonies by resident composers, mainly composing itself, but also the related compositional functions of arranging, transcribing, improvising, and teaching. The greater number of musical works discussed in the text and included in the checklist are works actually composed in Australia. However, this is not always possible to establish with certainty. Emigrant composers could, and did, bring existing, often previously widely-disseminated, works with them to Australia, that they then advertised to the colonial public as new and/or locally (“expressly”) composed. In other cases, the press and public asserted what amounts to colonial ownership of works by locally-active composers known to have been written abroad. As a result, pre-Australian works by locally-active composers that were disseminated locally through performance or publication are generally included. In the checklist, such pre-Australian works as not listed by date of original appearance/composition abroad, but generally by date of the earliest advertisement or notice for local performance or publication. Resident composers represented both the profession and the activity of musical composition in colonial society, whether or not they were actually composing at the time, and it was often a matter of lesser interest to the public whether a particular work was written here or aboard.

The term **colonial composer** is, therefore, also applied broadly; it includes any resident composer, long-term settler, recent emigrant, or even a short term visitor who either composed music here, or who introduced pre-Australian compositions locally. An example of the latter is the English composer Henry Hemy, who during the one year he spent in Melbourne (1851) composed and performed a new set of *Victorian Quadrilles* dedicated to the Governor, as well as introducing locally for the “first time” his *Border Quadrilles*.

The notion of an Australian **national** music gestured to in the title and discussed in the early chapters was a contemporary one, whether applied by some writers solely to Indigenous music, or by colonial composers from Kavanagh onwards to their own music. In the global British context, such (British) Australian national music was a counterpart of other British national musics, English, Scottish, Irish, and Welsh. As applied to the search for an Australian national song in the 1850s, at least one quoted source suggests that “national” was a premature designation for a collection of separate colonies. However, as will be argued, both musical and non-musical sources indicate that notions of Australian nation, nationality, and identity were not only socially current, but aspirationally functional, at least fifty years before they became political facts in 1901.

Textual conventions and online references

In the main text, and in the Appendix 2 Checklist, for an Australian composition for believed to be not extant (as at 2010), the **Title** is indicated in bold; for an extant work, in print or in manuscript, not currently available to be viewed online (as at 2010), the **Title** is given in bold and underlined; for an extant work, a print or manuscript which is viewable online (as at 2010) is indicated with a live link, usually [Title](#).

The first, or main, reference to a composer in the text is in the following format: Fore- and sur-names (*country of birth*, year of birth—year of death) {year of arrival in Australia—year or departure from Australia, or death in Australia}, for example:

Joseph Reichenberg (*Italy c.1789/92-1851*) {1824-51};

Or:

William Vincent Wallace (*Ireland 1812-1865*) {1835-38}.

A slight variation on this format is used in the Appendix 2 Checklist, the surname appearing first in capitals (WALLACE, William Vincent ... &c.).

In footnotes, live links are provided to supporting primary (colonial) and occasional secondary source texts viewable online. The bulk of these are from newspapers, cited in the following formats, for articles (sample):

“AUSTRALIAN MUSIC”, *The Sydney Herald* (24 December 1835), 2:

<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28654531>;

For advertisements:

[Advertisement]: “ORIGINAL AUSTRALIAN MUSIC”, *The Sydney Gazette*

(5 January 1826), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2184974>.

Since following the links allows the reader direct online access to an image of the original source, there is only rarely necessity for transcriptions in the main text to be fully diplomatic; the original orthography is thus usually altered for consistency with the main text; notably, musical titles in extracts are consistently given in *Italics*, rather than the more usual “double-inverted commas”.

Live links to musical sources, overwhelmingly prints, will usually take the reader to the main page of that item as published online by the host institution, from which its bibliographic record is also usually available; but note that the tentative dating of items in the large majority of these library records at the time of completion (2010) is superseded, wherever possible, by the precise datings given here.

Live links to the National Library of Australia (NLA) musical and newspaper sources are delivered through its TROVE: <http://trove.nla.gov.au/>. Other live links go to materials in the online catalogues of the State Libraries of New South Wales (SL-NSW), South Australia (SL-SA), Tasmania (SL-TAS), Victoria (SL-VIC), and Queensland (SL-QLD).

Links to Australian Newspapers (<http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper>) take the reader only to the head of an article or section, or page of advertising; in longer articles, for instance whole pages of classified advertisements, finding the relevant section may take some time and ingenuity (I suggest using the browser’s “find” command to search on likely words or word strings in the OCR text, though since the electronically transcribed texts contain many mis-scans, this may require perseverance).

Live links to books at Google Books, and other similar sites, go direct to the cited page wherever possible; on those occasions where not, the reader can usually easily navigate to the page indicated in the footnotes or checklist.

The durability of live links remains a major concern of the library sector, which works hard to ensure that “permalinks” or “permanent indicators” indeed remain reliably permanent. There is, alas, no guarantee that cultural institutions will be able to continue to fund the delivery of any service indefinitely. However, even in the worst case scenario of every last live-link failing, future readers should still have sufficient bibliographic data to find the referenced source.

* * *

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Introduction

Toward a general history of early colonial Australian composition

THE feeble beginnings of whatever afterwards becomes great or eminent, are interesting to mankind.

Charles Burney, preface to volume 1,
*A General History of Music, from the Earliest Ages
to the Present Period* (London, 1776).¹

[0.1] *Writing composers and composition (back) into early colonial history*

This is a first attempt—two centuries on from the inception of the enterprise itself—at writing a general history of musical composition in early colonial Australia. To date, only a very small number of early colonial compositions have been described or discussed anywhere in the general historical and musicological literature. Nevertheless, there is a received and mostly unquestioned view that Australian colonial music is, generally, not very interesting, and not very good. I will argue that the first of these generalisations is untrue, and suggest—on the basis of the great amount of new evidence presented here—that the second must now, at least, be seriously questioned.

One of the leading music historians to have written on the middle and later colonial periods, Thérèse Radic, was unquestionably right in observing, in a conference address in 2002:²

For the most part our [Australian] historians ignore music. They find space for literature and the visual arts [...] but they shy off any serious consideration of music as a central cultural manifestation. Music enters into our older histories at the margins and the two favoured oppositional margins are the parlour and the pub.

Radic characterised the pubs as “the essential foc[us] of the folk [...] overwhelmingly male”, the music “rural [...] centered on work conditions. It defines itself by class [...] a political myth, and not a musical one.” The parlour, meanwhile:

[...] is seen as a woman’s sphere, a place of preserved memories, pianos, afternoon tea, tedium, respectability [...] Which is to say the shrine of the exile and the emigrant, in which the woman is the keeper of social custom [...].

Historically, according to Radic’s analysis, the female-identified, middle-class “colonial [art] music” has been “dismissed out of hand”, while male-identified, working-class “folk song is given an uneasy nod”.

¹ Ed. Frank Mercer (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1935), 11; online edn, 19: <http://www.archive.org/stream/generalhistoryof005344mbp#page/n19/mode/2up>.

² Thérèse Radic, “The Lost Chord of Australian Culture: Researching Australian Music History”, in Jane Southcott and Ros Smith (eds), *A Community of Researchers: Proceedings of the XXIInd Annual Conference* (Melbourne: Australian Association for Research in Music Education, 2002), 6-14.

However, while “colonial music” may have been all of those feminine, domestic things Radic described, it was much else beside, and, in various guises, occupied a wider cross-section of colonial society. On a close examination of the genesis, performance, and reception of the generality of music discussed here, it is clear that the same compositions, more often than not, served in both public (occasional, ceremonial, theatrical, and convivial), and domestic contexts. In the public sphere, though military and theatrical bands were exclusively male, female vocal, piano and harp soloists—amateur and professional—also played a leading role in colonial concert and theatrical performances, equal to that of men. And although men dominated the ranks of early colonial composers, women (not only amateurs, but professionals like Mary Logan, Eliza Bushelle, Florentine Dudemaine, and Harriet Fiddes) also made their presence felt. Among consumers, “our fair friends” might well have been the target domestic market for colonial compositions in their final print manifestation; but, before then, the same compositions had often served the “votaries of Terpsichore” (necessarily both male and female), and likewise to entertain mixed-sex theatre, concert, oratorio, and band recital audiences.

In consideration of how much can reasonably be covered in the space allowed, this study is limited to what can broadly be described as (1) “art” or “classical” (concert, theatre, church, military, ballroom, domestic) music, (2) composed and/or improvised, performed and/or printed, in Australia, (3) by resident or visiting composers, or by composers overseas who continued to identify, or were identified, or would later be identified, as being somehow Australian, (4) chiefly in the two oldest cities, Sydney and Hobart, and latterly Melbourne, (5) between the outset of European colonisation/settlement in 1788, and, roughly, 1860. However, since the boundaries between “classical” and vernacular musics were still, at this time, less strictly policed than later in the century, a good deal of what might now be claimed as “popular” music (dance and band tunes, national, sentimental, and patriotic and national songs) is also considered.

The study also pays attention to Indigenous music; but since it is not ethnomusicology, and since I believe it would be presumptuous, as a non-Indigenous person, to attempt to profile what Australian musical culture *might have been* like much before 1788, the focus is limited to colonial settlers’ observations of Indigenous music. Of particular interest, are early colonial observations of Indigenous song and dance, songmaking, and even composers and composition. Very probably, even the most studious of these tell us as much about the observers as the observed, which makes them no less valuable as insights into colonial understandings of, for instance, “national music”, and the belief that Indigenous music was *the* authentic “Australian national music”, comparable with those Irish, Scots, and English national musics of the emigrant settlers. Nevertheless, this strand cannot be pursued as a continuous and creatively developing narrative throughout the period of this study, not least because, tragically, Indigenous music and musicians had virtually disappeared (or “been

disappeared”) from white urban settlements by the mid-1830s, if not earlier. In this context, the ethnographic efforts of, among others, Barron Field, Lhotsky, Nathan, and Townsend to document Indigenous music, were already—in the 1820s, 30s and 40s—attempts at historical reclamation.

World-wide, post-colonial studies have, in the main, addressed the impact of European invasion on colonised or displaced populations. But though there is rightly plenty of discussion of colonial imposition on Indigenous Australian community and culture, when it comes to Western music, records of its earliest impact on Indigenous populations are negligible. In the visual arts, Andrew Sayers, in his *Aboriginal Artists of the Nineteenth Century* (1994),³ and later in the *ADB*, has considered three Indigenous artists who used western techniques and materials possibly as early as the 1860s, Tommy McCrae,⁴ William Barak, and Ulladulla Mickey.⁵ Analogously, in Aboriginal missions, Protestant and Catholic hymns were taught to, and sung by, and so probably also imitated and developed by Indigenous people through improvisation or composition, during the mid-colonial period.⁶

Meanwhile, early emigrant composers and their audiences anticipated and hypothesised the possible formation of a very different and distinctive settler “Australian national music”. Australian-titled, and Australian-themed compositions are common in the very earliest musical records, and many other musical works celebrate colonial occasions, events, issues, achievements, organisations, and advances in technology and transport, placing composers and their compositions much closer to the centre of colonial society than might be imagined. In the mid-1850s, for instance, composers joined in rallying Australian support for the pan-British cause in the Crimean War; this resulted in both serious and not-so-serious works, of the latter notably Sidney Nelson’s vaudeville *The Russians in Melbourne* in 1854; and of the former Frederick Ellard’s cantata *Crimea* in Sydney in 1855, Henry Marsh’s suite of “descriptive music” entitled *Victory* in Sydney in 1856, Carl Linger’s pair of victory orchestral preludes in Adelaide also in 1856, and in Melbourne in 1857 the *Battle Symphony* for military band by Henry Johnson, master of the band of the 40th Regiment.⁷

³ Andrew Sayers, *Aboriginal Artists of the Nineteenth Century* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press in association with the National Gallery of Australia, 1994).

⁴ Andrew Sayers, “McRae, Tommy (c.1835-1901)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* suppl. (2005), 256-257: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/AS10316b.htm>.

⁵ Andrew Sayers, “Mickey of Ulladulla (c.1820-1891)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* suppl. (2005), 278: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/AS10340b.htm>.

⁶ Hymns were specially mentioned in a list of those British-imposed “civilizers, rum, and bibles, and syphilis, and preachments, and strychnine, and hymns, and fusillades, and rifle practice” that had led to Aboriginal deaths, see “THE SYDNEY ABORIGINES”, *Morning Chronicle* (8 June 1844), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31742944>; for an early account of specifically musical practice at an Aboriginal mission in the Wimmera, see *Report of the Royal Commission ... upon the operation of the system of public education* (Melbourne: John Ferres, Government Printer, 1867), 70, paragraph 993: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=6dsDAQAAIAAJ&pg=PA70#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

⁷ Probably Australia’s first “symphony”, nevertheless; see “MR. JOHNSON’S MILITARY CONCERT”, *The Argus* (23 January 1857), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7143508>: “The Symphony commenced with the warning drum for parade, followed by the bugle call for parade and inspection; then were successively described, vividly and effectively, the review, the march to the railway station, the transit of the troops by train ; their embarkation

After being protected and policed by imported British military forces (whose government-sponsored regimental bands provided the colonies with their earliest music), the two oldest Australian colonies (New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land/Tasmania) in the 1850s, followed by Victoria and South Australia around 1860, saw the rise of local volunteer forces—also celebrated in local compositions written for their bands—representing the earliest beginnings of an Australian national self-determination that would eventually lead to direct Australian participation in the British campaign in Sudan, the Boer War, and World War I.

While early colonial aspirations to a distinct Australian musical nationalism—so long before actual Federation in 1901—might seem naïve and premature to some today, their authenticity was widely enough accepted at the time to require some adjustment of modern (and especially academic) perceptions of the proposition as necessarily problematic. From Thomas Kavanagh's marches for governor Brisbane in 1826 onward, a huge number of colonial works were either dedicated to, or performed in the presence of, colonial governors. Inevitably, the appointment of the first "governor-general" (governor-in-chief) of the collective colonies in 1851 (though a largely honorific title) turned colonists' minds to what they shared in common as Australians. As will be discussed more fully in Chapter 7, in early 1856, a Sydney reviewer exhorted the music publisher (and composer) W. J. Johnson to:⁸

[...] try his hand at a bold, original, Australian Anthem, to celebrate our "precipitation into a nation". The theme is a worthy one, and would doubtless bring both honour and profit.

In trying to make some musical sense of this proto-nationalism, Richard Taruskin's characterisation of Aaron Copland's striving toward an American national voice a century later might be instructive; taking an extreme but not unreasonable view, Taruskin argued that: "*The national is a socially negotiated discourse rather than a natural essence. Popular acceptance ... is what determines the authenticity of musical nationalism*".⁹

By the mid-1850s, the benefits of the immediate "rush" started by the Australian gold discoveries in 1851 were solidifying into long term economic, technological, and cultural capital, notably the first railways, and the establishment of partial telegraph links and faster maritime transport/communication with Europe and America, all noted in music. And by late in the mid-1850s most of the opportunistic "first wave" of gold-rush musical tourists had either made their marks and left (like Miska Hauser), or stayed on, apparently ready to settle (like Edourd Boulanger). The real "age of gold" in Australian music followed in the 1860s, centred not in the older cities Sydney or Hobart, but in the newly rich metropolis of

and debarkation; their encampment; nightfall ; national airs breaking on the stillness of the hour; daybreak and the reveille; the preliminary incidents of an engagement; the din of battle; and the triumphal march, denoting victory, followed by God save the Queen, as the appropriate finale."

⁸ "THE SYDNEY HARMONICON, *Empire* (11 January 1856), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article60172292>.

⁹ John Beckwith, [Review], *CAML Review* [Revue de l'ACBM [Canadian Association of Music Libraries, Archives, and Documentation Centres (CAML)] 33/3 (November 2005): online: <http://www.yorku.ca/caml/en/review/33-3/taruskin.htm>.

Melbourne, where it would carry right through to the extraordinary musical enterprises of the 1888 Colonial Centennial Exhibition. Meanwhile, back in 1855, the first of the great Paris International Exhibitions was welcomed by several Australians as an opportunity to curate and select for themselves their own colonial exhibits, to present to an international (rather than just British) audience, as several of the Australian musical anthologies and series of the mid-1850s also show.

From the mid-1820s until at least the late 1850s, locally composed music—often specifically advertised and noticed as such in the colonial press—played a more significant role in the growth of the wider Australian musical economy than it has ever since. Australia was still a captive local retail music market, perpetually kept waiting and hungry by its geographical isolation for new imported, usually printed, musical product from homeland Britain and Europe. Imagining how limited the available repertoire was, is not hard; emigrants—professional and amateur—may well have brought their own music collections with them on the voyage out (some, as happened to Isaac Nathan, lost a box of music *en route*); but, once here, they were literally stuck with their “desert island” selection, save for periodic arrival of shipments of “new music” from home (always prominently advertised by music-sellers). Into this context, any new music composed, performed, and printed, or otherwise supplied on-shore was, therefore, far more highly valued than it was at any later stage in Australian history. In such an economy, someone like Thomas Stubbs—one of the earliest native-born composers of European descent—who earned his living as Sydney’s leading property auctioneer, and who published only a handful of works, could still make a significant impact, as the popularity in the 1830s of his *Minstrel* and *Jubilee Waltzes* demonstrates.

Colonial compositions, many of them heard in public first performed by professional musicians—military bands, or theatre, concert, or oratorio soloists and ensembles—then circulated in printed piano arrangements to be sung or played at home. The titles, dedications, and cover illustrations were often highly topical. Colonial sheet music was frequently specifically advertised as suitable for giving as a gift, or, as postal charges fell during the 1850s, sending as a memento to friends and relatives abroad. By the end of the 1850s, almost 300 single-title prints of locally composed works had been issued, as well as multi-title series and anthologies. In 1866 in his pioneering annotated guide to *Literature in New South Wales*, George Barton singled out just one of these, Sydney music publisher Jacob Clarke’s [The Australian Musical Album for 1857](#), to exemplify a flourishing industry:¹⁰

A handsomely printed collection of music, composed in Sydney, with a preface by Mr. Fowler. Musical publications, it may be added, are extremely common in Sydney.

¹⁰ G. B. Barton, *Literature in New South Wales* (Sydney: Thomas Richards, Government Printer, 1866), 194: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=3KclAAAAMAAJ&dq>.

Barton right drew attention to journalist Frank Fowler’s colourful introduction to the collection, of piano pieces and songs by Edward Boulanger, Miska Hauser, Stephen and Henry Marsh, Frederic Ellard, and William Stanley:¹¹

The idea of a purely musical album—that is, a book filled with the original productions of our own artistes—is, I think, peculiarly happy, and one which the Australian public will readily appreciate. The value of such a work must be apparent to every one. For instance: Miska Hauser—may the shadow of his Cremona never grow less!—enraptured us all with that glorious bit of musical tessellation called the *Bird on the Tree*; and yet had not the publisher of this book obtained the composition from the Miska it must have been entirely lost and forgotten [...] And so with other pieces in this volume. They are all new—all colonial. Here, in this city—they were played, printed, and published. True, some of the composers are foreigners; but still this book is as much an Australian production as a cluster of grapes from the German vineyards at Kissing Point. We can send the work home as a specimen of what we can do out here at Botany Bay—as an index of our education, refinement, art-feeling.

And it is fitting we should attest our social progress by some unusual publication of this character. Nothing else will do it so completely and so well. It vindicates our connexion with old-world genius and skill; and proves that we are not destitute of some of the haughty lineaments of European civilization.

Though Fowler wrote this on the eve of his own return “home” to England, after only two years in the colonies,¹² he identified personally with settlers’ characteristic pride in local product of any sort (mercantile, technological, cultural), and the almost bullish confidence in testing local achievements against homeland British and European standards and expectations.

But was anyone in homeland Britain taking Australian musical production at all seriously? A whimsically dismissive 1849 London review of one of the very few colonial compositions published back in Britain, Stephen Marsh’s “*kangaroo and cassowary (or emu?) Hymn*”, his [Australian National Anthem](#), to words by Sydney Town Clerk, John Rea, celebrating Victoria as queen of Oceania, would suggest not, despite the publisher, Thomas Boosey’s readiness to trade on “exotic” Australian subject matter. Yet if the British music trade had taken up Australian compositions with the alacrity that the book trade there had taken up books about Australia—or if in Australia something musical on the model of Barton’s guide to colonial literature had been produced at the time—things might well have turned out differently.

George Barton, poet, lawyer, elder brother of Edmund Barton (later first prime minister of federated Australia) was, like Thomas Stubbs, a “Currency lad”, that is, he was

¹¹ Fowler’s preface: <http://www.nla.gov.au/apps/cdview?pi=nla.mus-an5350554-s8-v>.

¹² S. B. Clark, “Fowler, Francis Edmund Town (Frank) (1833-1863)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 4 (1972), 208-209: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/AO40228b.htm>.

born in Australia, unlike the vast majority of British-born (“Stirling”) colonists until (and beyond) Federation in 1901.¹³ In 1865, Barton was appointed inaugural reader in English Literature at the University of Sydney, and occupied his first year in the post completing the earliest work to argue that Australia might already have a literature, and to itemise and describe it. Barton’s *Literature in New South Wales* was commissioned by Terrence Murray, the New South Wales commissioner for the forthcoming Paris Exhibition of 1867, and printed by the government printer, to be circulated there. But Barton intended it to be more than just an exhibition catalogue, or annotated bibliography:¹⁴

To trace the growth of letters in this community, from the earliest period of our history to the present time, and to shew in what manner that growth has been influenced by the productions of the Mother Country, are the objects sought to be accomplished in these pages. With us, Literature requires to be considered in two aspects: first, as a native or indigenous product and secondly, as a foreign or imported one. Too young to possess a “national literature” of our own, the consideration of foreign influence becomes an important one. With respect to the literary productions of the Colony, a detailed account of them will be found in subsequent pages. It is deemed desirable to map out a critical as well as chronological method, to ascertain the precise results of our labours. This would amount to a literary history of the Colony, and it was hoped that such a history would serve more than one useful purpose. It would enable the reader to form an exact idea of the progress, extent, and prospects of literary enterprise among us, more readily than could be done by means of any general statement; it would constitute a bibliographical account that might be practically useful, not only to those who are interested in literature, but also to those who hereafter may be engaged in historical inquiries; it would serve to throw some light, from a new perspective, on our social history; and lastly, it would preserve the memory, and give some notion of the achievements, of men whose name could scarcely be expected to survive their generation. These were the expectations which induced the writer to enter upon such a task.

Barton faced difficulties that would also have hindered an historian of Australian music at the time, not least procuring the necessary material, for which he was forced to rely on private libraries and collections. Already, “The number of books written about Australia, or on subjects connected with it, is very great”.¹⁵ He made a rule:

[...] to exclude all works not written by men who have identified themselves with the Colony, or who have made it, in the common phrase, “their adopted country”. An exception may be found here and there, when the interest of the subject warranted it [...].

¹³ John M. Ward, “Barton, George Burnett (1836-1901)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 3 (1969), 113-115: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A030107b.htm>.

¹⁴ Barton, 1-2: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=3KclAAAAMAAJ&pg=PA1&#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

¹⁵ Barton, 3: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=3KclAAAAMAAJ&pg=PA3&#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

Yet Barton still came to a conclusion that might well have been mirrored in music:¹⁶

Looking at this catalogue of our performances, it will probably be considered that more has been done among us in the way of literature than might have been expected. We have not suffered ourselves to be discouraged by the difficulties in our path, and we have not neglected the few advantages we possess.

Imagining what a musical Barton might have written about Australian composition is part of the inspiration, and sets some of the parameters for this study, which at the same time addresses the fact that no such musical Barton did appear, and considers why not. As Barton's sample inclusion of *The Australian Musical Album* suggests, colonial composers were part of a wider creative and intellectual community. Though none of them, to our knowledge, set the verse of Charles Harpur or Henry Parkes—the two poets William Walker gave pride of place in a public lecture on Australian Literature in 1864¹⁷—local composers had by then set at least five of the other poets that the *Herald* reported were on Walker's list:¹⁸

Mr. E. K. Sylvester, author of *Leichardt's Return*, Mr. Lynd author of *Leichardt's Grave*, Mr. John Rae [...] were next favourably noticed [...] The late unfortunate A. J. Evelyn, author of some beautiful snatches of song and lyrics, was also kindly spoken of [...] Henry Halloran next received a lengthened and complimentary notice [...].

Composers also had contact and dealings with colonial visual artists. Of these, Charles Rodius was a tenor soloist in Nathan's oratorios, and entered his portrait of Joseph Gautrot in a public exhibition in 1847;¹⁹ John Skinner Prout was married to Stephen Marsh's sister (she was also a musician), and, according to Leichardt, Marsh originally came to Sydney specifically to join the couple;²⁰ the naturalist and explorer Ludwig Leichardt, for that matter, described Marsh as a friend, and rented a room in Marsh's first Sydney house in Bligh Street;²¹ later George Angas illustrated printed editions of music issued by Stephen's

¹⁶ Barton took the practical view that it was "natural" that most of the literature he found was "in newspapers and similar publications, than in more permanent forms"; his commentary on the various Sydney newspapers and journals since the foundation of the first newspaper in 1803 is invaluable, since they also serve as sources for this study; on *The Sydney Gazette* (began 1803); see 17-20:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=3KclAAAAMAAJ&pg=PA17&#v=onepage&q&f=false>; *The Australian* (from 1824; 20-24; *The Monitor* (began 1826), 24-26; *The Sydney Herald* (began 1831), later *The Sydney Morning Herald* (from 1842); 26-29.

¹⁷ Vernon Crew, "Walker, William (1828-1908)", *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 6 (1976), 344: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/AO60368b.htm>.

¹⁸ "LECTURE ON AUSTRALIAN LITERATURE", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (25 July 1864), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13099001>.

¹⁹ Jocelyn Gray, "Rodius, Charles (1802-1860)", *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 2 (1967), 389-390: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/AO20343b.htm>.

²⁰ V. W. Hodgman, "Prout, John Skinner (1805-1876)", *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 2 (1967), 353-354: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/AO20308b.htm>.

²¹ Letter to his brother-in-law, Carl Schmalfuss (23 March 1842), in Marcel Aurousseau (ed. & trans.), *The Letters of F. W. Ludwig Leichardt* (London: Hakluyt Society/ Cambridge University Press, 1968), II, 432 (translation 439): "Since I left my native land and left you all behind, I have never felt so much at home as I do here. One of my fellow passengers was a music teacher, a young married man with no children who had followed his brother-in-

composer-publisher brother, Henry Marsh.²²

Yet despite attempts, like Frank Fowler's, to promote local composers, the historical memory for colonial music was short. Though enough colonial printed music evidently survived in domestic music collections for a majority of titles to find their way to safety in the National and State libraries, almost no manuscript material had come down to us from the period. For composers such as Joseph Reichenberg and Joseph Gautrot, whose lost music can be listed from newspaper reports and advertisements, but who are both now represented by a single surviving composition, this is tragic. Meanwhile, most manuscripts and part sets of theatrical music (including operas and operettas by John Howson, Sidney Nelson, and John Winterbottom) probably perished in theatre fires.

For whatever reason, the evidence points to the productions of most of the early colonial composers being more or less forgotten within a few years of death, or departure from the colonies. Title-searches in the major newspapers suggest that few compositions survived in the public performance repertoire much beyond a decade. Among the first works to survive long enough to become "classics" of a sort were Wallace's *Maritana* and *Lurline* (both works widely adopted as "colonial", evidence to the contrary notwithstanding); Lavenu's ballad *Molly Asthore*, still being sung (and taught) in the late 1870s; and Hauser's *The Bird on the Tree*—having, Fowler told us, been saved from oblivion by the publisher of *The Australian Musical Album*²³—still being played in the late 1880s. But not so the music of, for instance, Stephen Marsh; noticing his death in 1888, the *Sydney Herald* described him as a "pioneer of the musical art in Melbourne some 25 years ago", apparently oblivious to the long years he previously spent in Sydney.²⁴ While, descending almost to an archeological stratum, the music of the likes of bandmasters Reichenberg and Thomas Kavanagh might never have existed.

[0.2] Aesthetic contexts: colonial and post colonial

In the creative arts, as in other spheres, British emigrant Australians lived and dealt with a paradox; as an article on "English works and opinions on Australia" in the *Hobart Courier* in 1857 noted:²⁵

law to Sydney. When we arrived, he took a house at the exorbitant rent of 1000 dollars a year. As he had a small room to spare, he asked me to lodge with him to help him to meet his expenses."

²² E. J. R. Morgan, "Angas, George French (1822-1886)", *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 1 (1966), 18-19: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A010019b.htm>.

²³ This was not quite true; the work had been published in America, and would also be later in Europe.

²⁴ [News], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (3 April 1888), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13673359>.

²⁵ "ENGLISH WORKS AND OPINIONS ON AUSTRALIA", *The Courier* (25 June 1857), 2:

<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2459998>; see, for instance, David Mackenzie, *The Emigrant's Guide; or Ten Years' Practical Experience in Australia* (London: W. S. Orr, 1845); "Review [of David Mackenzie] *The Emigrant's Guide; or Ten Years' Practical Experience in Australia*", *Morning Chronicle* (7 March 1846), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31747497>: "Picture to yourselves [...] innumerable birds of the most beautiful plumage, chirping on every branch around you; flowers of every hue and shade of colour strewn your path, wherever you go; above you an Italian sky, without a cloud or speck, and the air you inhale pure and balmy; a fearful silence pervading the forest around you, and— vividly impressing upon your mind the idea of solitude and

Very little is known in the Mother-country of the actual state of the Australian Colonies. And yet a good-sized library of books has been written about us. Almost every traveller who has visited our shores has thought proper to give the world the benefit of at least part of his experience; for, as we shall endeavour to show, he has not given the whole. Each colony has been very minutely described. And yet in spite of all that has been written, our friends at home are almost as ill-informed of the peculiarities of colonial life as ever.

One particular difference that emigrants cultivated, but in which those at home showed precious little interest, was the notion that the settlers' hard work and perseverance against heavy odds and under unique local conditions might give birth to a flourishing and distinctly Antipodean culture that could ultimately challenge the "age-enfeebled efforts" of Europe, and even of the British homeland itself. As noted in Chapter 2, as early as 1836, a local music reviewer was postulating that, under its "blue cloudless skies" and Mediterranean climate, a new Britannic musical culture might arise, and eventually revitalise and emancipate old Britain, and Europe. Nor was this "New Britannia" necessarily as pre-determinedly "British" as might have been expected, or at least not slavishly imitative of the Britain of the privileged London-Edinburgh axis. In the Ellard and Wallace families among others, the Dublin Irish played a foundational role in tentative development of Australian national music, practically and aesthetically.

Nevertheless, since the 1960s, the prevailing view of Australian musical culture right up to that date has been that the generality of its composers and compositions were "too close to Britain and Empire".²⁶ Of course, the same is said historically of Australian culture generally. Yet in a recent review of Marilyn Lake's and Henry Reynolds's otherwise galvanising *What's Wrong With ANZAC? The Militarisation of Australian History*, Robin Prior quite reasonably asked whether anyone could expect this to have been different, given that in the 1911 census "seventy-two percent of all people living in Australia had been born in the United Kingdom", and "a majority of the remaining twenty-eight percent had parents born in Britain".²⁷

desolation--that is Australia [...] Australia is the land of contrarities. It is the land of which it is extremely difficult to convey to a stranger an adequate idea. Everything here is different from what it is with you. We have summer when you have winter; we have day when you have night; we have our longest day when you have your shortest day ; at noon we look north for the sun; we have our feet pressing hard nearly opposite to your feet ;-but these are not the only respects in which we differ from you. Nature, out of sheer spite to England, seems to have taken a delight in producing a complete dissimilarity between us ; take the following examples; our swans are black, our eagles are white, our valleys are cold, our mountain tops are warm, our north winds are hot, our south winds are cold, our east winds are healthy, our cherries grow with the stone outside, our bees are without any sting, our aborigines without any clothing, our birds without music, many of our flowers without any smell, most of our trees without shade, our population without any poor, our cuckoo coos only in the night, while our owl screeches or hoots only in the day time, our moles lay eggs [...]

²⁶ Kate Bowan, "Wild Men and Mystics: Rethinking Roy Agnew's Early Sydney Works", *Musicology Australia* 30 (2008), 2; see also Thérèse Radic, "Federation: Music in Service to National Ambition" (or, as Radic suggests, lack of it), in *Australasian Music Research* 6 (2001), 1-26; and Jennifer Shaw, "Modernism, *The Canon* and Schoenberg Reception in Australia", *Australasian Music Research* 8 (2004), 31-57.

²⁷ Robin Prior, "Fighting on the beaches", *Australian Book Review* 321 (May 2010), 12-14; review of *What's Wrong with ANZAC? The Militarisation of Australian History* by Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds (with Mark McKenna and Joy Damousi) (Sydney: New South Books, [2010]).

Far more so for the early colonial period, to start with the prejudice that the music is “too close to Britain” is as unrealistic as it is unreasonable; whereas, it may be more fruitful to take the closeness as a given starting point, and to document thereafter the ways in which Australian colonial music, slowly but from early on, began to diverge and develop away from its roots. There is already an inkling that such an historical analysis is valuable in a retrospective article, “Music: Germinal” in the Sydney *Herald* on Federation Day (1 January) 1901:²⁸

The progress of music in Australia obviously depends chiefly upon the influences which have moulded that art in Europe, and above all in England. No doubt during the first half-century of colonial settlement an additional factor in the element of calculation existed in the isolated state of the country This would have proved a serious hindrance to the practice of the art but for the fact that, probably without any such intention directly in mind, the Imperial Government—which had done nothing to assist the art of painting—contributed to the first public concerts here by sending out and supporting the regimental bands. In this way a number of more or less educated musicians were brought into the colony, where many of them settled as teachers [...]

Over half a century later, a young journalist Roger Covell took a similar viewpoint introducing his 1967 book, *Australia’s Music: Themes of a New Society*:²⁹

It concerns a European music culture transplanted by Europeans to a country not in Europe [...] Such a musical culture is provincial by definition; and a provincial culture has its obvious limitations [...] What is interesting in examining the music of a transplanted culture is to observe what happens to the music when it is transplanted and in the course of this, perhaps, to gain further insight into what is durable or valuable or universally applicable in the original culture. (1)

Robert Hughes, in *The Art of Australia*, a year before Covell, put a similar, then almost universally accepted view, that “the relationship between Australian and overseas art [...] is the chief interest which Australian painting holds for historians”, and that Australian art was itself “a laboratory for the study of the impact of foreign schemata on a provincial culture”.³⁰ Both Hughes and Covell were looking for evidence that, somehow, the experience of being Australian had transformed that art, sufficiently for it to be of historical, and therefore international, interest.

Covell began with the disclaimer that he was offering neither “a systematic history”, nor strictly a history of Australian composition. Yet forty years on, his book remains, as Kate

²⁸ “MUSIC: GERMINAL”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (1 January 1901): <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article14366048>.

²⁹ Roger Covell, *Australia’s Music: Themes of a New Society* (Melbourne: Sun Books, 1967); searchable overview only: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=bXhLAAAAMAAJ>.

³⁰ Or at least, one must assume Hughes said it that early; the first edition was pulped; for the slightly revised later edn, see Robert Hughes, *The Art of Australia* (Melbourne: Penguin Books, 1970), 23-24; searchable overview only: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=MZFPAAAAMAAJ>.

Bowan observed recently, “the only generalist narrative of [Australian] musical history”.³¹ Covell divided his discussion of colonial music under three of his “themes”: “Colonialism” (broadly “classical” music for the colonial “gentry” and “middle-classes”); “Traditionalism” (the work- and home-songs of the working classes); and “Jindyworobakism and more” (a later term, but applied also to the earliest attempts to “indigenise” settler music, especially through recourse to Aboriginal music). Notably, at the outset of “Colonialism”, Covell signalled:

[...] since this book is not a history in any comprehensive sense we can spare ourselves the tedium of chronicling the beginning of musical organization in all six of the early Australian colonies [...] It will be enough to extract a pattern of musical development from their collective history. (7)

And the patterns he quickly identified were (in his analysis) unpromisingly bourgeois:

Music in Colonial Australia wore a frilly bonnet and a crinolined dress and sometimes a military uniform—at least as far as it was recognised in the journals and newspapers of the Australian colonies and, by extension, in all accounts of Australian music gathered from those newspapers and journals. (3)

Yet even if (or because) the music itself was slight, Covell argued that it played a narcotic role in colonial society:

In a sense, the more frivolous and empty-headed the music was the more it seemed to provide assurance of a life removed from the grim realities of Botany Bay. Quadrilles and waltzes, sentimentally homesick airs and martial songs of a conventionally patriotic kin were charms against the night and the unknown. (11)

The colonial quadrille he characterised (as, too, did some contemporary observers) as “almost invariably mechanical adaptations of popular tunes [...] the music remains, and could only be expected to remain, firmly in the precincts of efficient, anonymous conventionality”,³² yet precisely for that conventionality “admirably representative of the social history of the period” (9). Meanwhile, out of the “sentimentally homesick airs” of the early colonial period would develop a high Victorian atrocity whose effects were to be felt well into the twentieth century:

Shameful as it may be to have to say so, the drawing-room ballad must be counted

³¹ Bowan, “Wild Men and Mystics”, 2; Covell’s study has also been influential in the wider historical literature; for two summaries based largely on his book, see Geoffrey Serle, *From deserts the prophets come: the creative spirit in Australia 1788-1972* (Melbourne: Heinemann, 1973), 40-43; <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/31641701>; and Geoffrey Partington, *The Australian Nation: Its British and Irish roots* (1st edition, 1994; with new introduction, New Brunswick NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1997), 242-46; <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/11368421>.

³² For a colonial instance of a similar view, see “ON THE STUDY OF MUSIC”, *The South Briton, or Tasmanian Literary Journal* 1/2 (May 1843), 121-128, especially 122-23 and 126-27: <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/13295608/18430500/00010002/41-50.pdf>; <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/13295608/18430500/00010002/51-60.pdf>.

as one of the major influences, if not the major influence until recently, on the bulk of Australian composition. (23)

Covell discussed only around a dozen actual compositions from the early colonial period, not all of them extant. They included the two earliest “foundational” (but lost) sets of broadly “classical” compositions by named composers, Reichenberg (1825) and Kavanagh (1826); William Ellard’s *Australian Quadrilles* (1835); Vincent Wallace’s *Maritana* (1845); John Lhotsky’s (1834) and Isaac Nathan’s (1841-48) transcriptions of Aboriginal melodies; a half a dozen other pieces by Nathan, including his two Leichhardt works (1845 and 1846); and, in passing, one by Stephen Marsh. By contrast, “Traditional”, non art-music, Covell found:

[...] unquestionably a more interesting musical phenomenon than the activities of the Ladies and Gentleman Amateurs and their Professional Colleagues recorded so industriously by colonial newspapers. (5)

In discounting colonial middle-class tastes (and those of his journalistic predecessors), Covell’s was anything but an *elitist* strategy, though, as Radic might be imagined to be arguing, residually sexist. The “traditional” song sample he dealt with in considerable depth was selected, as Radic also suggested, on the basis of social authenticity (deriving, more often than not, from men’s industries, and the taking of male viewpoints), straightforward unadorned melodies, orally transmitted.

Ultimately, this is what the English reviewer Wilfrid Mellers, recently himself author of landmark historical study of American music, gleaned from Covell’s history:³³

Most Europeans will be surprised that a book of 300-odd substantial pages could, let alone should, be produced on the subject of Australia’s music [...] The Australian composer, like the American, came of European stock, transplanted into a vast, empty land which possessed a desecrated, almost forgotten aboriginal culture. Only whereas the American settler embraced and re-created comparatively rich cross-sections of European culture, the Australian settlers were more rootless, spiritually poorer [...] The absence of deeply felt, even if calvinistically perverted, religious traditions brought with it a still more philistine reliance on the academic respectability of the (British-Teutonic) Establishment; the early pioneers of Australian music could hardly be more destitute of the pioneer’s indomitable independence of spirit, and their gentility could hardly be more suspect.

Yet awful though the music is, Mr. Covell finds interesting things to say about it, or rather about its implications [...].

And “*awful though the music is*” seems to have been the conventional wisdom ever since.

Was this simply an aesthetic judgment? Or was it part of what Kate Bowan recently

³³ Wilfrid Mellers, [Review], *The Musical Times* 109/1502 (April 1968), 338-339; Mellers had already thought seriously about and written on Australian music following his visit in 1965, notably in, “Antipodal”, *New Statesman* (4 September 1865), 458.

suggested was a “general tendency in Australian musical history towards *ahistoricism*”—a failure to “place the music in its historical context”, and to judge it “on current aesthetic standards rather than the ones prevailing when [it] was written”?³⁴

By contrast with Covell in the late 1960s, by 1980, when the late Carl Dahlhaus addressed nineteenth-century music that fell outside the German mainstream, he realised that it was important not to appear too prejudiced against “the English domestic ballad, particularly in its form as Victorian ballad”, which he described, as positively as he could, as “remain[ing] fully as artless as its [...] function required”.³⁵ Though, more pretentious “pseudo-salon” music—into which category we might imagine he would put the work of composers like Stephen Marsh, Edward Boulanger, and Miska Hauser—he still derided for its “deadly mixture of sentimental tunefulness and mechanical figuration”.³⁶ When it came to the plethora of second-rate nineteenth-century sacred vocal and choral music, Dahlhaus also admitted: “Dead as these works may be as musical artifacts, they still remain valuable documents of cultural history.”³⁷

Colonial music was not, of course, just an Australian phenomenon, and resonances of Australian experience are observable in the histories of other transported British and European cultures. Writing of New York up to 1835, Vera Brodsky Lawrence observed:³⁸

The failure of a first generation of local composers to materialize promptly is easily accounted for. As an essentially British provincial town at the close of the Revolution—a scant half-century since—New York possessed neither an indigenous music nor performing musicians; nor had she the pedagogical wherewithal to engender the one or the other. The unsophisticated local musical tastes ran chiefly to the traditional and popular musics inherited from the former mother country: English, Irish, and Scottish ballads, glees, folk tunes, show tunes, sentimental tunes, comic tunes, dance tunes, marching tunes, and whatever other kinds of tunes constituted the current crop of vernacular music. Usually derived from or engrafted (however incongruously) upon plays and well-worn English “operas” (themselves constructed principally of pilfered tunes), this music was performed at the theatre [...] the same tunes were played and sung at home.

Joseph Gautrot’s Batavian activities will probably feature in some future study of colonial Indonesian music in the 1830s. Meanwhile, already Franki Notosudirdjo has found another Batavian composer, P. A. Schill, who composed an overture and vocal pieces for Theodor Korner’s play *Nachwacht* in 1844, and who was later known as “the Wagner of Batavia”.³⁹

³⁴ Kate Bowan, “Wild Men and Mystics”, 2.

³⁵ Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson, (University of California Press, 1991), 103-04: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=DoylvxMVL_oC&pg=PA103#v=onepage&q&f=false.

³⁶ 148: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=DoylvxMVL_oC&pg=PA103#v=onepage&q&f=false.

³⁷ 48: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=DoylvxMVL_oC&pg=PA48#v=onepage&q&f=false.

³⁸ Vera Brodsky Lawrence, *Strong on Music: Resonances, 1836-1850* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), xxviii; <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=xU62vWM6WroC>.

³⁹ Franki Suryadarma Notosudirdjo (Franki Raden), *Music, Politics, and the Problems of National Identity in Indonesia* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 2001), 49.

At Tauranga in New Zealand in 1881, English arrivals (“new chums”) on board the sailing ship, the *Lady Jocelyn*, had their first encounter with “colonial music”:⁴⁰

At about 3 o'clock the *S.S. Katikati* arrived with the brass band, and an immense contingent of European and Maori gentlemen and ladies, girls and boys, all on pleasure bent, and bound for a view of the great sight. The scene on board the *Lady Jocelyn* at this time was of the liveliest description, crowds of townspeople, white and black, traversing the ship's deck, and fraternizing with the “new chums” [...] the whole relieved by the strains of the brass band, at whose performance we are compelled to admit the “new chums” did not profess unbounded admiration, but it is to be hoped that in the future, when they have become colonized they will become better acquainted with the peculiar idiosyncrasies of colonial music.

Not only standards of performance were at issue; there was a colonial mind-set, that extended to appreciation of compositions, whether locally produced or imported. References to colonial music being out-of-date, by English and European standards, were common across the Anglosphere. When Miska Hauser was in Adelaide in 1855, he found the population “which included many Germans [...] has already reached a higher level of culture” than elsewhere in Australia; nevertheless, he heard a German band playing a supposedly newly-composed work by its bandmaster that was, in fact, nothing more than a “bright miscellany of long vanished pieces” (though how “long vanished” they were is debatable, since Hauser also said they included his own *Cradle Song*).⁴¹ For another visitor, Godfrey Charles Mundy, hearing an old tune so far from “home” was a particularly “agreeable sensation”:⁴²

I passed my first Australian evening [June 1846] in rambling slowly up George-street, the main artery of the city, and down Pitt-street, the second in rank [...] Passing through the Barrack-square to mine inn, shortly before nine o'clock I found a tattoo going on, the drums and fifes of the 99th regiment rattling away Mrs. Waylett's pretty old song of *I'd be a Butterfly*, in the most spirited style, just as though we were not 16,000 miles from the Horse Guards! It was the first note of music I had heard since leaving home; and I do not know when a more soothing and agreeable sensation pervaded my mind than at that moment, as I stood listening under the bright moonlight of this “far countrie” to a parcel of old well remembered airs, that had been discarded by the London butcher-boys a quarter of a century ago.

⁴⁰ “THE LADY JOCELYN AT TAURANGA”, *Bay Of Plenty Times* 10/ 985 (6 January 1881), 2: <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&cl=search&d=BOPT18810106.2.5>.

⁴¹ Miska Hauser, *Aus dem Wanderbuche eines österreichischen Virtuosen* (Leipzig: Grunow, 1860), vol. 2, 142: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=JMZAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q=Deutsche%20musikbande&f=false>.

⁴² Godfrey Charles Mundy, *Our Antipodes, or Residence and Rambles in the Australasian Colonies, with a Glimpse of the Goldfields* (London: Richard Bentley, 1852), vol. 1, 40: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=TxSXXXXAYAAJ&pg=PA40#v=onepage&q&f=false>; see also Russel Ward and Ken Macnab, “Mundy, Godfrey Charles (1804-1860)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 2 (1967), 268: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020233b.htm>.

Whereas, in truth, Haynes Bayley's *I'd be a butterfly*, which dated from the mid-1820s, was far from discarded even in London, where it continued, as in most of the current and former British colonies, to be a popular, if old-fashioned favourite.⁴³

If Australian “British” music and musicians were not necessarily old-fashioned, neither were they necessarily second-rate. Before arriving in Australia, Vincent Wallace had been one of the leading violinists in the orchestra accompanying Paganini for his Dublin concerts in August-September 1831,⁴⁴ and in the theatre orchestra directed that season by the renowned London leader, Paolo Spagnoletti. Spagnoletti also taught at the Royal Academy of Music in London, and his son, Ernesto Spagnoletti senior, a student there. Having published several works in London (one of which was among the first of Francis Ellard's Sydney prints in 1839), Spagnoletti would settle in Australia in the early 1850s, perhaps partly lured by the promise of post-Gold Rush collateral advantage (for his large family as much as for himself). Both Isaac Nathan and Stephen Marsh arrived with a British reputation already made, or developing well. And several other early colonial composers would—had they stayed “at home”—have occupied respectable niches in the English, Scottish, or Irish musical economies. Some also brought impressive pedigrees with them, not least several other former pupils of the Royal Academy of Music in London. Stephen Marsh, had been taught there by Bochsa and Henry Bishop; and James Henri Anderson was a “particular” pupil of the English Beethovenian Cipriani Potter, and of Professor John Thomson at the University of Edinburgh. The convict composer Charles Packer was among the Academy's very first intake of students in 1823-24; he studied there with Bochsa, Crotch, Mozart's pupil Attwood, and even briefly, he claimed, with Carl Maria von Weber. Lewis Lavenu also trained at the Royal Academy of Music under Bochsa and Cipriani Potter, and was tutored by Charles Packer when the latter was a senior student there.⁴⁵ Before he arrived in Australia, Lavenu was well known in America for his musical directorship of Catherine Hayes's tour, and his partnership with Miska Hauser. Hauser, who also followed him to Australia, had been a pupil of Conradin Kreutzer and Mayseder, and briefly, at Vienna Conservatory in 1839, a teacher of Joseph Joachim. One James Boulton, professing to be a student of Mendelssohn and Charles Hallé, was offering to teach “musical composition” in Sydney in 1852 and 1853.⁴⁶ When Anna Bishop first toured Australia in 1856-58, Charles Packer and Stephen Marsh would also be

⁴³ For an early American edition, see: <https://jscholarship.library.jhu.edu/handle/1774.2/7259>.

⁴⁴ [News], *The Australian* (2 March 1832), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article42008038>: “Paganini netted one thousand five hundred and sixty pounds on his visit to Dublin”.

⁴⁵ “DEATH OF LEWIS HENRY LAVENU”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (2 August 1859), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13028665>: “[...] Mr. C. S. Packer, who three years ago followed to the tomb the remains of his own master in the orchestral branch of his studies at the Royal Academy of Music—the celebrated Bochsa—will to-day perform the same sad duty to one who was one of his own earliest pupils in the same institution [...]”.

⁴⁶ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (27 November 1852), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12941904>; [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (28 April 1853), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28644481>.

able to claim that they had been her fellow pupils at the College.⁴⁷ Marsh had also performed back in Britain with the then still rising Irish star, Catherine Hayes, who on her Australian tour was received even more rapturously than Bishop.⁴⁸ Meanwhile, the Tasmanian civil servant and amateur composer, Francis Hartwell Henslowe could boast being the grandson, son, and brother, respectively, of four composers: François Hippolyte Barthélémon and his wife Maria Barthélémon, Haydn's London friends and hosts; their daughter Celia Maria Barthélémon-Henslowe, who was taught by Haydn; and her daughter the popular London song composer, Fanny Henslowe. Nor, as we shall see below, was the colonial music culture entirely peripheral to the colonists' Austrian or German contemporaries.

In talking up local morale, not least economically, something like the “boosterism” the historian James Belich has described as being endemic in the United States and Canada,⁴⁹ also coloured Australians' view of themselves and their enterprises. Some of the estimates were reasonably valid, such as that of a “Review of Colonial Literature and Productions of Art”, in the first issue of the shortlived *Arden's Sydney Magazine of Politics and General Literature* in September 1843:⁵⁰

Sydney, as far as the substantial evidences are before us, is not exceeded by many towns of Great Britain and Ireland in its publications, societies, and institutions connected with literature and the arts; although, if compared as the metropolis of a country, with Dublin, Edinburgh, and London, it falls far behind, in its encouragement of genius and talent. Sydney, with its daily and weekly newspapers, its theatres, its public libraries and museums, certainly excels the fame of such a City as Cork, Leith, Bristol, or Gloucester, in proportion to its extent and population, and is quite equal to Nottingham, or even Cheltenham, in its fame for scientific liberality and advancement.

Boosterism also affected the arts. In 1845, in another Sydney magazine, Charles Harpur published his poem, *The First Great Australian Poet* in which he anticipated: “*Glorious His lot whom Poesie shall name/Her first High Priest in this so sunny Clime*”.⁵¹ This was in *The Weekly Register*, a current affairs journal edited by W. A. Duncan, who also gave generous regular column space to verse by Henry Halloran and Henry Parkes. Duncan, as detailed in

⁴⁷ On Bishop, see Frank Fowler, “*Southern Lights and Shadows*”, 34:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=EMMNAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA34#v=onepage&q&f=false>: “The ‘Prince of Wales’ [Theatre] was generally devoted to opera, and here I have heard Bellini, Meyerbeer, and even Verdi and Beethoven as carefully rendered as at any theatre in London, the two Italian opera houses only excepted. Madame Anna Bishop was generally first-lady, Miss Sarah Flower contralto; Messrs. Laglaise and Coulon—not quite unknown names—tenor and bass; and Messrs. Lavenue and Loder, men of some English reputation, leaders of the orchestra [...].”

⁴⁸ See also “THE HAY(ES) FEVER IN AUSTRALIA”, *Punch* 28 (January-June 1855), 49:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=ZLMPAQAAIAAJ&pg=PA49&dq#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

⁴⁹ James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: the settler revolution and the rise of the Anglo-World, 1783-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 203:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=Rh76bzOX7XAC&pg=PA203#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

⁵⁰ Page 52 (pdf 8): <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/1329962x/18430900/00010001/49-56.pdf>.

⁵¹ *The Weekly Register* 5 [recte 4]/93 (3 May 1845), 209 (pdf 4):

<http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18450503/e0050093/5-8.pdf>.

Chapter 3, also wrote lyrics for Isaac Nathan, published a libretto by Charles Nagel, and probably wrote *The Register's* (and, before that, the *Australasian Chronicle's*) intelligent, well-informed concert, theatre, and “new music” reviews. Duncan was also a composer of sorts (at least, the sort counted here), which is to say a creative musical arranger, making and printing in 1842 his own re-workings of music by Mozart, Weber, Rossini and Graun, fitted to sacred texts and new musical formats, for use by the colony’s fledgling Catholic choirs. Choral music was in short supply; and so, as so often in early colonial Australia, it was a case of “do it yourself”.

Was anyone in Duncan’s circle in 1840s Sydney also imagining Australian music’s “first High Priest”? At least there were potential aspirants. In 1846, the musically literate explorer, Ludwig Leichhardt, flattered Isaac Nathan in thanking him for a welcome-home song, by addressing him “Australia’s great composer”.⁵² Leichhardt went on to become a household name, featuring prominently (for instance) in Manning Clark’s *A History of Australia*, whereas Nathan did not, though Clark did mention that music had been written honouring Leichhardt, without naming either Nathan, or Stephen Marsh, as having composed it. On the other hand, Clark did single out Thomas Stubbs as the first (and only) local composer named as such anywhere in his first three volumes. Clark (though evidently oblivious to Stubbs’s day job as an auctioneer, which otherwise he would surely have mentioned) thus canonised him, on the strength of the celebratory [Australian Jubilee Waltz](#), one of the very earliest extant local productions, composed and published for the colonial jubilee in 1838, *and* because Stubbs was still that rarity at the time—a native-born white Australian.⁵³

Clark made a point of noting Duncan’s love of the music of Mozart, characterised him as potentially enlightened, while reluctantly concluding, on account of his political conservatism, that he was a bourgeois “philistine”.⁵⁴ Clark probably would have judged the general run of Duncan’s non-Australian-born composer contemporaries similarly, had they registered on his radar at all. As Clark may well also have been implying by his almost blanket silence on the subject of colonial music (a silence that, as Radic says, re-echoes from one colonial history to the next, before and since), it would be idle to suggest that any Australian of the era could ever have been considered a “great composer”, outside the strictly local context of Leichhardt’s flattering estimate of Nathan. But, on the model of Stubbs, Clark

⁵² Letter to Nathan (23 June 1846); Arousseau, III: 881: “My dear Sir, I should be delighted to hear our great Australian composer sing the song of my resurrection but I am not allowed to accept any invitation before I have finished my journal.—Pray leave it for a fortnight longer when you would indeed bestow the greatest favour on me in allowing me to listen to your music [...]”.

⁵³ Manning Clark, *A History of Australia, III: The Beginning of An Australian Civilization 1824-1851* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1973), 138.

⁵⁴ Clark introduced Duncan as a closing case study for a chapter on Sydney in the 1840s; he pictured him as “widely read [...] passionately fond of the music of Mozart”, a man with a strong social conscience and commitment to public education, “stuffed with the hopes of the Enlightenment”, yet ultimately too conservative, “too attracted to the Mother Country”, and therefore typical of a cohort of migrants that, had they acted more decisively in the 1840s, could have made Australia a very different place, but who were instead “the instruments for the victory of a *bourgeois philistinism* in Australia”, ensuring that “neither radicalism not independence was to triumph in Australia” (III: 169).

may well have been persuaded that some of them deserved, in context, to be called “significant”. Likewise, while no Australian colonial work could be called a “great composition”, many might have been “significant compositions”.

But taking Dahlhaus’s enabling viewpoint of even dead musical artefacts remaining “valuable documents of cultural history”, early colonial Australian compositions at least deserve to be considered within their own context; even, in many of the cases considered here, where the music itself has not survived. In what sort of music might Thomas Kavanagh, for instance, have clothed his Australian *bravura* song, *The Trumpet Sounds Australia’s Fame*? When it was first presented in one of the Sydney Amateur Concerts in 1826, there was only the flimsiest notion of what we now know as the classical musical canon, so flimsy that the musical past barely constituted any serious drag at all on the imagination of the present. Little of the music they performed was more than fifty years old. Rather, the Sydney Amateurs addressed themselves to what was new (like Weber’s *Der Freischütz* overture), and what came next (like the new compositions Kavanagh promised to bring out early in 1827). To recapture the sound world of 1826 to which Kavanagh’s lost song belonged, we need only look at the group’s programs, which featured mainly British vocal music—songs and glees by Calcott, Samuel Webbe, Arne, Braham, Shield, Hook, Horsley, Matthew King, Michael Kelly, and Henry Bishop—and recent Continental instrumental pieces—quartets by Pleyel and Weber, overtures by Bishop (*Guy Mannering*), Rossini, Romberg, Storace (*Lodoiska*), Mozart (*Figaro*) and Krentzner. George Sippe also composed a *rondeau* to conclude his own performance of some variations by Drouet.

Though Weber’s *Der Freischütz* overture was first performed in Sydney in October 1826, only five years after its Berlin premiere, it remained for Sydney, as the *Monitor* observed at the time, “a rare specimen of German composition”.⁵⁵ Haydn, Mozart, Rossini, and Beethoven, already considered pinnacles, were occasionally performed in the coming two decades, though in 1829 *The Sydney Gazette* observed that “the generality of auditors here [...] are not sufficiently scientific yet to relish the sublimities of Mozart, Ros[s]ini, &c. &c.”⁵⁶ But Schubert was barely mentioned in the Australian press before the 1840s (perhaps because most of his music remained unpublished until well after his death); his first real impact on the Sydney scene dates to Eliza Bushelle’s performance of “*The Earl King*” [sic] in 1845.⁵⁷ Into the 1840s, when concert life really began to take off, the canon of “Classical” music—such as it was—consisted of Handel, Arne, Mozart, Gluck, Pleyel, Haydn, and Beethoven, and Rossini, among others. Continental moderns, in opera and instrumental

⁵⁵ “MR. SIPPE’S BENEFIT”, *The Monitor* (13 October 1826), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31757909>.

⁵⁶ [News], *The Sydney Gazette* (26 September 1829), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2193494>; in Adelaide, some considered that this situation pertained into the mid-1840s, “MR. BENNETT’S CONCERT”, *South Australian Register* (6 January 1844), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article27446310>: “... we suspect that the majority [of the audience] have little taste for the musical alchemy of Mozart’s symphonies, or Rossini’s *chef d’oeuvre*”.

⁵⁷ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (15 September 1845), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12882167>.

music, were the likes of Herz, Czerny (Marsh was one of his early Australian advocates), Méhul, Meyerbeer, Paer, De Beriot, and Thalberg, Auber, and Bellini. Into the 1850s, even while music sellers like Henry Marsh were beginning to import the first good selections of Beethoven sonatas and other “Classical Music”,⁵⁸ it was still salon gems like Henry Herz’s variations on [The Last Rose of Summer](#), or George Osborne’s valse brillante [La Pluie de Perles](#) “decidedly the most elegant composition of the day”,⁵⁹ that the same music sellers chose to reissue in Australian prints as better representing the European fashions of the day. But Liszt and Chopin were known more by reports of their reputation than through public performances into the 1850s.

I will not be putting a case here for even one “great colonial composer”; and the “awfulness” of some of the colonial music discussed here will not be entirely mitigated by contrary contemporary opinions quoted, or the interesting circumstances of its production and reception. A reader may well end up reaching much the same conclusions as Covell did in his shorter—certainly more pithy—coverage of colonial music in 1967; or, alternatively, may end up with the makings of a small colonial canon. But it is, certainly, long since time to reopen the case for our early colonial music.

In 1967, Covell dismissed Nathan’s 1846 Leichhardt welcome-home song as “decidedly inferior stuff”, and Marsh’s setting of the same text worse still:

If we are inclined to judge Nathan’s setting too harshly, a glance at Marsh’s absurdly palpitating use of Italianate cantilena, with burbling arpeggios for harp (or piano) gives us renewed respect for Nathan’s taste and resources. (15)

Leichhardt, however, sent a copy of Nathan’s song to his musician brother-in-law in Germany, and told him:⁶⁰

Two more pieces have been composed [for me], and one of them, for the harp, by Mr. Marsh, is very good.

In 1847, five years (and an arduous trans-continental expedition) after the occasion he was recollecting, Leichhardt wrote again to his brother-in-law:⁶¹

I’ve never been so deeply moved by music as I once was during my passage from England to Sydney. It was on a stormy night [...] I had been listening intently to the confused uproar for a long time when I suddenly got up and stepped into Mr. Marsh’s cabin [...] And there he was, improvising on the harp. The measured sounds, after the rushing and roaring disorder of the wind and the waves out there

⁵⁸ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (3 November 1853), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12950072>; see also Paling’s “New Music” from Europe, [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (30 October 1858), 7: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13012394>.

⁵⁹ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (23 July 1853), 5: <http://newspapers.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12947505>.

⁶⁰ Letter to C. Schmalfluss (19 August 1846); Arousseau, III: 895-96 (translation 899).

⁶¹ Letter to C. Schmalfluss (21 October 187); Arousseau, III: 960 (965).

in the dark, moved me with such strength and reassurance as to bring tears to my eyes. I had the same feelings when I read Schiller again. With what instinctive, clairvoyant understanding he was able to interpret situations in which his own life could never have placed him:

*[...] by harsh custom far estranged,
Along the glad and guileless track
To childhood's happy home unchanged,
The sweet song wafts the wanderer back.*

Marsh would later write up several such harp improvisations, and given that the 150 Irish assisted emigrants in steerage on the same ship were probably also troubled by the storm, it is tempting to think that Marsh's treatment of the Irish ballad "Savourneen Delish" in his later [Brilliant Fantasia](#) for piano might have originated on his harp that night. Covell also wrote:

Even the actual presence in Sydney of the young composer-to-be of *Maritana*, William Vincent Wallace, could not be significant in terms of an indigenous musical tradition [...] Wallace's own music was too steeped in the gentilities of a minor sub-tradition to have anything urgent to say to the colonists of a raw settlement in an alien and not particularly friendly land.

Alfred Cox was a boy when he heard Wallace play in Sydney, and was taking music lessons from Wallace's father. He looked back with fondness on Wallace and his opera in his 1884 *Recollections*:⁶²

This man, William V. Wallace, who had thus tickled my ears and filled my young soul with indescribable sensations, became, not many years after this, a very great man indeed in the musical world, establishing a reputation that has outlived him. All who know his music, will not be slow to admit that the lovers of melody are under great obligation to this composer. I have not a word to say here of the preference shown by many in these days of musical culture and development to the new school of music becoming fashionable but I am not myself so far gone in this direction as to have outgrown my love for simple and flowing melody. The best proof of the claims of Wallace to be regarded as a tuneful composer is that his music still lives, is as popular as ever, and holds its own in these days with new works of a host of new writers.

I would like to say a few words as to variety in music. To my mind, that is one of its chief charms. It is calculated to soothe and excite. My own experience prompts me to confess that there are times and seasons when my nerves are thrilled, my heart touched, and my thoughts are raised by sounds sweet and simple; and there are times, also, when my mind or soul, as well as my heart, craves and longs for something fuller and greater, higher and holier. It seems to me strange that anyone should have ever thought it a suitable thing to say that only one class of music should be tolerated and taught. There is a beauty and perfection in natural music, as certainly as there is in music the outcome of cultivation. Not all

⁶² Alfred Cox, *Recollections: Australia, England, Ireland, Scotland, New Zealand* (Christchurch: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1884); online transcription at Early New Zealand Books: http://www.enzb.auckland.ac.nz/document/1884_-_Cox%2C_A._Recollections/CHAPTER_V._Music.../.

the world are yet musically educated, and even if they were, there is still a wonderful variety in the many schools of music. Italy represents one; Germany another; France a third; and, let us in all diffidence add, England another. I am not quite sure that in these days, when there is such a craze for culture, so called, and such a passion for something new and startling, that music may not suffer by the many attempts to perfect it. Plain speech, plain writing, simple and natural manners are still in high repute in the world; why not, then, strive to preserve, in all its purity, simple and natural music? [...] Music in all its varieties is one of heaven's best blessings--without it this world to some of us would be a dreary place to linger in. [...]

While he was in Sydney in the 1830s, Wallace's violin fantasies *a là Paganini*, and piano solos *après Herz*, reportedly pleased audiences less than his improvisations on their favourite airs, the same sort of sentimental ballads for which his *Maritana* later became (and long remained) famous. And for all the misguided projections of some earlier composers about the likely music of the Antipodes (from Telemann's *Gulliver Suite*,⁶³ to Shield's *Omai*),⁶⁴ one eighteenth-century novelist did imagine that Antipodeans might react musically in precisely this way. When the narrator of *The Travels of Hildebrand Bowman* came to impressing his fictional Antipodeans with flute music, he discovered:⁶⁵

As the Italian music is most admired in Europe, I began with some favourite airs, which were in great vogue when I left England.

The whole company were much surprised at hearing them; and owned they did not expect anything comparable to what I had played; but, said they, though these seem the style of great masters, the simple and pathetic is more to our tastes; perhaps from not knowing better. It fortunately happened that I had it in my power, besides Italian, to give them some specimens of the music of other nations in our northern world. The French was too gay; the English (except when grafted on the Italian) wanted melody; but most of the plaintive Scotch songs and some of the Irish, were much to their tastes, and affected them wonderfully [...] they esteemed many of my songs so much, as to write them out in their manner; which, though very different from ours, was ingenious.

A similarly nuanced modern understanding of early Australian music may yet come from the development of theorisation of colonial music that takes fuller account of Australian conditions. Such a theory would allow us to approach Australian colonial music more for what it is—an essentially British popular and early Romantic vocal musical culture, influenced by French and Italian instrumental music, but that remained largely untouched by recent “mainstream” German art music until the second half for the nineteenth century—than for what it was not. That there might, for a short while, have been a late-flowering

⁶³ See his “Lilliput the Chaconne”: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Telemann_Gulliver_Suite.jpg.

⁶⁴ [Exhibition catalogue], *Cook & Omai: The Cult of the South Seas* (Canberra: National Library of Australia with the Humanities Research Centre, Australian National University, 2001); <http://www.nla.gov.au/pub/ebooks/pdf/Omai%20catalogue.pdf>.

⁶⁵ *The Travels of Hildebrand Bowman* (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1778), 150-51; http://books.google.com.au/books?id=-bY_AAAAYAAJ&pg=PA150&#v=onepage&q&f=false.

“Australian Romanticism” has not been considered; and yet why not (consider the songs of Henslowe and Stephen Marsh)?

Rabbi Herman Hoelzel, whose lecture on music in Sydney in 1857 was published by J. R. Clarke is one possible prototype for a “colonial music theory”, described music more or less as his Sydney hearers knew, and experienced, it:⁶⁶

[...] real classical music, of sterling standard, such as we have now in our possession, was not in existence before the time of Handel, who is justly styled the great and mighty musical monarch, the founder of the modern lyric drama and oratorios, whose sublime music stands there unrivalled to this day [...]

About the beginning of the 18th century, the first ballet music started from Italy, and made a most triumphant entry into London and other parts of Europe, bewitching the people’s mind by its subtile and alluring strains, captivating all hearts by its beguiling profaneness, and by the irresistible graces and charmes of the dancing performances combined with it. Soon after, the first opera buffo was created in Italy, followed by waltzes, quadrilles, gallops, and all other kinds of profane music, both vocal and instrumental, which from this time and ever since began to increase and multiply, invading all the four corners of the globe, subordinating *sacred music*, and aspiring even to supremacy over classical music [...]

Music, generally speaking, may be divided into four divisions—1, sacred music; 2, military music; 3, sentimental music; and 4, profane and vulgar music [...] Sentimental music comprise an illustrated description of social life, concerning matters between man and man, and intended to display and convey the emotions of the heart [...] to create and awaken sentiments of grief, sorrow, and misery; or happiness, joy, and peace.

By profane and vulgar music is meant a combination of pleasing and agreeable sounds and chords as representatives of the profaneness of life, comprising dancing and drinking music, comic songs, and merry pieces of all descriptions [...]

As a moralist and theologian, Hoelzel might have considered that the:

greatest defect of modern music is that there exists amongst the generality of people no taste whatsoever for sacred music, and very little for classical music, while profane and vulgar music [...] are the order of the day [...] which as I have shewn, is the primary cause of the degeneration and pollution of real good music [...].

Importantly, however, what he calls “sentimental music”—the category into which most of the colonial songs and more serious instrumental pieces fall— he takes to be an expression of a humane and lively society, and notwithstanding his disdain for the proliferation of profane music—music for dancing, drinking &c. may also, more objectively, be considered in the same way.

⁶⁶ *The Lecture on the History and Use of Music: delivered in the hall of the School of Arts, on the 25th August, 1857* (Sydney: J. R. Clarke, 1857); 19: <http://www.slv.vic.gov.au/vicpamphlets/o/4/4/doc/vp0449-019-0019.shtml>; 20: <http://www.slv.vic.gov.au/vicpamphlets/o/4/4/doc/vp0449-020-0020.shtml>.

At a time when academic musicology is struggling to widen its traditional base beyond an increasingly socially liminal European classical canon, reconsideration of colonial music culture and its productions is timely and instructive. Far more than a pale imitation of things at home, colonial music was as Hoelzel suggested—the lively music of a struggling society, based in a vernacular with which it was familiar, and which it “owned” —not necessarily dated, but real and relevant, and recognised as such at the time.

[0.3] Reading and writing colonial musical history

Until late in the twentieth century, British, European, and American musical literature reveals no ongoing interest in the musical compositions of emigrant European Australians of any era. As shown in Chapter 1, however, from first European settlement onward, Indigenous music was of some scientific interest; indeed, some writers quoted believed that Indigenous music was the *only* Australian music of authenticity and intrinsic interest. Meanwhile, European Australians’ suspicion that people at “home” didn’t really care much at all what their Australian relatives were doing (a realisation that could also, intermittently, be galvanizing on the national psyche), was not altogether unfounded.

In the United States in 2005, the five text volumes of Richard Taruskin’s *The Oxford History of Western Music*, contained a single qualified reference to anything at all “Australian” (Percy Grainger).⁶⁷ And while “Australian” was one of dozens of “Western” musical nationalities that Taruskin magisterially passed over⁶⁸—as if each was a musical *terra nullius*⁶⁹—whatever the last judgment might be on the quality, canonicity, or mere passing interest of two centuries of ignored Australian music itself, some of the blame for *allowing* it to be overlooked so effortlessly, must surely rest with Australian musical scholarship, for not inquiring more assiduously and systematically into its own history, and for that matter teaching it, and writing about it.

Late twentieth-century Australian musicology has repeatedly judged colonial, and even early Federal, composers to be aesthetically “too close to Britain” to be taken seriously in their own right; which, however, left them disowned all round. Modern national sensibilities meant, for instance, that Deborah Rohr, in her *The Careers of British Musicians, 1750-1850*:

⁶⁷Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), Volume 5, 182.

⁶⁸ See John Beckwith, [Review of Taruskin, *Oxford History*], *CAML Review* [Revue de l’ACBM [Canadian Association of Music Libraries, Archives, and Documentation Centres (CAML)]] 33/3 (November 2005): online: <http://www.yorku.ca/caml/en/review/33-3/taruskin.htm>: “Taruskin proves no friend to the ‘little nations’ [...]”; also Harry White, “The Rules of Engagement: Richard Taruskin and the History of Western Music”, *Journal of the Society for Musicology in Ireland* 2 (2006-07); and Karl Kügle, “Past perfect: Richard Taruskin and Music Historiography in the Early Twenty-First Century”, *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* [TVNM] 58/1 (2008), 69-85.

⁶⁹ Michael Connor tried, unsuccessfully, to deny historians the use of the legal notion of *terra nullius*, not because the concept was not serviceable and accurate, but because the term was a latecomer to the documentary record; see his *The Invention of Terra Nullius* (Sydney: Macleay Press, 2005); Connor baulked that “*Historians, more interested in politics than archives, misled the legal profession into believing that a phrase no one had heard of a few years before was the very basis of our statehood*” (Michael Connor, *The Bulletin* (20 August 2003)).

A Profession of Artisans,⁷⁰ did not choose to include any colonial composers (or musicians) from anywhere in the Empire.⁷¹ Yet, as we shall repeatedly see, *they* certainly thought of themselves as British, as well as being Australian.

Not surprisingly, then, Rohr's general observations about "British composers" in homeland Britain do not necessarily apply automatically to "British composers" in colonial Australia. Presumably, many of them, especially the Irish, came to Australia as a result of straightened times in the music profession at home. Whether or not they imagined things would be better here, they at least had the advantage of belonging to only a small cohort of fellow practitioners. The *Sydney Gazette* in March 1833 reminded local artisans of the abundance in Paris of "professional men" by which it meant:⁷²

There are 1523 painters, draftsmen, and lithographers; 151 sculptors ; 313 engravers (copper-plate, aquatinta, wood, &c.) ; 82 architects, 315 distinguished composers and professors of music; 1525 instrumental musicians; 1500 ditto, of inferior rank. Total, 5804.

By contrast, in Sydney in 1833, the composing profession, represented by George Sippe and his colleagues, could be counted on the fingers of one hand. Rohr quoted H. J. Banister bemoaning in 1843 that the average composer in England had to rely "on the drudgery of teaching, on the chance work of orchestral arrangements, or on the hackney labour of writing for the shops".⁷³ But in Sydney in the same year, composers from Nathan and Marsh down were probably rejoicing in, and making the most of, these same limited opportunities. Likewise in London, the theatre composer George Rodwell complained the superabundance of European imported works meant by 1833 that "no English composer can now get an engagement at either of our great theatres but as an adapter of foreign music";⁷⁴ while by the mid-1840s in Sydney, Gautrot, Gibbs, Wallace, and Nathan were probably genuinely excited at the prospect of carving up the job of re-scoring Rossini's *Cenerentola* for orchestra from a keyboard reduction Nathan owned, for the first Australian production.

Many colonial composers do seem to have been at, what certain more "scientific" English musicians cited by Rohr, described as the lower end of the market, catering "for the vitiated taste, by spinning waltzes, quadrilles and paltry ballads",⁷⁵ or becoming:⁷⁶

⁷⁰ Deborah Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians, 1750-1850: A Profession of Artisans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=J1awbPVIJ5MC>.

⁷¹ Even Robin W. Winks (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Historiography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), discussed art and architecture, but mentioned music only once, *apropos* black Caribbean culture.

⁷² "PROFESSIONS IN PARIS", *The Sydney Gazette* (19 March 1833), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2211244>.

⁷³ Banister, *Domestic Music for the Wealthy* (1843), 14; quoted Rohr, 142: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=J1awbPVIJ5MC&pg=PA142&#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

⁷⁴ Rodwell, A Letter to the Musicians, 4; quoted Rohr, 147.

⁷⁵ ("Nominis Umbra"), "On the Just Objects of Music", *The Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* 13 (1822), 18: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=bgUVAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA18#v=onepage&q&f=false>; quoted in Rohr, 142 (see link above).

[...] teachers of singing, others of piano, harp and many other instruments, many take organs in parochial churches, while not a few find it their interest to write Quadrilles, Marches, Songs, and Rondos for warehouses. This is indeed sorry work for many of them.

Yet Australian publishers and press were usually proud enough of their composers' "sorry work" to recommend that colonists should post copies of it home to relatives in Britain.

Only one colonial composer can really be said to have entered the secondary historical record before the end of the nineteenth century, and that, for reasons discussed in Chapter 2, was Vincent Wallace, perhaps most notably in the chapter devoted to him in Alfred Cox's *Recollections*, published in 1884. When it comes to more general music histories in Australia, a pattern emerges that is also traceable back to works on literature like Barton's, and back further still to the very first general histories of Australia.⁷⁷ In its role as a government commissioned exhibition catalogue, Barton's *Literature* was geared as much to the promotion of current Australian productivity and creativity, specifically by creating for it a semblance of historical continuity. Likewise, during the theatre boom of 1860s Melbourne, the author of one of the very earliest brief histories of colonial performing arts, "The Melbourne Stage in its Infancy" (1868) referred back fewer than 30 years, and yet already found it necessary to observe: "It is part of our early history, and, as such, I have endeavoured to describe it from contemporary records" (53). These records were then (as is still the case now) largely newspapers, which, by the way, identified the musicians for the first Melbourne theatre season in 1841, as the "drunken and worthless" lot who also made up the "vile town band".⁷⁸ By contrast, in 1878, a pair of historical articles on the first 25 years of the "The Melbourne Philharmonic Society" appeared in *The Argus*, recording that it had performed new local works by Nelson, Loder, Elsasser, and Rutter as early as 1856.⁷⁹

Commissioned for official circulation by the NSW government at the World Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893, Francis Campbell Brewer's *The Drama and Music in New South Wales* (1892) was also partly intended to draw parallels between developments in colonial Australia and the USA. The earliest major text on colonial music history generally, it

⁷⁶ F. W. Horncastle, "School of Composition", *The Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* 35 (1827), 305; Rohr, 142 (see link above).

⁷⁷ Many early so-called histories of Australia printed in Britain were effectively prospectuses for potential investors or emigrants, for instance, Samuel Butler, *A Hand-Book for Australian Emigrants: being a descriptive history of Australia* (Glasgow: W. R. McPhun, 1839): <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=ABAOAAAAAYAAJ>; W. Pridden, *Australia, Its History and Present Condition: an account of both the bush and the colonies with their respective inhabitants* (London: James Burns, 1845): <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=Jf1AAAAAcAAJ>.

⁷⁸ "The Melbourne Stage in its Infancy", *The Colonial Monthly: An Australian Magazine* (September 1868), 45-53, quoted passages, 53, 47: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=wSsWAQAATAAJ>.

⁷⁹ THE MELBOURNE PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY. I", *The Argus* (25 December 1878), 6: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5926050>.

has been source for more of the later literature than has always been fully disclosed.⁸⁰ Brewer set out to show that “The Australians are a very musical people, and in Sydney particularly, this passion for the Divine Art is shown in many ways [...]”.⁸¹ But he chiefly addressed the already existing international and American interest in Australian singers (“The climate of parts of Australia is suited to the vocal organ, particularly in females [...]”), tracing the lineage of the likes of Lucy Chambers and the younger Howsons and Carandinis, back to the activities of their parents and teachers in 1840s Sydney.

Brewer started out on a career in Sydney newspapers as a copyboy with the *Monitor* in the mid-1830s, was a journalist with *The Sydney Morning Herald* from the 1840s, and its editor from 1865 to 1877. He is almost certainly author of some of the anonymous *Herald* reviews of the period.⁸² With Brewer’s main focus on opera, oratorio, and the voice, instrumentalists and concert performances to a lesser extent, composers—as such—feature barely at all in his account, though many are mentioned in passing: Goutrot [sic],⁸³ the Deanes, Stubbs, Mrs. Logan, Marsh, and Hauser; only Wallace, Packer, Wallace, Boulanger, and Lavenu are actually discussed briefly as composers. But if not for coverage of compositions (only one is specifically named and described: “an aboriginal melody, composed by [Nathan] [...] entitled *Koorinda Braiee*”), the contextual information Brewer brought together makes his a foundational text on colonial music, and a bridge between primary and secondary literature.⁸⁴

Brewer also gave direct insight into the mind of the time, especially Australians’ self-conscious relationships with Britain and Ireland; recalling “the first vocal ‘star’ to appear in the colonies”, Sara Flower:⁸⁵

Her visit to Australia, now forty-two years ago, astonished persons in England, where she held a good position on the concert platform, as much as it did many colonial residents [...] Sara Flower married Mr. Sam. Howard, actor and manager, never returned to England, which probably accounts for the omission of her name in *Grove’s Musical Dictionary*, and after a somewhat chequered career died about twenty years ago, in comparatively poor circumstances, in a cottage in Victoria-street, Darlinghurst.

⁸⁰ F. C. Brewer, *The Drama and Music in New South Wales* (Sydney: Charles Potter, Government printer, 1892); the opening of the “Music” chapter up to c.1860 is transcribed in full in **Appendix 1 Texts**.

⁸¹ “[...] Concerts are of nightly occurrence both in city and suburbs; there are a number of societies in existence for the cultivation of part-singing, more or less pretentious; in nearly every house votaries of instrumental music are to be found, and it is not inappropriate to call Sydney the ‘City of Pianos’.”

⁸² “A PIONEER JOURNALIST: DEATH OF MR. F. C. BREWER: A MEMORY OF EARLY SYDNEY”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (24 November 1911), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article15291671>.

⁸³ Brewer, 10.

⁸⁴ In fact, such a division of the relatively small, and incestuously recycled, literature on colonial music is more problematic than useful in this case; accordingly, no attempt has been made thus to divide the contents of the **Bibliography**, which, rather, is presented chronologically; nor does it list the huge number of unquestionably primary sources of documentation referenced in the main text and **Appendix 2 Checklist**.

⁸⁵ Brewer, 58, 59.

Much the same could be observed of several emigrant composers. Likewise, on the fawning public reception of the “Swan of Erin”, Catherine Hayes:

Two reasons may be assigned for this demonstration; Kate Hayes was the first vocal artiste whose reputation had preceded her, whom many had heard in the old country, and her nationality was an immense draw, when it is remembered that a Judge and an Attorney General, both Irishmen, were the vanguard.

Hayes was an artist who spoke simultaneously to both the national sentiments, and the musical tastes of her audiences:⁸⁶

As an operatic artiste Catherine Hayes failed in London, but was a success in Dublin in light parts. It was in Irish and Scotch ballads that her success lay; for the rendering of these she had peculiarities of voice possessed by no other singer of the same class of music, the higher notes were not particularly remarkable, but the lower and middle registers were liquid and beautiful in the extreme; it was this singular quality that obtained for her the title of “The Swan of Erin”, that bird in dying emitting a soft and plaintive note considered to be the expression of “sublime sadness”.

Already in 1892, only a century from European settlement, Brewer found it “impossible to do more than briefly chronicle [...] A more comprehensive record would occupy much time and fill volumes”. A little more of this task was taken on by John Percy McGuanne, who compiled scrapbooks of press notices on *Music and Song of Old Sydney*. McGuanne also published an article, “The Humours and Pastimes of Early Sydney”, in the very first proceedings of the Australian Historical Society (of which he was one of the fifteen founding members) in 1901;⁸⁷ it again is the source for much data that reappears in later literature, notably concerning the foundational 1826 compositions of bandmaster Kavanagh.⁸⁸ Kavanagh’s music being long lost did not stop McGuanne from drawing literary comparisons:⁸⁹

In the year when Kavanagh made Australia musical, we find the youth Charles Tompson [...] publishing his home-made verse [...] In the same month, December, of the same year, the *Aurora Australis* of Dr. Lang was published. They were not poets in the sense that Kavanagh was a musician.

Kavanagh, anyway, had brought music to what John Dunmore Lang described in the book in question, as a “voiceless shore [...] And unpossess’d [...]”⁹⁰—all the necessary justification,

⁸⁶ Brewer, 60.

⁸⁷ Since *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*.

⁸⁸ According to a letter quoted by Peter Richardson, “Military Music”, 7, it was probably also from McGuanne’s *Music and Song of Old Sydney* that the references to Reichenberg spread.

⁸⁹ J. P. McGuanne, “The Humours and Pastimes of Early Sydney”, *The Australian Historical Society Journal and Proceedings* 1 (1901), 40-42; the relevant extract is transcribed in **Appendix 1 Texts**.

⁹⁰ From Lang’s “D’Entrecasteaux Channel”, originally from *Aurora Australis: or, Specimens of Sacred Poetry, for the Colonists of Australia* (1826); Lang’s recreation of the first landing in Tasmania revels in the scenic beauties of

incidentally, a good colonist required to allay lingering doubts that he might have dispossessed the previous inhabitants. McGuanne went on:⁹¹

The foremost musicians were Edwards, Sippe, Josephson, Stubbs, and William Wallace, (the two latter were flute players, though Stubbs could play several instruments), all the bandmasters, and the Deane family. At 17 Phillip Street, Stubbs taught the violin, bugle, flute and French horn. Tom Stubbs was the first Australian-born composer. In 1836 he composed the *Minstrel Waltz*, which was dedicated to Mrs. H. Deas-Thomson, and the family name still sounds in waltz music.

Brewer's and McGuanne's Sydney memoirs had a Melbourne equivalent, an extraordinary series of recollections, "Seventy Years of Music", published in *The Argus* in 1925, by Alfred Montague.⁹²

Modern Australian scholarship on Isaac Nathan rests on the early advocacy of Charles Bertie, the Sydney City Librarian.⁹³ On 1 June 1921, in a lecture jointly sponsored by the Sydney Conservatorium and the Sydney chapter of the British Music Society (preceded, oddly, by a performance of Debussy's string quartet), Bertie spoke on "Isaac Nathan: Australia's First Musician", with illustrations from Nathan's works sung by Etta Field.⁹⁴ When Bertie published the lecture a year later, as *Isaac Nathan: Australia's First Composer*, he was forced to admit that Nathan's was hardly Australia's first musician:⁹⁵

But I think we can safely claim for our subject the title of "Australia's First Composer". Wallace was only a bird of passage, and did nothing of an Australian character, whereas, as we shall see, Isaac Nathan set to music a number of aboriginal airs and was the composer of the first opera written and produced in Australia. He had, moreover, a great influence on the musical life of the young community, and was the first musician of wide reputation to settle in Australia.

Bertie also looked seriously into the question of whether Vincent Wallace's *Maritana* had been composed in Australia or not, in a paper and article for the Australian Historical Society

the coast, but notes the silence, in terms suggestive both of a "land without music", society, and culture (the later paradigm of *terra nullius*).

⁹¹ The reference to the Stubbs family name still sounding on is to his grand-daughter, Maud Fitz-Stubbs, and her recently issued *The Governor-General Waltz*; copy at NLA: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-an5881638>.

⁹² Alfred Montague, "SEVENTY YEARS OF MUSIC", [1]: "Early Players and Singers", *The Argus* (19 September 1925), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2140385>; II: "Artists of the Fifties", *The Argus* (26 September 1925), 7: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2143845>; III: "Four Noted Pianists", *The Argus* (3 October 1925), 7: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2147364>; [4] "Genesis of the Philharmonic", *The Argus* (10 October 1925), 6: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2150469>; [5] "Concerts in the 'Fifties", *The Argus* (17 October 1925), 12: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2153848>; [6] *The Argus* (24 October 1925), 13: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2157509>; [7] *The Argus* (31 October 1925), 12: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2160821>.

⁹³ See John M. Ward, "Bertie, Charles Henry (1875-1952)", *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 7 (1979), 278-279: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A070281b.htm>.

⁹⁴ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (28 May 1921), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article15931213>; "British Music Society", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (28 May 1921), 1 s: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article15931283>.

⁹⁵ Charles H. Bertie, *Isaac Nathan: Australia's First Composer: A Lecture* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1922), 5.

in 1935-36.⁹⁶ Thereafter, Percival Serle included entries on both [Nathan](#) and [Vincent Wallace](#) in his 1949 *Dictionary of Australian Biography*. Again, there was more to Bertie's resuscitation of pride in Nathan and Wallace than a mere celebration of the past; as Henri Verbrugghen argued in his preface to Bertie's *Nathan* pamphlet, reclaiming history was a precondition for future development:

Tradition is perhaps the one thing which the new countries can envy Europe. Western civilization has been transplanted here "en bloc", but the stem of it, "tradition" remains in the old world. Yet [...] who can predict what the conditions of the world will be two thousand years hence [...]? Possibly, according to the laws of development and decay, Australia may then be the supreme force in the world [...] The early activities of this country will then be of the greatest interest and the records of the past will be searched for information as to the process of evolution.

In Australia by 1922, as Verbrugghen continued, "History is being made every day, and in regard to music, the name of Nathan should be duly recorded". Bertie's *Nathan* appeared in the context of polemical lectures and essays arguing the prospects of modern Australian composition by Henry Tate,⁹⁷ and Fritz Hart,⁹⁸ and followed Verbrugghen's own recent advocacy in concerts by the NSW State Orchestra in Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane, Adelaide, and New Zealand of music by Alfred Hill, Percy Grainger, George Marshall Hall, Hart, and the young Arthur Benjamin, not to mention the British Music Society's support for the young Roy Agnew.

Nevertheless, it took another thirty years to progress from a pamphlet to the first book chapter on Australian composers in Arundel Orchard's *Music in Australia: More than 150 Years of Development* in 1952,⁹⁹ so notably a failure in promoting present talent that the author introduced his meagre offering with this caveat:¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ Charles Bertie, "Old Castlereagh Street", *Royal Australian Historical Society Journal and Proceedings* 22/1 (1936), 50.

⁹⁷ On 9 December 1921, Tate addressed the Australian Literature Society on the subject "The Cinderella of the Arts: Australian Music", see "Items of Interest: Australian Music, Song and Story, *The Argus* (13 December 1921), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4614035>; "Mr. Tate said that creative music still waited for an Australian to lift it into line with other activities. Our creative music, so far as there was light to see it by, had been content to echo old world voices"; as reprinted "A Cinderella of the Arts", in Henry Tate, *Australian Musical Possibilities* (Melbourne: Edward A. Vidler, [1924]), 50: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.aus-vn4933914>: "In a general survey of Australian art attention is soon focused on the backwardness of creative music"; "The Australian composer is faced with a more subtle and difficult task than his successful compatriots. The cheap and facile dictum that Australia is barren of distinctive musical resources is continually dinned into his ears."

⁹⁸ F. Bennicke Hart, "Australian Music", *Art in Australia: A Quarterly Magazine* 3/1 (1 November 1922), [unpaginated]: "[...] Creative music in Australia is but following Time's traditions when it makes its appearance somewhat late in the day. In kindred arts Australia has expressed herself definitely and with some distinction; and now it is music's turn [...] At the outset it may be stated as an axiom that art must possess the quality of continuity. Australian music will not, like an artistic Minerva, spring from the head of Jupiter, fully equipped. It is obviously impossible, for it to be born of any but Anglo-Saxon or Celtic parents [...]"

⁹⁹ W. Arundel Orchard, *Music in Australia: More than 150 years of development* (Melbourne: Georgian House, 1952); searchable snippet view: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=9JIHAQAAMAAJ&>; Orchard had written previously a much more valuable anecdotal history/memoir, *The Distant View* (1943), though it deals with a later period.

¹⁰⁰ Orchard, 90-91.

To gather material for this chapter has been difficult, and the most generous opinion will consider it quite inadequate [...] In every known instance, all music composed in Australia during the nineteenth century was written by musicians who came to this country and became residents for a time. There is little or no evidence of Australian-born composers before the beginning of the present century; therefore it will be right to begin with the earlier group who came here to remain. An inspection of several of the works of that period discloses nothing of great merit, yet for historical reasons they are mentioned here.

Though Orchard, himself a composer,¹⁰¹ was cursory in treating his contemporaries, he was more assiduous with the distant past, uncovering a reference in the Hobart press to “a new and beautiful Australian Air” in 1826. He named neither Reichenberg nor Kavanagh, but he did mention Sippe and Stubbs (though not as composers), and judged Deane to be the first real composer (“whose Trio for Strings seems to have been performed at a few concerts and received favourable notice”). On Wallace, he tried hard to unravel the *Maritana* problem, and *apropos* the two leading figures of the 1840s (one of whom was clearly otherwise unknown to him), encouraged the notion of active competition by mentioning that Nathan’s singing classes in 1843 were followed by “rival classes [...] by a Mr. Marsh”. Orchard was, at least, true to his title, genuinely interested about the early history of music “in” Australia, and his book mentions—as musicians, though seldom as creators—many early colonial composers, major and minor, including Camille del Sarte and John Winterbottom.

Surprising to some who might assume Orchard had no interest in them, the only music examples in the book are transcriptions of Indigenous melodies. He traced Lhotsky’s transcription, and noted the curious inconsistency of titling in Nathan’s later setting of the same melody. Orchard was, perhaps, a latter-day example of the colonial type that regarded only Aboriginal music as authentically Australian, while colonial (and later) composition was merely a dialect of “British”. And, indeed, Orchard’s examples provided one English reviewer something more substantial to comment on than stories about European settlers’ achievements:¹⁰²

It will surprise many musicians to be told that the musical history of Australia began a century and a half ago. Dr Orchard diligently chronicles it all, after minute research in every possible quarter. [...] his story [...] cannot fail to interest everyone who likes to read about pioneering. W. V. Wallace [...] and J. P. Deane may be considered the earliest Fathers of Australian music [...] Native composers were early heard: the forerunner about 1826 [...] There are some facts about the music of the aborigines, a people proved to have considerable artistic powers [...] As early as 1834 the physician-botanist Dr. Lhotsky published tribal song [...] three such examples are here printed [...]

¹⁰¹ John Carmody, “Orchard, William Arundel (1867-1961)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 11 (1988), 89-90: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A110099b.htm>.

¹⁰² [Review of Orchard, *Music in Australia*], *The Musical Times* (August 1952), 361.

Orchard notwithstanding, little or no serious work on early colonial music was published after Bertie, until James Hall began his serialised *A History of Music in Australia*, that appeared in 26 issues in *The Canon* (in all, well over 120 pages) between 1951 and 1954.¹⁰³ While ultimately we have library curators and bibliographers to thank for collecting and first documenting such early *Australiana* as a playbill for the 1786 London pantomime *OMAI: Or, A Trip Round the World* (source of William Shield’s “Captain Cook’s March and Procession of Pacific Ocean Natives”),¹⁰⁴ the 1790s broadside ballad [Landed in Botany Bay: A New Song](#), or for tracing the libretto of the 1822 London “musical extravaganza” *Giovanni in Botany: or, The Libertine Transported*,¹⁰⁵ Hall introduced them to the musical literature.¹⁰⁶ More importantly, he scoured the early *Sydney Gazette* to find Reichenberg and his 1825 *Australian Quadrilles*,¹⁰⁷ gave a detailed account Kavanagh’s 1826 compositions, and Sippe and Josephson’s part in the first Sydney Amateur Concerts in 1826.¹⁰⁸ He mentioned John Lhotsky’s earlier musical activities,¹⁰⁹ leading up to 1834 and:¹¹⁰

Historically, the most important event of the year was the publication of what I believe to be the first piece of music printed in Australia [...] the setting of an aboriginal melody which [Lhotsky] heard at a corroboree earlier in the year.

Hall’s brief was primarily music as performed, but in doing so he dealt with Stubbs,¹¹¹ the Deanes, and the Howsons.¹¹² He introduced Frederick Ellard (though thought his father was also Frederick), and “one of our enterprising and talented early composers and publishers, Henry Marsh”, though he assumed that Henry was the composer of several works by his brother Stephen, including *Dr Leichhardt’s March* and the aforementioned *Australian National Anthem*.¹¹³

In 1938, Catherine Cotton published new information, paraphrased from Leichhardt’s letters, on “Mr. Marsh” (Stephen) in her *Ludwig Leichhardt and the Great South Land*, though her work went unnoticed by musical historians until much later.¹¹⁴ The same

¹⁰³ See Bibliography for full citations of all instalments.

¹⁰⁴ Microfilm copy of original score (British Library), in NLA: <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/34822136>.

¹⁰⁵ John A. Ferguson, *Bibliography of Australia, Volume 1: 1784-1830* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1941), 328, no 863; copy of the wordbook in NLA: <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/21352537>.

¹⁰⁶ Hall, 1, *The Canon* 4/6 (January 1951), 277, 278-79; Hall, 3, *The Canon* 4/8 (March 1951), 373; see also Papers of James Lincoln Hall, SL-NSW: <http://acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/item/itemDetailPaged.aspx?itemID=422615>.

¹⁰⁷ Hall, 3, *The Canon* 4/8 (March 1851), 375.

¹⁰⁸ Hall, 4, *The Canon* 4/9 (April 1851), 421-427.

¹⁰⁹ Hall, 6, *The Canon* 4/11 (June 1951), 519,

¹¹⁰ Hall, 7, *The Canon* (July 1951), 568.

¹¹¹ Hall, 10, *The Canon* 5/3 (October 1951), 105-106.

¹¹² Deanes, begun in Hall, 11 [recte 12], *The Canon* (December 1951), 203-206; Howsons, begun in Hall, 20, *The Canon* 6/2 (September 1852), 53-57.

¹¹³ Hall, 24, *The Canon* 6/11 (June 1953), 453-57.

¹¹⁴ Catherine Cotton, *Ludwig Leichhardt and the Great South Land* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1938), 95, also 94 (“the young married teacher of music”); 96; 99 (“Marsh played the wind and the sea on his harp, and the homecoming to the shining new continent that held the hidden goal of all their desires.”); also 104, 105, all from Leichhardt’s diaries; from the press Cotton, 110, also gleaned that Marsh had: “played the harp at a Grande Soirée Musicale, advertised as the great Lion of the evening”, and the *Gazette* advised him to “endeavour most sedulously

references would re-emerge more compellingly, in Leichhardt's own words, in Marcel Aurousseau's *The Letters of F. W. Ludwig Leichhardt* in 1968.¹¹⁵ In 1988, Colin Roderick included further information on Marsh from Leichhardt's unpublished diaries in his *Leichhardt, the Dauntless Explorer*.¹¹⁶ Long before then, James Hall presented in *The Sydney Morning Herald* in 1955 "New light on Stephen Hale Marsh".¹¹⁷ Catherine Mackerras also discussed Stephen Marsh, first in her 1963 Nathan biography, *The Hebrew Melodist: A Life of Isaac Nathan*,¹¹⁸ and in her 1974 *ADB* entry on Marsh himself.

It would be too much to suggest that all subsequent accounts of early colonial music were "based" on Hall's research, but, directly and knowingly, or indirectly and unwittingly, all are indebted to him, Brewer, and McGuanne, if only for showing their authors where to look.¹¹⁹ It would be unfortunate were Covell's judgment that all such previous histories were "inaccurate and badly written" continue to be applied to Hall's. Covell himself re-presented most of the same data on early compositions that Ann Wentzel (Carr-Boyd) published in her 1963 *Quadrant* article, "Early Composers of Music in Australia",¹²⁰ in turn based on her University of Sydney M.A. Thesis, *The First Hundred Years of Music in Australia 1788-1888*.¹²¹ Wentzel, in turn, would seem to derive much of her information via Hall. She covered the Reichenberg and Kavanagh firsts, Lhotsky, Stubbs (mention of the *Jubilee Waltz* of 1838, predating Manning Clark), but still confuses the two Marsh brothers.

Moving into the late 1960s, Roger Covell, in the relatively short space and research time available to him for his *Australian Music: Themes of a New Society*, repeated earlier data on Lhotsky's Aboriginal transcription, amplified commentary on Nathan's aboriginal melodies (mentioning one of his collectors, Henry Tingcombe), and added to the discussion Barron Field's transcription. He questioned Wentzel's theory that William Ellard's *Australian Quadrilles* were actually Reichenberg's published after he returned to Ireland (which we now know he never did). Covell acknowledged McGuanne's scrapbook, Wentzel, and Mackerras's *Hebrew Melodist*, but not Brewer, or Hall.

Andrew McCredie's brief summary of colonial production in *Musical Composition in*

to prevent his would-be friends from over-puffing him in the public journals"; Cotton, 244, also mentions Nathan, though not by name.

¹¹⁵ Aurousseau, *The Letters of F. W. Ludwig Leichhardt*; see also "Aurousseau, Marcel (1891-1983)", *Encyclopedia of Australian Science* [online]: <http://www.eoas.info/biogs/POO2027b.htm>.

¹¹⁶ (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1988), 169: "[Marsh] had a difference with Isaac Nathan [...] Nathan walked straight into the upper circle of Sydney society and was much in demand. Marsh, on the other hand, had no such credentials. He had a wretched life with his first wife, and led a cat-and-dog life with his second. Leichhardt was uncomfortable in this family circle, the only member of which with whom he felt happy being the wife of the artist John Skinner Prout, Marsh's brother-in-law"; as Roderick explained, when Robert Lynd then offered Leichhardt free lodging at the George Street Barracks, he was happy to move on.

¹¹⁷ (June 1955).

¹¹⁸ Catherine Mackerras, *The Hebrew Melodist: A Life of Isaac Nathan* (Sydney: Currawong Press, 1963); searchable snippet view: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=RywXAQAIAAJ&>.

¹¹⁹ For instance, two "foundational" documents, both advertisements for newly composed local music in *The Sydney Gazette*, Reichenberg's (1825), and Kavanagh's (1826), originals of which we can now consult online.

¹²⁰ *Quadrant* (Autumn 1962), 29-36.

¹²¹ University of Sydney, 1963: <http://opac.library.usyd.edu.au/record=b1735351~S4>.

Australia (1969)¹²² filled in a few gaps left by Covell, though he entrenched the—then accepted notions—that the entire enterprise was “beset by several historical disadvantages”; that settlement “inauspiciously coincided with an unusually barren era of English music culture”; that it “occurred too late to permit the upsurge of a vigorous national tradition”; and, curiously, that “the absence of a bourgeois element in society [...] impeded musical development”.¹²³ Specifically, McCredie still confused Reichenberg’s *Quadrilles* with Ellard’s; repeated without amplification mentions of Kavanagh, Lhotsky, Stubbs, Wallace, and the Deanes (after Orchard, he noted that John Philip Deane’s String Trio “almost certainly inaugurat[ed] chamber music [composition] in Australia”). Into the gold-rush years, he gave first specific information about compositions by Spagnoletti, Frederick Ellard, Henry Marsh (correctly), and into the 1860s on Stephen Marsh’s *Gentleman in Black*, Charles Packer’s *Crown of Thorns*, and music by Horsley, Tolhurst, Fisher, Giorza, and Rutter.¹²⁴ He cited work by Errol Lea-Scarlett, Thérèse Radic, Wentzel, Peter Richardson’s article “Military Music in the Colony of New South Wales, 1788-1950”,¹²⁵ and the entire run of Hall’s *History*.

Columbus Fitzpatrick’s personal recollections of early Catholic music in Sydney came to light again in 1966, providing new information on several composers, notably Reichenberg, Kavanagh, Peason, Cavendish, and Reid.¹²⁶ Errol Lea-Scarlett wrote up this and other new material (on Vincent Wallace, Nathan, Worgan, and bishop Davis) in his chapter on music in a history of St. Mary’s Cathedral, Sydney.¹²⁷

In 1973, Elizabeth Wood gave a progress report on her doctoral research, in “1840-1965: Precedents and Problems for Australian Opera Composers”.¹²⁸ Wood included first time mentions in the musicological literature of Nagel and *Mock Catalani*, Geoghegan’s *The Hibernian Father* and *The Currency Lass*.¹²⁹ She also listed the local Nathan operas (partly reproducing Mackerras’s data), Marsh’s *The Gentleman in Black*, and Charles Horsley’s 1866 masque, *The South Sea Sisters*, with its “Corroboree Chorus”.

¹²² (Music by Australian Composers—Survey No 1), (Canberra: The Australian Government, through the Advisory Board, Commonwealth Assistance to Australian Composers, 1969).

¹²³ McCredie, 1.

¹²⁴ McCredie, 2.

¹²⁵ Peter Richardson, “Military Music in the Colony of New South Wales, 1788-1950”, *Musicology [Australia]* 1 (1964) [special issue of *The Canon* 17/3], 5-9; as cited by Covell, Richardson was the source of the data on the music at the time of the 1788 landings, 7-8.

¹²⁶ For full extract, see **Appendix 1: Texts**; Columbus Fitzpatrick, “Reminiscences of Catholicism in the Early Days of the Colony: To the Editor of the [Southern] Argus, [Goulburn]”, reproduced in C. J. Duffy (ed.), *Catholic religious and social life in the Macquarie era: as portrayed in the letters of Columbus Fitzpatrick* (1810-1878) (Sydney: Catholic Press Newspaper Company, Ltd., 1966), 17-19.

¹²⁷ E. J. Lea-Scarlett, “Music, Choir and Organ”, in O’Farrell (ed.), *St. Mary’s Cathedral Sydney, 1821-1971* ([Sydney]: Devonshire Press for St. Mary’s Cathedral, 1971), 157-76; <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/10488026>; an important source for much of this material was Patrick O’Farrell’s *Documents in Australian Catholic History: 1788-1883* (Sydney: G. Chapman, 1969).

¹²⁸ *Quadrant* (May-June 1973), 27-37; this article also appeared in Kay Dreyfus, *Opera and the Australian composer: report of symposium held at the Pram Factory, Carlton, Saturday 24th and Sunday 25th February, 1973* (Melbourne: Dreyfus for ISCM, 1973); see also Elizabeth Wood, *Australian Opera 1842-1970—A History of Australian Opera with Descriptive Catalogue* (Ph.D thesis, University of Adelaide, 1979).

¹²⁹ Roger Covell (ed.), *The Currency Lass: A Musical Play in Two Acts* (Sydney: Currency Press, 1976).

In 1980, Kathleen Helyar Myers's doctoral dissertation, *William Vincent Wallace: Life and Works*,¹³⁰ brought together material, primary and secondary, on Wallace's Australian stay, and judiciously reviewed the literature on *Maritana*'s supposed Sydney and/or Tasmanian origins.

Graeme Rushworth's 1988 meticulously researched study of colonial organs and organists of New South Wales netted much new data on an unexpectedly large number of composers who were also organists.¹³¹ They included John Philip Deane, Pearson, William and James Johnson, James Furley, Nathan, Worgan, and Davis. In the same year, 1988, Andrew McCredie collected articles on colonial music in South Australia in *From Colonel Light into the Footlights*;¹³² Julja Szuster's, on concert life in Adelaide, noted the arrival there of Frederick Ellard in 1849, later visits by Julius Imberg and Hauser,¹³³ and Carl Linger, who also arrived in 1849 and stayed; Elizabeth Silsbury's, on secular choral music,¹³⁴ mentioned that the Adelaide Choral Society often gave partsongs by local composers in its concerts. McCredie himself assembled from the pages of the *South Australian Advertiser* a list of locally-composed titles including Ellard's *Südaustralischer Galop*, Huenerbein's *Adelaide March* and *Victoria Waltz*,¹³⁵ Andrew Moore's *An Australian Air* and *Bushman's Coo-ee* (all 1850), Reyher's *Kangaroo and Emu Polkas* (1858), all lost.¹³⁶ McCredie also discussed music by 1858 arrival, Cesare Cutolo. Also from Adelaide and edited by Robyn Holmes, the 1991 catalogue *Through the Opera Glass: A Chronological Register of Opera Performed in South Australia 1836 to 1988*, included listings possibly new and original works at Lazar's New Queens Theatre, whose regular conductor, a "Mr. Lee", was listed as "composer" in 1848, by Andrew Moore in 1851 (*Jeannette and Jeanott*, "especially for this theatre"), as well as revivals of London plays including pre-Australian songs by Isaac Nathan in 1846-47.¹³⁷

David Symon's discussion of the colonial period in the entry "Composition in Australia" in *The Oxford Companion to Australian Music*¹³⁸ still, in 1997, suggested Reichenberg's *Quadrilles* might be the same works as Ellard's,¹³⁹ but elsewhere the short entry on Reichenberg did fill in some of his biography, as did those on Deane, Sippe (drawing on Eric

¹³⁰ Ph.D dissertation, Bryn Mawr College, 1980, vol. 1, 11-44.

¹³¹ Graeme D. Rushworth, *Historic Organs of New South Wales: the instruments, their makers and players 1791-1940* (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1988); <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16876593>.

¹³² Andrew D. McCredie, *From Colonel Light into the Footlights: The performing arts in South Australia from 1836 to the present* (Adelaide: Pagel, 1988).

¹³³ Julja I. Szuster, "Concert Life in Adelaide, 1836-1986", 173-192.

¹³⁴ Elizabeth Silsbury, "Secular Choral Music in South Australia 1836-1986", 208-243.

¹³⁵ August Huenerbein, senior, left Adelaide for Melbourne in 1852; see "SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE", *South Australian Register* (16 January 1852), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38457042>; the composer Charles Huenerbein was his son; see "FAMILY NOTICES", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (30 November 1882), 20: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13523374>; "DEATHS", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (30 November 1882), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13523294>.

¹³⁶ Andrew McCredie, "Creative Challenges and Models: Composition in South Australia", 244-291.

¹³⁷ Robyn Holmes (ed.), *Through the Opera Glass: A Chronological Register of Opera Performed in South Australia 1836 to 1988* (Adelaide: Friends of The State Opera of South Australia, 1991), 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26.

¹³⁸ Warren Bebbington (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Australian Music* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1997).

¹³⁹ David Symon, "Composition in Australia", 137.

Irvin's 1971 article "Australia's First Public Concerts",¹⁴⁰ which again went over ground covered by Hall), and the Howsons (including mention of John Howson's *The Corsair*), but nothing on Kavanagh, Stubbs, or Henry Marsh.¹⁴¹

From the *Currency Companion to Music and Dance in Australia (CCMDA)* of 2003,¹⁴² a well-executed and evidently excellently-conceived volume (though lacking any introduction setting out just *how* and *why* the general editors, John Whiteoak and Aline Scott-Maxwell, went about compiling it), can be drawn a much longer list of colonial composers than that given in its dedicated "Composing Music" entry. There David Symons (again) listed Reichenberg's *Quadrilles* (now without confusion), Kavanagh, Lhotsky, Pearson, Josephson and Sippe, Nathan, Deane, and Wallace (all in the space of one column), and Hauser.¹⁴³ In another entry, Prue Neidorf summarised her very important research over many years into colonial music printing, from the earliest prints of Lhotsky, and Francis Ellard (music by Stubbs and Wallace), up to Woolcott & Clarke's *The Australian Presentation Albums*, mentioning Boulanger, Frederick Ellard, Hauser, Henry and Stephen Marsh, Ernesto Spagnoletti, William Stanley, Sidney Nelson, Josephine Smith, C.F. Gollmick, and John C. Trapp [*sic*];¹⁴⁴ Tapp [*recte*], composer of *Tasmanian Sacred Melodies* (1855), was, she added, a "former convict".¹⁴⁵

Neidorf's freestanding 1999 study, *A Guide to Dating Music Published in Sydney and Melbourne, 1800-1899*,¹⁴⁶ must be mentioned here. In many ways, Neidorf anticipated the work presented here. Though she was was not primarily concerned with Australian compositions, they occupy a surprisingly large proportion of the repertory she described. She gave details on the career of Joseph Gautrot (41), and of James Henri Anderson and his son Alfred Anderson (131, 258)—interestingly, Neidorf has Anderson senior as one of the musicians brought out to Hobart by Anne Clarke in 1842, with the Howsons, though I could not verify this. She also presented new and detailed data on Andrew Ellard (156), Francis Ellard (158-62), Frederick Ellard (162), William Ellard (163), Abraham Emanuel (165, 269), Mr. [John] Gibbs (172), James Johnson (183-84), William J. Johnson (184-85) (including mention of the *Sydney Harmonicon*), J[oshua] F. Josephson (186), John Lhotsky (190), Henry Marsh (195-99), Stephen Marsh (201-03, 291), Joseph Megson (295), Andrew Moore (203), Lewis Moss (207-08), Isaac Nathan (209-213), W. H. Paling, James Pearson (221), George Peck (222), J. A. Reid (227), George Sippe (235), and Thomas Stubbs (237-38, 306).

¹⁴⁰ Eric Irvin, "Australia's First Public Concerts", *Studies in Music* 5 (1971), 77-86.

¹⁴¹ These are not exhaustive lists of inclusions, or exclusions, however.

¹⁴² John Whiteoak and Aline Scott-Maxwell (eds), *Currency Companion to Music and Dance in Australia* (Sydney: Currency House, 2003).

¹⁴³ David Symons, "Composing Music: Classical Music 1788-1930", *CCMDA*, 165-66.

¹⁴⁴ Prue Neidorf, "Publishing Music", *CCMDA*, 550.

¹⁴⁵ Though whether he was indeed "former" is unclear; Tapp arrived in Tasmania only in 1852; his and Charles Packer's records can be found by name search at the Archives Office of Tasmania's [Index to Tasmanian Convicts](#); see also Rosalie Bonighton, "Composing Music: Church Music", *CCMDA*, 176.

¹⁴⁶ Prue Neidorf, *A Guide to Dating Music Published in Sydney and Melbourne, 1800-1899* (M.A. Hons thesis, University of Wollongong, 1999); <http://ro.uow.edu.au/theses/2926/>.

CCMDA also dealt with Indigenous music, though did not mention Bennelong's song (or Harry's), or other colonial European transcribers such as Barron Field, the Baudin Expedition, J. P. Townsend, or, slightly later, G. W. Torrance (though he is listed as a composer). Overall, while not aiming to be a systematic history, *CCMDA* noted the existence of a longer roll-call of colonial composers (to c.1860) than found anywhere previously in print, including, in addition to those above:

J.H. Anderson, John Deane Jnr, Edward Deane, Eliza Bushelle (though none of them as composers), William Ellard (as a source for Meale's *Voss*), Gautrot (given-name Henri), Geoghegan, John Gibbs (not as a composer), F. H. Henslow[e], Frank and John Howson, James W. Johnson and William J. Johnson (though neither as composers), Lavenu, Leggatt, George Loder (not as composer), J[oseph] Megson, Andrew Moore (not as composer), Charles and Frederick Packer, W.H. Paling, Herr (Viet) Rahm, G.O. Rutter, Rosendo Salvado, Julius Siede, Josephine Smith, Joseph Wilkie, and John Winterbottom (though with given-name Charles).

Among those not mentioned, but who were active in Australian before 1860, and are either discussed below or listed in the Appendix 2 Checklist, are (and this is not an exhaustive list): John Adams, Mrs. St. John Adcock, Glentworth Addison, Thomas Alford, Virginia Bedford, Walter Bonwick, Douglas Callen, P. Cavallini, William Cleary, Edwin Copley, Charles Compton, Alfred P. Curtis, Jonah A. Daniell, Camille Del Sarte, Abraham Emanuel, Florentine Dudemaine, George Frederic Duly, W. A. Duncan, Joseph Elliott, P. Ezekiel, Edward Fanning, Susan Fereday, Harriet Fiddes, Miss Fraser, C. W. Harwood (possibly identical with W. C. Harwood), Henri Herwyn, Theodor Heydecke, Arthur S. Hill, Maria Hinckesmann, Herman Hoelzel, Francis Howson Snr, Henry Howson, August Huenerbein, Julius Imberg, J.S. Lamont, Montague Levey, Mary Logan, William Macdougall, Harry Mackenzie, Robert Martin, Stephen Masset, Frederick Meymott, William Montgomery, Charles Nagel, "Norna", Emilie North, Mrs. John Paul Snr., George Peck, Thomas Reed, Oscar Reyher, C. W. Rimmer, Armand Roeckel, Ferdinand Rosenstein, Mr. Salamon, Ali-Ben Sou-Alle, C. W. F. Stier, Mr. Stoney, Henry B. Stoney, George Strong, Mr. Thompson, George Thornton, William and George Tolhurst, W. C. Uhr, James Waller, George Weinritter, J. B. Wheaton, Clement White, Marmaduke Wilson, George Worgan, and W. B. Wray.

A few mentions in *CCMDA* probably derive from theatre historians, like Katherine Brisbane's *Entertaining Australia: An Illustrated History* (1991),¹⁴⁷ and Philip Parsons's *Companion to Theatre in Australia* (1995),¹⁴⁸ both of which have incidental data on colonial composers, some of it derived, in turn, from predecessors like John West's *Theatre in*

¹⁴⁷ (Sydney: Currency Press, 1991); searchable snippet view: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=bwfsAAAAMAAJ>.

¹⁴⁸ Philip Parsons with Victoria Chance (eds), *Companion to Theatre in Australia* (Sydney: Currency Press/Cambridge University Press, 1995).

Australia, who mentioned Gautrot as composer of an *Overture a la Melbourne*,¹⁴⁹ and J. W. C. Cumes, *Their Chastity was not too Rigid: Leisure Times in Early Australia*.¹⁵⁰ Veronica Kelly's 1995 *Annotated Calendar of Plays Premiered in Australia 1850-1869* provided documentation for plays by Akhurst, Simmons and Soutten with music by Sidney Nelson and George Loder.¹⁵¹

Contributors to *CCMDA* could also draw on a great deal of information added since 1966 to the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (now, though not then, online), including full entries by Eleanor Dark on [Bennelong](#); Ann Wentzel on [J. P. Deane](#) (1966); Michael Roe on [W. A. Duncan](#) (1966); E.J. Lea-Scarlett on [Charles Packer](#) (1974); R. L. Wettenhall on [Frederick Packer](#) (1974); G. T. Stilwell on [Francis Henslowe](#) (1966); Thérèse Radic on [Julius Siede](#) (1976); John Horner on [Carl Linger](#) (1974); Andrew McCredie on [William Henry Paling](#) (1974); and Catherine Mackerras on [Isaac Nathan](#) (1967), [Vincent Wallace](#) (1967), and [Stephen Marsh](#) (1974), by no means an exhaustive list.

Another example of “new musicology” was John Whiteoak's 1999 book, *Playing Ad Lib: Improvisatory Music in Australia 1836-1970*,¹⁵² which pointed out:

Colonial literature leaves no doubt that some aspects of this albeit declining [eighteenth-century] tradition of improvisatory practice were imported to the colony, along with British melodrama and other familiar facets of cultural life.

Whiteoak discussed Hauser, Boulanger, and Nathan (who advertised that at one of his Melbourne concerts in 1841 he would “preside at the Piano Forte, and will in the course of the evening give extemporaneous performances on that instrument”), Vincent Wallace, George Peck, and Henri Herwyn. In a pair of articles on improvisation in colonial sacred music, Graeme Pender gave some context but little new specific information; he reproduced a letter from the *Gazette* in 1824 complaining about music in the Sydney church that Hall had previously printed,¹⁵³ discussed Nathan and, into the 1860s, Horsley.¹⁵⁴

Appearing in 1999, Alison Gyger's *Civilising the Colonies: Pioneering Opera in Australia*¹⁵⁵ did for opera what Brisbane and Parsons had done for theatre and performing

¹⁴⁹ John West, *Theatre in Australia* (Sydney: Cassell Australia, 1978), 22; repeated by Brisbane, 36, who also went far enough into Gautrot's later career to describe a concert appearance in 1850 “aged 75” as “perhaps his last” (46), though she still gave his forename as Henri.

¹⁵⁰ (Melbourne: Longmans Cheshire, 1979); Cumes mentioned Kavanagh and Reichenberg, Sippe, Lhotsky, Nathan, and Charles Packer; searchable snippet view: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=uXcFAAAAMAAJ>.

¹⁵¹ Veronica Kelly (with Mary Ann Hunter and Sue Cullen, *Annotated Calendar of Plays Premiered in Australia 1850-1869* (original report, 1995; online edition: Brisbane: The University of Queensland/UQ eSpace, 2004); <http://espace.library.uq.edu.au/view/UQ:10249>.

¹⁵² (Sydney: Currency Press, 1999).

¹⁵³ For the original, see [Letter]: “To the Editor [...]”, *The Sydney Gazette* (23 December 1824), 4; <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2183516>.

¹⁵⁴ Graeme Pender, “Improvisatory Musical Practices in Australia's Colonial Church of England”, *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society* (June 2007); Graeme Pender, “Improvisatory Musical Practices in Nineteenth Century Melbourne Roman Catholic Churches”, *The Australasian Catholic Record* 86/3 (July 2009), 297-313.

¹⁵⁵ Sydney: Opera-Opera (Pellinor), 1999.

arts generally. Interested in recording the transplantation of European works (in as close to authentic form as possible), she rightly cautioned that most early colonial “operas” now fall into the more flexible category of semi-opera. But this distinction is of little concern when it comes to works in which local composers had a part, even if they were just plays with a few original songs or dances. As for local alterations, it is precisely the way imported works might have been “naturalised” by the Howsons, Duly, Nathan, Leggatt, Gibbs, Gautrot, and Spencer Wallace, that would be of enormous interest to us, were we able to recover their arrangements and orchestrations. It would also be an opportunity to apply Covell’s guiding dictum—“*What is interesting in examining the music of a transplanted culture is to observe what happens to the music when it is transplanted*”—in a slightly more literal manner than, perhaps, he intended.

Gyger’s tally of local operatic compositions and arrangements is shorter than that given here; but her meticulous chronicle of the arrivals and revivals of operatic imports in Hobart and Sydney from the 1830s to 1850s—of original scores curtailed, of scripts radically reworked, of extraneous scenes and songs interpolated—is essential to the understanding of the context into which the occasional new colonial compositions—whether songs, scenes, burlettas, or even the occasional full-length opera—were inserted. On colonial composition more generally, she mentions parenthetically a work by Gautrot (31), and Stephen Marsh and John Howson’s 1845 “duetto concertante” for harp and trombone on *Lucia di Lammermoor* (55). Following Eric Irvin,¹⁵⁶ Gyger described *Mock Catalani* of 1842 “with words and music by Nagel” as “the first locally written musical/opera to be performed” (47), and mentioned John Gibbs’s “partly composed” *The Lord of the Manor* of 1843 (47). She also reported Graham Pont’s opinion that *The Australian*’s music reviewer around this time was probably Isaac Nathan (48-49, 58), as witnessed in a paragraph quoted by Irvin from the 29 April 1847 issue:

We know nothing of *Don John of Austria*, the first opera ever written, composed, and submitted to an Australian theatre, save that the libretto is the work of a gentleman and a scholar—the music the outpourings of a maestro whose effusions have delighted both hemispheres [...]

She also cites Pont’s suggestion of (and a piece of his incorrectly adduced “evidence” for) a bitter rivalry between Nathan and Stephen Marsh (a notion originally overlarded by Catherine Mackerras), and of Marsh’s supposed “ambitions to write the first colonial opera” (61). Apropos, Gyger also later repeats the previously held belief that “Stephen Marsh’s *The Gentleman in Black* was written shortly after and in emulation of *Don John of Austria* (though he claimed it had been written first)” (124); and, as seen below, it was indeed not only written first, but written before *Don John*; in fact, it arrived in the colony complete with

¹⁵⁶ Eric Irvin, “Sydney’s Early Opera Performances”, *Opera* (September 1969), 764.

Marsh from England in 1842.

Gyger did not find Duly's *Conrad the Corsair* in Hobart, though she did mention John Howson's *The Corsair* (61), and quoted a notice from *Bell's Life*,¹⁵⁷ showing that exactly like Duly's, Howson's was a windfall caused by delays in shipping out music from London; since Frank Romer's original *Corsair* music "was not available in the colony, Mr. Howson set about the arduous task himself". She noted that John Howson was elsewhere listed in theatre advertisements "as composer—generally meaning arranger", and that Frank Howson also "occasionally arranged music" (35).

Some of the unspoken theoretical underpinning of CCMDA's inclusive approach was prefigured in Kay Dreyfus's 1995 article "In Search of New Waters: Australian music studies in the 1990s", challenging previous musical literature for its too easy "dismissal of those who inhabit the lower levels: women, amateurs, marginal figures of domestic and popular traditions", and quoting Derek Scott:¹⁵⁸

The modern musicologist's scorn for bourgeois domestic song arises from its failure to meet the criteria of the Western "art music" tradition, in which an assumption is made that art progresses under its own laws independently of the material basis [...]

Dreyfus's own call (echoed by Radic) to bring women back into the centre of the historical narrative is also apposite for some (though not all) of the music under discussion here:

There is a long association, in Australia's music history, of women with music as a domestic activity, beginning with those first pioneering women who struggled against such awesome physical odds to bring their pianos with them to the new country. If these women "encompass the universal in the particular", then we may see that the reality of Australia's musical life is rooted in domestic traditions, in amateurism, and strive for a "map of the past" in which that fact is celebrated, not disparaged. (162-63)

A recent example of an attempt to do this, beginning in the latter part of our period is Anne Doggett's "Beyond Gentility: Woman and Music in Early Ballarat".¹⁵⁹

In the same year as Dreyfus's article, the symposium *One Hand on the Manuscript: Music in Australian Cultural History 1930-1960* challenged the whole enterprise of Australian music-historic studies. Nicholas Brown, in his introduction, summarised the interests of various contributors in dealing with the reality that, in 1995, Roger Covell's 1967

¹⁵⁷ "THE DRAMA", *Bell's Life in Sydney* (23 December 1848). 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article59766029>.

¹⁵⁸ Kay Dreyfus, "In Search of New Waters: Australian music studies in the 1990s", in Frank Callaway (ed.), *Essays in Honour of David Tunley* (University of Western Australia: Callaway International Resource Centre for Music Education, 1995), 155-164; Derek Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois: Songs of the Victorian Drawing Room and Parlour* (Milton Keynes: Open University, 1989), x.

¹⁵⁹ *History Australia* 6/2 (2009), 37.1-17; see also Anne Doggett, 'And for harmony most ardently we long': Musical life in Ballarat 1851-1871 (Ph.D thesis, University of Ballarat, 2006): <http://archimedes.ballarat.edu.au:8080/vital/access/HandleResolver/1959.17/2101>.

study “still presides over them”, in its analysis of “the themes of nationalism and national identity [...] and the tension between the legacies of colonial dependency and the assertion of cultural distinctiveness”.¹⁶⁰ He characterised the symposium’s contents as belonging to a “new cultural history” that:

[...] moderates the evaluative emphasis of Covell’s study and his search for distinctive Australian sonorities, developing instead a more interrogative mode in which aesthetic concepts and identities are seen as in themselves constituted in historically specified contexts. (3-4)

A more specific contribution to colonial music studies was *Music Printing and Publishing in Australia*,¹⁶¹ papers from a “History of the Book in Australia” seminar in 2000, including articles by Georgina Binns, Wallace Kirsop, and Prue Neidorf. Neidorf’s article, “The composing and publishing ventures of the Marsh brothers”, was full of new data, though she still concluded that *The Gentleman in Black* was “composed in 1847”. James Forsyth’s 2002 University of Sydney doctoral thesis, *Music of the Anglican Churches in Sydney and Surrounding Regions: 1788-1868* added new information on the careers and compositions of William Johnson (organist of Christ Church, Sydney, by 1845) and his brother James Johnson, William Stanley (organist of St. Andrew’s temporary cathedral, Sydney, 1849-63; who succeeded Johnson at Christ Church, Sydney), C.W. Harwood (succeeded Stanley at St. Andrew’s in 1863), and Montague Younger (appointed to St. Andrew’s in 1868).¹⁶²

Michael Kassler’s 2007 article, “The remarkable story of Maria Hinckesman”,¹⁶³ is indeed a remarkable tale of an interesting woman told with considerable relish, and recourse to as wide variety of primary source material as one could hope for. It is only a pity that Hinckesman’s one surviving Australian composition comes closest, of all the works that survive from before 1860, to deserving Covell’s censure for empty-headedness. Kassler presumably discovered Hinckesmann [sic]¹⁶⁴ in the course of his researches into the theorist Augustus Kollmann,¹⁶⁵ who may have been her teacher. Another theorist John Bernard Logier might have led him to Mary Logan, whose father Andrew Ellard was in partnership with Logier in his Dublin music business. According to her later pupil, singer Lucy Chambers,

¹⁶⁰ Nicholas Brown, “Introduction”, *One Hand on the Manuscript: Music in Australian Cultural History 1930-1960* (Canberra: The Humanities Research Centre, The Australian National University, 1995), 1-17.

¹⁶¹ Georgina Binns (ed.), *Music Printing and Publishing in Australia: Papers from the History of the Book in Australia Seminar, Monash University, 17 November 2000* ([Melbourne]: Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand, 2002) [*Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand*, 25 / 3-4 (2001)]: including Binns, “Music Publishing and Selling in Australia”, 1-6; Kirsop, “The Walches as sellers of music and their customers in 1840s”, 7-14; Neidorf, “The composing and publishing ventures of the Marsh brothers”, 43-52.

¹⁶² <http://ses.library.usyd.edu.au/handle/2123/2447>.

¹⁶³ Michael Kassler, “The Remarkable Story of Maria Hinckesman”, *Musicology Australia* 29 (2007), 43-67.

¹⁶⁴ As Hinckesmann herself in Australia, and earlier, seemed to prefer most often to spell it; see also, for instance, *The Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* 8 (1826), 505-506:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=H7gPAAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA505#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

¹⁶⁵ Michael Kassler, *A. F. C. Kollman’s Quarterly Musical Register (1812): An Annotated Edition with an Introduction to his Life and Works* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008):

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=rzP2qXHANQOC>.

Logan (who was also a published Australian composer, one song, now alas lost) had in turn been Logier's pupil, and advertised in Hobart that she taught according to his methods.

Hinckesmann might well have served as subject for a book similar to that produced by Ann V. Beedell in her enlightening and in many ways exemplary colonial study, *The Decline of the English Musician 1788-1888: A Family of English Musicians in Ireland, England, Mauritius, and Australia*.¹⁶⁶ Having identified her hero with a certain "Devenish" mentioned in Roger Therry's *Reminiscences*,¹⁶⁷ Beedell followed William Joseph Cavendish (not then known to be a composer) to Sydney, where he lived from 1833 until he drowned during a regatta on the harbour in 1839, having in the interim worked alongside the Deanes and Wallaces, Sippe, Worgan, and Stubbs. Beedell collected and presented a detailed web of historical source material unparalleled in previous writing on Australian colonial music, also drawing on the widest range of secondary sources, from McGuanne and Hall onward. A number of reviewers, however, were wary of her extrapolation from the particular decline of Cavendish and his family the more generic decline of the English musician of the day.¹⁶⁸ And as if echoing McCredie's notion of the English systematically bequeathing their musical shortcomings to the new colony, another of Beedell's reviewers concluded, "At least England wasn't the only Land without Music", implying that Australia was, too.¹⁶⁹

With a political historian's nose for the consequential, Beedell drew a picture of colonial Sydney and its music more focussed on dramas and schisms, and arguably too little on the day-to-day achievements in establishing and fostering music in the new colony. Still, Beedell presented new data on Lhotsky and Sippe, John Gibbs and George Peck, Wallace (she was possibly the first to report in print, since Alfred Cox in 1884, that Wallace's father also came to Sydney, and that his brother-in-law John Bushelle was a convict),¹⁷⁰ and Deane, who had originally come to Hobart in 1822:¹⁷¹

[...] apparently on a commercial venture with a cousin, who unfortunately drowned, leaving Deane without legal claim to their merchandise [...] the story according to [Deane]'s descendant, Mr. W. H. Deane, with whom I spoke in Sydney in 1976.

¹⁶⁶ Ann V. Beedell, *The Decline of the English Musician 1788-1888: A Family of English Musicians in Ireland, England, Mauritius, and Australia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

¹⁶⁷ Roger Therry, *Reminiscences of Thirty Years in New South Wales and Victoria* (London: Sampson Low, Son, and Co., 1863), 114-16:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=RikXAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA114#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

¹⁶⁸ William Weber, [Review], *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 25 /3 (Autumn 1993), 508-10; Nicholas Temperley, [Review], *The American Historical Review* 99/1 (February 1994), 230-31; Temperley came to very different conclusions in his *Bound for America: Three British Composers* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003): <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=ex8jhSckhFgC>.

¹⁶⁹ John-Pierre Joyce, [Review], *The Musical Times* (April 1993), 213.

¹⁷⁰ Beedell, 259-60; Beedell does not, however, cite Alfred Cox; on Bushelle, transported in 1828, see 288-89.

¹⁷¹ Beedell, 257 and footnote 144; and more significant data on Deane and his children on 258.

I take issue, however, with Beedell's major conclusions.¹⁷² First—that had Cavendish lived beyond 1839, “it is unlikely that he would have achieved [...] any more significant or lasting success *than other Sydney musicians did*” (my emphasis)—some of these others' compositional achievements were, indeed, both significant and, ultimately, lasting. Second—that for those who came, stayed and lived on through the 1840s and even into the fifties “catering to a gradually expanding middle-class market”, like the Deanes, Nathan, the Howson and Marsh brothers—while I can only agree with her that “the going was very tough indeed [...] and for some ultimately tragic” (as in the case of Joseph Gautrot), it was not necessarily always the case that “the outcome [was] disappointing”. And third, I do not believe her proposition (possibly echoing Covell)—

If colonial societies were able to forge new social, economic and relationship which could be classified as “progressive”, in cultural terms what was more evident here was a stubborn insistence upon preserving mother culture attitudes towards music which were intrinsically narrow and limiting.

—accounts fully for the colonial compositional enterprise. It is sad that Beedell, unwittingly, is thus a late proponent of a view that traditionally pre-judged anything settler colonial “Australian”, as a flawed counterfeit of “British”.

A recent Australian study of *Musical activities at the Royal Victoria Theatre, Van Diemen's Land: a study of cultural practice 1827-1857*,¹⁷³ by Maree-Rose Jones, provided still further valuable detail and context for the careers of Reichenberg, Deane, the Howsons, and Charles Packer, though her identification of a work on an April 1853 program as being by local violinist and entrepreneur William Russell probably, sadly, confuses a piece by the English Henry Russell.¹⁷⁴

Almost as much new specific information as that presented in the musicological literature has continued to appear in other types of histories, notably, in 1974, John S. Levi and George F. J. Bergman, *Australian Genesis: Jewish Convicts and Settlers, 1788-1850*, which first noted Reichenberg's 1845 settings for Hobart Synagogue, as well as the existence

¹⁷² Beedell, 306.

¹⁷³ Maree-Rose Jones, *Musical activities at the Royal Victoria Theatre, Van Diemen's Land: a study of cultural practice 1827-1857*, Ph.D Thesis (University of Sydney, 2009).

¹⁷⁴ Maree-Rose Jones, “Musical activities at the Royal Victoria Theatre, Hobart, Van Diemen's Land”, *Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers and Proceedings* 54/3 (December 2007), 144-53. http://www.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0003/238665/THRA-Walker-paper.pdf, see 151 and note 67; [Henry] Russell's *I love the night*, [Advertisement], *The Courier* (6 April 1853), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2243558>; see also [Advertisement], *The Courier* (18 April 1853), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2243109>; Russell was also later responsible for producing two possibly local operettas, though in neither case is he named specifically as composer; they were, *Zillah; or The Gipsy Brigands of Astorga*, performed at del Sarte's rooms in 1866, [Advertisement]: MR. RUSSELL [...] OPERA DI CAMERA”, *The Mercury* (11 January 1866), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8837044>; and “a new opera composed”, *OH! COLONY*, [Advertisement]: “OPERA DI CAMERA”, *The Mercury* (17 March 1866), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8838271>.

of J. H. Anderson.¹⁷⁵ In 2006, Levi again, in *These are the Names: Jewish Lives in Australia, 1788-1850*, had biographical entries on Isaac Nathan and Anderson, though in the latter instance he spectacularly elided the careers of the musician James Henri, and the swindler John (alias “the Bolter”) Anderson.¹⁷⁶ In 2010, the polymathic John Lhotsky rated another short biography in Terry Irving and Rowan Cahill’s history of *Radical Sydney*.¹⁷⁷ And the online history of the Howson family shows that, in future, some of the music historian’s biographical spade work will have been done already by dedicated, and often extremely capable, family historians.

A further dedicated study of colonial Australian music promised by Ann Beedell in 1992 has not appeared, nor yet has Radic’s much awaited history of “colonial Australian music” (as distinct from just composition). Graham Pont, meanwhile, has neither released his long projected book-length biography of Isaac Nathan, nor more than a few shorter publications (mostly unrefereed) dealing at all with Nathan’s Australian years.

But, music being music, not all significant endeavour has taken place within the traditionally recognised sphere of academic literature. Nathan’s descendent, conductor Alexander Briger, was responsible for reviving and making the first modern full recording of *Don John of Austria*.¹⁷⁸ Conductor and music historian Richard Divall has continued a major program of advocacy in his editions and orchestral arrangements, performances, and recordings of colonial music.¹⁷⁹ In his booklet essay to his recording *Australia Unite! The Road to Federation: Songs and Dances from Colonial Australia*,¹⁸⁰ Divall paid credit to the legacy of past “vigorous” work by the late Harold Hort of the ABC,¹⁸¹ “who believed that the musical heritage of Australia was just as important as the visual representations of Eugene von Guerard, [or] the evocative poetry of Henry Kendall [...]”;¹⁸² to the “innovative and diligent research” of Covell and McCredie that “also acted as a stimulus for recovering and preserving this music of the past”; and pre-eminently donors of primary printed materials to the various state and national collections:¹⁸³

¹⁷⁵ John S. Levi and George F. J. Bergman, *Australian Genesis: Jewish Convicts and Settlers, 1788-1850* (Adelaide: Rigby, 1974), 237.

¹⁷⁶ John Levi, *These are the Names: Jewish Lives in Australia, 1788-1850* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing, 2006), 49-50; see “JOHN ANDERSON, ALIAS AARON, THE BOLTER TO SYDNEY”, *South Australian Chronicle* (18 November 1846), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article27454277>; also “ANDERSON THE BOLTER [From the *Portland Gazette*]”, *South Australian Register* (16 December 1846), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article27454492>; and several further articles in 1847 and 1848.

¹⁷⁷ (Sydney: University of NSW Press, 2010).

¹⁷⁸ With the Sydney Symphony Orchestra, released on ABC Classics, CD 476 4114 (Sydney, 2011); Briger’s performance is based on the orchestration by his uncle, Charles Mackerras, though reworked with smaller, more authentic scoring.

¹⁷⁹ Divall’s orchestrations of several dozen early colonial works may also be viewed online at NLA.

¹⁸⁰ ABC CLASSICS CD 461 826-2 (Sydney: Australian Broadcasting Corporation, 2001).

¹⁸¹ See D. Hort, [Communication]: “Colonial Australian Music”, *Music and Letters* 51/4 (October 1970), 472-73.

¹⁸² Hort commissioned for the ABC the series of recordings and arrangements that were later issued in the ABC Classics CD set above, and in the Australian Heritage CD set listed in the Bibliography; these recordings were also presented in support of Hort’s own MA Thesis, at Macquarie University, also listed in the Bibliography.

¹⁸³ On the national collection in particular, see Robyn Holmes, “Musical Dialogues”, in Peter Cochrane (ed.), *Remarkable Occurrences: the National Library of Australia’s first 100 years* (Canberra: National Library of

Generous and enlightened donations to the nation by the great antiquarian Kenneth Hince and Dr [William] Crowther ensured that a remarkable number of early Australian works survived in our major libraries.

[0.4] *New technologies, new methodologies*

Roger Covell wrote in 1964, at the end of watershed couple of years in Australian composition, that “in the past, music written in this country for the purposes of attentive listening has been habitually, almost determinedly, musty in flavour”; that Australia had encouraged “a cult of musical cobwebs”; and that it had produced works that were “smugly flyblown or gently derivative”.¹⁸⁴ Anyone who has spent long hours in closed-stack libraries researching pre-1960s Australian music, inhaling the dust and must of mouldering old newspapers and sheet music, would probably come to the same conclusion.¹⁸⁵ As Covell also hinted in 1967, the sheer tedium of this doubtless scuppered many a scholar’s good intentions to be more thorough, or to complete their research at all.¹⁸⁶

Microfilm represented barely any improvement at all, and it is only with the recent, previously unimaginable, advent of several key online library services, that such excuses no longer exist. At least, by using the highly efficient, searchable “virtual library”, the time spent in actual libraries is greatly reduced, and the amount of material able to be recovered hugely increased.¹⁸⁷ The genesis of one of the two most important online archives used in both the research and presentation of this thesis is discussed by two of its founding curators, the National Library of Australia’s Robyn Holmes and Kaye McIntyre, in “Music Australia: From Development to Production Service”.¹⁸⁸ The service, conceived in 2001 and officially

Australia, 2001), 213-33: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=OUoIwhgXBGIC>; Holmes counted, at that time, some 90,000 items of musical “Australiana” in the collection, with notable contributions from Hince (214), and Ken Snell; she also acknowledged the assistance of Patricia Baillie of Da Capo Music, Sydney (231), and guiding principles outlines in Andrew D. McCredie, “The Establishment and Creative Responsibilities of an Australian Music Archive”, a paper prepared for the NLA Council (233).

¹⁸⁴ (“By our music critic” [Roger Covell]), “Australian Composers, 1964: Emergence from a Cult of Musical Cobwebs”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (30 December 1964); quoted in Graeme Skinner, *Peter Sculthorpe: The Making of An Australian Composer* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2007), 361: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=PH6M8JqMGBUC&pg=PA361&#v=onepage&q&f=false>; for a discussion of the circumstances, see also 332-361.

¹⁸⁵ The dust was, long-since, legendary; “HISTORY IN MUSIC. Australia’s Song-Writers (L.L.W.)”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (19 January 1929), 13: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article16524956>: “Under a heavy coating of dust in an obscure division of the Mitchell Library there lie neatly-tied bundles of music, arranged alphabetically according to the composers’ names. A copy of every piece of music published in Australia is sent to the library, and the trustees also purchase MSS of unpublished music and rare copies of early editions [...]”.

¹⁸⁶ Covell maintained that “selectivity” was one of the duties of a book of the kind he was writing, and it could be argued that, in respect of the colonial period, there can’t have seemed to be much to choose from, short of, as he himself said, unearthing the sort of information that only “a much longer period of leisurely and single-minded” primary research (viii), largely among old newspapers, would disclose.

¹⁸⁷ On the NLA’s digitisation and delivery program see Warwick Cathro, “Transforming access to Australia’s documentary history: the 2007 Ferguson Memorial Lecture”, *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society* 93/2 (2007), 251-53.

¹⁸⁸ Robyn Holmes and Kaye McIntyre, “Music Australia: from development to production service”, *National Library of Australia Staff Papers* (2007):

<http://www.nla.gov.au/openpublish/index.php/nlasp/article/view/1032>; see also Robyn Holmes,

launched as Music Australia 1.0 in March 2005, was relaunched as Music Australia 2.0 in April 2007. As from late 2010, “Music Australia” will be searchable through the NLA’s [Trove](#) combined search portal. This is the portal for delivery of viewable scanned images of out-of-copyright music prints (and, where they exist, manuscripts), generated not only by the NLA from its own collections, but also from State Libraries and other partner institutions:

Music Australia, in this sense, creates and displays to the user a “virtual” national collection, where the metadata is aggregated centrally by the National Library but returns the user to the home institution to access the resource.

Where a digitised or digital object is available online, people can view, listen, download, print and use musical resources online. Where resources are not online, the service provides more information and guides the user as to how and where to access or “get a copy” [...]

But as Holmes and McIntyre identified, “for the casual user, perhaps not knowing where to start” is a major problem; and so, too, for academics and teachers without a clear idea of what search terms to begin with. In particular, since the bulk of the print music originals are undated, and in most cases (as of late 2010) the bibliographic records attached still had only best-estimate datings, a chronological search was still not feasible. While the music was thus able to speak for itself, its original context was not recoverable in more than the most general way. Both these deficiencies, this study aims at remedying.

The second key NLA searchable archive, *Australian Newspapers: Historic Australian Newspapers, 1803-1954* (version 1.0), has been in full service only since August 2009, after a year’s trial availability as Australian Newspapers beta (launched July 2008).¹⁸⁹ From mid 2010, [Australian Newspapers, 1803-1954](#) was also delivered within the NLA’s *Trove*. Its digitised content derives from pre-existing microfilm copies of Australian newspaper archives, dating back to the first issue of [The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser](#) in 1803, and currently includes complete runs of the principal colonial newspapers in all capital and some regional cities. Trove bibliographic records, sourced from member sites of Libraries Australia, are also included in the Bibliography and Appendix 2 Checklist. Other online portals referenced include the [Australian Dictionary of Biography](#)

“MusicAustralia: a Digital Strategy for Music”, *National Library of Australia Staff Papers* (2002): <http://www.nla.gov.au/openpublish/index.php/nlasp/article/view/1274>; Robyn Holmes and Marie-Louise Ayres, “Federating Access to Australian Culture: PictureAustralia, Australia Dancing and MusicAustralia”, *National Library of Australia Staff Papers* (2003): <http://www.nla.gov.au/openpublish/index.php/nlasp/article/view/1370>; Robyn Holmes and Marie-Louise Ayres, “MusicAustralia: Towards a National Music Information Infrastructure”, *National Library of Australia Staff Papers* (2004): <http://www.nla.gov.au/openpublish/index.php/nlasp/article/view/1234>; NLA digital music is also delivered through the US-based Sheet Music Consortium: <http://digital.library.ucla.edu/sheetmusic/>.
¹⁸⁹ Burton in the 1860s (by placing newspapers at the head of his *Literature*) and John Ferguson in the 1960s (“the most valuable publications for historical research will always be our early almanacs and newspapers”) both recognised the primacy of newspapers as sources for early Australian history; see Cathro, 252; also Rose Holley, “The Australian Newspapers Digitisation Program: Helping communities access and explore their newspaper heritage”, *National Library of Australia Staff Papers* (2008): <http://www.nla.gov.au/openpublish/index.php/nlasp/article/view/914>.

[Online Edition](#) (ADB), the [Dictionary of Australian Artists Online](#) (DOAA), and, a major (but to date mostly unrecognised) digital source of original editions of Australian colonial texts, [Google Books](#).

The advent of such new research technologies has begun to generate its own advocatorial and critical literature. What John Byron has called “a quiet revolution within the humanities” is destined to become much less quiet very soon. In his review of the proceedings of 2008 University of Sydney symposium on electronic innovation in literary scholarship,¹⁹⁰ Byron welcomed:

[...] the emergence into mainstream scholarship of new methods and approaches that exploit digital tools, electronic infrastructures, networks and data resources [...] This renaissance builds on decades of pioneering work—well before its time and largely unacknowledged—performed by committed visionaries who perceived the possibilities for textual scholarship years before desktop computers and the Internet enable the rest of us to see how our research could be informed, assisted, extended and even revolutionized by new technologies.

In the editors’ introduction to *Resourceful Reading: A New Empiricism in the Digital Age*,¹⁹¹ Katherine Bode and Robert Dixon argued that this access to sources generates, and perhaps even requires, a “New Empiricism”, whereby investigations are guided at least as much by the nature and content of the material sourced, as by predetermined theoretical considerations. To agree with them, is not necessarily to say that traditional caveats about the limitations of empirical methods no longer apply. In Australian colonial musicology, however, the sheer difficulty in accessing sources in the past has arguably led to conclusions being drawn from far too small amounts of evidence, and I believe, therefore, that a *more* empirical, approach is now precisely what is required.

As Byron pointed out, with the advent of these new resources, “whole new sets of questions became possible”. Likewise, whole new modes of structuring and delivering research results also become feasible. Whereas the traditional footnote, or musical example, was once just a bibliographic, or selective, reference, it now becomes possible using live links to present the original source material whole to the reader.

The original content of this study is, thus, threefold. First, the bulk of the source data, largely from colonial newspapers, on composers and compositions is presented here for the first time in the scholarly literature (as is the case with the music itself, little non-printed material at all has survived). This includes, in particular, almost all of the publication and performance dates, allowing tabulation and analysis of the whole repertory in chronological

¹⁹⁰ John Byron, “Deeply wired: Electronic innovation in literary scholarship” [review of *Resourceful Reading*], *Australian Book Review* (April 2010), 51-52.

¹⁹¹ Katherine Bode and Robert Dixon (eds), *Resourceful Reading: A New Empiricism in the Digital Age* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 2009), 2-27; editor’s introduction only:
http://ses.library.usyd.edu.au/bitstream/2123/5854/1/Introduction_ResourcefulReading.pdf.

format in the Appendix 2 Checklist; a great deal of the basic biographical information on composers; and background information on the colonial musical culture. Searches have thrown up much new data on lost compositions whose existence was not before recorded (or even suspected), and a small but significant number of lost prints. On the whole, however, it has been possible to establish that the surviving corpus of prints of colonial musical compositions is not only a large representative sample, but is closer to being complete than might have been hoped for; and now that we know what to look for, closer to being *completable*. In the past, searching for this sort of data was, quite literally, like looking for a needle in a haystack. But despite the astronomical increase now in the ease of its accessibility, the research task remains as nuanced as it ever was, a successful outcome relying on knowing the right question to ask, and how to sort, select, and interpret critically the data collected. Consideration of gender, class, race, and nationality (even, perhaps in one or two instances, sexuality) must all be involved in a properly comprehensive treatment of such material.

This leads to the second original aspect of this study, which is to create a prototype format for a specifically online (as opposed to paper printed) history, that not only gives the reader direct access to individual sources, but simultaneously provides an introductory interpretative framework for what is close to being the whole surviving repertory, now available online. Until now, in its raw online form, this has been an enormous, but intractable, resource.¹⁹²

Third, and most simply, it is a study of how colonial music was conceived, created, disseminated, and received, individually and collectively, as an aesthetic, socially- and often nationally-mediated activity. Since it is not only about composers, but about performers, audiences, and press, it is not a group biography, or even just a collection of linked individual biographies. However, since composers are mostly presented separately, for those more fully documented (like the Marsh brothers, Nathan, Henslowe) the result is something close to what Richard Taruskin called a “biography of the works”. In the absence of any existing biographies for so many other figures, however, some basic fleshing-out of lives has been a necessary and fascinating chore, whether of previously identified, but still essentially unknown figures (like Reichenberg, Kavanagh, Sippe, Deane, Gibbs, and Anderson), virtually unknown in respect of their Australian years as composers (Moore, Nelson, Sou-Alle), or to-all-intents-and-purposes, *newly* identified figures like Gautrot, Logan, Dudemaine, Duly, and Chiodetti.

* * *

¹⁹² For a very early, and now very dated, response to such a prospect, see Graeme Johanson, Don Schauder, and Edward Lim, “The Virtual Library and the Humanities: a report”, *Australian Humanities Review* (August-October 1997): <http://www.australianhumanitiesreview.org/emuse/library/johanson.html>; for a more recent report, see Graeme Turner, *Towards an Australian Humanities Digital Archive* (Canberra: The Australian Academy of the Humanities, 2008); <http://www.humanities.org.au/Resources/Downloads/Policy/POLICY-2008-HumanitiesDigitisationReport.pdf>.

Chapter 1

“First National Music”:

1788-composers active from the 1820s onward

THE LOVE OF lengthened tones and modulated sounds, different from those of speech, and regulated by a stated measure, seems a passion implanted in human nature throughout the globe; for we hear of no people, however wild and savage in other particulars, who have not music of some kind or other [...] at funerals, and at weddings; to give dignity and solemnity to festivals, and to excite mirth, cheerfulness, and activity [...] Music, indeed, like vegetation, flourishes differently in different climates; and in proportion to the culture and encouragement it receives; yet, to love such music as our ears are accustomed to, is an instinct so generally subsisting in our nature, that it appears less wonderful [...]

Charles Burney, *A General History of Music* (1776).¹

[1.1] “Australian National Music”: first emigrant observations of Indigenous music

In almost any twentieth-century history of early colonial Australia, there is a resounding silence. Music—the practice, and appreciation of it—has slipped entirely through the nets that historians set to capture their great concerns. It is as if, as Charles Burney observed, “such music as our ears are accustomed to” did appear “less wonderful”, the more so when historians were intent on describing such a strange and hostile place. But, one need only read early accounts themselves, for it to become clear that music was one of the liniments of settler society and survival—taking its place beside “cricket, cards, water-parties, shooting, fishing, hunting the kangaroo, etc”²—widely and frequently relied upon, as Burney said, “to give dignity and solemnity to festivals, and to excite mirth, cheerfulness, and activity”. For the emigrants, it also became one of the strongest vehicles for nostalgia for their “own native home”. From the first, then, as colonists themselves repeatedly observed, music in settler society was destined to be strongly associated with recollections of past, and of “distant climes”.

At the extremes of their experience, Europeans in early Australia practiced two opposing types of listening. As already noted, those like the poet, Reformed churchman, and entrepreneur John Dunmore Lang, “heard” Australia as primal silence (“*voiceless shore [...]* *And unpossess’d [...]*”), such as could only be filled with colonial culture by the exercise of his

¹ Volume 1, 1766, 1; ed. Frank Mercer (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1935), 11; online edn, 19: <http://www.archive.org/stream/generalhistoryof005344mbp#page/n19/mode/2up>.

² “Amusements”, in D. D. Mann, *The Present Picture of New South Wales*, 1811 (London: John Booth, 1811), 54-55; modern online edition, <http://freeread.com.au/ebooks/e00098.txt>; facsimile at Google Books: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=RzEPAAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA54#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

own European imagination, or of others like it.³ But there were also a few others who listened more openly, and who thus heard more than just “such music as their ears were accustomed to”.

Though Charles Burney was hardly an “indifferent” listener (his interest in “primitive music” geared to providing evidence for his theories about the origins of European music), he was a passionately curious one. He is on record, in a [letter](#) now in the National Library of Australia, as having listened when his son James, and future son-in-law Molesworth Phillips, returned from being James Cook’s lieutenants,⁴ to their descriptions of the Pacific islanders’ rudimentary polyphony, that they demonstrated, moreover, in keyboard reductions, like that in Sarah Burney’s [letter to her father](#).⁵ Though there is no record of it, Burney may also have taken note when the first examples of “Australian [Indigenous] music” started circulating in Europe. And if Burney never got round to writing about Australian music, one of his former pupils, captain John Hunter, the First Fleet diarist and later colonial governor did. Arguably, it was partly thanks to Burney’s encouragement of his early ambition to train as a musician,⁶ that made Hunter a musical observer of the second type.

Appropriately, then, we have Hunter to thank for probably the earliest surviving record

³ Lang, though mostly deaf to Indigenous culture, was not totally so; see also in his *Poems Sacred and Secular*; online edition, University of Sydney, 2003: <http://setis.library.usyd.edu.au/ozlit/pdf/lanpoem.pdf>; e.g. “Paraphrase and Translation of a Song of the Aborigines”, 75; “Paraphrase and Translation of a Song of the Blacks of Hunter River”, 78; and especially his 1824 poem, “Colonial Nomenclature”, against the practice of attaching European names (like Macquarie and Goulburn) to colonial places: “*I like the native names, as Parramatta, / And Illawarra, and Woolloomoolloo; / Nandowra, Woogarora, Bulkomatta, / Tomah, Toongabbie, Mittagong, Meroo; / Buckobble, Cumleroy, and Coolingatta, / The Warragumby, Bargo, Burradoo; / Cookbundoon, Carrabaiga, Wingecarribbee, / The Wollondilly, Yurumbon, Bungarribbee*”.

⁴ James Burney served on Cook’s last two voyages (1772-75; 1776-79), Phillips (who would marry Sarah Burney) on Cook’s fatal last voyage.

⁵ Charles Burney, letter to John Montagu (earl of Sandwich) (11 February 1784), NLA-MS 7218/32: <http://www.nla.gov.au/apps/cdview?pi=nla.ms-ms7218-32-s1-e>; and enclosure, a page of a letter from Susanna Phillips to her father [Charles Burney], [undated]: <http://www.nla.gov.au/apps/cdview?pi=nla.ms-ms7218-32-s3-e>; Burney would interpret this as evidence that Pacific islanders were in a similar state of musical “infancy” as that he had diagnosed, in the first volume of his *History*, as pertaining in Ancient Greece; a classic case, perhaps, of the European Enlightenment’s “deeply racist” empire-building tendency, and failure to “*acknowledge that anything happening was aboriginal*” (John Ralston Saul, interview with Rosemary Sorenson, “The Great Fallacy of Western Philosophy”, *The Australia* (22-23 May 2010), Review 24)); Burney is frequently chastised for his musicological myopia; see Vanessa Agnew, review of *The Invention of “Folk Music” and “Art Music”: Emerging Categories from Ossian to Wagner*, by Matthew Gelbart (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), in *Journal of the American musicological Society* 63/1 (2010), 157.

⁶ J. J. Auchmuty, “Hunter, John (1737-1821)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 1 (1966), 566-572: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/AO10529b.htm>; Louis Becke and Walter Jeffrey, *The Naval Pioneers of Australia* (London: John Murray, 1899), 43: “After [Hunter’s father] was shipwrecked, John was sent to his uncle, a merchant of Lynn, who sent the boy to school, where he became acquainted with Charles Burney, the musician. Dr Burney wanted to make a musician of him, and Hunter was nothing loth, but the uncle intended the boy for the Church, and sent him to the Aberdeen University. There his thoughts once more turned to the sea [...]”; Burney went to Kings Lynn in 1751 and stayed there for several years, so Hunter must have been in his mid teens at least; Robert Barnes, *An Unlikely Leader: the Life and Times of Captain John Hunter* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 2009), 27: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=rbQBTJmcEVC&pg=PA27#v=onepage&q&f=false>, suggests the likelihood of a lifelong friendship with Burney.

of Australian compositional activity; doubly so since, as conveyed to him by the Indigenous man, Banelong,⁷ in December 1790, it concerned a **New Song** about the white settlers:⁸

Banelong [...] had lately been at Botany-Bay, where, he said, they danced, and that one of the tribe had sung a song, the subject of which was, his house, the governor, and the white men at Sydney.

Whether Banelong had really heard the song, or invented the story to flatter the governor, Arthur Phillip,⁹ as Hunter also thought possible (Phillip, he informs us, had begun “to suspect, though very unwillingly, that there was a great deal of art and cunning in Banelong”), the record that there might have been such a new song is striking. Already, by late 1790, the smallpox virus introduced by the Europeans was on the way to killing the estimated two thousand of the Eora (the Indigenous “people of this place”)¹⁰ who perished in the first few years of colonisation.¹¹ Thereafter, the survivors, deprived anyway of their lands, mostly chose to keep their distance from the European settlements; so that, by remarkably early in the colony’s history, black faces—and Indigenous music—were seldom seen and heard by white townspeople; so that, effectively, Lang’s primal silence was again all that most of them heard.

Occasionally, this silence was redressed by artificial measures, as Hunter reported in March 1791, when that a remnant of the Cadigal people had to be especially asked by the white authorities to give a *corroboree*:¹²

We have frequently observed [...] that they often had a dance amongst themselves at night, on the lower part of Sydney-cove [...] It had been signified to some of the principal amongst them, that we should be glad to have an opportunity of seeing them dance, which they readily agreed to, and the following night was appointed, when the governor and a considerable number attended [...]

On the whole, this exhibition was well worth seeing; and this was the first opportunity that had offered for us to see any thing of the kind, since we had been in the country. Their music consisted of two sticks of very hard wood, one of which the musician held upon his breast, in the manner of a violin, and struck it with the other, in good and regular time; the performer, who was a stout strong voiced man, sung the whole time, and frequently applied those graces in music, the *piano* and *forte*; he was assisted by several young boys and girls, who sat at his feet, and by

⁷ Also known as Woollawarre Bennelong; see Eleanor Dark, “Bennelong (1764?-1813)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 1 (1966), 84-85. <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/AO10083b.htm>; “Bennelong” also appeared as a character in Dark’s historical novel *The Timeless Land* (1941).

⁸ John Hunter, *An Historical Journal of the Transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island: with the discoveries which have been made in New South Wales ...* (London: Printed for John Stockdale, 1793), 493; SL-NSW online facsimile: <http://acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/item/itemDetailPaged.aspx?itemID=152435>; searchable text: <http://freeread.com.au/ebooks/e00063.html>.

⁹ Captain Arthur Phillip was governor from 1788 to 1792.

¹⁰ “Eora” was not a specific tribe, or clan, however; see David Hansen, “Essay: Death Dance”, *Australian Book Review* (April 2007), 8: ABR online archive: http://www.australianbookreview.com.au/files/Features/Calibre/ABR_April_07_Hansen_essay.pdf.

¹¹ Thomas Keneally, *Australians: Origins to Eureka* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2009), 113.

¹² The full description of the performance, Hunter, *Transactions*, 210-13.

their manner of crossing the thighs, made a hollow between them and their belly, upon which they beat time with the flat of their hand [...] these children also sung with the chief musical performer, who stood up the whole time, and seemed to me to have the most laborious part of the performance.

They very frequently, at the conclusion of the dance, would apply to us for our opinions, or rather for marks of our approbation of their performance; which we never failed to give by often repeating the word *boojery*, which signifies good; or *boojery caribberie*, a good dance. These signs of pleasure in us seemed to give them great satisfaction, and generally produced more than ordinary exertions from the whole company of performers in the next dance.

By contrast, on first contact, only three years earlier, there was no play-acting in what Hunter called their “dance of defiance”:¹³

All the natives which were seen when we first arrived at Port Phillip, always joined this sort of dance to their vociferations, *wooroo! wooroo!* (“go away! go away!”).

A half a century later, in 1866, this second passage so caught the attention of Carl Engel that he quoted it in his *An Introduction to the Study of National Music* as the earliest example, to hand, of what he and others called “Australian national music”.¹⁴

By contrast, any music the white colonists might themselves have concocted was of no interest to Engel, and in no way impinged on his account of the Australians’ music, though he necessarily drew on colonists’ observations of it. Engel might also have cited a page of music, a plate indexed as *Musique des sauvages de la Nouvelle-Galles du Sud*—a **Chant, Air de danse, & Cri de ralliement (“Cou-he”)**—first printed in Paris in the 1824 edition of Peron and Freycinet’s *Atlas*,¹⁵ from notations made by the artist Charles-Alexandre Lesueur and astronomer Pierre-François Bernier, members of the Baudin expedition in New South Wales in the southern winter and spring of 1802. Importantly, Engel did reproduce an earlier—indeed the very earliest—transcription of Indigenous Australian music, actually taken down in London in 1793-94.¹⁶ **A Song of the Natives of New South Wales** was recorded by another historian of national musics, the royal harpist and bard, Edward Jones, and printed in his *Musical Curiosities* in 1811:¹⁷

¹³ Hunter, *Transactions*, 406.

¹⁴ Carl Engel, *An Introduction to the Study of National Music* (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1866), 246: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=ok4QAAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA246#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

¹⁵ The notations did not appear in earlier editions of the *Atlas*, but first in *Voyage de decouvertes aux terres australes: Atlas par Mm. Lesueur et Petit* (Paris: Arthus Bertrands, 1824), plate 32: NLA, facsimile <http://nla.gov.au/nla.aus-f979-s47>.

¹⁶ Jack Brook, “The Forlorn Hope: Bennelong and Yemmerrawannie go to England”, *Australian Aboriginal Studies* (2001/1), 36-47.

¹⁷ Edward Jones, *Musical Curiosities: or a Selection of the most characteristic national songs and airs, many of which were never published; consisting of Spanish, Portuguese, Russian, Danish, Lapland, Malabar, New South Wales, French, Italian, Swiss, and particularly some English and Scotch national melodies* (London: Printed for the author, 1811), 15 (copy at British Library; Music Collections, R.M.13.f.5. [004439259]; reproduced in Engel, *National Music*, 26-27:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=ok4QAAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA26#v=onepage&q&f=false>; see review in *The*

[...] written down from the singing of Benelong and Yamroweny, the two chiefs who were brought to England, some years ago, from Botany Bay by Governor Phillips [sic]. The subject of their song is in praise of their lovers; and when they sang, it seemed indispensable to them to have two sticks, one in each hand, to beat time with the tune; one end of the left-hand stick rested on the ground, while the other in the right hand was used to beat against it, according to the time of the notes.

Jones was an habitual “a gleaner of national music”.¹⁸ Nevertheless, to have included such “exceedingly curious foreign [...] airs” as this one from Australia at all, in what was otherwise a collection of mainly European tunes, was notable.

This song makes Bannelong (after whom the site of the Sydney Opera House, Bennelong’s Point—reported as such in the Sydney press in 1803—was named)¹⁹ the joint creator of the earliest actual musical artefact from colonial Australia. Hunter also recorded that Bannelong “sings, when asked, but in general his songs are in a mournful strain, and he keeps time by swinging his arms”.²⁰

On the other hand, in 1788, another First Fleet musician-diarist, surgeon George Worgan,²¹ judged Indigenous people largely un-musical because of their lack of sustained interest in European music:²²

Only two of Them have ventured to visit our Settlement [...] The Drum was beat before them, which terrified them exceedingly, they liked the Fife, which pleased them for 2 or 3 Minutes. Indeed Music of any kind does not attract their attention, long together, they will sometimes jump to it, and make a grunting Noise by way of keeping Time to the Tune.

Nevertheless, in August 1799, when the navigator Matthew Flinders,²³ and his native assistant, Bongaree, encouraged some natives at Moreton Island, to sing, they clearly considered they were giving a formal performance:²⁴

They were still timorous; but, on being encouraged and requested by signs to sing,

Monthly Magazine 34 (1 August 1812), 54:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=C2eP-ZRhnOwC&pg=PA54#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

¹⁸ See Joan Rimmer, “Edward Jones’s Musical and Poetical Relicks of the Welsh Bards, 1784: A Re-Assessment”, *The Galpin Society Journal* 39 (September 1986), 77-96.

¹⁹ [News], *The Sydney Gazette* (22 May 1803), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article625581>.

²⁰ Hunter, *Transactions*, 406.

²¹ John Copley, “Worgan, George Bouchier (1757-1838)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 2 (1967), 623: <http://adonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020568b.htm>.

²² George Bouchier Worgan, *Journal* [kept on a Voyage to New South Wales with the First Fleet, with Letter Written to his brother Richard, 12 - 18 June 1788], 12: original manuscript and transcript, SL-NSW online <http://acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/album/albumView.aspx?acmsID=412921&itemID=823462>.

²³ H. M. Cooper, “Flinders, Matthew (1774-1814)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 1 (1966), 389-391; online: <http://adonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A010364b.htm>.

²⁴ David Collins, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales: from its first settlement in January 1788, to August 1801... and an account of a voyage performed by Captain Flinders and Mr. Bass ... abstracted from the journal of Mr. Bass* (London: T. Cadell & W. Davies, 1802), volume 2: online text, 166: <http://setis.library.usyd.edu.au/ozlit/pdf/colacc2.pdf>

they began a song in concert, which actually was musical and pleasing, and not merely in the diatonic scale, descending by thirds, as at Port Jackson: the descent of this was waving, in rather a melancholy soothing strain. The *Song of Bong-ree*, which he gave them at the conclusion of theirs, sounded barbarous and grating to the ear, but Bong-ree was an indifferent songster, even among his own countrymen. These people, like the natives of port Jackson, having fallen to the low pitch of their voices, recommenced their song at the octave, which was accompanied by slow and not ungrateful motions of the body and limbs [...] and the tone and manner of their song and gesture seemed to bespeak the good will and forbearance of their auditors, Observing that they were attentively listened to, they each selected one of our people, and placed his mouth close to his ear, as if to produce a greater effect, or, it might be, to teach them the song, which their silent attention might seem to express a desire to learn.

In December 1801, when Flinders and his party went ashore at King George Sound in Western Australia,²⁵ he recorded that the natives there paid particular attention to the drill and the fife-and-drum music of the marine escort:

The red coats and white crossed belts were greatly admired, having some resemblance to their own manner of ornamenting themselves; and the drum, but particularly the fife, excited astonishment; but when then saw these beautiful red-and-white men, with their bright muskets, drawn up in a line, they absolutely screamed with delight [...] Several of them moved their hands, involuntarily, according to the motions.

A whole century later, the anthropologist Daisy Bates spoke to an old man who was grandson of one of natives Flinders had met, who told her that they believed Flinders and his men had come from Koorannup, the home of the dead across the sea, and that their marching drill was a Koorannup ceremony.²⁶ According to Bates:

They made a dance of the visit and parade [...] I got all this from the only old man left [...] He covered his torso with red and put white pipeclay across the red and did with his club what he had seen his fathers and grandfathers do as the bayonets were exercised ... he could tell me all the history of the visit—its importance made it a sacred dance and memory.

Nor was this an isolated circumstance; there is evidence from New England on the other side of the continent that first contact with whites was similarly recorded in songs and ceremonies

²⁵ Flinders was also an amateur musician; detained in Mauritius later, he is on record as having played his flute in a quartet by Pleyel, and composed words of a song to an air by Haydn; see also Matthew Flinders, *Private letters*, vol. 2, 1806-1810, SL-NSW, Safe 1/56, <http://acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/transcript/2007/Do0007/a053.html>, transcript of letter 19 to his mother-in-law (9 December 1806), inquiring after the needs of members of his family: "Have you a piano forte in the house for them: if you have, be so good as to lay out two guineas for me in music and present to them in my name: it will be proper to get some friend in London to chuse the newest and best: not little songs only, but pieces of music, such as are adapted to their strength Pleyel, Steibelt, Mazinghi and Heydn [sic] are amongst the best authors; and if opportunities offer it will be proper for them to take a few lessons from a master from time to time".

²⁶ Isobel M. White, "The Birth and Death of a Ceremony", *Aboriginal History* 4 (1980), 33-42.

that continued to be performed into the twentieth century.²⁷

But because of the ongoing Indigenous retreat from the settlements, early colonial records of settler curiosity about their music and musicality quickly become scant. Not until Christian missionaries started seeking them out again at a distance from the major settlements was any level of scientific interest revived. Such attempts were greeted skeptically by certain settlers. When in January 1826, the words of [Two Australian Aboriginal Songs](#), taken down by the missionary Lancelot Threlkeld,²⁸ were printed in *The Sydney Gazette*, without translation, the editor's intention was all too apparently to ridicule them as gibberish.²⁹ It was also the intention of the author of a verse satire, *The House of Assembly*, that appeared a month later, who headed it with a nonsense epigram, supposedly from an [Aboriginal Song](#).³⁰

At the opposite end of the spectrum of opinion were a few relatively enlightened responses, such as this one in the *Hobart Town Gazette*:³¹

It is with pleasure we remark the increased attention that is given to ameliorate the native tribes in New South Wales. In the *Sydney Gazette* of the 5th January, there is a specimen of an aboriginal song, published by the Rev. Mr. Threlkeld, who is applying himself to learn their language. This is going in earnest to the work, and is an example which we should rejoice to see followed in this Island. The several attempts [...] by many praiseworthy individuals, to educate and civilize some of the black children, must be attended with the best effects [...] But these children, while they learn to speak English, are apt entirely to forget their own language, and thus lose the chief instrument to gain over the rest of their tribe. We rejoice, therefore, in this first instance of a person devoted to the interests of religion, associating himself to acquire the language, and to ameliorate the condition of this degraded people.

Threlkeld did continue his work, notably producing an *Australian Grammar*, in which, concerning *Nung-ngún* ("A Song"), he wrote:³²

There are poets among them who compose songs which are sung and danced to by their own tribes in the first place; after which other tribes learn the song and dance which passes from tribe to tribe throughout the country, until from change of

²⁷ Barry McDonald, "Evidence of Four New England Corroboree Songs Indicating Aboriginal Responses to European Invasion", *Aboriginal History* 20 (1996), 176-194; for several other such instances, see Grace Karskens, *The Colony: A History of Early Sydney* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin 2010), 48: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=fEH0okroLiUC&pg=PA48#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

²⁸ Niel Gunson, "Threlkeld, Lancelot Edward (1788-1859)", *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 2 (1967), 528-530: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020481b.htm>.

²⁹ "POETRY: AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINAL SONG", *The Sydney Gazette* (5 January 1826), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2184973>.

³⁰ "THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY: A PARODY", *The Sydney Gazette* (4 February 1826), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2185185>.

³¹ *Hobart Town Gazette* (4 February 1826), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8791494>.

³² E. L. Thelkeld, *An Australian Grammar, Comprehending the Principles and Natural Rules of the Language as Spoken by the Aborigines in the Vicinity of Hunter's River, Lake Macquarie and New South Wales* (Sydney: Stephen & Stokes, 1834), 90.

dialect not one of the original words remain.

And in the 1835 Annual Report of his mission at Lake Macquarie, he observed:³³

Several of the blacks belonging to this district, headed by M’Gill, are travelling to Windsor, Parramatta, and Sydney, in order to teach other tribes a new song and dance, which have lately been brought from the regions far beyond Liverpool Plains, where my son has ascertained that the song exists, though the dialect is different to that used in these parts on the sea coast. It is not discouraging to reflect, that when “Knowledge shall increase among these tribes”, then the same custom which promulgates the new song will convey throughout Australia “the glad tidings” of a Saviour, Christ the Lord.

[1.2] *Background: bandsmen, bards, convicts*

*[...] Where Warragamba’s rage has rent in twain,
Opposing mountains, thundering to the plain,
No child of song has yet invoked thy aid,
’Neath their primeval solitary shade,—
Still, gracious Pow’r, some kindling soul inspire,
To wake to life my country’s unknown lyre.
That from creation’s date has slumbering lain
Or only breathed some savage uncouth strain.*

At Cambridge in 1822, the native-born patriot William Charles Wentworth should have been uniquely well-placed to win the chancellor’s gold medal that year for a poem on Australasia.³⁴ Yet he returned to Sydney two years later with his poem having been placed only second. He published it, anyway, with a dedication to the civic-minded former governor Macquarie. It was, according to Michael Persse: “Rhetorical and realistic, it ends with a bold prophecy of the day when Britain is vanquished and her spirit rises again in the antipodes”.³⁵

Wentworth looked forward to the day an “Austral Milton”, and “Austral Shakespeare”, would rise and sing his land’s natural, and symbolic, virtues. But Wentworth himself was already developing the white-native’s tin ear to the poetry and music—as indeed to the very existence—of the first Australians. Nevertheless, his hopes that settler society would produce its own Australian creators and creations gradually bore fruit.

When the hostile Bigge report into colonial administration in 1825 took aim at the colonial press, the *Colonial Times* in Hobart characterised its antagonist as “little calculated to conduct even a penny ballad shop!”—an observation as interesting for its metaphorical

³³ “MISSION TO THE ABORIGINES”, *The Sydney Gazette* (16 July 1836), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2205490>; *The Perth Gazette* (3 December 1836), 810: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article640187>.

³⁴ For an early edition of Wentworth’s poem, see G. B. Barton (ed.), *The Poets and Prose Writers of New South Wales* (Sydney: Gibbs and Shallard, 1866), 19–29: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=UcwNAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA19&#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

³⁵ Michael Persse, “Wentworth, William Charles (1790–1872)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 2 (1967), 582–589: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020531b.htm>.

subject, as its object.³⁶ Neither Hobart nor Sydney ran to a ballad shop, which is not to say that topical ballads were not composed locally, and probably more abundantly than recorded. But most early surviving ballad texts and tunes about the Australian colonies were British and Irish English productions, some of which disembarked here with their singers, transportees and poor free-settlers lamenting their exile from their native homes.³⁷ Even further up the social scale, an anonymous Edinburgh lady's "embarking [...] with her relations for Van Diemen's Land" in January 1823 was the occasion for publishing a song, [The Emigrant](#); if Australian only by anticipation, with its fine, melancholy tune and matching sentiments, it had many local successors.³⁸

Reasonably enough, histories have tended to assume that the earliest newly created Australian colonist music must have been improvised or written by serving naval marines,³⁹ or officer amateurs like George Worgan, vamping on the famous piano he brought with him on the *Sirius*; by a bandsman belonging to one of the British army regiments; or by a convict.⁴⁰ But, for what was originally a convict settlement, early records of Australian convict composers and composing are scarce. Original songwriters certainly produced new lyrics, such as, in 1808, **A New Song Made in New South Wales on the Rebellion**, traced to the pen of an Irish convict lawyer Lawrence Davoren.⁴¹ Michael Robinson, who escaped the death penalty for political blackmail by being transported, but who was conditionally pardoned on arrival in Sydney in 1798,⁴² composed an [Ode for the King's Birth-day](#) published in *The Sydney Gazette* on 8 June 1811, and wrote and reportedly sang

³⁶ [Editorial], *Colonial Times* (19 August 1825), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2445772>; on the Bigge report, see J. M. Bennett, "Bigge, John Thomas (1780-1843)", *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 1 (1966), 99-100: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A010093b.htm>.

³⁷ The major study of this repertory is Hugh Anderson, *Farewell to Judges & Juries: The broadside ballad & convict transportation to Australia, 1788-1868* (Melbourne: Red Rooster, 2000); see also Philip Butterss, "Australian Ballads: the social function of British and Irish transportation broadsides, popular convict verse and goldfield songs (Ph.D thesis, University of Sydney, 1989): available online University of Sydney Library, SETIS: <http://ses.library.usyd.edu.au/handle/2123/6189>.

³⁸ For instance, "VALEDICTORY SONG. On leaving Scotland for Van Diemen's Land", *The Hobart Town Courier* (10 July 1830), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4208398>.

³⁹ A marine drummer, Thomas Rossiter served as ship's fiddler on Cook's *Endeavour* (first voyage), see Vanessa Agnew, *Enlightenment Orpheus: The Power of Music in Other Worlds*, 90-91; and three marine fife-and-drummers landed with the First Fleet ship *Sirius* in 1788; Notosudirdjo, *Music, Politics, and the Problems of National Identity in Indonesia*, 32, notes an earlier record of a musical ensemble on one of Abel Tasman's ships.

⁴⁰ See, for instance, Lorna Stirling, "The Development of Australian Music" [Commonwealth Literary Fund lecture given in the University of Melbourne, 21 July 1944], *Historical Studies: Australia & New Zealand* 3 (October 1944-February 1945), 58-72; opening reproduced in **Appendix 1: Texts**.

⁴¹ *A new song: made in New South Wales on the rebellion (by Lawrence Davoren)*, edited with an essay on historical detection, notes and commentary by George Mackaness (Sydney: D.S. Ford, 1951); Trove Bookmark: <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9985731>; Davoren arrived as a convict in 1793; a later forgery charge was sustained against him in 1797, see David Collins, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales*, volume 2: USyd, digital text, 22: <http://setis.library.usyd.edu.au/ozlit/pdf/colacc2.pdf>; having meanwhile worked as a police clerk, he was pardoned in 1814 and left the colony, "ADVERTISEMENTS", *The Sydney Gazette* (17 September 1814), 2s: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article628985>.

⁴² Donovan Clarke, "Robinson, Michael Massey (1744-1826)", *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 2 (1967), 387-389: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020342b.htm>.

many more like it at public celebrations until his death in 1826.⁴³ Many, even probably most of the earliest new colonial songs were set to pre-existing imported melodies, as was the case with the anonymous 1810 spoof, [Murtoch Delaney's Description of the Races](#), to the tune of *Ballynamony-ora*.⁴⁴ In many later instances, new words and a new context would transform the common property of a familiar old melody into a genuinely Australian colonial, or even “national” artefact.⁴⁵

There were others who might have left musical records, but did not; like John Christopher Croft, attacked with a knife and drowned in Sydney Cove near the current site of the Opera House, as the *Gazette* reported in April 1829:⁴⁶

The individual was a prisoner for life, and well known about Sydney as a teacher of music, with which science he was well acquainted.

The son of a Soho music-seller, according to the coroner's report Croft had “in the early part of his life [...] studied music with such intensity that he lost his wits at the age of 17”, and was transported for life in 1821, after twice being apprehended stealing flutes from his father's competitors.⁴⁷ Despite being a convict, and more than a little mad, his “skill in music continued unimpeached; and, for some time, he had been in the habit of giving lessons in the harmonious art to younger branches of respectable families”. He was also fond of spirits; and—better known as “Jack Chris, the barber—eked out some of his living cutting hair.⁴⁸

Among the Sydney Police Reports for 1827, there is even mention of a convict church music enthusiast:⁴⁹

Stephen Clifton was brought to account for a saw which had been entrusted to his care. The prisoner pleaded, that it was his master's pleasure that he should practice church music every Friday, and that while he was singing and preparing himself for the psalm for the following Sunday, some irreligious rogue had abstracted the cross

⁴³ And there were others like him, for instance see native-born colonist, Charles Tompson, *Wild Notes: From the Lyre of a Native Minstrel* (Sydney: Albion Press, 1826), notably “A Song, for January 26, 1824”, 45; modern online edition: <http://setis.library.usyd.edu.au/ozlit/pdf/v00007.pdf>; on the author, see “Tompson, Charles (1807-1883)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 2 (1967), 533:

<http://adonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020485b.htm>.

⁴⁴ “MURTOCH DELANEY'S DESCRIPTION OF THE RACES”, *The Sydney Gazette* (20 October 1810), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article628109>; for a London edition of the tune, as *The Irish Volunteer*, c.1800, see, Johns Hopkins University, Levy Sheet Music Collection, Box 014, Item 026: <https://jscholarship.library.jhu.edu/handle/1774.2/15511>.

⁴⁵ A later instance is the appropriation of an American tune popular in Australia c.1870, *Ring the bell watchman* (by Henry C. Work), for the classic Australian bush song, *Click go the shears boys*; for an Australian print of Work's original, as sung c.1870 by Thomas Rainford's locally based Weston and Hussey's Minstrels, see Trove Bookmark: <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/11434091>.

⁴⁶ “CORONER'S INQUESTS”, *The Sydney Gazette* (28 April 1829), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2192313>; this belies *The Australian's* later claim (29 July 1834) that “among the whole prison population that have arrived in Australia, there was never a professor of music” (quoted in Beedell, *Decline*, 265).

⁴⁷ “1302 & 1303. JOHN CHRISTOPHER CROFT”, *Proceedings of the Old Bailey* (28 October 1820), 35: <http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/images.jsp?doc=182010280035>; 36: <http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/images.jsp?doc=182010280036>.

⁴⁸ “CORONERS INQUESTS”, *The Australian* (28 April 1829), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36867467>.

⁴⁹ “Police Reports”, *The Sydney Gazette* (13 August 1827), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2188748>.

cut saw. No proof, against Stephen, and he was discharged. This job was very near making Stephen chaunt a different tune.

On the other side of the law were the military bandsmen and their masters, at least some of whom must have composed, if only out of necessity to make up for shortages of imported music; men like William Carr, who died in 1804 “long Master of the Band belonging to the New South Wales Corps;⁵⁰ or William Levingstone, described on his arrival in (or return to) the colony in 1818 as “formerly Master of the Band in the 102d, since the 100th Regiment”;⁵¹ or, on his death in 1819, Serjeant Harry Parsons:⁵²

[...] who arrived here in the Marines a mere youth thirty years ago [...] He went from the Marines into the Colonial Corps, afterwards the 102d Regiment of the Line; was master of the Band; and remained in each succeeding Regiment on account of his very great utility to the Colony as Instructor of Sacred Music to the little female Orphans, and their constant leader at divine worship. He was a much respected man; and at his funeral received the parting honours of his military profession, accompanied by the deepest regret from all who knew him.

The bands played more than just a military, ceremonial role. At a convivial ball attended by governor Lachlan Macquarie in Sydney in October 1810:⁵³

[...] the full band of the 73d played-off *God save the King* in exquisite style, and between the country dances filled the room with other melodious and appropriate airs. After dinner many loyal Toasts were drank [...]

A “Mr. Williams, one of the Stewards”, also “sung a **Song, prepared for the festive occasion**”, though again to an imported tune, *To Anachreon in Heav’n*.⁵⁴ At the annual celebration of settlement day, on 26 January 1813, the band of the 73rd regiment attended, and, “After dinner succeeded the Toasts, all of which were followed by well adapted airs”.⁵⁵ As discussed below, the need for new topical and local toast airs also continued to result in the creation of new songs and, eventually also of new tunes.

⁵⁰ “DIED”, *The Sydney Gazette* (21 October 1804), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article626468>.

⁵¹ The 102nd regiment had previously been based in Sydney; “Ship News”, *The Sydney Gazette* (19 September 1818), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2178204>; possibly the “W. Livistone” who, in Hobart in 1826, was granted from Government revenue “an Allowance in lieu of Shoes, when conductor of Church Music”, see *Hobart Town Gazette* (25 February 1826), 2s: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8790505/679886>; see also “Mr. J. Levingstone, Services as Conductor of Church Music”, “GOVERNMENT AND GENERAL ORDERS”, *Hobart Town Gazette* (9 May 1821), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article1089443>.

⁵² *The Sydney Gazette* (22 May 1819), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2178722/494230>; an account to “Serjeant Parsons, for Musician’s Performance of Sacred Music in St. Philip’s Church, at Sydney”, see *The Sydney Gazette* (15 August 1818), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2178136>.

⁵³ “THE SUBSCRIBER’S BALL”, *The Sydney Gazette* (20 October 1810), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article628106>.

⁵⁴ The tune composed by John Stafford Smith, to which in America Francis Scott Key’s *The Star-Spangled Banner* was also written to be fitted; see the tune in the earliest American print, The Library of Congress: <http://memory.loc.gov/diglib/ihhas/loc.natlib.ihhas.100010464/default.html>.

⁵⁵ “THE COMMEMORATION DINNER”, *The Sydney Gazette* (30 January 1813), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article628621>.

The military bands also contributed to church music, at least until organs and seraphines replaced them. The government accounts for 1814 note a payment to:⁵⁶

Francis Detrick, Master of the Band of H. M. 73d Regiment, and seven other Musicians belonging to ditto, for performing sacred Music at the church at Sydney, from the 1st October 1812, to 31st March, 1814.

Likewise probably bandsmen were the “Ten Musicians, [paid] for performing Sacred Music at St. Phillip’s Church, Sydney” in 1819.⁵⁷ Both these groups were playing for the government establishment (Episcopalian) church services.⁵⁸ In 1827, however, the band of the 57th regiment, under George Sippe, was split along sectarian lines, so part of it could play with “the fine choir” at the temporary Roman Catholic chapel.⁵⁹ Possibly the earliest record of a named piece of church music sung—and just possibly composed—in Australia survives as an anonymous text only, printed in the *Sydney Gazette*, [An Anthem Sung at the Funeral Sermon of the Late Mrs. Lawry](#),⁶⁰ in the dissenting chapel in Macquarie-Street on 6 August 1826.⁶¹

Since imported music was in short supply, a great deal of music copying and arranging must have gone on, adapting any print music to hand for local forces, or reconstructing from memory tunes and harmonisations from home. Even someone at the *Gazette* may have been involved in music writing, as reported in September 1817:⁶²

Stolen from the *Gazette* office [...] a small morocco book, containing manuscript music pricked for the clarionet. Any one discovering the Offender will receive Twenty Shillings for their trouble.

In 1832, a rebellious seaman, a Mr. Austin took an action against the master of his vessel, Mr. Biddle, for £500 damages for assault and false imprisonment on board the ship *Margaret* to

⁵⁶ “GOVERNMENT AND GENERAL ORDERS”, *The Sydney Gazette* (30 April 1814), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article628903>.

⁵⁷ “GOVERNMENT AND GENERAL ORDERS”, *The Sydney Gazette* (12 June 1819), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2178758>.

⁵⁸ For an opinion on church music in Sydney in 1824, see [Letter to the Editor], *The Sydney Gazette* (23 December 1824), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2183516>.

⁵⁹ [News], *The Sydney Gazette* (19 November 1827), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2189397>; also [News], *The Monitor* (15 November 1827), 8s: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31759124>.

⁶⁰ “AN ANTHEM SUNG AT THE FUNERAL SERMON OF THE LATE MRS. LAWRY”, *The Sydney Gazette* (9 August 1826), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2186316>; on Mary Cover Lawry, who actually died in England, see “LAMENTED OBITUARY”, *The Sydney Gazette* (26 July 1826), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2186245>; on her husband, see S. G. Cloughton, “Lawry, Walter (1793-1859)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 2 (1967), 95-96: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/AO20080b.htm>; for sources of the anthem text, see **Appendix 2 Checklist**.

⁶¹ Instrumental music sort was not required by some of dissenting churches and sects; see [Advertisement], *The Hobart Town Courier* (15 October 1831), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4201883>; “WANTED, A Person of good character, capable of acting as precentor or leader of Sacred Music in the Presbyterian Church, Hobart town [...]”; [Advertisement], *The Sydney Herald* (8 September 1834), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12850364>; “WANTED, a Person qualified to act as Precentor for the Congregation assembling in the Independent Chapel, Pitt-street [...] to possess a competent knowledge of the science of Music, together with an acquaintance of the tunes most generally in use in Dissenting Chapels [...]”.

⁶² [Advertisement], *The Sydney Gazette* (20 September 1817), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2177474>.

Australia. But Biddle alleged that “while [Austin] was prisoner on the poop, he was allowed to shoot, fish, catch birds, and *copy music* [...]”; nevertheless, the verdict was “for the plaintiff, damages, £25”.⁶³ Another curious case was that of captain Alexander Maconochie, who during his superintendence of the convict settlement at Norfolk Island instituted a system of “non-coercive persuasion” and “individual development” for prisoners that included the foundation of a band, and the purchasing, in 1840, as Maconochie himself reported, of:⁶⁴

[...] a quantity of M.S. Music, and Blank Music paper, the entire stocks of Mr. [Andrew] Ellard, Music Seller now leaving the colony for England, and that it is my intention thus to employ in copying Music such old, lame, sick or other infirm Prisoners under my care as can be instructed in it.

The piano-forte was typically the most expensive item to be found in the settler home, and accordingly a symbol of status. No lesser figure than the colonial (Epicopalian) Chaplain, Samuel Marsden, having defaulted on a fine levied against him in 1823, had his piano seized by the constables.⁶⁵ As early as 1816, a “gentleman” in Phillip Street, Sydney, advertised that he wished to give lessons in:⁶⁶

Languages, the Mathematics, Theoretical Navigation, Engineering, and the general system of Military Education. Also, to instruct the Piano Forte and Singing, with thorough Bass Accompaniment as taught by Mr. Clementi in London.

In February 1818, another music teacher Robert McIntosh, also advertised: “Music furnished for Balls and private Entertainments at a short Notice, and at a moderate Rate of Charge”.⁶⁷ In 1834, a Mrs. Bird offered to instruct young ladies not only in the usual “singing and pianoforte”, and again in “the elements of Thorough Bass”, precursor of composition.⁶⁸

By 1823, Captain John Piper⁶⁹ had set up his own private band.⁷⁰ At the celebration in

⁶³ “LAW INTELLIGENCE: AUSTIN V. BIDDLE”, *The Sydney Herald* (26 March 1832), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12844246>.

⁶⁴ Hall, *History* 16, *The Canon* 5/9 (April 1952), 408-09; from NSW Governors’ Despatches, Vol. 33 (1840), 961-62, in SL-NSW; see also Alexander Maconochie, *Norfolk Island* (original, London: 1847; Hobart: Sullivan’s Cove, 1973), 25: “My music, readings aloud, schools, novels, and other similar machinery, then kept many a devil out,—and, perhaps, introduced some angels in”; also his observations on music in a French prison, Alexander Maconochie, *Crime and Punishment: The mark system, framed to mix persuasion with punishment, and make their effect improving, yet their operation severe* (London: J. Hatchard and Son, 1846), 73: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=ON8qAAAAMAAJ&pg=PA73#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

⁶⁵ Clark, *A History of Australia, Volume 2: New South Wales and Van Diemen’s Land 1822-1838* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1968), 29; A. T. Yarwood, “Marsden, Samuel (1765-1838)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 2 (1967), 207-212: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020176b.htm>.

⁶⁶ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Gazette* (3 February 1816), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2176538>.

⁶⁷ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Gazette* (7 February 1818), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2177743>.

⁶⁸ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Gazette* (5 July 1834), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2216552>; see also [Letter to the editor], *The Sydney Gazette* (1 May 1834), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2216024>: “[...] I believe a Mrs. Bird in this colony well calculated to sing at concerts”; and “CONCERT”, *The Sydney Gazette* (21 August 1834), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2216900>.

⁶⁹ Marjorie Barnard, “Piper, John (1773-1851)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 2 (1967), 334-335: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020295b.htm>.

Parramatta that year of the anniversary of the Agricultural Society, attended by governor Thomas Brisbane:⁷¹

The conviviality of the evening was kept up to a very late hour by songs from many of the Company, and by Captain PIPER'S band of music.

And at ball and supper in July 1824:⁷²

Captain Piper, with his usual zeal in these cases, had his own Band in attendance upon the noble Host. Dancing, consisting of country dances, quadrilles, and Spanish waltzes, presently commenced, and was maintained with the utmost animation till midnight.

When, financially embarrassed in 1827, Piper tried unsuccessfully to commit suicide by throwing himself overboard from his long boat, it was reported that he had "ordered his band of music to accompany him" on what was to have been his last voyage.⁷³

Quadrilles were mentioned in the press as early as October 1820, when a "M. Girard, of Paris" offered the families of Sydney "Instruction in his native language, and also in quadrilles, waltzes, &c. All kind of elegant dances".⁷⁴ On 26 August 1823, at a "splendid Ball [...] given by WILLIAM COX, Esq. of Clarendon, near Windsor [...] attended by a large Party of Ladies and Gentlemen from Sydney, and other parts of the Country":⁷⁵

The ball-room was tastefully fitted up; the newest quadrilles danced, and country dances gone through, with an unusual degree of spirit and liveliness, occasioned by the excellent music provided [...]

Thus, with no significant time lag, Sydney enjoyed the onset of the new vogue of the quadrille almost in tandem with London, where the dance had been introduced to Almack's famous dance club around 1815, by the leader of the orchestra James Paine. As in London, in Hobart,

⁷⁰ On her departure to return to Great Britain in 1822, Elizabeth Macquarie gave her cello to the Pipers; see Letter from Elizabeth Macquarie to Mr. Mary Ann Piper (9 February 1822), *Piper Papers* Vol. 1, Mitchell Library, Sydney; see LEMA Archive online: <http://www.lib.mq.edu.au/digital/lema/cello/history.html>.

⁷¹ "HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR", *The Sydney Gazette* (10 July 1823), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2182009>.

⁷² "THE FASHIONABLE WORLD", *The Sydney Gazette* (1 July 1824), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2183020>.

⁷³ [Reprinted from *The Sydney Gazette*], *Colonial Times and Tasmanian Advertiser* (18 May 1827), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2450174>.

⁷⁴ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Gazette* (28 October 1820), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2179848>; (2 December 1820), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2179917>; an F. Girard was a baker in 1825, see *The Sydney Gazette* (10 November 1825), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2184671>; and a convict, "Francis Girard, Alias Delisle" was granted a conditional pardon in 1825: *The Sydney Gazette* (21 April 1825), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2183945>; a Girard opened "a coffee-room, in the French style" in 1826, *The Sydney Gazette* (13 September 1826), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2186525>;

⁷⁵ [News], *The Sydney Gazette* (4 September 1823), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2182181>.

too, both Almacks and the quadrille were still being mentioned as bywords of fashion over a decade later:⁷⁶

This evening the spacious apartments recently erected in the Barrack-square were thrown open by the Officers of the 40th Regiment, to a numerous and fashionable assemblage of their friends, for a splendid Ball and Supper, to which most of the principal inhabitants had received cards. The rooms filled soon after 10 o'clock; and quadrilles and Spanish dances were kept up during the whole night with great spirit. In all, we believe, there were nearly 120 persons present, forming an assemblage of fashion, beauty, and elegance, worthy of Almacks itself.

Though written up in a fictional account, the event was probably a real one; certainly the band was, and it would have been under the direction of Joseph Reichenberg.

[1.3] *Joseph Reichenberg, settler Australia's first composer*

Histories to date have agreed that the earliest work of settler music by a named composer in the historical record was **A First Set of a Quadrilles for Australia** by **Joseph Reichenberg (Italy c.1789/92-1851) {1824-51}**, on sale at Robert Campbell's music warehouse in 1825. Whereas the music has not survived,⁷⁷ the first advertisement of its existence in *The Sydney Gazette* on 28 April remains one of the foundational documents of Australian music:⁷⁸

AUSTRALIAN QUADRILLES.

Mr. Reichenberg, Music Master of the 40th Regiment, respectfully informs the Ladies and Gentlemen of the Colony, that he has composed *A First Set of Quadrilles for Australia*, with proper figures adapted to it, for the Piano Forte, Flute, or Violin; as also, for a full Band. The same may be had in Manuscript, from Mr. Reichenberg, at the Military Barracks, or at Mr. Campbell's [...], by giving one day's notice. Price 6 s[hillings].

Proving that the advertisement made an immediate impression, a few days later the *Gazette's* competitor, *Howe's Express*, referred to "Australian Quadrilles and lending libraries",⁷⁹ both signs of encroaching European civilization; while as to the immediate utility of Reichenberg's *Quadrilles*, the same issue of the *Gazette* that carried the first advertisement, also reported:⁸⁰

⁷⁶ "EXTRACTS FROM A JOURNAL (intended for Publication,) kept by a Country Gentleman, during a short visit to Hobart Town, Sunday, March 16, 1828", *The Hobart Town Courier* (22 March 1828), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4223557>.

⁷⁷ Following a common misconception, resulting from someone having attached Reichenberg's name to the SL-NSW copy of the 1835 William Ellard *Quadrilles*, Catherine Mackerras, *The Hebrew Melodist: A Life of Isaac Nathan* (Sydney: Currawong Publishing Co., 1963), 65, stated that Reichenberg's 1825 quadrilles later "found print in Dublin after the regiment's departure in 1829"; see also Ann Wentzel, "Early Composers of Australia", *Quadrant* 6 (1962), 29.

⁷⁸ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Gazette* (28 April 1825), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2183967>.

⁷⁹ [Editorial], *The Sydney Gazette* (5 May 1825), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2184000>.

⁸⁰ "THE RACE BALL AND SUPPER", *The Sydney Gazette* (28 April 1825), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2183971>.

[...] the Sydney Turf Club, the Ball and Supper were given on Tuesday evening, at the music rooms of Mr. Campbell, in George-street [...] His Excellency the Governor was present the greater part of the night, and entered into the spirit of “the times” with all that affability of disposition for which he is so eminently characterised. The 40th and Captain Piper’s Band composed the orchestra.

According to his later discharge papers, Joseph “Richenberg” (also sometimes “-burg”), was born in Naples, and joined first the Chasseurs Britanniques when they were in Sicily in 1809. Wellington’s “mongrel” regiment consisted almost wholly of foreigners who served Britain, notably in Spain in the Peninsular War, until being disbanded in 1814, by which time Reichenberg had transferred to the 40th regiment.⁸¹ Nothing is known of his activities in Britain, except that, prior to embarking for Australia, Reichenberg was probably with the headquarters of his regiment in Liverpool.⁸² Once landed in Sydney late in 1824, the 40th band played for a gentlemen’s party on the evening of the king’s birthday, 23 April 1825, when presumably “appropriate airs” were played in answer to the reported “appropriate toasts”.⁸³ One of Reichenberg’s last ceremonial duties in Sydney was to play for the inauguration of the new governor, Ralph Darling, on 20 December 1825, in which Sydney’s other composer-bandmaster, Thomas Kavanagh, and his Buffs Band, also participated.

Columbus Fitzpatrick, a child at the time, sang in the Catholic chapel choir that his mother, Catherine, had formed a few years earlier.⁸⁴ In reminiscences published around 1870, Fitzpatrick recalled:⁸⁵

In 1825 there were a great number of soldiers in this country and as it happened, the Bandmaster (Mr. Cavanagh) of the 3rd Buffs was a Catholic, as also the Bandmaster (Mr. Richenberg) of the 40th Regiment, an Italian and a great musician. Both regiments were stationed in Sydney at the time, and as Mr. Richenberg was only a hired bandmaster to the 40th Regiment he used to devote all his leisure hours to the instruction and formation of a real good choir, and I can say with truth that his exertions were crowned with success, for he had taught us to sing with his bandsmen, and it was a common thing to have five or six clarinets, two bassoons, a serpent, two French horns, two flutes, a violincello, and first and tenor violin, and any amount of well-trained singers, all bursting forth in perfect harmony the beautiful music of our Church. Oh! it makes my heart thrill when I think of those happy days. I have since heard the organ of Saint Mary’s; I have seen

⁸¹ Britain, National Archives, WO 97/565/81 (“Richenberg, Joseph”): <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/catalogue/displaycataloguedetails.asp?CATID=-3949453&CATLN=7&accessmethod=5>.

⁸² “Latest British Extracts”, *The Sydney Gazette* (4 September 1823), 1s: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2182166>.

⁸³ “KING’S BIRTH-DAY”, *The Sydney Gazette* (28 April 1825), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2183971>.

⁸⁴ Errol J. Lea-Scarlett, “Fitzpatrick, Columbus (1810-1877)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 4 (1972), 183-184: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/AO40198b.htm>.

⁸⁵ For fuller extract, see Appendix 1: Texts; Columbus Fitzpatrick, “Reminiscences of Catholicism in the Early Days of the Colony: To the Editor of the [Southern] Argus, [Goulburn]”, reproduced in C. J. Duffy (ed.), *Catholic religious and social life in the Macquarie era: as portrayed in the letters of Columbus Fitzpatrick (1810-1878)* (Sydney: Catholic Press Newspaper Company, Ltd., 1966), 17-19; Patrick O’Farrell, *Documents in Australian Catholic History: 1788-1883* (Sydney: G. Chapman, 1969), 32-33.

Dr. Reid, who was a great man, assisted by his sisters and Miss Lane and a great body of singers, but they could not equal the choir formed by Mr. Richenberg [...] for he had so many bandsmen, and they played with such precision that finer music could not be found out of Europe. There being as I said before, two Catholic bandmasters in Sydney at that time, there was a spirit of emulation in the bands to see who could do most for the Church, and as Mr. Cavanagh the bandmaster of the Buffs was a fine singer, he gave us the benefit of his voice in addition to playing the violincello. Such choruses I have never since heard [...].

Reichenberg moved to Hobart with his regiment early in February 1826,⁸⁶ arriving first with only part of the band, which probably explains a report of a dinner on 8 February, within a day or two of their arrival, at which two local “amateurs”, Mr. Roberts and John Philip Deane sang:⁸⁷

[...] favourite catches and glees, in a manner which afforded amply compensation for the want of the newly arrived Band of the 40th Regiment, which we lament to say, was refused.

Nevertheless, the *Hobart Town Gazette* reported on 11 February:⁸⁸

For ourselves we anticipate much gratification from the performances of the Band; which we hope, for the accommodation of the Public, will take place at a fixed hour on particular days. It is enlivening to see a crowd of well dressed, respectable people, listening to the strains of military music.

And in Hobart on 31 March, John Philip Deane was also offering Reichenberg’s (Sydney) quadrilles for sale:⁸⁹

The first set of Australian Quadrills, arranged for the Piano Forte, by J. Richenberg, Music Master of the 40th Band [...].

The 40th Band then took part in the king’s Birthday celebrations in Hobart in April 1826. At the dinner at Government House, after a toast was proposed to the “prosperity of the sister Colony”, New South Wales, “the new and beautiful **Australian Air** was struck up”.⁹⁰ Was this also one of Reichenberg’s tunes, or another from Sydney, pre-existing or recently-composed, perhaps by the other bandmaster, Kavanagh?⁹¹ Later in the year, at the

⁸⁶ “New South Wales”, *Colonial Times* [Hobart] (10 February 1826), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2447160>; according to Brisbane, *Entertaining Australia*, 26, Reichenberg and the band arrived in Hobart from Norfolk Island in 1824.

⁸⁷ “Tasmanian Extracts: DINNER TO MAJOR ABBOTT”, *The Sydney Gazette* (15 March 1826), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2185425>.

⁸⁸ [News], *Hobart Town Gazette* (11 February 1826), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8791462>.

⁸⁹ [Advertisement], *Colonial Times* (31 March 1826), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2447521>.

⁹⁰ [News], *The Hobart Town Gazette* (29 April 1826), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8790487>;

“Tasmanian Extracts”, *The Sydney Gazette* (17 May 1826), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2185821>.

⁹¹ Much later, an “**Australian Air**” was played by “a portion of the band of the 80th regiment” in answer to a toast to “the Land we live in” at a Masonic dinner in Sydney in 1842; “MASONIC”, *The Sydney Morning Herald*

St. Andrew's Day dinner in Hobart in November, Reichenberg's band played the usual British "national airs" in answer to most of the toasts (*God save the King*, *The Duke of York's March*, *Rule Britannia*), but again at the toast to the sister colony and its governor, Darling, they played an **Australian March**,⁹² in the circumstances quite possibly Kavanagh's *Darling's Australian Slow March* (see below). In late September 1826, Reichenberg and his band collaborated with Deane in presenting the first Hobart "amateur" concert, with Reichenberg as soloist in the "*Concerto – Clarinet*" by the unidentifiable "Don Costa Franco".⁹³

Four years later, in August 1828, another Hobart advertisement listed the contents of two quadrille sets by Reichenberg, the **Hobarton Quadrilles**, and what was described as "**another set for the 40th**". The titles of the latter recollected campaigns that the regiment, and perhaps Reichenberg himself, had been involved in; but possibly the set identical with the original *Australian Quadrilles* of 1825:⁹⁴

JOSEPH REICHENBERG, Band Master of the 40th Regiment, begs leave to inform the ladies and gentlemen of this colony, that they can now have manuscript copies of the *Hobarton Quadrilles*. The figures are as follows:

The safe arrival - The Scotch settler - The English settler - The Irish do. - and the Union, all adapted to the style of the three different nations, and to the Figures of the first set of Paine's Quadrilles.

Reichenberg has also composed another set for the 40th, which may also be had from him. The figures are as follows - La Peninsula - La Waterloo - La Paris - L'Australia - La Tasmania, adapted to the Figures of the Lancer's set.

Later that month, the *Hobarton Quadrilles* (only) were again advertised at Deane's Circulating Library, along with Deane's own *Tasmanian Quadrilles*, in a long (and fascinating) list of, otherwise, European music available for sale.⁹⁵

According to his British army record, Reichenberg was forty at the time of his discharge, early in 1829. Afterward, it was remembered that:⁹⁶

[...] the band of the 40th [...] improved so much under Mr. Reichenberg's

(29 December 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12420773>; and Andrew Moore performed a "**variation, by himself, on an Australian air**"; "MR. A. MOORE'S SOIREE MUSICALE", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (27 November 1851), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12932389>.

⁹² "St. Andrew's Day", *Colonial Times* (1 December 1826), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2448996>.

⁹³ "HOBART TOWN CONCERTS", *Hobart Town Gazette* (7 October 1826), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8790789>; this review was also reprinted in an historical article, "THE FIRST CONCERT IN HOBART", *The Mercury* (11 October 1883), 2s: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article9024991>.

⁹⁴ [Advertisement]: "Quadrilles", *The Hobart Town Courier* (9 August 1828), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4221623>.

⁹⁵ [Advertisement], "Music for Sale", *The Hobart Town Courier* (23 August 1828), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4221539>.

⁹⁶ [News of the day], *The Hobart Town Courier* (23 April 1831), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4203890>: "[...] and Mr. Williams appears equally successful with that of the 63rd. Most of the modern and fashionable pieces are now played by them with much taste and correctness. There is something indeed in the clear, elastic atmosphere of Van Diemen's Land which seems to improve the tone, and to add in some degree to the charms of music. We hope to see the science more cultivated than it has hitherto been in the colony. It is one of the most innocent recreations of social life."

instruction, previous to embarking for India, that it could scarcely be recognised as the same that originally came out raw from England.

Staying on in Tasmania, Reichenberg took up a teaching post at George Carr Clarke's school for girls, Ellinthorpe Hall, at Ross in the Tasmanian central highlands for a couple of years.⁹⁷ He returned to Hobart at the end of 1830,⁹⁸ where he remained a well-known "professor of music", occasionally importing printed music,⁹⁹ performing in concerts on the clarinet, cello, and piano, and joining Deane in forming a theatre orchestra in 1834. Reichenberg was often listed as "Director of the Music" at the Royal Victoria Theatre until at least 1841.

On 21 January 1832, Reichenberg advertised his own third dance collection, **Tasmanian New Quadrilles and Country Dances for 1832:**¹⁰⁰

The above are composed for the Piano, and may be had in manuscript copies, by applying to the undersigned, with a Flute accompaniment. He recommends them as pretty, and not very difficult, and has marked the fingering over them.— J. Reichenberg.

And in a concert presented at Hobart Court House on 30 October 1833, "Mr. Reichenberg", on the "clarinet", played his own **Variations on "Oh no we never mention her"**.¹⁰¹ According to the *Colonial Times*, the concert "was the very best ever heard in Van Diemen's Land", and "Mr. Reichenberg's Variations [...] were excellent".¹⁰² The new work prompted a correspondent to the *Courier* to speculate on "local production" more generally:¹⁰³

Of the performances, if we except Mr. Peck's inimitable collections and diversifications from Paganini and others, Mr. Reichenberg's beautiful variations in the popular air of *Oh no, we never mention her*, performed with such exquisite taste and spirit, with violin accompaniments, on the clarinet, was the only original production of the evening. Though if we may augur from the manner in which the concert was got up there were several others present, who could if they pleased turn their hand with some effect to the art of composition.

⁹⁷ [News], *The Hobart Town Courier* (21 March 1829), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4217554>; G. T. Stilwell, "Clark, George Carr (1789-1863)", *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 1 (1966), 224-225: <http://adonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/AO10211b.htm>; Reichenberg was also music teacher to James Kelly's daughters, and tuner of his piano, see Keith Macrae Bowden, *Captain James Kelly of Hobart Town* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1964), 87.

⁹⁸ [Advertisement], *Colonial Times* (19 November 1830), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8645447>.

⁹⁹ See, for example, [Advertisement]: "NEW MUSIC. J. REICHENBERG", *The Hobart Town Courier* (17 September 1831), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4202124>.

¹⁰⁰ [Advertisement], *The Hobart Town Courier* (21 January 1832), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4200325>.

¹⁰¹ [Advertisement], *The Hobart Town Courier* (25 October 1833), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4189158>; the tune and text probably derived from a French song, as translated by Haynes Bayley (1797-1839) and arranged with "symphonies and accompaniments" by Henry Bishop, it was published in London in or soon after 1827, see *Harmonicon* 5 (1827), 205; for a contemporary American edition, see: <http://levysheetmusic.mse.jhu.edu/levy/cgi/condisp.cgi?id=175.148>.

¹⁰² "Mr. Peck's concert [...]", *Colonial Times* (5 November 1833), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8647262>.

¹⁰³ [Advertisement]: "CONCERT", *The Hobart Town Courier* (25 October 1833), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4189158>; "At Mr. Peck's concert ...", *The Hobart Town Courier* (1 November 1833), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4189100>.

The violinist George Peck, just 23 years old, who presented the concert and played a violin **Solo** of his own composition, “collected and diversified from various works of Mayseder, De Beriot, Paganini, &c.”, did indeed continue to compose (and later even publish Australian music).¹⁰⁴ Other participants of compositional potential perhaps included William Russell,¹⁰⁵ also a violinist, the singer Maria Taylor (later a stalwart of Sydney theatre),¹⁰⁶ both also recent arrivals, and Deane. Unfortunately, when the *Colonial Times* reported—of Deane’s Fourth Concert in July 1833—that “Mr. Reichenberg’s *clarionet concerto*, with orchestra accompaniments, was really a treat”, it was probably not his own composition.¹⁰⁷

Reichenberg’s name also appeared regularly in the Hobart press as a prominent citizen, and leading laymen of the Roman Catholic community. He directed the music when mass was celebrated at the Argyle Rooms in the 1830s, and later was organist and choirmaster of St. Joseph’s Church under the reverend John Therry. No Catholic church music bearing his name has been identified; nevertheless, at a meeting at St. Joseph’s in May 1843, it was resolved:¹⁰⁸

[...] that Joseph Reichenberg, Esq., is entitled to the best thanks of the Catholic community, for having formed and gratuitously conducted their Choir for the last five years. 2nd, That as that gentleman still refuses to receive any remuneration whatever for his valuable services [...] and as a severe domestic calamity, a delicate constitution, and his various public and private professional duties must tender it exceedingly inconvenient to him to continue to attend the Choir [...] he be requested [...] to engage at our expense some other able professional gentleman as an Assistant in our Choral Department, and to continue as long as his health and convenience may permit to act as its principal Director.

¹⁰⁴ Peck returned to England, and also spent some time in the United States, where he also published some music, including “*The San Francisco quadrilles*, arranged from the most favourite negro melodies for the piano forte: <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/26591926>; he was probably also the author of *George Washington [sic] Peck, Melbourne, and the Chincha Islands : with sketches of Lima, and a voyage round the world* (New York; Scribner, 1854); Trove Bookmark: <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/935626>; http://books.google.com/books?id=c_oOAAAAYAAJ; Peck’s obituary contains further biographical data, see “DEATHS”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (21 October 1863), 9: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13093190>; see also Margaret Glover, “George Henry Peck”, *Dictionary of Australian Artists Online* (1992/2007): <http://www.daao.org.au/main/read/5028>.

¹⁰⁵ [Advertisement]: “Academy of Music”, *Colonial Times* (3 July 1832), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8646553>; *Colonial Times* (3 July 1832), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8646552>; but see also *The Hobart Town Courier* (6 July 1832), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4197871>: “Mr. Russel [...] is a violin performer of the first class, and would have formed one of Her Majesty’s superior band (consisting of only 13 of the first performers of the day), had not circumstances led him to emigrate to this colony”.

¹⁰⁶ She died in Calcutta in 1841; “DEATHS”, *The Sydney Herald* (27 September 1841), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12871343>.

¹⁰⁷ [News], *Colonial Times* (30 July 1833), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8647129/667468>; on the other hand, it was probably Reichenberg who introduced a “*Concerto – Clarionette*” by Bochsa, see “THE SECOND CONCERT”, *Hobart Town Gazette* (24 February 1827), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8791751>; and he played again it with “orchestral accompaniment”, see [Advertisement]: “GRAND CONCERT”, *Colonial Times* (5 October 1841), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8752091>.

¹⁰⁸ [Advertisement]: “ST. JOSEPH’S CHURCH”, *The Courier* (12 May 1843), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2952729>.

Reichenberg was succeeded in the post by a daughter of his second marriage.¹⁰⁹ His first wife, Angelica Reichenberg, died after a long illness, in January 1843, aged 50 years;¹¹⁰ and in October, he married Eliza Frances O’Meagher.¹¹¹

Though a Catholic, Reichenberg’s sole extant work was composed for the opening of the Hobart synagogue on 4 July 1845, its genesis creating some local interest, as explained in the *Colonial Times*:¹¹²

In answer to numerous enquiries as to whether the gentlemen composing the choir at the opening of the Jewish Synagogue last Friday were professionals, we can inform our readers that the whole of them (consisting of Messrs. M. S. Simeon, treble ; D. Allen, tenor; E. Isaacs, counter tenor ; Isaac Solomon and H. Nathan, bass;) were young men of the Hebrew religion, one of whom (Mr. Simeon) had assisted in a similar ceremony at home, and remembering the melodies, sung them to Mr. Reichenberg, who most felicitously melodized them. Mr. R attempted, and it must be admitted, accomplished the teaching five persons to sing in parts, and acquiring himself sufficient Hebrew to comprehend what he had to teach, in a manner which must increase the already high opinion entertained by the Tasmanian public of his professional superiority. [...]

An earlier report went into greater detail:¹¹³

The ceremony commenced with one of Haydn’s most favourite symphonies admirably performed by a choice orchestra led by Monsieur Gautrot, Mr. Reichenberg presiding at the piano. The choir was admirable, and singing of very first order; the melodies beautiful, and the harmonies perfect. A procession composed of the officers of the congregation circumambulated the avenues formed by the visitors seven times, at each interval the choir, accompanied by the orchestra, singing select passages of appropriate Psalms, but arranged to beautiful melodies [...] One of the Rolls of the Law was then taken out of the Ark and delivered to the Reader, who chaunted with musical accompaniments several appropriate passages of Scripture [...] The 39th Psalm was then chaunted by the choir with great taste and effect. Another prayer then followed, after which the 150th Psalm was sung by the choir, the *Hallelujahs* particularly beautifully, indeed it is only due to the gentlemen who formed the choir to say that their performances

¹⁰⁹ “DEATH OF AN OLD COLONIST”, *The Mercury* (13 June 1899), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article9450266>.

¹¹⁰ “DIED”, *Launceston Examiner* (28 January 1843), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36232581>; also on Angelica Reichenberg, see “FATAL ACCIDENT”, *The Australian* (25 March 1836), 6: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36858273>; the Mr. Neville in question is the same former Ellard’s of Dublin employee mentioned in Chapter 2.

¹¹¹ Born: Ireland 1819; died Hobart 1899; see “Married”, *Colonial Times* (31 October 1843), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8754165>.

¹¹² “THE SYNAGOGUE”, *Colonial Times* (11 July 1845), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8756924>;

¹¹³ [News], *Colonial Times* (8 July 1845), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8756909>; there are no composer attributions at all in the printed order, see *Order of Service at the Dedication of the Synagogue, Argyle Street, Hobart Town, Van Diemen’s Land, on Friday, the 4th July, a.m., 5605-1845*, copy at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9801095>; according to John S. Levi & George F.J. Bergman, *Australian Genesis: Jewish Convicts and Settlers, 1788-1850* (Adelaide: Rigby, 1974), 237, “the music was written by the Jewish immigrant John [sic] Henry Anderson, and orchestrated and conducted by Joseph Reichenberg”; see also separate discussion of Anderson’s career in Chapter 4.

would have done credit to any London Concert of, Sacred Music.

There was evidently a plan to publish Reichenberg's music immediately.¹¹⁴ But, in the event, [**Ancient Hebrew Melodies**](#) did not appear until two years later, 1847, published by Thomas Browne.¹¹⁵ As "harmonized and arranged for the pianoforte" by Reichenberg, these colonial *Hebrew Melodies* were greeted by the press as an:¹¹⁶

[...] invaluable addition to the musical gems of Tasman's Land [...] heightened by the recollection of the masterly performance of the several pieces at the consecration of the Synagogue in Argyle-street.

This setting for piano solo, the sole musical artefact from settler Australia's "first composer", is also the only piece of surviving colonial music that could be said to belong, stylistically, to the Classical period. Having been naturalised in 1844,¹¹⁷ Reichenberg died in Hobart on 31 January 1851.¹¹⁸

[1.4] Thomas Kavanagh's "Original Australian Music"

Australia's second named composer of European birth was **Thomas Kavanagh (Ireland c.1800-?) {fl.1825-27}**, master of the band of the 3rd Regiment of Foot, the "Bufs". Unlike Reichenberg, who stayed on and settled, Kavanagh spent only a couple of years in the colony, and, remaining with the military, moved on with his regiment to Calcutta in 1827. He was joined in India by his son Thomas Henry Kavanagh, later a civilian winner of a Victoria Cross in the battle of Lucknow in 1857. Thomas Henry's biographer, D. H. Parry, also supplied a little more information about Thomas senior:¹¹⁹

The year of grace 1821, which saw the death of the great Napoleon, witnessed the birth of a son to Bandmaster Kavanagh of the 3rd Bufs, at the town of Mullingar,

¹¹⁴ [Advertisement]: "Hebrew Melodies: To be published shortly [...]", *The Courier* (30 July 1845), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2947838>.

¹¹⁵ Browne was already, by report, a publisher of music, see "TASMANIAN PUBLICATIONS", *The Courier* (4 October 1845), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2947269>: "He has also published one or two pieces of approved music".

¹¹⁶ "NEW MUSIC", *The Courier* (28 April 1847), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2972015>; "LITHOGRAPHY—HEBREW MELODIES", *Colonial Times* (23 April 1847), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8760488>; interestingly, however, Reichenberg's music was not specifically mentioned among that sung at the re-consecration (after renovations) of the Hobart synagogue in 1848, reportedly on that occasion "the music being composed by the Reader of the Berlin Synagogue, John Barnett, and other Hebrew composers", "RE-CONSECRATION OF THE JEWISH SYNAGOGUE", *The Hobart Town Daily Mercury* (4 May 1858), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3247917>.

¹¹⁷ Tasmania, Archives Office: SC415/1/1 p.34; "Richenburg" in the 1843 census (CEN1/1/52, 27).

¹¹⁸ "DIED", *Colonial Times* (31 January 1851), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8768673>.

¹¹⁹ D. H. Parry, *The Victoria Cross: its heroes and their valor* (London, 1898), 162: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=AIq3Nz66-GoC&pg=PA162&#v=onepage&q&f=false>; his own short memoir, Thomas Henry Kavanagh, *How I Won the Victoria Cross* (London: Ward and Lock, 1860), contains no reference to his childhood or parentage, except to say, in 1859, that he had been away from Europe for 30 years [i.e. since c.1829], suggesting he did not come to Australia with his father, but probably joined him in India; Christopher Hibbert, *The Great Mutiny: India, 1857* (London: Allen Lane, 1978), 332, described young Kavanagh at Lucknow as "a tall, muscular, talkative, ludicrously vain Irishman of thirty-six".

in County Westmeath Ireland.

Kavanagh senior (also Kavenagh, Kavannah, Kavannagh, Cavenagh) arrived in Sydney with the rest of the Buffs Band in August 1823,¹²⁰ and participated with his regiment in government ceremonies during 1824. According to regimental records,¹²¹ Kavanagh's band consisted of himself ("sarjeant"), and 10 rank-and-file musicians: Zachariah Berry, John Blake, William Booth, William Kavanagh,¹²² Harry Keyser, Henry Lincoln, John May, Thomas Mylett,¹²³ John Sullivan, and Edward White.¹²⁴ Most were probably capable of playing several instruments, both wind and string; but a typical core instrumentation for British military bands at the time was pairs of oboes, horns, clarinets, and bassoons, with flute, trumpet, and serpent.

At the annual commemoration of the first landing, on 26 January 1825:¹²⁵

The Band of the 3d (or Buffs) Regt, attended, and performed, in their usual masterly and exhilarating Style, several delightful airs and melodies.

One unidentified tune sung on the same occasion (not necessarily a new one) accompanied a specially written [Song for the Commemoration Dinner, 1825](#), which closed with a versified toast to:

*Australia! whilst met on this festive occasion,
We yield thee our tribute of commemoration [...];
Then to thee shall our hearts' purest homage be giv'n,
And the toast that succeeds, be "The land, boys, we live in".*

Reichenberg's band of the 40th, and Kavanagh's Buffs, appeared together at a dinner for the outgoing governor, Thomas Brisbane, in November 1825, when "many excellent songs" were given, one [Song](#) "in particular, composed and sung by that old son of the Muses, Mr. Michael Robinson":¹²⁶

*The trophies of freedom transcendent have shone,
In graceful reflections from Britain's bright throne:
And the star she diffus'd—with munificent smile,*

¹²⁰ *The Sydney Gazette* (4 September 1823), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2182178>.

¹²¹ London, National Archives, PRO, WO12/2118: 3rd Regiment of Foot (Buffs) payrolls 1824-26; microfilm copy at SL-NSW: PRO Reel 3695.

¹²² Since Thomas Henry was Thomas's son, their sharing a first name probably indicates that he was the first son, suggesting a birth date for Kavanagh senior sometime in the late 1790s; in the circumstances, then, William Kavanagh, if a relative, is likely to have been a brother, or other (older) relative.

¹²³ On Mylett and his wife hiring convict servants, see SR-NSW, Colonial Secretary, Index: 1788-1825: http://colsec.records.nsw.gov.au/indexes/colsec/m/F40c_mu-my-12.htm.

¹²⁴ Of the others, only Edward White (b. c.1785) is known to have stayed on in Australia; he died in 1837.

¹²⁵ "COMMEMORATION DINNER", *The Sydney Gazette* (3 February 1825), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2183684>.

¹²⁶ "PUBLIC DINNER", *The Sydney Gazette* (10 November 1825), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2184661>; "Sydney Intelligence", *Colonial Times and Tasmanian Advertiser* (2 December 1825), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2446678>.

An air called **Currency Lasses** was also played to one of the toasts, and another air **Hail Australia!** accompanied that to the “happiness and prosperity of New South Wales”. Kavanagh shortly laid compositional claim to both of these titles, and Reichenberg’s band also introduced an air called *Currency Lasses* to Hobart the following year.¹²⁷ Both tunes may have enjoyed a measure of longevity. In 1827, Peter Cunningham noted in his book *Two Years in New South Wales*:¹²⁸

Our colonial born brethren are best known here by the name of Currency, in contradistinction to Sterling, or those born in the mother country [...] “The Currency lads” is now a popular standing toast, since it was given by Major Goulburn at the Agricultural dinner, while *The Currency lasses* gives name to one of our most favourite tunes.

Something called *Hail! Australia* was still being played among the “appropriate airs” by the band of the 39th Regiment at a dinner in Sydney in February 1831;¹²⁹ *Currency Lass* [sic] by the same band at a dinner for The Australian Society (for the encouragement of Colonial Manufacturers) in August 1831;¹³⁰ and *Hail Australia* was again played, by the band of the 17th, in 1835.¹³¹

Another evidently local composition was the **Welcome to Australia**, played by the Buffs’ Band at the installation of Governor Darling on 19 December 1825.¹³² Six governors and almost four decades on from Phillip and the colony’s foundation, it may by then have been a “traditional” item for such ceremonies, bequeathed by a former bandmaster. But if a new work, Kavanagh or Reichenberg (both of whose bands played that day) are likely contenders as composers.¹³³ Kavanagh also appeared in the Governor’s Ecclesiastical disbursements for 1825, “for conducting the psalmody” at St. Phillip’s Church, which also,

¹²⁷ “ST. ANDREW’S DAY”, *Hobart Town Gazette* (9 December 1826), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8790194>.

¹²⁸ Peter Cunningham, *Two Years in New South Wales* (London: Henry Colburn, 1827), vol. 2, 53, 55: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=jsonAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA355&dq=#v=onepage&q=&f=false>; this extract also reprinted in review in *London Magazine* (August 1827), 526: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=go8QgpLbn7wC&pg=PA526&#v=onepage&q=&f=false>; and see L.F. Fitzhardinge, “Cunningham, Peter Miller (1789-1864)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 1 (1966), 267-268: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/AO10256b.htm>.

¹²⁹ “DINNER TO WM. WALKER”, *The Sydney Gazette* (15 February 1831), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2199050>.

¹³⁰ “THE AUSTRALIAN SOCIETY: PUBLIC DINNER”, *The Sydney Gazette* (2 August 1831), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2201848>.

¹³¹ “SAINT GEORGE’S DINNER”, *The Sydney Herald* (27 April 1835), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12852016>.

¹³² “HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR IN CHIEF”, *The Sydney Gazette* (22 December 1825), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2184905>.

¹³³ “GOVERNMENT AND GENERAL ORDER”, *The Sydney Gazette* (19 December 1825), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2184883>: “The Band of the Buffs will assemble at the King’s Wharf and will precede the Procession, playing Marches until they reach the Gate leading to Government-house. The Band of the 40th Regiment, with a Guard of Honor [...], will be formed on the Inside the Entrance Gate to Government-house, and will receive His Excellency with the Compliments due to his distinguished rank.”

notably, included payments to a “Mr. Roberts for [...] music writing”, and for provision of “10 quires of medium paper for music”.¹³⁴ For a Sunday service at St. James’s in August 1826, Kavanagh’s band, and George Sippe’s band of the 57th regiment “paraded to and from the church”, and several of the bandsmen also “assisted in the choir—they performed an appropriate anthem, [on Pope’s] *Vital Spark of heavenly flame*, with some effect”.¹³⁵ And, as Columbus Fitzpatrick recollected in the passage cited above, Joseph Reichenberg’s Catholic chapel choir benefitted from the personal assistance of “Mr. Cavanagh the bandmaster of the Buffs [...] a fine singer, he gave us the benefit of his voice in addition to playing the violincello”.¹³⁶

In *The Sydney Gazette* of 5 January 1826, Kavanagh advertised the availability of copies of what he significantly called “Original Australian Music”, and a “Specimen of National Music”, the earliest non-Indigenous music to claim that description:¹³⁷

ORIGINAL AUSTRALIAN MUSIC.

Dedicated by Permission, to His Excellency Sir Thomas BRISBANE, K.C.B. &c. &c. and by Permission of His Honor the Lieutenant Governor.

MR. KAVANAGH, Master of the Band of the 3d Regiment, begs to acquaint the Gentry of Sydney and its Environs, that he has lately composed the following Pieces, which are now submitted at his Quarters in the Military Barrack, where Copies may be had:

General Ralph Darling’s Australian Slow March;
General Darling’s Quick Step;
Mrs. Darling’s Waltz;
His Honor Col. Stewart’s Slow March, Hail Australia!
Sir Thomas Brisbane’s Grand Australian March;
Sir Thomas Brisbane’s Grand Australian Quick March;
Lady Brisbane’s Waltz;
My Native Distant Home (Scotch Air);
Currency Lasses;
The Trumpet Rounds Australia’s Fame (Song).

Mr. K. in submitting to the Australian Public this Specimen of National Music, trusts he will meet with that Encouragement he will be always studious to merit.

Kavanagh thus supplied the colony with a small repertory of its own “appropriate national airs”, several of which—as we have seen—had already been performed as toast tunes along with the familiar British, Scots and Irish airs. Other advertised items were performed by the Buffs Band on 28 January 1826, at a celebration by “100 of the Gentry” of the anniversary of

¹³⁴ “DISBURSEMENTS: ECCLESIASTICAL ESTABLISHMENT”, *The Sydney Gazette* (3 October 1825), 1; <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2184477>.

¹³⁵ [News], *The Australian* (23 August 1826), 3; <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37073626>.

¹³⁶ For fuller extract, see **Appendix 1: Texts**; Fitzpatrick, “Reminiscences of Catholicism”, in Duffy (ed.), *Catholic Religious and Social Life*, 17-19; and O’Farrell, *Documents in Australian Catholic History*, 32-33.

¹³⁷ [Advertisement]: “ORIGINAL AUSTRALIAN MUSIC”, *The Sydney Gazette* (5 January 1826), 3; <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2184974>; also *The Sydney Gazette* (9 January 1826), 3; <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2185006>.

“the first landing” at Mrs. Hill’s Hyde Park Tavern chaired by W.C. Wentworth, plausibly the event to which the public circulation of copies of the music as advertised earlier that month was geared. Each item answered a toast: to governor Darling (“**General Darling’s March**”); to the late governor Brisbane (“**Sir Thomas Brisbane’s March**”); in memory of governor Phillip (“**Hail Australia!**”);¹³⁸ to the liberty of the press (“Air, **Sir Thomas Brisbane’s Quick March**”); and to the Currency lasses and lads (“Air, **Currency lasses**”).¹³⁹ Some of them probably had another outing the same week, at a dinner for the retirement of Major Goulburn when the “usual loyal and patriotic toasts were drank [...] followed by appropriate airs from the Band of the Buffs”.¹⁴⁰

On 19 July 1826, the song *The Trumpet Sounds Australia’s Fame* was the first locally-composed work performed by the recently inaugurated Sydney Amateur Concerts, at their “third Harmonic meeting”, and was welcomed by the *Gazette*—already—as “the germ of an Australian School of Music”:¹⁴¹

A new song, *The Trumpet sounds Australia’s Fame*, the music by Mr. Kavannah, Master of the Buffs’ Band, was given with considerable effect by the composer, and drew down great and deserved applause. The martial style of this air, its highly effective accompaniments, and the animating patriotic character of the poetry, imparted considerable satisfaction and delight, and demonstrated the effect which music wedded to immortal verse, produces on the soul of feeling and sensibility. The following may serve as a specimen of the poetry.

*Live, live, Australia! Land of future kings;
Land where new wonders each new sun disclose!
Land where the young renown luxuriant springs;
Land where the silent patriot worth reposes!*

[...] Taking every circumstance into consideration, it must be allowed, that the Sydney Amateur Concerts, present a considerable degree of excellence both vocal and instrumental, and their continued success cannot fail to be a desideratum with the inhabitants of Sydney, who, notwithstanding so small a beginning, may yet consider them as the germ of an Australian School of Music. “E parvis magna”.

¹³⁸ In its full title, *Colonel Stewart’s Slow March, Hail Australia*, it was named for the commanding officer of the Buffs, William Stewart, acting-governor of the colony in the interregnum between Brisbane’s departure and Darling’s arrival; see Theo Barker, “Stewart, William (1769-1854)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 2 (1967), 482-483: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/AO20446b.htm>.

¹³⁹ “SEVENTEEN HUNDRED AND EIGHTY EIGHT: THE FIRST LANDING”, *The Sydney Gazette* (28 January 1826), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2185145>; see Manning Clarke’s slightly different interpretation of the toasts, *A History of Australia* 2: 66.

¹⁴⁰ “DINNER TO MAJOR GOULBURN”, *The Sydney Gazette* (4 February 1826), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2185190>.

¹⁴¹ “SYDNEY AMATEUR CONCERT”, *The Sydney Gazette* (24 July 1826), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2186232>.

The discussion of the merits and desired features of “national song”—to remain a matter of lively interest for Australian music into the late twentieth-century—began with the *Monitor*’s review:¹⁴²

The Bravura song, *The Trumpet Sounds Australia’s Fame*, does credit to the composer, Mr. Kavannagh; and which, on account of his residence in the colony, attracted attention. The music is not well supported by the poetry. The latter is bad, as well in sentiment as in harmony of numbers. Mr. Kavennagh ought, in justice to his composition, to procure verses of a higher cast. The loyalty of our colonial poet-laureat would, we think, induce him to compose something worthy of becoming the national song of this advancing colony.

The next issue of the *Gazette* duly took the editor of the *Monitor* to task for undervaluing the words (“He [...] thereby proves that he knows as much of poetry as a brick-bat does”), and printed the poem in full—all, alas, that remains of the work.¹⁴³ Maybe something of the music’s style can be extrapolated, however, from one of its popular predecessors; Arne’s *The Soldier Tir’d*, another popular bravura, with trumpet allusions, programmed by the Sydney Amateurs in 1826.¹⁴⁴ Meanwhile, by September, the *Hobart Town Gazette* was indulging in some intercolonial musical rivalry, comparing the song with the *Australian Air* that Reichenberg had been performing in Hobart since April.¹⁴⁵

The last Sydney Concert was graced by an original bravura, the composition of Mr. Kavannagh. If it have any claims to such merit as the sweet *Australian Air* with which we are already acquainted, we congratulate our neighbours, but these attempts at originality by so young a people are very bold.

On 26 April 1826, Kavanagh directed the Buffs’ Band at the King’s Birthday Ball, which:¹⁴⁶

[...] commenced with quadrilles, and was diversified with an occasional country-dance, but quadrilles were the favourites of the ladies, and the Band [...] exquisitely performed them. The ladies skipt “on the light fantastic toe” with all imaginable grace and spirit.

Likewise, at the Sydney Races in June, “the band of the Buffs [...] contributed to the

¹⁴² “THE AMATEUR CONCERT”, *The Monitor* (21 July 1826), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31757663>.

¹⁴³ [News], *The Sydney Gazette* (26 July 1826), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2186245>; John Neylon Molony, *The Native-Born: The First White Australians* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2000), 114–115, nominated young native-born poet, Charles Tompson, junior, as likely author, curiously one of the same poets McGuanne compared with Kavanagh in his 1901 article; “Tompson, Charles (1807–1883)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 2 (1967), 533.

¹⁴⁴ For an unidentified contemporary printed edition, see: <https://jscholarship.library.jhu.edu/handle/1774.2/7149>.

¹⁴⁵ “MISCELLANY: ORIGINAL AND SELECT”, *Hobart Town Gazette* (2 September 1826), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8790213>.

¹⁴⁶ “THE KING’S BIRTHDAY”, *The Sydney Gazette* (29 April 1826), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2185740>; on another performances of quadrilles round this time, see *The Sydney Gazette* (1 March 1826), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2185331>.

amusement, by the performance, at intervals, of a delightful selection of music”.¹⁴⁷ Kavanagh was also “principal second violin” at a public concert on 9 January 1827,¹⁴⁸ and a few days later announced his own benefit concert, and **new music** of his own composition:¹⁴⁹

Mr. Cavenagh, we understand, is about to have a Benefit Concert, under very distinguished patronage. As a musician, Mr. C’s talents rate high, and his exertions, on all occasions, to please, will, we have little doubt, procure him a liberal and substantial mark of public favour. A rich and varied musical treat, we are informed, is in preparation, and some new music, vocal and instrumental, composed by Mr. Cavenagh, will be produced on this occasion.

The concert may not have taken place, however, and Kavanagh’s promise of delivering new compositions may, thus, have remained unfulfilled when he and the Buffs departed for India on the *Woodford* and *Speke* on 28 January 1827.¹⁵⁰ Kavanagh was still in India in the early 1830s; at Calcutta Town Hall on St. Andrew’s Day, 1831: “The Buffs’ band, well known for its excellence, under the guidance of Mr. Kavannah Senr., its master, were in attendance [...]”.¹⁵¹ And though he is unlikely to have returned to Australia, it is possible that one of his relatives did. When a temporary Catholic chapel opened in Sydney in mid-1829, it was reported: “The music is excellent, the leader of the choir (a Mr. Cavanagh, lately arrived from Ireland) having undertaken to conduct it for twelvemonths.”¹⁵²

Whether to a tune originally composed, or merely set, by Kavanagh, or to another melody completely, a song called the *Currency Lassies* entered the Australian folk tradition, later often sung to the air of the jig-tune, *The Irish Washerwoman*. The title recurred in a report on a concert by William Vincent Wallace in 1836, when the *Gazette* described the song “**Currency Lassies** (as composed by our talented towns lady, Mrs. John Paul senior)”.¹⁵³ A Mr. Paul, junior, was listed as having performed in the second Sydney Amateur Concert alongside Kavanagh; Mrs. John Paul Senior {fl.1826-36} was a soprano, who in another of the amateur concerts sang Arne’s bravura *The Soldier Tir’d*.¹⁵⁴

Though no music at all by Kavanagh survives in Australia, it is perhaps an indicator of his tastes that the Sydney Amateur Concert, in which he performed in 1826, was interested in some of the most recent English and European works, including “a very popular air now singing in London by Madame Vestris, *Cherry Ripe*”,¹⁵⁵ and, as the *Gazette* reported:¹⁵⁶

¹⁴⁷ “THE SYDNEY RACES”, *The Sydney Gazette* (17 June 1826), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2185992>.

¹⁴⁸ “Subscription Concert”, *The Sydney Gazette* (11 January 1827), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2187362>.

¹⁴⁹ [News], *The Sydney Gazette* (16 January 1827), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2187390>.

¹⁵⁰ “Shipping Intelligence”, *The Sydney Gazette* (30 January 1827), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2187539>.

¹⁵¹ “ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SONS OF ST. ANDREW AT THE TOWN HALL”, *Calcutta Magazine and Monthly Register* 25 (1832), 34: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=DBwYAAAAYAAJ&pg=RA1-PA34&dq#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

¹⁵² [News], *The Sydney Monitor* (4 July 1829), 3: <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/32071969>.

¹⁵³ “LAST FRIDAY EVENING’S CONCERT”, *The Sydney Gazette* (1 March 1836), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2203019>; Hall, *The Canon* 4/5 (November 1951), 155-56.

¹⁵⁴ “MR. EDWARDS’S BENEFIT”, *The Monitor* (25 August 1826), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31757768>.

¹⁵⁵ “THE CONCERT”, *The Monitor* (8 December 1826), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31758037>.

We understand that the amateurs have in rehearsal the overture, and some selections from *Der Frieschutz*, and extraordinary production, which has rendered the musical fame of Weber so popular in England.

As an example of both the speed of transmission of musical news by sea, and press judgment as to musical matters of interest to Sydney readers, the *Gazette* later that year reported on Weber's death only five months after the event.¹⁵⁷ And it took a similar interest in Beethoven's recent output, and the state of his health, between 1825 and the arrival in the Antipodes, late in 1827, of the news of his death.¹⁵⁸

[1.5] *John Philip Deane*

John Philip Deane (England 1796-1849) {1822-49} and his wife, Rosalie,¹⁵⁹ arrived in Hobart, from London, on 19 June 1822.¹⁶⁰ He is probably the "John Deane" who in Hobart in July 1822 was selling miscellaneous goods.¹⁶¹ By February 1823, "John Philip Deane" was advertising as a storeowner.¹⁶² He continued to sell general imported goods at his Waterloo Stores, though by mid-1825 he had also turned to music for supplementary income, taking up the post of organist of St. David's church, for a reported £100 per annum. Since a quarter of this was initially to be paid out of the government purse—a contentious issue among those colonists who did not belong to the establishment (Episcopalian) church—this made him for a short while a public servant.¹⁶³ Deane also begged "to inform his friends", that he was a "Teacher of the Piano, Violin and Singing Master", and also had for sale a newly imported piano and printed music, including piano arrangements of Haydn's symphonies, "Rondos, Songs, and a Quantity of Music Paper, the first engraved and printed in Van Diemen's Land".¹⁶⁴ It was probably on Deane's paper that Reichenberg's *Australian Quadrilles* were copied to order for Hobart customers.

¹⁵⁶ "SYDNEY AMATEUR CONCERT", *The Sydney Gazette* (24 June 1826), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2186054>.

¹⁵⁷ "DEATH OF M. VON WEBER", *The Sydney Gazette* (1 November 1826), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2186803>.

¹⁵⁸ "BIOGRAPHY XXVI: BEETHOVEN", *The Sydney Gazette* (9 June 1825), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2184103>; see a notice of recent Berlin performance of one of the late quartets, "British Extracts", *The Sydney Gazette* (29 March 1827): <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2187934>; and of his last illness, "BEETHOVEN", *The Sydney Gazette* (19 October 1827): <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2189194>; also [News], *Hobart Town Gazette* (4 August 1827): <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8791412>; and news of his death in the next issue, [News], *Hobart Town Gazette* (11 August 1827): <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8791412>.

¹⁵⁹ "FUNERALS", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (4 June 1873), 10: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13313482>.

¹⁶⁰ "SHIP NEWS", *Hobart Town Gazette* (22 June 1822), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article1089718>.

¹⁶¹ [Advertisement], *Hobart Town Gazette* (20 July 1822), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article1089735>.

¹⁶² [Advertisement], *Hobart Town Gazette* (1 February 1823), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article1089843>.

¹⁶³ [News], *Hobart Town Gazette* (1 July 1825), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article1090867>; but see the report that Deane was already relinquishing the post, [News], *Colonial Times* (6 January 1826), 3:

<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2446928>; and, in 1828, that he had taken it up again; "VAN DIEMEN", *The Hobart Town Courier* (14 June 1828), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4222119>: "Does not Mr. John Philip Deane play the great new subscription organ in St. David's Church, with all its diapason stops for 25 pounds a year, besides teaching twice that number of National School children to sing bass into the bargain [...]?"

¹⁶⁴ [Advertisement], *Hobart Town Gazette* (6 August 1825), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8791278>.

With the assistance of Reichenberg and his band, Deane presented the first Hobart public “amateur” concert, on 14 September 1826, only months behind the first Sydney Amateur concert. Though no local compositions were performed, a review registered the venture as another example of intercolonial competition in the race toward “improvement”:¹⁶⁵

[...] We sincerely rejoice at so auspicious a commencement of this rational and delightful species of recreation. Van Diemen’s Land has always shewn a disposition not to be behind-hand with the elder colony in improvement of every kind. Concerts have for some mouths past been established in Sydney, and several gentlemen here of the first respectability conceiving that many inhabitants of Hobart Town possessed equal, if not superior musical talents, set on foot a plan for introducing the same source of enjoyment amongst us also; and in this, the first attempt, they have succeeded beyond expectation.

Deane’s first attested composition was **The First Set of Tasmanian Quadrilles**, “just published” (though probably only in manuscript copies) around anniversary day, 26 January 1828,¹⁶⁶ and again advertised for sale (along with Reichenberg’s *Quadrilles*) in August 1828 at Deane’s Circulating Library (also known as the “Hobart Town Library”, and managed by Rosalie Deane).¹⁶⁷

It was not a propitious time to launch musical novelties, however; barely two years after the first concerts of 1826, the colony was a less welcoming place for the arts. Some blamed the renewed strictures on convict movement in the wake of Bigge report. A Jeremiah in *The Hobart Town Courier* put it, only semi-satirically, in July 1828:¹⁶⁸

I tell you, the interest of the colony is gone. The order of things is quite changed. The very concerts which were not long ago so well concerted are now quite disconcerted. The music of the olden time is quite out of tune. Our street ballads are converted into the clang of chains, or chain gangs [...]

In any case, Deane—who appears never to have been much more than a very occasional composer—advertised no further works of his own in Tasmania, while, probably in response to the general malaise, he was forced to expand his professional musical activities over the coming years. Nevertheless, through his performances of works such as Haydn’s *Surprise* Symphony, in the quintet version (presumably Salomon’s) in 1826, and through his lending library, he greatly expanded the repertoire of locally-performed music, as he advertised, for instance, in 1828:¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁵ “HOBART TOWN CONCERTS”, *Hobart Town Gazette* (7 October 1826), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8790789>.

¹⁶⁶ [Advertisement], *The Hobart Town Courier* (28 January 1828), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4224849>.

¹⁶⁷ [Advertisement]: “MUSIC FOR SALE”, *The Hobart Town Courier* (23 August 1828), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4221539>.

¹⁶⁸ “THE LAMENT”, *The Hobart Town Courier* (5 July 1828), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4221845>.

¹⁶⁹ [Advertisement], *The Hobart Town Courier* (2 February 1828), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4224696>.

THE undersigned lent to some friend the flute parts of Pleyel's Quintetts, as arranged by Solomon [sic] for five instruments, and will feel greatly obliged by the party returning them.— J. P. DEANE.

In the first part of 1828, Deane also advertised a service of “music neatly copied”;¹⁷⁰ and in 1830 the Congregationalist church was using:¹⁷¹

[...] Deane's greatroom [...] as a temporary chapel [...] to most crowded, and highly respectable congregations. The singing was particularly excellent, some of our best sacred music singers having kindly assisted on that occasion [...].

In July 1830 he proposed another series of concerts for the coming spring season,¹⁷² and though only one was advertised that year (on 21 August),¹⁷³ he did present further concert series, and from 1834 also oratorios and theatrical programs, culminating in the first staged Australian performance of Weber's *Der Freischütz* on 5 June 1835.¹⁷⁴

Profligacy in devoting time to composition is hardly likely, then, to have been a cause of the financial embarrassment that struck Deane soon afterward. His general and musical businesses was put up for sale at auction—(“All The Stock in Trade, Musical Instruments, Household Furniture, Theatrical Wardrobe and Paraphernalia [...] The Music containing many reams, may be seen; the Sacred, the Ancient, and Modern melodious are pieces without end”)¹⁷⁵—and he was declared insolvent in January 1836.¹⁷⁶ On 2 February, his daughter, already a noted child performer, was reduced to giving a concert at the Court House, New Norfolk, “for the support of her Brothers, Sisters, and Family”.¹⁷⁷

Vincent Wallace, meanwhile, having been in Hobart (and reportedly also at New Norfolk) over the summer, *en route* for Sydney, Deane entered upon a final spate of theatre, oratorio and concert performances, the last on 22 March,¹⁷⁸ before also leaving for Sydney on 7 April 1836.¹⁷⁹

J. P. Deane has for 13 years past endeavoured to afford amusement to his Friends and the Public in general, but untoward circumstances will cause him to leave Van Diemen's Land for the Sister Colony [...] His large family compel him to seek a

¹⁷⁰ [Advertisement], *Colonial Times* (11 February 1834), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8647416>;

[Advertisement], *Hobart Town Courier* (26 April 1828), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4222831>.

¹⁷¹ “Hobart Town News: THE INDEPENDENTS”, *The Sydney Gazette* (4 December 1830), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2196667>.

¹⁷² [News], *Colonial Times* (9 July 1830), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8645231/666766>.

¹⁷³ [Advertisement], *Colonial Times* (13 August 1830), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8645297>.

¹⁷⁴ [Advertisement], *The Hobart Town Courier* (5 June 1835), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4180602>.

¹⁷⁵ “Sales by auction”, *Colonial Times* (25 August 1835), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8648497>.

¹⁷⁶ [Advertisement]: “In the matter of the insolvency of John Philip Deane”, *The Hobart Town Courier* (22 January 1836), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4177726>.

¹⁷⁷ [Advertisement]: “Concert”, *Colonial Times* (26 January 1836), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8648863>.

¹⁷⁸ [Advertisement]: “A Grand Concert”, *The Hobart Town Courier* (18 March 1836), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4177333>.

¹⁷⁹ “SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE”, *The Sydney Gazette* (19 April 1836), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2203861>.

livelihood elsewhere, and it is absolute necessity alone that induces him to leave Hobart Town, where he has so many well wishers and friends [...].

Though he is on record as having composed very little, Deane's musical career is worth following for the simple fact that he knew and collaborated with almost all his fellow composers of his era, including Reichenberg, Sippe, Wallace, Gautrot, Marsh, Nathan, and Ellard. History has attributed to Deane a particular interest in chamber music; indeed, he has been called the "father of Australian chamber music", though he himself would arguably not have drawn much of a distinction between music smaller instrumental ensembles, and orchestra. Signally, however, in Sydney in September 1837, he played second violin to Vincent Wallace in the first performance in Australia of a Beethoven string quartet (one of the Op. 18 set).¹⁸⁰ Moreover, Deane's talents and those of his family as performers probably did serve as inspiration for other local composers to compose instrumental chamber music, notably Joseph Gautrot.

Deane himself has also previously been imagined to be the composer of the earliest documented piece of Australian chamber music, usually reported as a (single) lost trio for 2 violins and cello, composed in Sydney, on the basis of which, for instance, Peter Sculthorpe based the scoring of the *concertante* string trio in his *Port Essington* (1977) on that of Deane's work—2 violins and cello.¹⁸¹ It now appears that there were at least three identifiably different trios, and very probably several more, all evidently "juvenile" works, composed for performance by his children and pupils, probably to make up for a lack in Australia (even as late as the mid-1840s) of readily available teaching music in print.¹⁸² The earliest records of such a Deane **Trio** were not even firmly attributed to him. Performances were given by him and two of his children in 1839,¹⁸³ and 1840,¹⁸⁴ when in one instance the work in question as actually attributed to "Muller".¹⁸⁵ In a concert on 12 November 1839, two separate trios were

¹⁸⁰ "THE CONCERT", *The Sydney Herald* (2 October 1837), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12861724>; but there was ensemble chamber music in Sydney before Deane and Wallace, see for instance, "CONCERT", *The Sydney Gazette* (21 August 1834), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2216900>: "A Quintette for two violins, tenor, flute, and violincello, by Messrs. Wilson, Sippe, Josephson, Lewis, and another performer whose name we have not heard, was received with much applause".

¹⁸¹ Graeme Skinner, [Sleeve note on *Port Essington*], ABC Classics CD 454 504 (Sydney: ABC Enterprises, 1996), booklet [viii].

¹⁸² A quartet was also once imagined to exist, see D.Hort, "Communication", *Music and Letters* (1970), 473, probably on the basis of mention of an "excellently performed Quartetto of Mr. Deane and his three clever sons", see "CONCERT OF THE BENEVOLENT ASYLUM", *The Sydney Herald* (11 July 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12876089>; but this was the string quartet on *God Save the Queen* by George Onslow, Op.9 No 1; see also "Domestic Intelligence: Deane's Concert": *The Weekly Register* 3 / 60 (14 September 1844), 132: <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18440914/00030060/1-4.pdf>: "[...] The performers, instrumental and vocal, were Mr. Deane, five sons, and Miss Deane. We certainly never remember to have seen a family where so much harmony seemed to prevail. [...] Onslow's quartetto [...] was the gem. We never heard this beautiful composition more smoothly or correctly played".

¹⁸³ "MR. DEANE'S SOIREE", *Australasian Chronicle* (1 November 1839), 1s: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31726771>; [Advertisement], *Australasian Chronicle* (8 November 1839), 4s: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31726817>.

¹⁸⁴ [Advertisement], *Australasian Chronicle* (3 January 1840), 4s: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31727178>; [Advertisement], *Australasian Chronicle* (21 January 1840), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31727355>.

¹⁸⁵ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Monitor* (22 January 1840), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article32166983>.

given, one at the head of each half of the program, in the position often reserved for an overture, perhaps indicating something of the flavour of the music.

Unexpectedly, in January 1844, Deane and family announced that they were leaving Sydney to return to Hobart, as reported on 8 January 1844:¹⁸⁶

Mr. Deane being about to leave the colony, gives a farewell concert at the Royal Hotel, this evening. Mr. Deane has resided in this colony upwards of ten years, during which time he has always conducted himself as a good citizen, and has, with the proceeds of his own talent and industry, brought up a large family in a highly respectable manner. We shall be pleased, therefore, to find that he is well supported, and that his farewell concert is a real benefit to him.

At his first “return” concert in Hobart (with Vincent Wallace’s sister, Eliza Bushelle, also from Sydney), the *Colonial Times* was “pleased to find that the Concert of this old Colonist was well attended”, but that:¹⁸⁷

The performances of the juveniles [the Deanes junior] seemed to afford the greatest gratification [...] The juvenile **trio, by two violins and violoncello**, by the youngsters, was extremely well played, had a good effect.

Though again the trio’s composer was not specifically indicated, the advertisement for his next performance, on 30 April 1844, finally named Deane as composer:¹⁸⁸

Trio, Two Violins and Violoncello, in which will be introduced the favourite Airs *Home, sweet home, and Hey, the bonnie breast knots*, and which will be performed by the three juvenile Tasmanians, Master C. Deane, Master H. Deane, and Master A. Deane. [by] Deane.

Again at a concert on 14 May,¹⁸⁹ the same players gave a “**Trio—Two violins and violoncello, in which will be performed several favourite airs**”.

Despite indications that he might not, Deane returned to New South Wales, where advertisements for 1845 list two more such works, one **Trio (“in which will be introduced the favourite Airs of *The Last Rose of Summer and Garryowen*”)** at his Second Maitland Concert that year, on 15 March; and another **Trio – The Portuguese Hymn**,¹⁹⁰ at an Oratorio night again in Maitland on 19 March.¹⁹¹ Another **Trio (Juvenile)** was programmed for his concert at the Royal Hotel, Sydney, on 17 September 1845, notable

¹⁸⁶ “MUSIC”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (8 January 1844), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12424793>.

¹⁸⁷ “MR. DEANE’S CONCERT”, *Colonial Times* (13 February 1844), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8754548>.

¹⁸⁸ [Advertisement], *The Courier* (26 April 1844), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2951144>.

¹⁸⁹ [Advertisement], *Colonial Times* (14 May 1844), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8754873>.

¹⁹⁰ The Latin hymn *Adeste fidelis*; at the time, a recent source of tune and translation was *The Christian Lyre* (1837), vol. 2, 152–53; see <http://books.google.com/books?id=NyVwTQIfNWoc>.

¹⁹¹ [Advertisement]: “Second Concert”, *The Maitland Mercury* (15 March 1845), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article672416>; [Advertisement], “Oratorio—Sacred Music”, *The Maitland Mercury* (18 March 1845), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article672476>; the trio is not mentioned in the review, “MR. DEANE’S CONCERT AND ORATORIO”, *The Maitland Mercury* (22 March 1845), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article672568>.

for including the work of several other local composers: Isaac Nathan *Jephtha's Daughter*; the **Gondolier's Song**, "composed by Mrs. Bushelle", namely Vincent Wallace's sister, **Eliza Bushelle (Ireland 1814-1879) {1835-47; 1863-79}** (her only attested composition);¹⁹² and two well-known songs in orchestral arrangements by Deane's eldest son, **John Deane, junior (England 1815-1893) {1822-93}**. Neukomm's **King Death** ("with full orchestral accompaniments, arranged by Mr. J. Deane", and Calcott's **The Last Man**, "(by the earnest request of several parties) the orchestral accompaniments by Mr. J. Deane".¹⁹³ At Windsor, in July 1847, "a **trio upon two violins and a violoncello** by three juvenile Deanes was rapturously applauded",¹⁹⁴ and there were further *Trio* outings in Sydney in August (on the same program, Deane revived Wallace's Sydney composition, the *Echo Song*),¹⁹⁵ and October 1849.¹⁹⁶

Deane and his family also performed other Nathan works at their concerts, as at Windsor, in July 1847 when:¹⁹⁷

The performances ended about half past ten, with the Australian solo and chorus by the whole company, (eight in number), *Long Live Victoria*; music by the Sydney master, Nathan, which was executed in exquisite style.

Deane's last concert took place in Sydney on 7 December 1849, on which occasion *The Sydney Morning Herald* encouraged attendance, since "Mr. Deane, the oldest musician in the southern hemisphere, and a colonist of twenty-eight years standing, from his perseverance, deserves encouragement".¹⁹⁸ There was to have been one more concert; but, as was reported on 19 December 1849:¹⁹⁹

[...] in consequence of the lamented sudden death of the late Leader, Mr. Deane, the Concert to be given by the Music Class on this (Wednesday) evening, the 19th instant, is postponed.

¹⁹² Though the music is lost, the words possibly survive; see "Poetry: THE GONDOLIER'S SONG", *The Australian* (7 June 1836), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36855289>.

¹⁹³ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (15 September 1845), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12882167>.

¹⁹⁴ "NEWS FROM THE INTERIOR: WINDSOR. CONCERT", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (24 July 1847), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12898568>.

¹⁹⁵ [Advertisement]: "Musical Entertainment", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (29 August 1849), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12903925>.

¹⁹⁶ [Advertisement]: "Musical Entertainment", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (31 October 1849), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12910687>.

¹⁹⁷ "NEWS FROM THE INTERIOR: WINDSOR", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (24 July 1847), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12898568>.

¹⁹⁸ "PROMENADE CONCERT", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (7 December 1849), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12902544>.

¹⁹⁹ [Advertisement]: "Mechanics' School of Art: Concert Postponed", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (19 December 1849), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12914480>.

[1.6] *George Sippe and early Sydney theatre music*

As an English reviewer of Cunningham's *Two Years in New South Wales* interpreted Australian conditions in 1827, among the advantages of the new colony were the "political accidents [...] of extraordinary generosity and profusion on the part of the government".²⁰⁰ Remarkably, this largesse extended to music. Military bands and bandmasters, like Reichenberg and Kavanagh, were government employees, expressly imported for their professional musical abilities. But the masters and bandsmen extended themselves far beyond the military sphere, and their involvement with the handful of settler professional and amateur musicians supported the formation of a wider musical economy.

Other bandmasters active into the 1830s include or William Blizzard (later a Bathurst landlord);²⁰¹ and the "excellent" **Mr. Lewis {1830-36}**, of the 17th regiment, a clarinettist, who after "the Philharmonic Concerts having, apparently, 'given up this life' ", was behind musical evenings at the Pulteney Hotel in 1834; he composed at least one theatre song, **Why don't the Girls propose**, for Maria Taylor in 1835.²⁰² Mr. McLeod, bandmaster of the 21st, opted after 40 years of service to stay on in Hobart when his regiment left for India in 1839;²⁰³ and, replacing McLeod's band, the band of the 51st, with its master, A. P. Duly, who also brought with him his young composer-son, George Frederick Duly.²⁰⁴

Something more of the role played by regimental bands in wider society may be gleaned from a letter from a concerned householder to the editor of the *Colonial Times* in Hobart in 1834:

Sir, Well I know what the praising of the grand Band of the 21st would come to. Already, my prisoner [servant] women are beyond all endurance—they tell me to my face, if I do not let them have the Sunday afternoon to amuse themselves, by hearing the Band, and otherwise enjoying themselves in a little "innocent recreation" that I may at once turn them into the Factory. So it would appear, all the horrors of "prison discipline" has come to this [...] Is this, the end of the "worse than death system"? If things go on in this manner, the learned Editor of the *Tasmanian*, need not [...] address my Lord Brougham on the horrors of transportation. The brass hand and the bagpipes of the 21st Fusileers, will settle the business.

²⁰⁰ [Review], *London Magazine* (August 1827), 523:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=IvARAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA523&#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

²⁰¹ "BATHURST", *The Sydney Gazette* (28 February 1832), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2205244>.

²⁰² "CONCERT", *The Sydney Herald* (27 November 1834), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12850970>; Lewis arrived with his regiment in 1830, and left with them in 1836, [News], *The Sydney Gazette* (20 February 1836), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2202835>; "Mr. Lewis, band master of the 17th Regiment, we hear, intends to give a farewell Concert previous to his leaving the colony"; "Original Poetry", *The Australian* (15 September 1835), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article42005941>; [Advertisement]: "Theatre Royal, Sydney", *The Australian* (18 September 1835), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article42004566>; [News]: "Mrs. Taylor's benefit ...", *The Australian* (25 September 1835), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article42007034>.

²⁰³ [News], *The Hobart Town Courier* (1 March 1839), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4159950>.

²⁰⁴ On McLeod and Duly, and the Hobart bands, see an historical account of the first Hobart Regatta in 1838, "THE TASMANIAN REGATTA (BY HOBARTIA)", *The Mercury* (13 February 1886), 1s: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article9117599>.

Bandmasters were typically versatile instrumentalists, arrangers probably as a matter of course, and often also composers. **George Sippe (Ireland ?-1842) {1826-42}**, bandmaster of the 57th regiment, played the cello, the flute, and the piano. He was born in Ireland, the son of a German-born musician, Andrew Sippe (d.1833), who was also a military bandmaster, and principal oboe in Dublin's Theatre Royal.²⁰⁵ It is likely, therefore, that the elder Sippe worked with another Theatre Royal musician, the young Vincent Wallace, and that George's presence in Sydney was another contributing factor toward Wallace going there. Among their many appearances together in Sydney, Wallace played in a theatrical benefit for Sippe in 1837.²⁰⁶

Having arrived in the colony to join his regiment on 21 March 1826,²⁰⁷ Sippe must have enjoyed considerable autonomy. His band played for a local ball early in June,²⁰⁸ and that same month he formed the orchestra of local amateurs, together with Kavanagh, "and some of the best performers from the bands of the 3d and the 57th regiments, under the immediate direction of Messrs. Edwards and Sippy", to present the Sydney Amateur concerts.²⁰⁹ He must also have set himself up as a freelance professor of music to the settler community, for the next concert reportedly included:²¹⁰

A delightful air from the *Giovanni* of Mozart, arranged as a duet, for two flutes, was performed by Mr. Sippe and his pupil, Master Josephson.

The amateur concert in September also included a duetto, "arranged from Kreuzter, by Mr. Sippe, and his pupil, Master Josephson".²¹¹ Kavanagh's and Sippe's regimental bands also played together at least once for a ceremonial occasion, in the funeral procession for commodore James Brisbane (a cousin of governor Thomas Brisbane) on 21 December

²⁰⁵ [News], *The Sydney Gazette* (21 February 1833), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2210849>; see also [Foreign news], *The Sydney Herald* (7 February 1833), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12846210>; National Archives UK, WO97/1108: Andrew Sippe, Born Hannover, discharged 1829, aged 66; a C. A. Sippe was also master of the band of the 2nd regiment, Bombay Light Cavalry, in 1840, see *The Colonial Magazine and Commercial-Maritime Journal* 1 (1840), 411: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=3YsVAQAIAAJ&pg=PA411&#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

²⁰⁶ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Gazette* (6 April 1837), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2210296>.

²⁰⁷ [News]: "The Band of the 57th [...]", *The Sydney Gazette* (22 March 1826), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2185502>; "SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE", *The Sydney Gazette* (22 March 1826), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2185501>.

²⁰⁸ [News], *The Sydney Gazette* (10 June 1826), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2185963>.

²⁰⁹ "SYDNEY AMATEUR CONCERT", *The Sydney Gazette* (24 June 1826), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2186054>; Sippe's arrival in the colony clearly played a part in making the Amateur concerts possible, as had the arrival the previous year of the violinist John Edwards, see [Advertisement], *The Sydney Gazette* (7 July 1825), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2184201>: "Mr. John Edwards, Professor of Music, beg Permission to announce his Arrival in this Colony [...]"

²¹⁰ "SYDNEY AMATEUR CONCERT", *The Sydney Gazette* (22 July 1826), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2186232>; also: "A solo on the violin, from Corelli, by Mr. Edwards, with a violoncello accompaniment by Mr. Sippe, was much applauded [...]"

²¹¹ "Amateur Concert", *The Sydney Gazette* (30 September 1826), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2186634>.

1826.²¹²

Sippe is first on record as a composer at his own benefit concert, on 11 October 1826, during which an *Air and Variations* for clarinet by Druett (probably Louis Drouet) was completed “with a **Rondo [or Rondeau], composed by Mr. Sippe**.”²¹³ His second named composition, performed by his band of the 57th at the Turf Club dinner in November 1827 as a toast air, was described in the *Monitor* as “Air, **Australian Troop**, by Mr. Sippy”. Also reported was another certain, but unattributed, local air, **Sydney Lasses**, possibly the same as *Currency Lasses*, but perhaps also just as likely another song.²¹⁴ By June 1829, Sippe was also importing and selling music.²¹⁵

After the first season of amateur concerts, which ran from mid-1826 through to early 1827, the venture seems not to have developed further. Already, when Kavanagh announced his farewell in January 1827, the *Gazette* remarked that concerts were said to be going “out of fashion”,²¹⁶ and his departure may have dampened the enthusiasm of those left behind to carry on. During the latter part of 1827 and 1828, no more public concerts were advertised, and public entertainment generally was struck a further blow when, on 1 September 1828, the naturally austere and censorious governor, Ralph Darling, promulgated *An Act for Regulating Places of Public Exhibition and Entertainment*, which henceforth required a government license to present:²¹⁷

[...] any Interlude, Tragedy, Comedy, Opera, Concert, Play, Farce, or other, Entertainment, of the Stage, or any Part or Parts thereof, or any Stage-dancing, Tumbling, or Horsemanship, or any other public Entertainment whatever, to which Admission shall or may be procured by Payment of Money, or by Tickets [...]

Since early on in the musical lull, however, a former amateur singer and merchant, Barnett Levey,²¹⁸ had been planning and building a theatre at the back of his central Sydney business premises.²¹⁹ In order to fund the completion of the project, he converted his street frontage into a hotel, called the “Royal”, and in June 1829 received permission to commence operations:²²⁰

²¹² “Government Order [...] 19th December”, *The Sydney Gazette* (20 December 1826), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2187144>.

²¹³ [Advertisement], “Amateur Concert”, *The Sydney Gazette* (4 October 1826), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2186645>; “MR. SIPPE’S BENEFIT CONCERT”, *The Monitor* (13 October 1826), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31757909>.

²¹⁴ “TURF CLUB DINNER”, *The Monitor* (12 November 1827), 6s: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31759112>.

²¹⁵ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Gazette* (20 June 1829), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2192708>: “LATELY arrived in the Colony, a small quantity of Music, consisting of SONGS, QUADRILLES, & WALTZES, adapted for the Pianoforte, &c. to be seen at Mr. SIPPEY’S [...]”.

²¹⁶ [News], *The Sydney Gazette* (16 January 1827), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2187390>.

²¹⁷ [Government order], *The Sydney Gazette* (3 September 1828), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2190976>.

²¹⁸ George F.J. Bergman, “Levey, Barnett (1798-1837)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 2 (1967), 108-110: <http://adonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020095b.htm>.

²¹⁹ On an earlier attempt at founding a permanent theatre, and the reason for its failure, see “Amusements”, in D. Mann, *The Present Picture of New South Wales*, 1811 (London, John Booth, 1811), 54-55: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=RzEPAAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA54#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

²²⁰ “Musical Concert”, *The Sydney Gazette* (20 June 1829), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2192714>.

That enterprising Colonist, Mr. BARNETT LEVEY, has just obtained from the Government a License to open, at his magnificent hotel, a concert of vocal and instrumental music [...] The spacious hall intended for his theatre will be elegantly fitted up for the purpose, with orchestra, boxes, and every convenience required. Colonel ALLAN has obligingly given permission for the band of the 57th to assist Mr. LEVEY'S first operations; and it is the determination of the proprietor to conduct his concern on the most respectable footing.

Government support for Levey's venture was not universally applauded, as evidenced by a series of whimsical but labored articles, entitled "Rejected addresses [...] to have been spoken at the opening of the Opera House, Sydney, August 1829", the first of which included some "**Stanzas to be set to music**", ending in a patriotic doxology to the governor, on the colonial motto "Advance Australia!":²²¹

*Long life to our rulers who give us the chance
Of mingling the opera sounds with the dance,
Each heavy hea'd bumpkin with vigour may prance,
And shout "We shall this our dear country advance".*

Nevertheless, reviewing of one of the inaugural concerts themselves, the *Gazette* was grudgingly supportive:²²²

What then, can be said in the way of novelty on a subject so trite as that of a Concert? Absolutely nothing [...] It may be urged, however, that Concerts in New South Wales are novelties—that harmony of any description is worthy of observation on account of its rarity, and that to pass over in silence any effort, however trivial, which tends to diminish discord is to become accessory to its increase.

News of concerts in the Royal Hotel in George Street was even noted at "home" in London, if satirically, in the *Harmonicon*'s "Diary of a Dilettante":²²³

By letters just received from New South Wales, it appears, that the first public concert performed in Australasia, was given in September last, in the Sydney theatre, which has not yet been licensed for dramatic performances. The display of musical talent, it is stated, was great; and the "assemblage of *rank* and *fashion*", says the writers, "such as might vie with London soirées" [...].

Sippe reportedly played a leading part on these first occasions, though his performance may

²²¹ "Rejected Addresses [No 1]: To have been spoken at the Opening of the Opera House, Sydney, August 1829", *The Sydney Gazette* (12 September 1829), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2193399>.

²²² "THE CONCERT", *The Sydney Gazette* (19 September 1829), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2193445>; see also "MR. LEVEY'S CONCERT", *The Sydney Monitor* (22 August 1829), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article32072292>.

²²³ "The Diary of a Dilettante", *The Harmonicon* 8 (1830), 171: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=IwYVAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA171&#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

have been somewhat curtailed by a mischance in lead up to Levey's opening:²²⁴

Mr. SIPPE, the teacher of music, had the misfortune the other day to fall from his horse, and was considerably bruised in the face.

Meanwhile, for the September concert, Sippe's pupil, Joshua Josephson—who was also half-brother of Levey's wife—"accompanied the vocal music on the pianoforte" and played a flute solo.²²⁵ The government, anyway, quickly lost confidence in Levey's entertainments, and in January 1830 revoked his license.

In February 1831, Sippe decided to stay on in the colony when his regiment left Sydney,²²⁶ and in March advertised that he had "permanently established himself in the Colony" as a "Master of Music".²²⁷ Then, in June, probably by some mutually agreed subterfuge, Sippe took over Levey's publican's license, and the hotel-theatre, where, the *Gazette* reported "it is his intention to give occasional concerts"²²⁸ until, a year later, Levey finally received a new license from Darling's more liberal successor, Bourke, and resumed theatrical entertainments at what was henceforth known as the "Theatre Royal" in August 1832.²²⁹ Levey's first musical "at home" was held the following month:²³⁰

At eight o'clock the string band of the 17th regt, stationed in the Orchestra, under the guidance of Mr. Lewis, master of that band, performed one of Mozart's Overtures [...] The songs were accompanied by the violin, and between the parts the band played lively airs.

Evidently, it was much as the *Gazette* had imagined, in advance, that it would be:²³¹

Traveller: I only waited between the tragedy and afterpiece to hear your very efficient orchestra play one or two popular airs. I also heard them, in the early part of the evening, perform the celebrated overture of *Berges* to *The German Tragedy*, in a manner that would not have disgraced Antagli's celebrated *Corps de Musique* in the English Opera House.

Australian: I am glad, on the whole, that you have been pleased with our attempts in this way [...]

²²⁴ [News], *The Sydney Gazette* (2 July 1829), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2192804>.

²²⁵ The first of the new concerts were evidently thought too "scientific", however; see [News], *The Sydney Gazette* (26 September 1829), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2193494>: "The selection of music for the next Concert [...] is intended to be of a more popular and familiar description than that performed on the two former occasions. Such an arrangement will be more likely to please the generality of auditors here, who are not sufficiently scientific yet to relish the sublimities of Mozart, Rosini, &c. &c."

²²⁶ [News], *The Sydney Gazette* (22 February 1831), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2199188>; evidently, the *Gazette* considered the provision of musical public services to be a major role of the regiments.

²²⁷ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Gazette* (24 March 1831), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2199729>.

²²⁸ "Domestic Intelligence", *The Sydney Gazette* (27 June 1831), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12843204>.

²²⁹ [Advertisement]: "Theatre Royal", *The Sydney Herald* (27 August 1832), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12845147>.

²³⁰ "LEVY AT HOME", *The Sydney Herald* (13 September 1832), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12845266>.

²³¹ "AUSTRALIA ADVANCED", *The Sydney Gazette* (29 May 1832), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2206819>.

Although this was one of the paper's series of amusing "dialogues for the year 2032" [sic], 200 years hence, it probably bears more than a passing resemblance to what the theatre was to achieve in 1832.

Having tided Levey over, Sippe relinquished his publican's role in the Royal Hotel late in 1832,²³² in January 1833 set himself up again as a "Professor of Music", and immediately began directing the theatre music in collaboration with Lewis and members of his regimental band,²³³ their orchestra duly described in the press as "the philharmonic society".²³⁴ At first, they apparently failed to deliver much in the way of respite from Sydney's predominant musical diet. In February 1833, reviewing "the first five-act play performed [...] in Australia", a correspondent complained:²³⁵

I would say, "let us have a little more variety, instead of the constant repetition of antiquated quadrilles" [...] The people like variety, and the evening's amusements would be pleasingly diversified by the performance, at intervals, of national airs.

Notwithstanding that the *Gazette* later dated "the first attempt in the Colony to produce a really [sic] music drama" to 1838,²³⁶ "new music" was regularly advertised as a draw card, and, as in August 1834, occasionally delivered:²³⁷

Although the pieces [plays] were old, there was something new introduced, a novelty of novelties,—a little new music. And were glad to hear that the leader had turned over a new leaf," and not before it was required. The "gods" had become so well acquainted with the old ditties, that they might be often heard to start the proper time, even in the very key-note, and the "cat-gut-scrappers" would strike up with as much precision as an echo.

On 13 February 1836, the plays were the *Flying Dutchman*, and *Clari, or The Maid of Milan*, when according to the *Gazette*, "Neither piece went off with much *éclat*, rather the contrary", though it did report: "The orchestra is much improved by the addition of an octave flute, and some new music".²³⁸

How much of the "new music" was locally composed, rather than imported, is open to

²³² [Advertisement], *The Sydney Herald* (12 November 1832), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12845710>; Sippe did not carry out his original plan to return to Europe temporarily to take possession of an inheritance, [Advertisement], *The Sydney Herald* (12 November 1832), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12845710>.

²³³ "THE THEATRE", *The Sydney Gazette* (10 January 1833), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2210274>.

²³⁴ "THEATRE", *The Sydney Monitor* (9 October 1833), 2-3s: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article32144695>.

²³⁵ "THE THEATRE: [letter] to the editor", *The Sydney Gazette* (12 February 1833), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2210723>.

²³⁶ "The Theatre", *The Sydney Gazette* (28 April 1838), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2550636>.

²³⁷ "THEATRICALS", *The Sydney Herald* (18 August 1834), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12850204>.

²³⁸ "SYDNEY THEATRICAL INTELLIGENCE", *The Sydney Gazette* (16 February 1836), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2202789>; when Cavendish was briefly directing the music, a correspondent to the *Gazette* advised him that standards were slipping, playing alone piano accompaniments while the rest of the band (presumably including Sippe, on the cello) sat dumb; [Letter] "To the Editor", *The Sydney Gazette* (1 August 1835), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2199499>.

conjecture. For an imported play called **The Fatal Snow Storm**²³⁹ in October 1834 there was to “be introduced some new and appropriate Music by Mr. Sippe”, though whether in the capacity as composer, arranger, or merely as a selector of repertoire is unclear.²⁴⁰ On the same bill, for a pantomime called **The Demon, or The Magic Rose** there was also promised: “The Music by Messrs. Sippe and Wilson”.²⁴¹ This was followed in February 1835 by a “new ballet”, **The Indian Maid**, “with entire New Music, by Mr. Sippe, and in which Mrs. Jones will sing the Favourite Song of *The Indian Maid*”.²⁴² Nevertheless, *The Australian* was less than impressed:²⁴³

[...] a greater piece of trash and absurdity was never thrust on the public; Mrs. Jones introduced the *Indian Maid*, which she sang very prettily, but as for the dance, whether they were the war dances of the Caribbees, Otaheitian, &c, or not, we cannot presume to state [...] Simmons [the leading man] came running in as an English Sailor, made love to an indian girl and to please her jumped and capered about, and to please the audience he danced a hornpipe, which saved this talented production from going to the “Tomb of the Capulets”.

A correspondent, noting relaxed musical standards in 1835, complained that accompaniments for the singers were more often than not reduced to the piano, whereas: “In former times, when any one had to sing, Mr. Sippe would arrange the parts for four [or] five instruments”;²⁴⁴ and since “all the music which has been played lately, in the stock pieces, is from the pen of Mr. Sippe”, the writer begged him to improve his efforts. During 1836 Sippe was regularly listed at the bottom of the bills (rather than under individual productions) as the theatre’s “Director and Composer of the Music”, as for instance in June for productions of *Merchant of Venice* and the “favourite entertainment” *A Race for a Dinner*.²⁴⁵ What music in fact issued from the pit around this time, however, is recorded in *The Australian*, along with its advice for improvements:²⁴⁶

The Music Department demands some reformation [...] If they want to give enlivening and at the same time easy tunes, why not select one or two of the Chorusses from *Masaniello* and *Der Fre[i]schutz* and some of *Beethoven’s* and

²³⁹ William Barrymore, *The Fatal Snow Storm: or, Lowina of Tobolski! A melo-drama in two acts* (London: T. Richardson, 1831).

²⁴⁰ [Advertisement], “Theatre Royal”, *The Sydney Gazette* (21 October 1834), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2217359>; on 27 January 1840, long after Sippe had transferred his allegiance there (as cellist, if perhaps no longer as composer), the Royal Victoria Theatre advertised “This evening [...] for the first time in this Colony, a Romantic Drama, in two Acts, entitled *Lowina of Tobolski! Or The Fatal Snow Storm*”; see [Advertisement], *The Sydney Herald* (27 January 1840), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12861047>.

²⁴¹ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Gazette* (21 October 1834), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2217359>.

²⁴² [Advertisement]: “Theatre Royal, Sydney”, *The Australian* (10 February 1835), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article42007481>.

²⁴³ “Theatricals”, *The Australian* (13 February 1835), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article42006628>.

²⁴⁴ “Original Correspondence”, *The Sydney Gazette* (1 August 1835), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2199499>.

²⁴⁵ [Advertisement], “Theatre Royal”, *The Sydney Gazette* (16 June 1836), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2204900>.

²⁴⁶ “THE THEATRE”, *The Australian* (11 October 1836), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36853695>.

Weber's Waltzes? They would be more within the compass of their ability, and please the audience more than some of their selections from *Oberon* and other difficult pieces, which require a good sized and clever orchestra to perform decently. The airs in these last a musical ear can detect, but it is impossible to recognize the style of the composer, as given by the orchestra [...].

Long gone, clearly, were the heady days of 1826, when Sippe led an orchestra of 30 or 40 Sydney “Amateurs” in the Overture to *Der Freischutz*, though Weber obviously remained one of his personal musical enthusiasms. Nevertheless, when, over the Christmas-New Year season in 1836-37, the “Grand Romantic Fairy Tale”, **Oberon, or The Charmed Horn**,²⁴⁷ was advertised, with “the New and Appropriate Music composed and arranged by Mr. Sippe”,²⁴⁸ Sydney-siders themselves were unsure quite what to expect. No doubt, as Katherine Brisbane assumed, some of Weber’s original *Oberon* music was played, yet again.²⁴⁹ But, tellingly, the *Gazette* took the promise of newly-composed music at face value, much as we might today:²⁵⁰

From the announcement we were led to expect something extraordinary, especially in the music, which was stated to have been composod and arranged for the occasion; it was a dead failure; a barrel organ, or hurdygurdy for us in preference. Even the gods growled out their dissatisfaction!

Fortunately, standards improved as the season progressed, and by January the *Gazette* was admitting: “The orchestra had brushed up their wits, and gave the audience something more lively and agreeable than usual”.²⁵¹ And by then, Sippe’s name was against yet another work, “for the first time at this Theatre, the highly laughable Farce, called **The £100 Note**”.²⁵²

When John Philip Deane arrived in Sydney, he joined the theatre orchestra for a while during 1837, though he was only ever referred to as “leader”, not as “Composer of the Music”.²⁵³ In May, *The Sydney Herald* observed that under Deane, the orchestra was “much more efficient than hitherto”,²⁵⁴ so that when, at the end of the year, it was again reported that “Messrs. Sippe and Wilson [...] are engaged to conduct the orchestra for the ensuing

²⁴⁷ Perhaps less likely to be based closely on Weber’s *Oberon* as staged at Coven Garden in London in 1826, than on the melodramatic “fairy tale” at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, *Oberon: or The Charmed Horn*, with music “arranged” by Thomas Cooke; printed script (London: Theatre Royal, 1826):

http://books.google.com.au/books?id=pns_AAAAYAAJ&dq.

²⁴⁸ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Gazette* (17 December 1836), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2208354>; [Advertisement], *The Sydney Gazette* (29 December 1836), 3:

<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2208594>.

²⁴⁹ Brisbane, *Entertaining Australia*, 31.

²⁵⁰ “DRAMA”, *The Sydney Gazette* (29 December 1836), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2208591>.

²⁵¹ “DRAMA”, *The Sydney Gazette* (3 January 1837), 2-3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2208658>.

²⁵² [Advertisement], “Theatre Royal”, *The Sydney Gazette* (5 January 1837), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2208687>.

²⁵³ Listing probably close to the whole band, see Barnett Levey’s letter, “To the Editor”, *The Sydney Monitor* (31 March 1837), 3s: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article32155419>; also [News], *The Sydney Gazette* (6 April 1837), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2210296>: “This evening Messrs. Sipper and Wilson will take a joint benefit; the one being the composer and arranger, the other the leader of the orchestra”.

²⁵⁴ <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12862161>.

season”, the *Gazette* remonstrated:²⁵⁵

If this be true, it will be quite enough to damn the Theatre to all intents and purposes. After the able manner in which Mr. Deane and his talented family have conducted this department, the play-going public will never tolerate Messrs. Sippe and Wilson as their substitutes. A more injudicious arrangement could not have been devised.

After further vicissitudes, including the closure of the theatre after Levey’s death in 1837 and some very public litigation with his widow over unpaid salary,²⁵⁶ Sippe moved to the new Royal Victoria Theatre.²⁵⁷ He was still engaged there at the time of his death, having collapsed after an evening’s performance, on the morning of 10 April 1842.²⁵⁸

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²⁵⁵ *The Sydney Gazette* (14 December 1837), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2214464>

²⁵⁶ “Law Intelligence”, *The Sydney Gazette* (13 July 1838), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12857998/1527185>.

²⁵⁷ “Victoria Theatre”, *The Sydney Gazette* (25 October 1838), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2552155>: “[George] Peck is engaged as leader, and Wilson and Sippe added to the strength of the orchestra, while Dean[e] and his talented boys are excluded. There is something in this arrangement that at present surpasses our comprehension, but time will doubtless unravel this inexplicable mystery [...]; and, on the same page “The Old Theatre”: “Rumours are rife in all quarters of the town regarding the ultimate disposal of the Old Theatre, Royal, George-street [...] One report states that Mr. Dean[e] and Mrs. Taylor are conjointly in treaty to lease it for twelvemonths, to open an opposition to the Victoria Theatre, Mrs. Taylor to be manageress a la Madame Vestris.”

²⁵⁸ “SUDDEN DEATH”, *The Sydney Gazette* (12 April 1842), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2556225/695775>; also “SUDDEN DEATHS”, *Australasian Chronicle* (12 April 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31735586>.

Chapter 2

Colonial incunabula:

Composers active from the 1830s onward

[2.1] “*Laying the foundation stone of future schools ...*”

THE ENCOURAGEMENT given in a young Country to the Professors of the Fine Arts, is the best and most certain indication that can be afforded of the nascent taste, refinement and liberal spirit of its community—and it has been, therefore, with especial pleasure that we have witnessed first, the arrival on our shores of such men as Mr. Wallace, Mr. Dean[e], Mr. Martin, and Mr. Nicholas, and then the enlightened appreciation of their merits, and the liberal support that has encouraged them in their efforts to form the taste of the public mind and give it a directing impulse; and it must, we think, be a source of secret satisfaction to these gentlemen to know, that they may be now laying the foundation stone of future schools of art that may flourish in this far land, when the Institutions of the older nations of Europe (the sun of whose fame has probably already passed its zenith) may be dying and dwindling away into the inertness and inanity of exhausted energy and age-enfeebled efforts. And when we recollect [...] whether the artistic genius of the Greek, Roman, and Italian nations, as manifested in their great works in painting, sculpture, and music, did not in a great measure result from the inspiring influence of their fine climates—it is surely no far-fetched or unfair inference to suppose that the blue cloudless skies, and brilliant atmosphere of our own beautiful climate, will ultimately exercise the same moulding influence on the mental constitution and temperament of our community. We have been led into these introductory observations, from witnessing the very numerous and respectable audience that attended Mr. W. Wallace’s Concert on Wednesday last [...]

“**Mr. Wallace’s Concert**”, *The Sydney Herald* (9 June 1836), 2.²⁵⁹

DONALD COWIE coined the neatly *post*-colonial term “colonial incunabula” in 1937 to describe the productions in early nineteenth-century New Zealand of “talented individuals [who] filched occasionally moments from pioneering” to pursue creative literary art. As in Australia, most such literary work there was in the verse vernacular, “nearly always was the kind to which a man could stamp his feet”;²⁶⁰ and, on both sides of the Tasman, many of the earliest colonial musical productions were also music of the foot-stamping, toe-tapping variety. Apart from a single earlier musical manuscript dating from 1833, this chapter is formed around the earliest generation of music composed (in the very first instance, in 1834, also transcribed and arranged), and printed, in Australia, along with other works by the small

²⁵⁹ <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12854486>; for a very similar view, see the opening of W. A. Duncan’s review of Eliza (Wallace) Bushelle’s 1839 concert, quoted at the head of **Chapter 7**, “Concert”, *Australasian Chronicle* (13 September 1829), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31726416>.

²⁶⁰ Donald Cowie, “The Literature of New Zealand”, *English* 1/6 (1937) 512, 513.

cohort of composers and arrangers who arrived (as emigrants), or came to notice (in Indigenous, and settler native-born Australians) during the 1830s. Among these are the first survivals of colonial compositions, the incunables themselves. The tally of works *written and printed* in Australia during the 1830s is slight: 4 only surviving, of a mere 6 so far identified as having been published. Overall, the 1830s, the second lowest stratum of this post-1788 musico-archeological “dig”, has produced evidence of only 41 compositional artefacts that were locally produced, themed, or adapted. In these, emigrant observations and transcriptions of Indigenous musical creativity are still significant.

Yet by the mid-1830s, as a result of the joint activities of the new arrivals and the continuing cohort of the 1820s, Australian colonists like the reviewer from the *Sydney Herald*, quoted above, were beginning to anticipate with more confidence the emergence of a distinctive *emigrant* national music culture. This anticipation was fed by the efforts of arrivals like the Wallace-Ellard family, but—just as importantly—by the willingness of the local community to have its taste “improved”. As with the first efforts of Reichenberg and Kavanagh a decade earlier, it was enough for music to be practised—and, by extension, compositions to be produced *within the colony*—to make it an object of patriotic, settler pride. But already present, too, was the idea that the hard work and perseverance of settler music against heavy odds might give birth to a flourishing Antipodean culture, one that could ultimately challenge the “age-enfeebled efforts” of Europe, and the British homeland itself. Moreover, this writer postulated something intrinsically identifiable in the futurity of Australian music, the effect of the climate on settler productions. Here, already in 1836, then, was the “blue cloudless skies” trope—of an Australian culture rendered Classical by its Mediterranean climate; and that of a new Britannia that would eventually revitalise and emancipate old Britain, and Europe.

As this chapter demonstrates, the semblance this new Britannia adopted in the 1830s was not necessarily as pre-determinedly “British” as might have been expected; at least, it did not always follow slavishly the privileged London-Edinburgh axis. In the Ellard, Wallace and Duly families, the Dublin Irish (as distinct from Scots and English) played a foundational role in the development of Australian national music, while the arrival late in the decade of Joseph Gautrot was an early and important continental European input. Gautrot’s coming via Batavia is also a reminder that there were other, already developed or developing settler-colonial musical economies in the region (notably also in Calcutta, Mauritius, and Manilla).

[2.2] Quadrilles and a Yallor at Perth, and a song for the South Australian Colonists in London

But while Sydney and Hobart might well have been developing musically, at the colonial margin the youngest outpost, the Swan River colony in Western Australia, remained on a frontier footing, especially when compared with Britain’s Indian colonies. In Perth, on 3

September 1831, two grueling years into the establishment of the most unrewarding of Australian settlements yet, the governor James Stirling convened a day of celebrations around the arrival from India of a British naval ship and its officers.²⁶¹ As local Irish-born lawyer **George Moore (Ireland 1798-1886) {1830-52}**, reported:²⁶²

In the evening at Government House, we had 180 ladies and gentlemen!!!

The ball was kept up with the greatest spirit until six in the morning; and the dancing almost without interval—contre-dances, quadrilles, Spanish dances, and gallopades [...] The gentlemen from India were astonished, for they had heard the most gloomy reports.

Moore himself was an amateur musician; he played flute (his sister played piano), and his life in the pioneer settlement included frequent musical evenings with friends.²⁶³ Yet he had “never before witnessed such gaiety at a ball, nor ever before danced so much in one night” (he also told his correspondent: “I hope you have [...] sent me some shoes; for I am almost barefooted”). Moore also sang a new song, [Western Australia for Me](#), albeit to a popular imported air, “*Ballinamona oro*”:²⁶⁴

*From the old Western world, we have come to explore
The wilds of this Western Australian shore;
In search of a country, we've ventured to roam,
And now that we've found it, let's make it our home.
And what though the Colony's new, Sirs,
And inhabitants yet may be few, Sirs,
We see them encreasing here too, Sirs,
So Western Australia for me [...]*

Moore's lyric, typical of colonial productions, captures the settlers' pride in their unlikely new home; and he, at least, was still singing it at any suitably convivial opportunity a decade later.²⁶⁵ Elsewhere, less typical of his fellow colonists, Moore also tried to be a friend to the Indigenous West Australians, and a recorder of their culture.²⁶⁶ His vocabulary of native language, first published in 1842, contains words for dance and singing:²⁶⁷

YALLOR, *subst.*—The name of the native dance among the northern men; as also the chaunt, or tune, if it may be so called, to which the dance is performed [...]

²⁶¹ See also Clark, *A History of Australia, III: The Beginnings of an Australian Civilization* (Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1973), 28.

²⁶² G.F. Moore, *Diary of Ten Years Eventful Life of an Early Settler in Western Australia and also A Descriptive Vocabulary of the Language of the Aborigines* (London: M. Walbrook, 1884), 63; copy at Internet Archive/American Libraries: <http://www.archive.org/details/diaryoftenyearseoomooriala>.

²⁶³ Moore, *Diary*, 20, 45, 102.

²⁶⁴ Moore, *Diary*, 65.

²⁶⁵ See “ST. PATRICK'S DAY”, *The Perth Gazette* (21 March 1840), 30: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article638772>.

²⁶⁶ Alfred H. Chate, “Moore, George Fletcher (1798-1886)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 2 (1967), 252-253: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020217b.htm>.

²⁶⁷ Moore, *A Descriptive Vocabulary of the Language in Common Use Amongst the Aborigines of Western Australia with copious meaning embodying much interesting information regarding the habits, manners, and customs and the natives and the natural history of the country* (London: Wm S. Orr, 1842) 111-113: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=1e8UAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA111#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

YALLOR-WÄNGOW, *verb*—To chaunt. From Yallor, the native dance, and Wangow, to speak.

And even a description of indigenous composition:

YETTI, or YEDDI, *subst.*—A song. They have no regular song, but they chaunt in a tone of recitative any striking events of the day, or give vent to their feelings when excited, beginning in a high tone, and gradually descending to a low deep tone by regular intervals.

Back in Britain, a few years later, Edward Gibbon Wakefield and Robert Gouger had successfully raised the interest of investors in the possible establishment of a colony on the southern Australian coast, at what would become Adelaide. For a dinner of the prospective South Australian Colonists society in London on 3 September 1834, Gouger wrote the words of a suitable song (as *The Australian's* London correspondent observed, “Mr. Gouger [...] is, you are aware, Secretary to the Association. He looks forward, it is said, to be made Colonial Secretary in the new Colony as the reward of his labours”; as indeed he was),²⁶⁸ for which one C. A. Calvert, otherwise unknown and presumably a resident Londoner, composed the music. [The Emigrant's Farewell](#) was published in London, probably at around the same time, and the only known copy survives in a “scrapbook” kept by South Australian settler Francis Amelia Thomas (sister-in-law, incidentally, of the mid-1850s Adelaide composer Alfred Mantegani). The text, as printed in the London *Spectator*, also came to the attention of the Sydney press, *The Australian* and *The Monitor* reprinting it without further comment, though the *Herald* took a dim view of the likely competition the new South Australian colony would offer to Sydney:²⁶⁹

We perceive by the London papers that Robert Gouger, and the Emigration Committee, are again at their old trade. They are now employing every claptrap and unworthy device to induce Emigrants to embark their capital and persons in the project of founding a New Colony on the southern coast of Australia.

[2.3] John Lhotsky and The Song of the Women of the Menero Tribe

Despite Kavanagh's presumption in “submitting to the Australian public” his “Specimen of National Music”, a small handful of colonists remained convinced of the prior and prior and higher Indigenous claim to “Australian National Music”. Almost forty years on

²⁶⁸ “From our London Correspondent”, *The Australian* (3 March 1835), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article42007102>.

²⁶⁹ [Editorial], *The Sydney Herald* (2 February 1835), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12851424>; part of this “claptrap” on behalf of the South Australian venture was the earlier published calumny on Sydney and its inhabitants, “edited” by Gouger, *A Letter from Sydney, The Principal Town of Australasia, Together with an Outline of a System of Colonization* (London: Joseph Cross, Simpkin and Marshall, 1829); <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=xPENAAAAYAAJ>, actually written by Wakefield, who had never been to Australia, let alone Sydney.

from arrival day, the privations and hardships experienced by many a settler were probably indeed such that, as J. P. McGuanne pictured them from the distance of 1901, “[...] the music of a reed-whistle of a Jew’s-harp was an orchestra”, and a “*corobara* [...] for many years [...] Sydney’s cheapest entertainment”, a night at the opera.²⁷⁰ A “*corrobbora*” at Woolloomooloo in 1831 was a notable occasion for Sydney;²⁷¹ by the mid-1820s, such entertainments were becoming rare, as NSW Supreme Court judge, Barron Field observed when introducing his transcription of an [Australian National Melody](#):²⁷²

From the neighbourhood of our settlements we have scared the kangaroo and the emu, and left these poor lords of the creation no created food but a few opossums, and a tenancy in common with us of fish. Together with their numbers, their customs and manners are in a state of decay [...] But the *corrobory*, or night dance, still obtains. This festivity is performed in good time, and not unpleasing tune. The song is sung by a few males and females who take no part in the dance. One of the band beats time by knocking one stick against another. The music begins with a high note, and gradually sinks to the octave, whence it rises again immediately to the top. I took down the following Australian national melody from Harry, who married Carangarang, the sister of the celebrated Bennilong; and I believe it to be the first that was ever reduced to writing.

In 1830, too, the editor of the *Hobart Courier* was still associating the “native melodies of our Van Diemen’s Land blacks”, as recently transcribed by some local settler, with “national music” as defined in James Beattie’s *Essays*:²⁷³

Some of our musical amateurs have lately made some progress in recording the native melodies of our Van Diemen’s land Blacks, but what we have seen are of the rudest and most uncouth kind, though doubt not without their charms to the sable ear. The late Dr. Beattie has the following beautiful remarks on national music, with which we cannot refrain from enriching our columns while on this subject:—

“It is an amiable prejudice that people generally entertain in favour of their

²⁷⁰ J. P. McGuanne, “The Humours and Pastimes of Early Sydney”, *The Australian Historical Society Journal and Proceedings* 1 (1901), 34-35; for a complete transcription of these pages see **Appendix 1: Texts**.

²⁷¹ “Domestic Intelligence”, *The Sydney Herald* (14 November 1831), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12843714>: “A *corrobbora* of the aborigines took place at Woolloomooloo on Monday night. Young Bungaree did the honors of the ceremonies [...]”.

²⁷² Barron Field, “Journal of an Excursion Across the Blue Mountains of New South Wales (October 1822)”, *The London Magazine* (November 1823); as reprinted in Barron Field, *Geographical Memoirs on New South Wales; by Various Hands* (London: John Murray, 1825), 433-34:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=P7kBAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA433&#v=onepage&q&f=false>; see C.H. Currey, “Field, Barron (1786-1846)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 1 (1966), 373-376: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A010355b.htm>.

²⁷³ [News], *The Hobart Town Courier* (16 October 1830), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4206714>; the quoted section is from James Beattie, *Essays: on poetry and music, as they affect the mind*. See the third edition, Edinburgh, E. & C. Dilly, 1779, 161-162:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=130CAAAAYAAJ&pg=Pa161#v=onepage&q&f=false>;

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=130CAAAAYAAJ&dq>; compare too the likewise liberal-minded,

“AUSTRALIAN SKETCHES: 1. THE CIVILIZATION OF THE ABORIGINES”, *The Sydney Gazette* (6 October 1832), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2208869>: “The race of the Papuas [Indigenous people] is one which now possesses very inferior qualities [...] but, I dare to say, that these Papuas will have, perhaps, as good Franklins and Washingtons, Byrons and Shakespeares, as the cannibals and wild fellows which the Romans called once Picts”.

national music. This lowest degree of patriotism is not without its merit; and that man must have a hard heart, or dull imagination, in whom, though endued with musical sensibility, no sweet emotions would arise on hearing in his riper years, or in a foreign land, those strains that were the delight of his childhood. What though they be inferior to the Italian? What though they be even irregular and rude? It is not their merit which, in the case supposed, would interest a native, but the charming ideas they would recall to his mind; ideas of innocence, simplicity, and leisure, - of romantic enterprise and enthusiastic attachment [...]”.

But prompted by the amateurs’ “present campaign”, the *Courier* writer also extended, as Kavanagh had done, his conception of “national” music, to contemplate settlers’ creative responses to their natural surroundings, and to native birdsong in particular:

Many of those who are taking an active part in the present campaign, and who have some taste for the beauties of nature, must [...] derive no small pleasure from the new and striking objects peculiar to the island brought under their notice [...] this enjoyment must be more than usually delightful, for not only every plant but every animal is different from those in the old world. The mind of him must be dark indeed, and the heart insensible, that is not touched with new delight when he awakes at early dawn [...] and hears the chorus of feathered race. It has been said that our singing birds have no charms compared to the choristers that enliven our English meads and vales; but [...] we have yet many that approximate in giving delight with these associates of our early days.

The present race of our colonial writers is too much engrossed with political and other ephemeral subjects to have yet devoted much time to chronicle the annals of this new region, a description either prose or poetic of these interesting and permanent characteristics. There is however no doubt now amongst us some rising genius, born amidst our woods and peculiar scenery who will shortly apply his descriptive powers to commemorate them [...].

In 1832, *The Hobart Town Courier* again referred to the “national music” of the “blacks”, playfully followed by notice of a concert:²⁷⁴

On Monday evening Mr. G. A. Robinson did us the favour to introduce us to a party of the domesticated blacks lately come up with Mr. Darling, the Commandant from the establishment at Great Island. They are certainly [sic] an interesting race of people, and we are not at all surprised that those who are in daily intercourse should become much attached to them. Wymurick, the western chief, is an honour

²⁷⁴ [News], *The Hobart Town Courier* (7 December 1832), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4195481>; for a late account of Tasmanian Indigenous music, see, John West, *The History of Tasmania - Volume II (of 2)* (Launceston: J. S. Waddell, 1852): modern online edition: <http://freeread.com.au/ebooks/e00115.html>: “Their language varied: the four principal tribes had different dialects. When they met at Flinders’, communication was difficult, yet their songs were the same [...] Their songs, which reminded Labillardière of the music of the Arabs of Asia Minor, were exceedingly soft and plaintive; their voices not wanting in melody. They repeated the same note in soft and liquid syllables; descended to the second bar, and finished with a third above the key note. They sometimes varied, by suddenly running into the octave. Their strains were considered, by a Scotchman, a close resemblance to the Highland bagpipe. The stanzas they repeated again and again: none have been translated, for which, it is said, they are unfit”; on the author, then minister of St. John’s Square Congregational Chapel, Launceston, and from 1854 editor of *The Sydney Morning Herald*, see John Reynolds, “West, John (1809-1873)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 2 (1967), 590-592: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020533b.htm>.

to his tribe, he has his family with him to whom he is much attached. Several of the original Big-river or Oyster-bay tribe, are among them. They sung several of their national songs, but their music is of the rudest kind being little more than the frequent repetition of the same note—in soft liquid syllables. The general character of their music may be described in words almost as intelligibly as by dotting the notes down. They begin by singing a third from the key note several times and then descend to the second and then to the second below, repeating each several times, and finish with the third above the key note. They sometimes vary it by suddenly running into the octave. Their music bears a close resemblance to the monotonous chant of the highland bagpipe.

We learn with pleasure that those favourites of the public Mr. Reichenberg and Mr. Russel are getting up a concert of vocal and instrumental music in a very superior style, with some other interesting entertainments which will be given to the public in the course of the ensuing Christmas holydays.

Settlers also continued to put their musical observations into reverse. In 1829, the *Cornwall Press* in Launceston, reported:²⁷⁵

On Saturday the Police Magistrate [...] attended St. John's Church, to witness the manner in which an Aboriginal youth would be affected by the organ, and we are credibly informed that his gestures and demeanour throughout the performances (which were extremely pleasing and respectable) was in fine keeping with the music. His ear seemed most delicately sensitive; and although so pantomimic were his grins and shrugs as to repeatedly excite a smile, there is no reason to doubt that "Collins's ode to the passions" was never before acted in dumb show so well or so unaffectedly.

And, as retold in England by William Pridden in 1843 from Australian sources (including the explorers Thomas Mitchell and George Grey), the taste of "musical blacks" was also of interest:²⁷⁶

The Australian languages are stated to be soft and melodious in their sound, and their songs, though rude and wild, have amazing power over the feelings of the soul. Noise would appear to have great charms in savage ears, and, sometimes, from the high key in which our English songs are occasionally pitched, it would seem to have charms also for "ears polite". But an elegant and refined European song would only be laughed at and mimicked by the musical blacks, some few of whom are not, however, quite insensible to the sweets of civilised melody. Warrup, a native servant, was once present when *God save the Queen* was sung in chorus, and it so affected him, that he burst into tears. He certainly could not have understood the words, much less could he have entered into the noble and loyal spirit, of our *National Anthem*: it must, therefore, have been the music, and, perhaps, the excitement prevailing around him, which affected him.

²⁷⁵ "THE COUNTRY POST: LAUNCESTON", *The Hobart Town Courier* (28 February 1829), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4217806/641941>.

²⁷⁶ W. Pridden, *Australia, its history and present condition: containing an account both of the bush and of the colonies, with their respective inhabitants* (London: James Burns, 1843), 96; http://www.archive.org/stream/australiaitshistooopriduala/australiaitshistooopriduala_djvu.txt.

By contrast, the early colonial press was also capable of recognising the limitations of adopting, uncritically, an English model for colonial music. Rather, the new Sydney series of amateur concerts by the Philharmonic Society, at the Pulteney Hotel in 1834 was greeted for its application of a continental European custom, where those “moving in the highest class of society, play as amateurs”, rather than an English one:²⁷⁷

Among all the nations of Europe, and, indeed, of the civilised world, the English may be regarded as the most unmusical. Whether we view their talents as applied to that beautiful science in composition, or in the exercise of taste, they stand the lowest in the scale of nations. [...] This can only arise from the peculiarity of our social organization, in which so little time is given to the voluptuous indulgences of life, and so few facilities for the cultivation of the most elegant of all enjoyments.

And in September 1833, in a letter to the editor of the *Gazette* headed “The People and the Sunday”, a recent arrival sounded the alarm against what he considered a musical casualty of the rising tide of another British import, Sabbatarianism:²⁷⁸

[...] we were, I said, very much delighted to hear the band of the 4th Regiment playing on Sundays after-noon publicly in the Military Barracks [...] Now our boys and decent servants shall not even play the Sundays upon the Race-course [...] At any rate, we should recollect sometime, that we live now, and that much more our children are destined to live—under the climate and the sky of Greece and Sicily; and that therefore many regulations, which may be appropriated under the vapourous, smoky and frozen heavens of Great Britain, are quite out of tune in Australasia. Wherever may be the intelligent instigator of our revived Sunday music, his name shall be revered to all that people who are not rich enough to have large parties—every Sunday.

I am, Sir, &c. JOHN LHOTSKY.

The author, **John Lhotsky (Bohemia ?1795-?1866) {1832-38}** had arrived in Sydney, via Brazil, the previous year, to carry on his work as a scientist and naturalist, a commercial collector of botanical and geological specimens, and public lecturer on the widest variety of topics.²⁷⁹ With his variously ingratiating and brittle manner, enormous energy, enthusiastic schemes, and blatant self-promoting—as well as probably simply for being a “foreigner” (non-British)—“Dr. Lhotsky”, apparently effortlessly, alienated influential locals, many of whom assumed his doctorate was phoney (it was not). Too quickly for some local sensibilities, Lhotsky identified himself as a “Colonist, N.S.Wales”, and took to complaining of “our government”, and boasting of “our eucalyptus”. He fled Sydney in penury and bad odour for Hobart in 1836, where he managed to survive only a further 18 months, before

²⁷⁷ “CONCERT”, *The Sydney Herald* (28 July 1834), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12850008>.

²⁷⁸ “THE PEOPLE AND THE SUNDAY”, *The Sydney Gazette* (26 September 1833), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2214085>.

²⁷⁹ Dymphna Clark, “Dr John Lhotsky versus Baron von Hügel, 1834-1848”, *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society* 78/3-4 (1992): 133-148.

embarking for London, finally, in April 1838.²⁸⁰ He was virtually run out of town, the editor of the *Colonial Times*, who had previously befriended him, having “with great reluctance” on 20 March warned his readers off a man he described as:²⁸¹

[...] a foreigner, peculiar, certainly, in his manners, and, perhaps MORE than peculiar [...] he exercises a vindictive and venomous spirit of mischief, calculated to endanger the peace of individuals [...] We are compelled to assert, that Dr. Lhotsky is a dangerous—a bad man.

But recently, Lhotsky has undergone historical rehabilitation, and is recognised as an Australian pioneer scientist, humanitarian, and social reformer. As an outcome of his advocacy for Indigenous Australians, he is also recognised as a pioneering contributor to the history of Australian composition.

Lhotsky ventured into print as both a commentator on the arts, and as a practitioner, notably as a sketcher and lithographer.²⁸² When he tried in July 1834 to sell the original and copyright of one of his pictures of the Australian Alps, he styled it as a “patriotic undertaking, to make arts and sciences popular in Australia”.²⁸³ Newly arrived in Hobart in November, he exhibited a *View of the Australian Alps [...] Taken on Dr. Lhotsky’s Expedition* on the premises of the gallery owner (and composer) George Peck. Colonial visual arts were the subject of the mostly appreciative short article he published in 1839, soon after his arrival back in London, entitled “The State of Arts in New South Wales and Van Diemen’s Land”.²⁸⁴ But its brief mention, too, of oratorio performances at St. Mary’s in Sydney suggests that he may have attended Wallace’s oratorio in September 1836, shortly before leaving left for Hobart. Well before Wallace’s arrival, in April 1833, Lhotsky wrote to the editor of the *Gazette* announcing the formation of a “PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY IN SYDNEY” (referred to in Chapter 1):²⁸⁵

Sir, As Sciences and Arts are so closely connected, I feel much pleasure in acquainting the public, through your respected journal, that a society of the above description has been formed in our town. A locale has been hired, and the preparations have advanced so far, that in a month or six weeks’ friends may be

²⁸⁰ G. P. Whitley, “Lhotsky, John (1795?-1866?)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 2 (1967), 114-115: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/AO20100b.htm>.

²⁸¹ “Dr. Lhotsky”, *Colonial Times* (20 March 1838), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8650544>.

²⁸² “John Lhotsky”, *Dictionary of Australian Artists Online*: <http://www.daa0.org.au/main/read/3973>.

²⁸³ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Gazette* (5 July 1834), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2216552>.

²⁸⁴ John Lhotsky, “The State of Arts in New South Wales and Van Diemen’s Land”, *Art-Union* [London: later *The Art-Journal*] (July 1839), 99-100; [copy at SL-NSW]: “[...] As from my first arrival in Australia, I perceived that it would afford a rich scope for the landscape painter, I had some drawings executed, most of them on a large scale. Amongst them were several studies of trees of unique appearance: Xant[h]orrhoea Arborea, Eucalyptus, Casuarina, &c. In the Australian Alps I took a sketch of a great mountain panorama; and in Tasman’s peninsula I had a virginal forest drawn, which breathes all the mysterious and silent majesty of such scenery. One of my most cheerful sketches, is the spot where Captain Cook first landed [...]”.

²⁸⁵ “PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY IN SYDNEY”, *The Sydney Gazette* (27 April 1833), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2211776>.

admitted to witness the proceedings of the society [...] Messrs. Edwards, Sippe, Cavendish, F. Wilson, &c. are connected with the institution of the Philharmonic Society, we congratulate the lovers of musical science upon this opportunity to improve the minds of our fellow citizens. Dr J. L.

And in 1836, the fourth issue of his short-lived magazine, *The Reformer*,²⁸⁶ was advertised as containing articles on “Music in Australia”, “Sacred Music”, and, again, on “Our Military Bands”.²⁸⁷ Presenting his own credentials in commenting on Wallace’s recent arrival in Sydney, Lhotsky explained:²⁸⁸

We have heard, beginning with Beethoven and Paganini, almost every virtuoso in Europe; we have practised music ourselves in the happier days of our youth; we have therefore some right to review freely the prominent talents which the colony possesses at the present moment.

And in February 1838, about to quit Hobart and Australia permanently, Lhotsky was reportedly planning to do so with a “lecture with music”, to the amusement of the press:²⁸⁹

Music at a lecture is a new feature in the “march of intellect”, and future lectures on this plan will be culled *Lhotskianae*, to immortalize the inventor.

Lhotsky’s sole lasting Australian musical legacy was a by-product of one of his earlier, successful attempts at gaining patronage for his scientific projects, when he received government funding to make a survey through the sparsely settled Monaro district and into the New South Wales southern mountains. On his return, he began publishing his observations in *A Journey from Sydney to the Australian Alps*, projected to run to 20 monthly parts. Though it foundered after the eighth issue in February 1836, it was, according to Whitley “his most important work”, and not only “introduced the Snowy River to geography”, but also “the prospect of a future city on the limestone *Kembery* [Canberra]

²⁸⁶ [Advertisement]: “The Reformer”, *The Sydney Gazette* (20 August 1836), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2206130>: “The Reformer: Where fools are eagerly heard it becomes rather tempting for others to retire and be silent. The Fourth Number of the above publication will appear shortly—Price 31/2d. CONTENTS. The Secrets of Governor Bourke’s Administration—Review of the Transactions of the Patriotic Association—A short outline of the Political life of William Watt—Music in Australia—Sacred Music—Our Military Bands, &c. &c.. The lovers of strong and independent writing (especially the *Notices!* are respectfully acquainted, that the present proprietors of *The Reformer* (most of them people who are not rich), will be compelled to give up the publication of the above, if not speedily assisted.”

²⁸⁷ See also an anonymous article (“from a Correspondent”) comparing the rival bands of the 17th and 28th Regiments, “THE MILITARY BANDS”, *The Sydney Herald* (15 February 1836): <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12853866>: “Both Bands, however, have their individual excellencies, and were it in our power to appoint them music adapted to their peculiar construction and capabilities, we should assign the sweet melodies, but thin instrumentation of Rossini to the 17th, and the wild and mystic strains of Von Weber, or the massy and magnificent chords, and profound and gloomy compositions of Beethoven to the 28th.”

²⁸⁸ J. M. Forde (“Old Chum”), “Old Sydney”, *Truth Magazine* [Sydney] (19 November 1916), 203; cited Kathleen Hellyar Myer, William Vincent Wallace: Life and Works (Ph.D dissertation, Bryn Mawr College, 1980), vol. 1, 19.

²⁸⁹ “Hobart Town Extracts (from *Bent’s News*, Feb. 10, 1838)”, *The Sydney Gazette* (27 February 1838), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2549905>.

plains”.²⁹⁰

It was not until Lhotsky reached Moss Vale, 125kms from Sydney, on 16 January 1834, that:²⁹¹

I perceived the first Aborigines I met with since I left Sydney; a very striking contrast with the period when Captain Phillip saw in Sydney Cove, tribes of 50 and 60 of them—now not one to be found in a space of about 90 miles [...] I consider this extinction of an entire race of men, as one of the greatest blames of all the different governments, which have succeeded each other in these Colonies [...]

A few days earlier, near Myrtle Creek on Monday 13 January, he had made the first musical observations in the *Journal*:²⁹²

At the Traveller’s arms I found a merry party dancing to the strains of a violin. Music is a thing seldom heard in our Colony, I listened therefore with pleasure even to these monotonous tones.

The second musical observation followed, on Saturday 25 January, the eve of the anniversary of the colony:²⁹³

As it soon after became one of those supernatural Australian full moon nights, I confidently expected that a *Corrobory* (a dance and song) would be performed [...] the *Corrobory* began, to which I listened pleasantly extended on my cloak. Their strain was in 2-4 time, which they marked by beating crotchets and in moments of greater excitement quavers. I will hereafter describe a like scene I witnessed near the Alps, and give the music and words of one of our Papua songs, which for majestic and deep melancholy, would not dishonour a Beethoven or a Handel. The tones weakened by degrees, the tones died away, and grand silence and aethereal clearness filled the Plain and the wilderness about my camp.

In November 1834, Lhotsky indeed engraved and published “one of our Papua songs”, [**A Song of the Women of the Menero Tribe**](#), though unfortunately his journal folded before he tendered his promised description of the “like scene” witnessed near the alps. Thus the precise circumstances in which he collected and transcribed the words and melody are unrecorded.²⁹⁴ As to the song’s arrangement and printing, Lhotsky had evidently got to know

²⁹⁰ For a fuller appreciation, see also the symposium Vladislav Kruta, Gilbert P. Whitley, Thomas G. Vallance, James H. Willis, Norman A. Wakefield, Alan E. J. Andrews, and Lech Paskowski, *Dr. John Lhotsky: The Turbulent Australian Writer Naturalist and Explorer* (Melbourne: Australian Felix Literary Club, 1977).

²⁹¹ Original, issue 1, 19; modern edition: Alan E. J. Andrews (ed.), *A Journey from Sydney to the Australian Alps undertaken in the months of January, February and March, 1834 by Dr. John Lhotsky* (Hobart: Blubber Head Press, 1979), 82.

²⁹² Andrews, 77.

²⁹³ Andrews, 108-109.

²⁹⁴ Lhotsky also compiled a short vocabulary of “Menero” words, including those of the song as published; his alpine expedition, meanwhile, continued to capture the public imagination well into the following year; the singer-actor Maria Taylor (with help from the flautist-composer Thomas Stubbs) turned it to good account in her new *Theatrical Reminiscences*—“an Entirely New Descriptive Entertainment (with Songs)”—at the Theatre Royal in November 1835, which included segments reflecting on “Farces and Operas—New Music—[...] Wonders of the

Francis Ellard, and in September 1834 was advertising the first “sheet” of his *Journey* on sale at Ellard’s Musical Repository.²⁹⁵ And from annotations on the print of the *Song* itself, we know that three of the “several musical gentlemen” who helped Lhotsky arrange and harmonise the chant, were George Sippe, Sippe’s former pupil Joshua Josephson,²⁹⁶ and James Pearson.

Specifically, Sippe is credited with the simple piano solo arrangement, Pearson and Josephson with arranging respectively the vocal line, and the more elaborate piano accompaniment of the vocal setting. Josephson’s piano part shows considerable compositional acumen, its bass coloured with heavily accented semitone trills. Though otherwise not recorded as having composed, **Joshua Frey Josephson (Germany 1815-1892) {1820-92}** (later a mayor of Sydney, and a prominent lawyer)²⁹⁷ may have got to know Lhotsky on the pretext of he and his father, a former convict, being native Germans. According to a later source, Vincent Wallace was music tutor to Josephson’s family (and that, too, of Alfred Stephens),²⁹⁸ though it was probably Joshua’s young brother, also a talented pianist, who was the pupil, while Joshua himself was advertised as appearing at least once as Wallace’s accompanist.²⁹⁹ After undertaking legal training in England in the 1840s, Josephson’s main continuing musical commitment was to St. Peter’s Church, Cook’s River, which he served as honorary organist for 19 years.³⁰⁰

James Pearson (England c.1794-1841) {fl.1825-34}, the organist of St. James’s Church,³⁰¹ arrived in Sydney in 1825 from Hobart,³⁰² and advertised (the first to do so in so many words) as a teacher of the various skills that made up the “science” of composition at the time:³⁰³

MR. JAMES PEARSON, Teacher of the Piano Forte, and Professor of Thorough Bass. Mr. Pearson’s Plan of Instruction is to unite Science with Practice, that his

day—Dr. Lhotsky’s Alps”; see [Advertisement], *The Sydney Gazette* (10 November 1835), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2201130>.

²⁹⁵ [Advertisement], *The Hobart Town Courier* (26 September 1834), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4183277>.

²⁹⁶ H. T. E. Holt, “Josephson, Joshua Frey (1815-1892)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 4 (1972), 492-493: <http://adonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/AO40558b.htm>.

²⁹⁷ For instance, Josephson himself was probably not the composer of a fantasia in which “he introduced *Auld Lang Syne* with variations”, at Wallace’s second Sydney concert in 1836; rather it was probably an imported, that by Charles Nicholson published in London; “LAST FRIDAY EVENING’S CONCERT”, *The Sydney Gazette* (1 March 1836), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2203019>.

²⁹⁸ “MUSIC AND MUSICIANS: MARITANA”, *The Mercury* (22 June 1932), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article29960362>.

²⁹⁹ Josephson himself had also taught music for a while, semi-professionally, [News], *The Sydney Monitor* (14 July 1832), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article32141650>.

³⁰⁰ “ST. PETER’S, COOK’S RIVER. Ninety-fifth Anniversary.(BY A. W. R.)”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (29 July 1933), 9: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article16993979>.

³⁰¹ “A MUSICAL BAROMETER”, *The Sydney Gazette* (13 June 1829), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2192651>; Pearson’s playing evidently excited the interest of the convict, Dennis Clare, mentioned in Chapter 1, see “Windsor”, *The Sydney Gazette* (12 October 1827), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2189144>.

³⁰² He was previously “conductor of church music” in Van Diemen’s Land; “GOVERNMENT ORDER”, *Hobart Town Gazette* (25 February 1826), 1s: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8790505>.

³⁰³ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Gazette* (17 March 1825), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2183832>.

Pupils may thoroughly understand the Elements of Music. They are taught the Rules of Modulation; the practical Use of the major and minor Keys, as connected with Modulation and the playing of Extempore Preludes; with the Method of adding to a Melody the proper Accompaniments, from a figured or thorough Bass. Exercises in Outline are given to his Pupils, with appropriate Rules and Examples, to enable them to write on each Part of the Science, from its most simple to its highest Branches, and so to familiarize the whole, that they may attain a complete Knowledge of the theoretical as well as practical Part of Music [...].

Though to date Pearson has not otherwise been noted as a composer, two very brief (and, of course, lost) pieces of church music can now be attributed to him, among the earliest sacred compositions documented in the colonies. In March 1827, shortly after he took up the post of organist there, it was reported: “The choir of St. James’s Church, will chaunt on Sunday evening next, the **Magnificat**, arranged by Mr. Pearson, who has accepted the office of leader”.³⁰⁴ And more specifically in July 1830: “That beautiful piece of sacred music adapted to the **responses in the Communion Service**, and sung by the choir of St. James’s Church, is the composition of Mr. PEARSON, the Organist”.³⁰⁵ Pearson retired to the country, where during his last years he was clerk of the bench at Cowpasture near Camden. He died there on 13 July 1841.³⁰⁶

It remains somewhat surprising that Lhotsky’s *Song* is the earliest known surviving example of music printing in the Australian colonies. “Copper-plate printing” and “Engraving of Cards, Invoices, Bills of Lading, Music, &c.” were already being offered as a service by James Ross at the *Hobart Town Gazette* in 1827,³⁰⁷ and by 1830 a Mrs. Wood was likewise offering to produce music lithographically.³⁰⁸ Nevertheless, what Lhotsky claimed was “the first specimen of AUSTRALIAN MUSIC”,³⁰⁹ and what is certainly the first locally printed music to survive, was advertised in the *Gazette* on 11 November 1834:³¹⁰

SHORTLY WILL BE PUBLISHED, A SONG OF THE WOMEN OF THE MENERO TRIBE, NEAR THE AUSTRALIAN ALPS ARRANGED With the assistance of several Musical Gentlemen, for the VOICE AND PIANO-FORTE, Most humbly inscribed as the first specimen of AUSTRALIAN MUSIC, TO Her Most Gracious

³⁰⁴ [News], *The Monitor* (9 March 1827), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31758255>.

³⁰⁵ [News], *The Sydney Gazette* (6 July 1830), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2195472>.

³⁰⁶ Rushworth, *Historic Organs*, 363–64; “NEWS FROM THE INTERIOR”, *The Sydney Herald* (28 July 1841), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12870235>

³⁰⁷ [Advertisement], *Hobart Town Gazette* (18 August 1827), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8791907>.

³⁰⁸ [Advertisement], *The Hobart Town Courier* (1 May 1830), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4208777>.

³⁰⁹ Though this claim was disputed in print in distant France by the obviously very observant Louis de Freycinet, as early as 1839; see Louis de Freycinet, *Voyage Autour du Monde: Entrepris par Ordre du Roi ... Exécuté sur les corvettes de S. M. l’Uranie et la Physicienne, pendant les années 1817, 1818, 1819 et 1820*, Historique, Tome Deuxième— Deuxième Partie (Paris: Chez Pillet Aîné, 1839), 830 footnote, noted the existence of Lhotsky’s 1834 transcription, in order to correct Lhotsky’s published claim that his was the “*premiere spécimen de musique australienne*”, Freycinet correctly citing the priority of the Baudin and Field transcriptions; see Google Books: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=pWNNAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA830#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

³¹⁰ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Gazette* (11 November 1834), 3:

<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2217523>; but see also “Domestic Intelligence”, *The Australian* (7 November 1834), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article42007225>.

Majesty, ADELAIDE, QUEEN OF GREAT BRITAIN AND HANOVER BY Dr J. LHOTSKY, Colonist, New South Wales [...] THIS SONG has been declared by the most competent judges as “very pretty”; by others, even as a “sublime” production [...].

And it was greeted with approving editorial comment in the same issue:³¹¹

We are constrained to admit that Dr. Lhotsky, has indeed great industry and ingenuity. He meditated an exploration into the bowels of the earth after gold and silver ore, he has scaled the Australian Alps, discovered mineral springs, and now, to astonish us all, he has set an Aboriginal native song to music, as will be seen in another column.

Lhotsky himself gave further background in advertisements in *The Sydney Monitor*:³¹²

A Song of the Menero tribe near the Australian Alps, arranged with the kind assistance of several Musical Gentlemen for the Voice and Piano Forte [...] The collaborating at this song of such able musicians as Pe[a]rson, Josep[h]son and Sippe demonstrate clearly, that it is neither (as some of my enemies say) a *Portuguese* air, nor any thing else than a wild air, carrying however a great *depth of feeling*. Several families having expressed their wishes to buy this Air for their children, its present price at Sydney is one shilling and sixpence.

And in December—though presumably only on Lhotsky’s own say so—the *Gazette* reported that sales were healthy:³¹³

A considerable number of the song of the natives published by Dr. Lhotsky, have been lately purchased for friends in Cambridge, Edinburgh, and other eminent places in Great Britain. It is certainly a patriotic air, and the first of this kind ever published.

A decade later, in the course of justifying his own cleaned-up revision of the song (as *The Aboriginal Father*), Nathan would describe Lhotsky’s effort as “deformed and mutilated”. Yet there may well be something more ethnographically honest about Lhotsky’s transcription, which defies European rules of tonality so as to end in a different key from which it began. Perhaps Lhotsky had perfect pitch, and this is what he heard. Nevertheless, as Nathan’s revision only confirms, the very act of recording the song effectively risked turning it into a museum-like exhibit. In Lhotsky’s defence, his rendition into English of the text must be quoted:

³¹¹ [News], *The Sydney Gazette* (11 November 1834), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2217507>.

³¹² [Advertisement]: “Australian Philosophical Repository”, *The Sydney Monitor* (29 November 1834), 1s: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article32147713>.

³¹³ [News], *The Sydney Gazette* (11 December 1834), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2217721>; also [News], *The Monitor* (10 December 1834), 3s: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article32147785>.

*Unprotected race of people
Unprotected all we are;
And our children shrink so fastly,
Unprotected why are we?*

Between Lhostky's *Song* in 1834 and Nathan's "Aboriginal Melodies" in the early 1840s, Aboriginal song continued to be of mainly scientific, rather than artistic interest. When the United States Exploring Squadron was anchored in Sydney Harbour in December 1839, one of the expedition's artists, Joseph Drayton (1798-1877) transcribed and later published [Four Australian Native Chants](#) from live performances, all apparently by the same "native", including a "new song" that he was taking back to his tribe, and another that Drayton suspected was "not to be entirely native music".³¹⁴

Around the same time, George Grey, during his long and detailed observations of Indigenous music in his *Journals of Two Expeditions of Discovery in North-West and Western Australia During the Years 1837, 38, and 39*, recorded the words only of a [Funeral Chant](#), later widely reprinted in the British press:³¹⁵

Nothing can awake in the breast more melancholy feelings than the funeral chants of these people. They are sung by a whole chorus of females of all ages and the effect produced upon the bystanders by this wild music is indescribable. I will give one chant which I have heard sung upon several occasions:

The young women sing: Kar-dang.)
The old women sing: Mam-mul) gar-ro.
Me-la nad-jo
Nung-a-broo.
Kar-dang)
Mam-mul) gar-ro.
Me-la nad-jo
Nung-a-broo.
&c. &c. &c.

My young brother)
My young son) again.
In future shall I
never see.
My young brother)
My young son) again.
In future shall I
never see.

³¹⁴ Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition During the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842*, Volume 2 (Philadelphia, 1844?); later printing, (Philadelphia: [?], 1849), 189-90; at Google Books (1849 print):

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=BfAKAAAYAAJ>.

³¹⁵ George Grey, *Journals of Two Expeditions of Discovery in North-West and Western Australia During the Years 1837, 38, and 39* (London: T. and W. Boone, 1841), vol. 2, 308:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=soQbAAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA308&#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

[2.4] Cavendish's "Australian Quadrilles"

Predating Lhotsky's first attested colonial musical print by a year, the earliest surviving Australian manuscript musical work has only recently come to light as the result of a donation to the State Library of New South Wales by one a descendent of the composer.

William Joseph Cavendish [de Castell] (Ireland 1789-1839) {1833-39}

disembarked from the *Sovereign* from Mauritius on 20 January 1833.³¹⁶ Cavendish's career—from London, to Mauritius briefly, and Sydney at the end of his life—has been charted in detail by Ann Beedell, who characterised him as a musician of "modest" talents, and "limitless" ambitions, predestined for "ultimate failure" in Australia.³¹⁷ But, during the six years he spent in New South Wales, Cavendish appears to have been a useful, respected, and well-liked member of the musical community, one moreover noted for his philanthropic streak. Having found premises in Macquarie-place, on 5 March Cavendish advertised that he was launching a "Salle de Danse", every Tuesday and Friday "for the season", offering:³¹⁸

[...] every species of fashionable dancing: Minuets, Gorpets, Quadrilles, Swedish, Spanish, and Polish dances, Boler's, Muscovian and Circascian Circles, Galopades, the Grand Polonaise and Gymnastic exercises.

Apparently he met with some success; according to *The Herald*, a "swell", John Wilson, of Sydney theatre, was arrested on Sunday morning "having been found, during Church hours, practicing some of Mr. Cavendish de Castells's new steps".³¹⁹ In May, Cavendish had the honour of conducting the official King's Birthday Ball, at the express invitation of the Governor's daughter, with the result that some 500 revellers enjoyed an evening of well-organised dancing:³²⁰

[...] by which many of those imperfections in the quadrilles (so generally complained of), were happily avoided, and figures danced with a precision hitherto unknowns in this colony [...] Quadrilles, waltzes, and the gay sauteuse were kept up with unabated animation untill three o' clock.

As well as continuing to direct public balls, Cavendish joined Lhotsky, Sippe and his Terpsichorean friend Wilson, in their proposed Philharmonic Society in 1833, played regularly in concert and theatre bands with the Wallaces, Stubbs, and other local amateurs and professionals, and assisted as accompanist in oratorios and services at the Catholic chapel. He was not otherwise known as a composer, however, and this set surviving of

³¹⁶ "ARRIVALS", *The Sydney Gazette* (22 January 1833), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2210460>.

³¹⁷ Beedell, *The Decline of the English Musician*, xiii; Beedell's argument, more or less, is that an English musician could not fall lower than to end up in Australia.

³¹⁸ [Advertisement]: "MR. CAVENDISH DE CASTELL", *The Sydney Gazette* (5 March 1833), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2211015>.

³¹⁹ "POLICE INCIDENTS", *The Sydney Herald* (21 March 1833), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12846469>.

³²⁰ "THE KING'S BIRTHDAY", *The Sydney Gazette* (30 May 1833), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2212236>.

manuscript arrangements is his only extant work.

It is an autograph fair copy of **5 quadrilles and 2 waltzes**, indented for publication in England, and arranged for pianoforte, according to Cavensish himself, from a variety of Australian, Mauritian, and “Arabian” sources.³²¹ This extra information comes from an accompanying letter from Cavendish to an English relative, dated “Parramatta, Notasia [i.e. Australasia], April 20, [18]33”, three months to the day after his arrival in Sydney. As Cavendish wrote in the letter: “The agent here to Ellards music warehouse of Dublin [Francis Ellard] offered to purchase them. I have offered him a [printed] set when I can collect them.” Cavendish gave two of the quadrilles local Sydney titles, *Kurry Jong* and *Woo-loo-moo-loo*, the latter of particular interest since, two years later, Francis Ellard published his own set of “Australian Quadrilles” also with local titles, including one called *La Woolloomooloo*. As Cavendish also explained to his relative: “I have given them names characteristic of their origin. You may call them Australian, Notasian, Arabian, or Mal[a]gareske quadrilles.” Cavendish also tendered a:

[...] short description of this paradise of places, Oranges, grapes, figs, apples, pears, flowers & fruits all the year round, the pigs fed upon peaches, & dogs upon rump-steaks, & the sheep’s heads thrown into the ditches, wh[ic]h the household cur will scarcely condescend to smell. In this land of plenty none need to starve or beg [...].

Perhaps under this paradisiacal influence, he suggested the dances be published with the whimsical title and attribution:³²²

The Fairy Quadrilles
as danced
On a Sunbeam
by the
Elves of the Ocean
in the
Hall of Beauty
at the
Coral Palace
of the
Queen of the Sea
Composed by the
Peri of the Purple Wing.

³²¹ MS score and letter at SL-NSW; Castell family papers, 1786-1993 (MLMSS 7989); Permalink: <http://acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/item/itemDetailPaged.aspx?itemID=909647>.

³²² Another possible prompt, only two days earlier, Mary Howitt’s poem *The Isle of the Sea Fairies* had been published in the *Gazette*; see “Select Poetry”, *The Sydney Gazette* (18 April 1833), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2211640>.

[2.5] *The Ellard family*

The Ellards were the first the important musical arrivals of the 1830s, a family without which Australian music from the 1830s onward, and as late as the 1860s, would have been immeasurably poorer, and considerably less interesting. Travelling from Britain via Cape Town and Hobart,³²³ Francis Ellard, his wife (Juanna Frances Dwyer, a singer) and two children (one of them Frederick, 8-years-old, later a composer) arrived in Sydney on 6 December 1832,³²⁴ only a month and a half before Cavendish, with a sufficient stock of instruments and sheet music to commence business in premises in February 1833:³²⁵

[F]. ELLARD, of the Old Established House of A[ndrew] Ellard of Dublin, has just opened the above Warehouse, for the sale of MUSIC and MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

The collection of music contains the latest publications of the most eminent composers of the present day, and which will be kept up by regular supplies of the most esteemed and popular productions sent off for Sydney the moment they are published, either in London or Dublin.

Hampered only by the five-month delay in shipping, Ellard expressed confidence that he could keep Sydney up-to-date with imports of the latest published music, among which, in April 1833, was the admired new ballad *Oh! Why has he forgot?*, by Sidney Nelson,³²⁶ who much later lived in Australia and composed here. Ellard also later published Nelson's arrangement of the Irish ballad, [Savourneen Delish](#), which Juanna Ellard sang at a Philharmonic Concert on 26 August 1834.³²⁷ Of general historical note, in 1834 it was also reported:³²⁸

Mr. Ellard, the Musical Instrument Maker, has completed a Bugle of a very superior description, to be used in Major Mitchell's exploring party.

³²³ Arrived Hobart on the *Lavinia* on 8 November 1832; see Archives of Tasmania, CUS30/1/1, p.155; see also [News], *The Hobart Town Courier* (16 November 1832), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4196004>.

³²⁴ "SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE", *The Sydney Herald* (10 December 1832), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12845889>; "SHIP NEWS: ARRIVALS", *The Australian* (14 December 1832), 3: <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/42006964>.

³²⁵ In error, the printer gave Ellard's initial as "H", [Advertisement], *The Sydney Herald* (7 February 1833), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12846202>.

³²⁶ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Herald* (1 April 1833), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12846532>.

³²⁷ [News], *The Sydney Gazette* (23 August 1834), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2216922>; earlier in Hobart, Deane and Mrs. Davis included another version in a Christmas concert, *The Hobart Town Courier* (18 January 1833), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4194532>: "Song - *Savourneen Delish* (the celebrated Irish Air, Mrs. Davis) as arranged by [George Alexander] Hodson"; Eliza Bushelle also sang "*Savourneen Delish* (an Irish air accompanied by herself on the harp)", see [Advertisement], *The Sydney Gazette* (14 December 1839), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2549780>.

³²⁸ "DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE", *The Sydney Herald* (24 April 1834), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12849175>.

Having hired a bugler, James Taylor,³²⁹ especially, Mitchell used the instrument on his expedition mainly as a signal for members of his party, though, as he also recorded, it astonished some of the Indigenous tribesmen they encountered (“On hearing the bugle it appeared that they seemed much alarmed and drew up at a distance”).³³⁰

At the time of Lhotsky’s pioneering musical print in 1834, Ellard was still being kept supplied with new imported print music “selected for him by his brother in London”.³³¹ And, as we have seen, during 1833 he may still have been expecting Cavendish’s “Australian Quadrilles” to arrive back printed from London. Perhaps prompted by their continued non-appearance, in Dublin in 1835, evidently on an express order from Francis in Sydney, **William Ellard (Ireland ?-?)** arranged a set of pieces entitled **The Much Admired Australian Quadrilles**.³³² “Selected from the newest and most celebrated operas and arranged for the pianoforte or harp by Wm. Ellard”, they were duly also printed in Dublin by Francis’s father, Andrew Ellard. The cover bore an illustration of Sydney Harbour, and a dedication “to Miss Hely of Engehurst”, the daughter of Frederick Hely, Superintendent of Convicts.³³³ While there was nothing Australian about the musical contents (based on melodies by, among others, Bellini, Adam, and Lover),³³⁴ the set’s dedicatee, sale destination, and titles were clearly aimed at a colonial market.

But a second Ellard Dublin print, released at the same time, *was* an Australian composition, a ballad **The Parting**, “composed by a young lady”, apparently **Miss Hely (Ireland ?-?) {1823-after 1835}** herself, to words by her father, though *The Sydney Herald* was inclined also to attribute the music to Frederick Hely:³³⁵

AUSTRALIAN MUSIC. We have received from Mr. Ellard, the music-seller of Hunter-street, copies of some Colonial music, harmonised in Sydney, and printed by Mr. Ellard’s father in Dublin. The music consists of a Ballad entitled *The Parting*, composed by a young lady, the words by F. A. H.—The initials are easily recognised as those of a gentleman in the Colony, whose production, both music and poetry are said to be. The ballad is in an appropriate and pretty key (flats), and its melody and arrangement display a pleasing simplicity of style, without much originality. The rest of the sheets contain a new set of *Australian Quadrilles*, under the names of “La Sydney”, “La Woolloomooloo” [sic], “La Illawarra”, “La Bong Bong”, and “L’Engehurst”, the airs of which are taken from some of the new

³²⁹ Taylor was drowned near Benalla while crossing a river on 13 October 1836.

³³⁰ <http://www.majormitchellexpedition.com/2010/05/journals-6th-to-20th-may/>; for another instance of the use of European musical instruments to “terrorise” Indigenous people, in this case an old piano, see John Lang’s short story “Music a Terror”, in his *Botany Bay, True Tales of Early Australia*; <http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks06/0607441.txt>.

³³¹ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Herald* (21 August 1834), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12850231>.

³³² Copy at SL-NSW lacks original titlepage.

³³³ A. F. Pike, “Hely, Frederick Augustus (1794-1836)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 1 (1966) 529-530: <http://adonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A010491b.htm>; “DEATH”, *The Sydney Herald* (12 September 1836), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12855158>.

³³⁴ As Covell, *Australia’s Music*, 292, noted, “La Enghurst” is not based on an Italian operatic tune, but on the English theatre song, *The Girl I Left behind Me*.

³³⁵ “AUSTRALIAN MUSIC”, *The Sydney Herald* (24 December 1835), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28654531>.

Operas, and arranged in easy keys for the benefit of young pianists.

The two issues were also reviewed in the *Gazette*:³³⁶

We have before us a beautiful ballad (the music said to be by a lady), and *The much admired Australian Quadrilles*, published in Dublin by our enterprising fellow-colonist, Mr. Ellard, of Hunter-street, Sydney. There is a simplicity and beauty in the former which we are sure will attract the attention of all young ladies studying the pianoforte, and will be a very good addition to their initiatory studies. With regard to the second, we are satisfied that they will afford many a happy hour of amusement to the Australian daughters and sons of Terpsichore. We strongly recommend them to the attention of the public.

Nothing more is known of Miss Hely, except that she was one of three sisters, at least two of whom married and stayed on in Australia (both parents died within the next few years).³³⁷ William Ellard has previously been assumed to be Francis's brother, who died on the voyage out to Australia with his parents in 1839.³³⁸ Since, however, the report of his death described him as "Master William Ellard", perhaps a more likely identification is the William Ellard (possibly Francis's uncle or even grandfather) who published music in Dublin during the 1820s. Whoever he was, does this make William Ellard, even vicariously, an "Australian composer"? Some commentators have credited him as such, though not always in a complimentary fashion; for instance, Michael Halliwell writing of the chorus in Richard Meale's opera *Voss*:³³⁹

[...] they sing along to the authentic dances by the nineteenth-century Australian composer, William Ellard, whose contemporary quadrilles Meale has incorporated into the opera and which were first heard in the opening scene. These are accompanied by a piano and the quotidian quality of this instrument and the simplified choral writing, when contrasted with the power of the full orchestra, deliberately produce the aural effect of a shallow society which is smug and secure in its attitudes [...] (the banal rhythms they sing further contribute to this effect).

In the following year, 1836, Francis Ellard also appears to have been involved in the production of the next onshore print of an Australian musical work after Lhotsky's *Song*,

³³⁶ [News], *The Sydney Gazette* (12 December 1835), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2201678>; see also "NEW MUSIC", *The Sydney Monitor* (12 December 1835), 3s: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article32150302>.

³³⁷ Mary, eldest daughter of the late F. A. Hely, married Gother K. Mann, Esq, who later went on Leichhardt's expedition; see "MARRIED", *The Sydney Herald* (4 January 1838), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28653355>; Mary died in 1901, aged 82; "THE LATER MRS. GOTHER MANN", *The Brisbane Courier* (17 September 1901), 6: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article19163125>; her brother Hovenden Hely was also on Leichhardt's expedition; Georgina Fanny, married Edward Strickland in 1841; "MARRIED", *Australasian Chronicle* (20 November 1841), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31733462>.

³³⁸ "NEWS BY THE SUSAN", *The Sydney Monitor* (4 February 1839), 2s: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article32162741>: "Master [sic] William Ellard (brother to Mr. Ellard of George-Street), died coming out."

³³⁹ Michael Halliwell, "Singing the Nation: Word/Music tensions in the opera *Voss*", in Walter Bernhart and Werner Wolf (eds), *Word and Music Studies: Essays on the Song Cycle and on Defining the Field* (Amsterdam: Editions Rodolphi, 2001), 41-42:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=tVPFUS7FIAQC&pg=PA41#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

Thomas Stubbs's *Minstrel Waltz*. Advertised for sale at Ellard's,³⁴⁰ the engraving and printing was reportedly done by a lithographer named Wilson. Thereafter, between 1836 and 1838 Austin and Fernyhough printed three local works by Vincent Wallace and Thomas Stubbs, while it was not until mid-1839 that Ellard produced his own first local prints, which, at the time, the *Monitor* (incorrectly) described as "two pieces of Music being the first music printed in the Colony".³⁴¹ Identified in the *Gazette* as the [Lancer's Quadrilles](#) and the ballad [We have lived and loved together](#) (by Henri Herz), neither was locally composed (though one of the quadrilles was by Ernesto Spagnoletti, who later came to Australia). As colonial prints, nevertheless, they were judged "very creditable, and nearly equal to much of that published in England", by the *Gazette*, while the *Chronicle* editorialised:³⁴²

The growing taste for the fine arts so clearly observable in this colony, we look upon as one of its most auspicious features. Of these sisters, at once the offspring and the muses of civilization, none exerts an influence so general and so beneficial as music, and none seems to be so much cultivated among us, or so well understood. A knowledge of this widely diffused taste for music, could alone warrant Mr. Ellard in entering upon an enterprise so expensive as that of publishing music at a distance, so immense, from the general mart. He, no doubt, sees his way, and sincerely do we hope, that present success will encourage him to future efforts.

On the brink of sixty,³⁴³ Francis's father Andrew Ellard, along with his mother and sister, arrived in Sydney in February, though tragically (as noted above) without his brother William. Rather than join his son on the same business premises, Ellard senior opened a second Music Saloon in Pitt Street in April 1839:³⁴⁴

A. ELLARD RESPECTFULLY informs the Gentry and Public of Sydney and New South Wales generally, he has just arrived in the Colony with a splendid Stock of Musical Instruments of every variety and description, together with the greatest quantity of New Music ever imported into this country [...].

This may well have been a mutually agreed arrangement in the beginning, but trouble ensued. Sydney soon found itself with rival Ellards,³⁴⁵ leading the evidently exasperated Francis to run a warning advertisement throughout the pre-Christmas season:³⁴⁶

MUCH inconvenience having been occasioned from a misapprehension that Mr. F.

³⁴⁰ [News], *The Sydney Monitor* (6 January 1836), 3s: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article32150454>.

³⁴¹ "PRINTING MUSIC", *The Sydney Monitor* (19 August 1839), 2s: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article32165228>.

³⁴² "MUSIC", *The Sydney Gazette* (17 August 1838), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2545492>; also "NEW MUSIC", *Australasian Chronicle* (16 August 1839), 1s: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31726229>.

³⁴³ "DEATHS", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (12 August 1859), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13029101>: "On the 26th May last, at his residence, Tritonville, Sandemont, near Dublin, Andrew Ellard, Esq., aged 79 years".

³⁴⁴ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Herald* (3 April 1839), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12864209>.

³⁴⁵ Of Andrew Ellard's stock, a copy now at NLA remains of his own Dublin edition of an *Alpine March* for piano (Dublin: A. Ellard's Military Music Saloon, n.d.), blind stamped "Sold by A. Ellard, Pitt St. ...", and of [The Glasgow Quadrille](#) by James Thomson (Glasgow: Geo. Melville, [n.d.]), each leaf embossed with the stamp "A. Ellard, Pitt St. Next the Theatre, Sydney": <http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-vn71188>.

³⁴⁶ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Herald* (29 November 1839), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12860881>.

ELLARD and his father are connected in business, F. ELLARD begs to acquaint the Public that his Establishment in George-street, and that of his Father in Pitt-street, are wholly separate and distinct, and that they are not in business connected in any way whatever.

Days later, Ellard senior capitulated, advertising on 9 December:³⁴⁷

[...] that he purposes embarking for England in February next, and has instructed the Auctioneers, Messrs. HEBBLEWHITE & VICKERY, to offer for Sale, on WEDNESDAY, the 15th January, by Auction, without the least reserve, his whole Stock of Music and Instruments [...].

Andrew Ellard seems not to have printed any Australian compositions during his year-long stay, though he had, probably earlier, issued in Dublin a song by his famous Wallace cousin, On my own country: A popular national song (“The words [and] music from the German with symphonies [and] accompaniments by Willm. Wallace”).³⁴⁸

Francis Ellard’s business was still solid in 1839,³⁴⁹ but the severe economic depression that hobbled Sydney shortly afterward hit music and musicians hard. In 1840 Francis was reportedly intending quitting the colony. However, in 1841 he issued the first edition of the Nathan’s “National anthem” *Long Live Victoria*.³⁵⁰ Later that year, his position as Sydney’s leading music supplier was confirmed when, after the annual meeting of the Cecilian Society, it was reported that:³⁵¹

The Society complain greatly of there being no complete operas in the Colony (with the exception of those in the possession of Mr. Nathan). We are astonished that Mr. Ellard has allowed this ground of complaint to exist.

In June and July of 1841, however, Ellard lost two children to illness (William, aged 4, and Virginia, aged 8),³⁵² and in April 1842, having seen the first of his eldest son Frederick’s compositions into print in March, he was named a trustee in the insolvency of his cousin

³⁴⁷ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Herald* (9 December 1839), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12859517>.

³⁴⁸ Copy at National Library of Ireland: <http://catalogue.nli.ie/Record/vtls000114506>; the catalogue record hazards a date for the print of “ca.1880?”, which is patently incorrect; back in Ireland, Andrew Ellard, a protestant, contributed to the OASTLER fund in 1844; see Richard Oastler, *The Fleet Papers: being letters to Thomas Thornhill, esquire, of Riddlesworth, in the County of Norfolk from Richard Oastler, his prisoner in the Fleet with occasional communications from friends* 4/6 (10 February 1844), 103: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=OpwXAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA103&dq#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

³⁴⁹ For a contemporary opinion, see a letter from an importer R. W. Wrede to his father (Sydney, 24 March 1838) in Eric Halfpenny, “Music Trading in the Antipodes in the Early Nineteenth Century”, *The Galpin Society Journal* 20 (March 1967), 100-102: “I have sold [Ellard] the whole of my Musical Instruments, Piano Fortes and Seraphines excepted amounting to £391.15.3 invoice price, and Music amounting to £110.12.7 at ½ price, to be paid in 2 bills of 6 and 12 months. I hope you will not think I have been too hasty in the matter. I can assure you I have done my best—the fact is that Ellard is the only man in the Colony who is able to take such a large invoice, he having the whole of the Music business in his own hands [...]”.

³⁵⁰ “REVIEW”, *The Sydney Herald* (19 June 1841), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12869718>.

³⁵¹ “CECILIAN SOCIETY”, *The Sydney Gazette* (13 November 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2555007>.

³⁵² “DEATH”, *The Sydney Herald* (7 June 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12869499>; “DIED”, *The Sydney Herald* (13 July 1841), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12869973>.

Spencer Wellington Wallace (Vincent Wallace's brother),³⁵³ and instituted several court cases that year to retrieve unpaid debts. In November, Francis himself was up before the insolvency commissioner.³⁵⁴ He was allowed to continue in business,³⁵⁵ but in September "the oldest [musical] Establishment in New South Wales" regrettably advertised:³⁵⁶

[...] that owing to the great depression of trade [...] henceforth all music and instruments at half-price, for Cash. As the Mechanical part of his Establishment will for the future be conducted by himself (being free from the exorbitant demand of workmen's wages), he will be enabled to make and repair every thing connected with the trade at the above price.

The lease of his house and shop was on the market in May 1844,³⁵⁷ and his his wife, Juanna, died on 30 December 1845.³⁵⁸ Miraculously, Francis remained trading from his George-street shop during 1846,³⁵⁹ and it must have been at this time that he issued one of the last musical editions to appear under his own name, the ballad **In happy moments**, from his cousin Vincent Wallace's *Maritana*. But Ellard was back before the insolvency commissioner in February 1847.³⁶⁰ This time he was closed down for good; his personal furniture and household effects were auctioned off,³⁶¹ and the stationer James Grocott (who would also publish Australian music) took over his shop and stock.³⁶² Ellard's insolvency was not

³⁵³ "INSOLVENCY PROCEEDINGS", *The Sydney Herald* (21 April 1842), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12874778>; Wallace's application for discharge was heard almost three years later, see "INSOLVENCY PROCEEDINGS", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (23 January 1845), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12876912>.

³⁵⁴ "INSOLVENCY PROCEEDINGS", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (18 November 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12420114>.

³⁵⁵ "INSOLVENCY PROCEEDINGS", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (10 February 1843), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12423543>; NSW, State Archives, Index of Insolvencies: ELLARD Francis, George St, Sydney, Music Seller, 18/11/1842, 00526, ER 15/02/1843.

³⁵⁶ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (11 September 1843), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12415731>.

³⁵⁷ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (28 May 1844), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12420813>.

³⁵⁸ "DIED", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (31 December 1845), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12884438>; her brother had drowned in the Goulburn River in October, "SYDNEY EXTRACTS", *The Courier* (15 October 1845), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2947166>.

³⁵⁹ Ludwig Leichhardt also mentions meeting Ellard in a letter to William Macarthur (1 August 1846); Arousseau, Letters, III: 887: "I have spoken with Mr. Ellard who has employed the man ["whom I now recommend to your favour"] for 6 months."

³⁶⁰ "INSOLVENCY PROCEEDINGS", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (22 February 1847), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12897661>.

³⁶¹ "ABSTRACT OF SALES BY AUCTION THIS DAY", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (20 March 1847), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12890000>.

³⁶² [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (20 March 1847), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12889993>; for a publication of a British work that notes Ellard's former occupation of the premises, see Hobbs's *The new song of the captive Greek girl*: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-an6442740>.

discharged until mid-1850.³⁶³ He remarried in 1848,³⁶⁴ and continued to engrave music occasionally for other publishers.³⁶⁵ He died in Sydney in 1854, pre-deceasing his father:³⁶⁶

On Monday, July 10, at his residence, Pitt-street South, after a weeks' illness, Mr. Francis Ellard, aged 52 years, only surviving son of Andrew Ellard, Esq., of Sandymount, near Dublin.

Of the four Sydney engravers who published Australian compositions in the second half of the 1830s—Wilson, Ellard, William Fernyhough,³⁶⁷ and J. G. Austin³⁶⁸—Ellard was the only one who ran a music—as distinct from a lithographic—business. Yet, during the dire early part of 1842, Fernyhough and Austin also ended up before the insolvency commissioner.

Several other musical Ellard relatives came to Australia and stayed. Thomas Leggatt, judged already on arrival in early 1839 to be “without exception, the best musician in the colony”, was his brother-in-law (on Leggatt, see Chapter 3).³⁶⁹ One, and possibly two more of Francis Ellard’s sisters also came to Australia during 1835. “Late of the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane”, Mrs. Chester may have been his sibling;³⁷⁰ she was active both in Hobart and later in Sydney and Newcastle,³⁷¹ before she moved on to the apparently greener concert-giving pastures of India.³⁷² Certainly Francis’s sister, **Mary Logan (Ireland ?-1888) {1835-88}**,

³⁶³ NSW, State Archives, Index of Insolvencies: ELLARD Francis, George St, Sydney, Dealer in Music, 20/02/1847, 01608, UR 19/06/1850.

³⁶⁴ John Wade, “Dick, Alexander (c.1791-1843)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Supplementary Volume (2005), 102: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/AS10127b.htm>; but Wade confuses Francis with his son Frederick in calling him a composer.

³⁶⁵ After Ellard’s death, John Degotardi was the principal music engraver in Sydney; Degotardi died on 16 December 1882, in his 60th year: “DEATHS”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (18 December 1882), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13518944>; see also John Fletcher, “John Degotardi” (1823-1882), *Dictionary of Australian Artists Online*: <http://www.daao.org.au/main/read/2177>.

³⁶⁶ “DEATHS”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (17 July 1854), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12957515>.

³⁶⁷ Richard Neville, “William Henry Fernyhough” (1817-1849), *Dictionary of Australian Artists Online*: <http://www.daao.org.au/main/read/2503>; “INSOLVENCY PROCEEDINGS”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (3 May 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12874960>; “INSOLVENCY PROCEEDINGS”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (9 September 1846), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article684612>.

³⁶⁸ Richard Neville, “John Gardner Austin”, *Dictionary of Australian Artists Online*: <http://www.daao.org.au/main/read/336>; “MEETINGS OF CREDITORS”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (23 March 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12874338>; “LAW INTELLIGENCE: CERTIFICATE”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (30 March 1843), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12416301>.

³⁶⁹ “The Cecilian Society”, *The Australian* (9 March 1839), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36863205>; Leggatt may also have been a cousin of the Wallaces.

³⁷⁰ According to Katherine Brisbane, *Entertaining Australia*, 31, “Mrs. Chester” was 34-years old in 1835, and sister of Francis Ellard and Mrs. Logan.

³⁷¹ On Mrs. Chester’s concert in Newcastle, see John Askew, *A Voyage to Australia and New Zealand, including a visit to Adelaide, Melbourne, Sydney, Hunter’s River, Newcastle, Maitland, and Auckland: with a summary of the progress and discoveries made in each colony from its founding to the present time* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co., 1857), 290: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=dcUNAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA290&dq=#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

³⁷² In London, Chester was Julie in Planche’s comedy *The Regent* in October; see “DRAMATIS PERSONAE”, in J. R. Planché, *The Regent: A Comedy in Two Acts* (London: John Miller, 1834): <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=z-asJ63ATloC&pg=RA1-PA58&dq=#v=onepage&q&f=false>; Florinda in the opera *The Red Mask*, in November, “DRURY LANE THEATRE”, *The Music Library Monthly Supplement* 9 (December 1834), 108: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=SuMPAAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA108&dq=#v=onepage&q&f=false>; she left for

settled first in Hobart. Her husband, Charles Logan, had organised two shiploads of female emigrants from Dublin, and the Logans accompanied the first of these to Hobart, arriving there on 15 February 1835.³⁷³ Charles Logan founded a “Hobart Town Public Library”,³⁷⁴ while Mary, as “Mrs. C. D. Logan”,³⁷⁵ established herself as a concert performer and teacher, notably of “composition”:³⁷⁶

MRS. LOGAN HAVING now established her residence at No. 28, Davey-street, is ready to afford instruction on the Pianoforte and Singing, combining the principles of “Thorough Bass” and Composition. Terms may be known on personal application.

According to her later pupil, the singer Lucy Chambers, Logan had herself been a pupil in Dublin of John Bernard Logier.³⁷⁷ This German-born pianist, military bandmaster, composer, and theorist was author of an innovative thorough-bass text book (1818), and a surprisingly forward looking treatise on practical composition.³⁷⁸ Probably, Logan brought copies with her to Australia.³⁷⁹ Late in 1835, Logan collaborated with her cousin Vincent Wallace in his Hobart appearances,³⁸⁰ and by the time she gave her last Hobart concert in June 1842, the reviewer of *The Courier* had concluded that:³⁸¹

[...] in addition to the possession of talent in herself, she has also the happy method of imparting it to so many of her pupils, we have no hesitation in pronouncing her

India in October 1836, after 15 months in the Australian colonies, though her activities continued to be reported in the Sydney press until 1839.

³⁷³ “TRADE AND SHIPPING”, *The Hobart Town Courier* (20 February 1835), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4181621>; [News], *The Hobart Town Courier* (27 March 1835), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4180926>.

³⁷⁴ [Advertisement], *The Hobart Town Courier* (4 August 1837), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4171057>; Logan was appointed Hobart Town Surveyor in 1841; later, in Sydney, he continued his interest in planned emigration, see [Advertisement], “Association for obtaining permission to import Coolie or other Labourers from India”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (24 December 1842), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12412181>.

³⁷⁵ [News], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (4 July 1888), 9: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13690467>: “[...] the late Mrs. C. D. Logan [...] taught music for 51 years in Australia, was one of the first organists of St. Andrew’s Cathedral”.

³⁷⁶ [Advertisement], *The Hobart Town Courier* (12 June 1835), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4180594>; Francis and Frederick Ellard departed Sydney for Hobart on 27 July 1835, presumably to visit her; see “SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE”, *The Sydney Herald* (30 July 1835), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12852781>; she later lived in Macquarie St.

³⁷⁷ “Madame Lucy Chambers”, *The Argus* (25 November 1884), 7: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article6061982>; in Sydney in 1848, a “Mrs. Phelps Pickering (formerly pupil of Kalkbrenner, and J. B. Logier” was advertising “class instruction in Practice and Theory of Music”, see [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (8 January 1848), 1s: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12890844>.

³⁷⁸ J. B. Logier, *A System of the science of music and practical composition* (London: J. Green, 1827): <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=PfgsAAAAYAAJ&dq>; see Michael Kassler, *Science of Music in Britain 1714-1830* (New York: Garland, 1979), 714-20.

³⁷⁹ Logier may well have been in partnership with Logan’s father, Andrew Ellard; both ran music businesses at 27 Lower Sackville Street, Dublin; one of Logier’s most popular publications was *The Admired Air of Paddy Carey*; see Frank Kidson, *British Music Publishers, Printers and Engravers* (London: W.E. Hill, 1900), 207 (Ellard): http://books.google.com.au/books?id=C_05cLLGqjgC&pg=PA207#v=onepage&q&f=false; and 214 (Logier).

³⁸⁰ When Wallace opened his music “academy” in Sydney in April 1836, he also advertised the teaching of “Vocal and Instrumental Music, according to the System of Logier [...]”; [Advertisement], *The Sydney Gazette* (31 March 1836), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2203514>.

³⁸¹ “MRS. LOGAN’S CONCERT”, *The Courier* (10 June 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2954227>.

intended departure from these shores as a loss to the rising generation on this side of the island.

Logan also “presided at the seraphine” at the consecration of St. George’s Church, Battery Point, in 1838, the instrument built by her father in Dublin, as is recorded not only in fact,³⁸² but in fiction; Logan, her father Mr. Ellard of Dublin, and the sepraphine are mentioned in the 1993 title story to English novelist Penelope Fitzgerald’s book of short stories, *The Means of Escape*.³⁸³

One likely musical record of Mary Logan survives, in two manuscript copies of a [Song of the Aborigines of Van Diemen’s Land \(arranged by Mrs. Logan\) \(page 1\)](#); [Song of the Aborigines \(page 2\)](#), the second of which is only a rough sketch, [Song of the Aborigines \(arranged by Mrs. Logan\)](#).³⁸⁴ The latter was once in the possession of William Robinson, and may plausibly have come to him through his friendship with James Backhouse, a Quaker missionary who worked with the Tasmanian tribes.³⁸⁵ Could Backhouse have met our Mrs. Logan during his second visit to Tasmania in 1837?

A second musical work, on firm ground, but now lost, was a lost song, **The vow that’s breathed in solitude**, published in Hobart in 1839, “the music arranged by Mrs. Logan” to words by Robert Stewart, author previously of the words to a Vincent Wallace song dedicated to the self-same Mrs. Logan. The *Hobart Town Courier* greeted it as the “first Van Diemen’s Land melody” (presumably “in print”):³⁸⁶

A song, entitled *The vow that’s breathed in solitude*—the words by Mr. Stewart, the music arranged by Mrs. Logan—has been forwarded to us, and, according to our judgment, affords a very creditable specimen of “immortal music married unto verse”. This is the first Van Diemen’s Land melody it has been our fortune to encounter, and is well worthy of being hailed by all the lovers of song and of Tasmania, with all the gladness and rejoicing of a new birth.

³⁸² “Domestic Intelligence”, *Colonial Times* (29 May 1838), 7: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8748693>; [News], *The Hobart Town Courier* (25 May 1838), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4164768>; [News], *The Hobart Town Courier* (1 June 1838), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4164701>; Charles was a churchwarden there, see John Franklin, *Narrative of Some Passages in the History of Van Diemen’s Land* (London: Richard and John E. Taylor, 1845), “See Appendix G for the [...] note addressed by Mr. Logan, one of the Churchwardens” [of St. George’s, Battery Point, dated 1 July 1841]: searchable e-text: <http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks05/0500101.txt>: “Agreeably to your desire the plans of the new portico, spire, and other improvements for St. George’s [...] Yours, etc., Charles D. Logan.”

³⁸³ Penelope Fitzgerald, *The Means of Escape* (published posthumously; London: Flamingo, 2000); American edition: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=Hiv9klVyo0IC&pg=PA3#v=onepage&q&f=false>; Fitzgerald, who visited Tasmania once for a literary festival in 1991, suggests that Mrs. Logan’s father had also lived in Hobart; he did not, though he may have visited during his year in Sydney (1839-40).

³⁸⁴ Originals at Archives Office of Tasmania, from photograph copies in SL-TAS (not in Trove); Permalink (page 1): <http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=AB713-1-4961>; (page 2): <http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=AB713-1-4960>; and University of Tasmania Library; Permalink: [http://eprints.utas.edu.au/1866/2/w9_c4_1\(54\).pdf](http://eprints.utas.edu.au/1866/2/w9_c4_1(54).pdf); Trove Bookmark: <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/3882084>; <http://eprints.utas.edu.au/1866> (the catalogue record dates this sketch MS to 1856).

³⁸⁵ Mary Bartram Trott, “Backhouse, James (1794-1869)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 1 (1966), 45-46: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/AO10042b.htm>.

³⁸⁶ [News], *The Hobart Town Courier* (26 April 1839), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4158722>.

Meanwhile, *The Hobart Town Advertiser* advised: “We must not pass lightly by the music of Mrs. Logan, a lady who has the merit of being the first musical compositor in the colony.”³⁸⁷

Mrs. Logan moved to Sydney (with husband Charles, five children, and a servant),³⁸⁸ and was organist of St. Andrew’s Church and teaching music in a private lady’s academy by the end of 1842.³⁸⁹ On this little we can reconstruct here of Logan’s Australian career, she is likely to have agreed with a letter, on deficiencies in “Female Education”, to the *Sydney Herald* in 1841:³⁹⁰

The study of Mathematics forms no part of a young lady’s course of education. Why? Because the knowledge of Mathematics is considered quite unnecessary to a female. [...] Then, as respects the study of Music, the aim of the instructor is to give the pupil a facility in execution, and when this point is attained, the parent is gratified, and the pupil is perfectly content. Among the Professors of Music, how many are there, who know anything of the fundamental principles of composition?

A knowledge of Mathematics is essential to the attainment of a correct knowledge of Musical Composition. How few ladies are instructed in Thorough Bass? And even those who have been thus far enlightened, know about as much of its true principle, as nine tenths of our Mercantile Navigators do of the Theory of Navigation and Astronomy.

[2.6] *William Vincent Wallace in Australia 1835-38*

The popular reputation of Irish violinist, **William Vincent Wallace (Ireland 1812-1865) {1835-38}** as a *de facto* Australian composer rests almost totally on a once widely disseminated proposition (no less powerful in its historical agency for being factually unlikely) that he composed some of the tunes later incorporated in his 1845 London opera *Maritana* either in Sydney, or—less likely still—in Tasmania. Notably, Wallace—who in the end spent only two full years here, 1836 and 1837—earned an entry in the *Dictionary of Australian Biography* (1949), as much for the necessity of correcting the legend, as for any more direct benefits of his brief stay here:

Wallace had a gift for melody and was a most prolific composer. It has sometimes been stated that he wrote the music for *Maritana* while he was in Sydney, but no evidence for this is available and it appears to have been unlikely.

³⁸⁷ *The Hobart Town Advertiser* (10 May 1839), quoted by Maree-Rose Jones, *Musical activities at the Royal Victoria Theatre, Van Diemen's Land: a study of cultural practice 1827-1857* (Ph.D thesis, University of Sydney, 2009).

³⁸⁸ “SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE: ARRIVALS”, *The Sydney Herald* (26 July 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12876381>.

³⁸⁹ She was still teaching in 1864, from the same house in Victoria Street North, Pott’s Point, later occupied by her cousin Madame Wallace-Bushelle; “MRS. LOGAN”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (9 January 1864), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13088888>.

³⁹⁰ “ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE: FEMALE EDUCATION”, *The Sydney Herald* (30 October 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12871985>.

Wallace arrived in Hobart, from Dublin via Liverpool, on 31 October 1835.³⁹¹ Before moving on, as planned, for Sydney, he gave a concert there, assisted by bandsmen of the 21st regiment and local amateurs, on 4 December. That morning's *Courier* promised a display of proficiency that:³⁹²

[...] we can safely say, has never been evinced in this colony before. We envy our Sydney neighbour the gratification they will have from his intended sojourn amongst them. For music is a science peculiarly suited to soften and ameliorate the manners in these back-and-face biting Austral-Asiatic regions.

On the evidence of the advertised program, Wallace included none of his own compositions.³⁹³ Nor, probably, did he when he appeared again for one of his local collaborators, the ex-Drury Lane singer, Mrs. Chester (possibly his cousin),³⁹⁴ on 11 December, unless a promised "Concerto, Violin, by desire, in which will be introduced the admired melody, 'Tis the last rose of summer" was his own concoction.³⁹⁵ Indeed, none of the publicity from his Hobart stopover that preceded him to Sydney (forecasting the arrival of a "truly eminent musician",³⁹⁶ and "celebrated violinist")³⁹⁷ mentioned that he was a composer. However, advertising his first Sydney concert, which took place on 12 February 1836, he described himself as "Mr. W. Wallace, Leader of the Anacreontic Society and Professor of Composition, Royal Academy [of Music]".³⁹⁸

Probably the nearest Wallace, who was still only 23, had come to the Royal Academy was during the 1828-29 Italian opera season in Dublin, where he played in the orchestra under Paolo Spagnoletti, who *was* an instructor at the Academy (and whose son Ernesto also later ended up in Sydney). However, having been inspired to become a soloist by hearing Paganini play in Dublin in August-September 1831 (Wallace was probably in the orchestra), he did perform a *Violin Concerto* (possibly of his own composition) at an Anacreontic Society concert in Dublin in May 1834.

But why did Wallace come to Australia at all? A "Mr. Neville", a piano tuner formerly of Ellard's in Dublin ("besides, an accomplished musician, [...] a great acquisition to the

³⁹¹ Catherine Mackerras, "Wallace, William Vincent (1812-1865)", *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 2 (1967), 567-568: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/AO20517b.htm>; for a fuller account of Wallace's Australian stay and immediately after, collected from archival and printed sources, see Kathleen Helyar Myers, William Vincent Wallace: Life and Works (Ph.D dissertation, Bryn Mawr College, 1980), vol. 1, 11-44.

³⁹² [News], *The Hobart Town Courier* (4 December 1835), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4178719>; [Advertisement], *Colonial Times* (1 December 1835), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8648750>.

³⁹³ [Advertisement], *The Hobart Town Courier* (4 December 1835), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4178734>.

³⁹⁴ Having been in Hobart, Chester was in Sydney singing at the theatre until October 1836, when she and her husband left for India; see Gyger, *Civilising the Colonies*, 25; also "DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (20 October 1836), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12863852>.

³⁹⁵ [Advertisement], *The Hobart Town Courier* (11 December 1835), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4178218>.

³⁹⁶ "VAN DIEMEN'S LAND", *The Sydney Herald* (30 November 1835), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12853573>.

³⁹⁷ "THEATRICALS", *The Sydney Gazette* (14 January 1836), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2202242>.

³⁹⁸ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Herald* (8 February 1836) 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12853825>.

Colony”), also arrived in Hobart in March 1835, likewise bound for Sydney.³⁹⁹ And indeed, the presence of his cousins and fellow Dubliners—the Ellards, Logans, and Chesters—now now seems the most likely explanation for Wallace’s arrival, along with his wife and child, soon to be joined by his sister Eliza, brother Spencer Wellington, and their father. Certainly, in Hobart Wallace appeared in concert with Mary Logan, and his coming to Australia may well have been encouraged, or even possibly organised, by her emigration agent husband, Charles.⁴⁰⁰ In the 1890s, Logan’s student Lucy Chambers described her as “a cousin of Vincent Wallace”,⁴⁰¹ which also tallies with the title of an undated, lost, but possibly Australian piano work dedicated to her Ellard nephew, an **Introduction, et Finale a’la Fuga**—“Dédie à Monsieur Frederick Ellard, par son cousin W. V. Wallace”, performed by the dedicatee in Melbourne in 1847.⁴⁰²

The Ellard presence already in Australia also helps explain why the Wallaces arrived in such numbers, and why, after Vincent Wallace moved on, his sister, brother, and father (not to mention his wife and son) chose to stay on in Sydney, and contributed greatly to its musical life. Despite other accounts to the contrary,⁴⁰³ several Australian records attest that the “Mr. Wallace, Senior” who appeared alongside the younger Wallaces in Sydney concerts was indeed their father.⁴⁰⁴ Alfred Cox, in his a whole chapter of his *Recollections* devoted to Vincent Wallace, was explicit:⁴⁰⁵

My music-master was Samuel Wallace, an old bandmaster in the 17th Regiment. He was a charming player, warbling exquisitely on the flute, and playing upon many other instruments nearly as well. He was the father of William Vincent Wallace [...].

³⁹⁹ “VAN DIEMEN’S LAND NEWS”, *The Sydney Gazette* (17 March 1835), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2197596>; in fact, Neville stayed on in Tasmania, but died after being thrown by his horse the following year; [News], *The Hobart Town Courier* (11 March 1836), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4177345>; his widow, only 17 years old, was taken in by Angelica and Joseph Reichenberg.

⁴⁰⁰ Strengthening this surmise, according to the indexes of State Records of NSW, Spencer Wallace also arrived on a ship carrying female emigrants, the *James Pattison*, in Sydney in February 1836.

⁴⁰¹ “MADAME LUCY CHAMBERS”, *The Argus* (25 November 1884), 7.

⁴⁰² [Advertisement], *The Melbourne Argus* (16 November 1847), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4762618>.

⁴⁰³ W. H. Grattan Flood, “William Vincent Wallace: a centenary notice”, *The Musical Times* 53/833 (1 July 1912), 448-49, gave his father’s name as “William”, and said that in the 1820s he was bandmaster of the 29th regiment; Flood assumed that Wallace senior stayed in Ireland.

⁴⁰⁴ For example, in the list of performers for Eliza Wallace-Bushelle’s concert in September 1839, [Advertisement], “Royal Victoria Theatre: Mrs. Bushelle”, *The Sydney Gazette* (7 September 1839), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2549036>; see also “Royal Victoria Theatre: Mrs. Bushelle”, *The Sydney Herald* (13 December 1839), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12859286>.

⁴⁰⁵ Alfred Cox, *Recollections: Australia, England, Ireland, Scotland, New Zealand* (Christchurch: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1884): http://www.enzb.auckland.ac.nz/document/1884_-_Cox%2C_A._Recollections/CHAPTER_V._Music.../p1.

Like Cox, who must have been 12 or 13 at the time of his first encounter with the Wallaces,⁴⁰⁶ J. H. B. Curtis heard Vincent Wallace play in Sydney in 1837 or 1838, as his letter to *The Argus* in 1890 adds more information about the family:⁴⁰⁷

[...] Miss Wallace, sister of William Vincent Wallace [...] was for many years the leading soprano in Sydney, and possessed a voice of marvellous compass and power she could run up and down from E flat below middle C to E flat in alto without any perceptible break. She was married to Mr. Bushelle, who was a great basso, having a voice which in the opinion of many musicians was equal to that of Lablache. Wallace's brother, Wellington Wallace, was a great flautist. [...] The father of the Wallaces was living in Sydney. He had been a celebrated bandmaster and organist in Dublin. He was an Irishman of Scotch descent. The Wallaces were frequent visitors at my father's house, and as a boy I knew them all well. William Vincent Wallace was a great violinist as well as composer. I was present at his farewell performance in Sydney, when he played one of Paganini's solos on one string.

Despite Vincent Wallace's claim to a professorship in composition, his Sydney concert programs, over two full years (February 1836-February 1838) traded little if at all on his own works, and a great deal on those of "standard composers", notably Henri Herz. In November 1837, when Wallace was selling pianos from London, he claimed they were personally selected for shipment by Herz.⁴⁰⁸ Accordingly, Wallace's own documented compositional output in Sydney is comparatively slight. In February 1836, according to the *Gazette*, he performed "**Extemporaneous variations**" on the song *Currency Lasses* ("as composed by our talented towns lady, Mrs. John Paul senior").⁴⁰⁹ At the concert on 13 July 1836, he played a "**Rondo Brillante, Violin, in which will be introduced the Cooleen, Irish Melody, Mr. W. Wallace**", which was plausibly also his own composition.⁴¹⁰ And his [Walze favorite du Duc de Reichstadt, arranged with variations for the piano-forte](#), dedicated to "S. Maclean, Esq.", was printed by another 1836 arrival, the engraver William Fernyhough, possibly late that same year.⁴¹¹ Moreover, on its cover Wallace advertised that "The following compositions may be had at his Academy: **Bohemian Air: with Brilliant Variations; Come to Me: Song; Rondo Brillante in E flat**", though whether these were pre-Australian prints (if so, unidentified), or manuscript copies of recent

⁴⁰⁶ According to Flood, Wallace senior had been a military bandmaster in Ireland, which is probably correct; however, Cox may have been incorrect in stating he had been a bandmaster of the 17th regiment, which was based in Sydney from 1830 to 1836, and whose bandmaster was then Mr. Lewis.

⁴⁰⁷ "THE MELBOURNE STAGE IN THE FORTIES: [Letter] To the editor", *The Argus* (2 June 1890), 6: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8609486>.

⁴⁰⁸ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Herald* (6 November 1837), 7: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12864052>.

⁴⁰⁹ "LAST EVENING'S CONCERT", *The Sydney Gazette* (1 March 1836), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2203019>; James Hall, *The Canon* 4/5 (November 1951), 155-56.

⁴¹⁰ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Herald* (11 July 1836), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12854693>.

⁴¹¹ Myers, 303; on Fernyhough, see DAAO: <http://www.daa0.org.au/main/read/2503>; Fernyhough had commenced business and produced his first prints for sale by September 1836; see [News], *The Colonist* (22 September 1836), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31718522>.

date, is not clear.⁴¹² The first work may survive (though not in Australia) as the *Brilliant variations on a favorite Bohemian melody* published in London in 1851;⁴¹³ and Frederick Ellard played a “Rondo Brillante [sic] in E flat” by Wallace in Sydney in 1846.⁴¹⁴

The only other example of an entirely original work by Wallace printed,⁴¹⁵ and composed, in Sydney, is [Echo’s Song](#), with words by Sydney magistrate, Robert Stewart,⁴¹⁶ dedicated to “his [Stewart’s] Friend”, and Wallace’s cousin, Mary Logan, of Hobart. In review in *The Sydney Herald* on 2 February 1837:⁴¹⁷

We have received from Messrs. Austin and Co., a new musical production called the *Echo Song*, the words by George Stewart, Esq, composed and dedicated to his friend, Mrs. Logan, of Hobart Town, by William Wallace, late leader of the Anacreontic Society, Dublin. We have not had leisure to look into the merits of the publication—the name of William Wallace, however, is a sufficient recommendation to the musical folks of Sydney.

The *Colonist* recorded the rarity of such an event rather more emphatically: “A piece of colonial music was ushered into existence yesterday. It is entitled, *Echo’s Song* [...] it is simple and pretty”;⁴¹⁸ though the *Gazette*, typical of many later reviews of Australian printed music, was more interested in the issue as an example of progress in printing technology.⁴¹⁹

Apart from these, and his arrangements of works by the young Australian native-born composer Thomas Stubbs (see below), Wallace made little impact as a composer during his actual Australian residency. That would come, in absentia, almost a decade later. Rather, he would be remembered in the years immediately following, as a performer and concert entrepreneur, though not always in glowing terms. The press was already tiring of his virtuoso’s pyrotechnics by September 1836, when *The Sydney Herald* equivocated:⁴²⁰

The Concert of vocal and instrumental music, given by Mr. Wallace in the Saloon of

⁴¹² If the later, it is perhaps not surprising that, by the end of the year, the *Herald* was advertising: “Mr. Brennand’s Patent Ruled Books from Lumsden’s Ruling Machine, which are certainly executed with neatness and clearness; for music, and account books, Lumsden’s ruling must be invaluable”; “DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE”, *The Sydney Herald* (19 December 1836), supplement 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12855631>.

⁴¹³ Myers, 219; copy at British Library, Music Collections h.771.(9.) [004727345].

⁴¹⁴ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (9 December 1846), 1s:

<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12897282>.

⁴¹⁵ Prue Neidorf, “Publishing Music”, *CCMDA*, 550; compare Francis Ellard’s print of [The Duke of Reichardt’s Waltz](#) arranged by Herz.

⁴¹⁶ Stewart had arrived in the colony with his wife and children from England in 1833; “SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE”, *The Sydney Gazette* (3 September 1833), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2213725>; his wife, Maria, died in 1834 at their home in Campbelltown; “DEATHS”, *The Sydney Gazette* (11 December 1834), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2217725>; Stewart moved to Macquarie Street, Hobart in 1838, “NOTICE”, *The Hobart Town Courier* (9 February 1838), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4167149>; the text only of an earlier version of his *Echo’s Song* had appeared anonymously, as “Original Poetry: ECHO’S SONG”, *The Australian* (20 March 1835), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article42009740>.

⁴¹⁷ “MUSIC”, *The Sydney Herald* (2 February 1837), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12861416>.

⁴¹⁸ [News], *The Colonist* (2 February 1837), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31719000>.

⁴¹⁹ [News], *The Sydney Gazette* (2 February 1837), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2209146>.

⁴²⁰ “MR. WALLACE’S CONCERT”, *The Sydney Herald* (19 September 1836), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12860477>.

the Royal Hotel, on Wednesday evening last [...] surpassed any entertainment of the kind, at which we have been present, in the Colony. It certainly *was* a rich musical treat, and such as (we heard the remark made by some gentlemen in the room, evidently strangers) would require a very sanguine imagination to anticipate at the antipodes of the musical world. [...] His [violin] playing is truly astonishing. Yet, with all our admiration, we cannot bring ourselves to *delight* in the playing upon *one* string [...].

The Gazette concurred:⁴²¹

[...] the principal attraction Mr. Wallace's solo on the one string, we have heard before, and only as a novelty will it please. We were regretting all the time he was playing, that he did not use the four [...] We would, however, suggest to this gentleman, that in his future Concerts he plays less for execution. A simple melody in his hands with us would absolve him from his sins for ever.

In the context, then, a “simple and pretty” song, like the *Echo Song*, may have been a strategic attempt to win back public favour, and was anyway more in line with Wallace's later reputation as a melodist.

Nevertheless, Wallace was probably also associated in the recollections of some Sydneysiders with an unwelcome trend in programming continued, after his departure, in the concerts of his singer sister, Eliza Bushelle, whereby Italian music—or more particularly music with Italian words—was thought to predominate unhealthily.⁴²² As *The Sydney Herald* noted in October 1838:⁴²³

[...] we cannot help thinking that it would be better not to select so many pieces of Italian music for a Concert in Sydney—nine Italian songs, &c. out of twelve, are too many. In London, where nineteen-twentieths of the audience at a Concert most probably understand Italian, it may be right to select Italian music, but in Sydney the case is different, for here nineteen-twentieths of the audience do not understand Italian.

But by then, Wallace himself was several months gone.⁴²⁴ On 17 February 1838, the *Gazette* reported:⁴²⁵

Mr. W. Wallace, the Australian Paganini, left the Colony in a clandestine manner

⁴²¹ “MR. WALLACE'S CONCERT”, *The Sydney Gazette* (17 September 1836), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2206672>.

⁴²² Contrary to this “provincial” view point, John Braham was quoted belatedly in the Hobart press, notably after Deane's premiere there of *Der Freischütz*, on the advancing taste for music in London: “MR. BRAHAM ON THE PROGRESS OF MUSIC” [from *Musical World*], *The Hobart Town Courier* (8 March 1839), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4159778>: “Mr. Braham, the only musician examined before the committee of the House of Commons in 1832, made the following statement in reply to questions put to him by the chairman [...]”

⁴²³ “CONCERT”, *The Sydney Herald* (22 October 1838), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12859991>.

⁴²⁴ This casts doubt on Curtis's later claim that he had attended Wallace's “farewell” performance; if so, it was perhaps only in retrospect that it was considered as such.

⁴²⁵ “SHIP'S NEWS”, *The Sydney Gazette* (17 February 1838), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2543821>.

on Wednesday last, and has sailed for Valparaiso, after having contracted debts in Sydney amounting to nearly £2,000. In one or two instances which we could mention his conduct has been heartless in the extreme. We shall forward this paper to that part of the world, with the hope that this paragraph may catch the eye of some of the residents there, and thus be the means of preventing this man again imposing on the public.

Wallace was, nevertheless, later able to “impose” on Hector Berlioz, in London in 1848, and who, in his *Les soirees de l'orchestre* in 1854, reported (with commentary) Wallace’s own version of his departure from Sydney in:⁴²⁶

I was at Sydney (Wallace says I was at Sydney, or I am going to Calcutta; as we say in Paris, I am going to Versailles, or, I have just returned from Rouen); I was at Sydney, in Australia, when a captain of an English frigate, of my acquaintance, whom I met one day upon the wharf, proposed to me, between two cigars, to accompany him to New Zealand [...] to chastise the inhabitants of the Bay of Tavai-Pounamou, the most ferocious of the New Zealanders [...].

Thus, Berlioz also helped launch the Wallace legend.

The other non-pecuniary instance in which Australians, then and later, believed Wallace’s conduct to be “heartless in the extreme” was his apparant abandonment of his wife and their young child. That she might have elected to stay on in Sydney, while Wallace travelled on in seach of fame and fortune elsewhere, has not been considered. But perhaps it should be, in the light of an insert into the Sydney press in mid-1845, shortly after his arrival back in London, and his early success there. According to *The Australian*: “Mrs. W. Wallace, who remained in this Colony with her infant son, will proceed forthwith to join her liege lord”.⁴²⁷

[2.7] *Maritana and the Wallace legend*

In 1886, in a review of Henniker Heaton’s *Australian Dictionary of Dates*, the Victorian journalist James Hogan noted:⁴²⁸

[...] that compiler *commencing* his record of Australian music with the entry—
“Vincent Wallace *left* Sydney, 14th February, 1838”.

Wallace’s **Maritana**, the opera that belatedly made the composer’s local reputation, was (legend notwithstanding) probably completely composed after he left Australia, and was premiered in London in November 1845. Nevertheless, Australians very quickly developed a

⁴²⁶ Translation, *The Musical World and Times* 9 (1854), 111; from Berlioz, *Les soirees de l'orchestre* (Paris, 1854), 413-414: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=HfcsAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA414&#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

⁴²⁷ “MUSIC AND MUSICIANS”, *The Australian* (21 June 1845), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37157472>.

⁴²⁸ James Francis Hogan, *An Australian Christmas Collection: Stories, Sketches, Essays* (Melbourne: A. McKinley, 1886), 92; J. Henniker Heaton, *The Australian Dictionary of Dates and Men of the Time* (1879); B. K. de Garis, “Heaton, Sir John Henniker (1848-1914)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 4 (1972), 372-37: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/AO40421b.htm>.

proprietary interest in the work (as later also in his operas *Mathilda*, and *Lurline*). Following the first local press reports of the premiere in April 1846,⁴²⁹ extracts began to be introduced in Sydney almost immediately. The ballad “There is a flower that bloometh” was sung publicly for the first time locally by Wallace’s sister, Eliza Bushelle, on 17 June 1846,⁴³⁰ when *The Australian*, in review, offered this interesting sidelight, presumably had from Bushelle herself:⁴³¹

Mrs. Bushelle was in excellent voice, and did ample justice to the Ballad from *Maritana*, by her brother Mr. W. Vincent Wallace, “There is a Flower that bloometh”. The air is simple and unaffected, but not particularly original, this, however, may be accounted for from the fact that after the Opera was written Mr. V. Wallace found it was necessary that he should introduce a few songs, and this amongst others was written simply as a make-weight, without any effort of genius.

A larger selection of extracts followed on 2 September,⁴³² as reviewed in the *Herald*:⁴³³

With regard to the new opera of *Maritana*, which formed so prominent a feature in the programme, the first song was *Yes! let me like a Soldier fall*, [...] a pleasing melody, aided by a most effective military accompaniment. The duet *Of Fairy Wand had I the Power* [...] is a very delicious piece of music, and was very well sung. The ballad *In Happy Moments* [...] was exceedingly pretty, and obtained an encore [...] *There is a Flower that bloometh* we have already spoken of [...] and must candidly acknowledge that our recollections of the ballad, refreshed as they were on Wednesday evening, have raised its merits very considerably in our opinion. It is certainly a sweet, if not a very original song.

Then on 9 December, Spencer Wallace and Frederick Ellard together performed a jointly composed (or at least jointly concocted) medley, “**Reminiscences of Maritana** by S. W. Wallace and F. Ellard”.⁴³⁴ In Hobart, William Russell introduced *Maritana*’s Overture, “Scenes that are brightest”, and “There is a flower that bloometh” on 27 July 1846,⁴³⁵ and that same month in Melbourne, W. Clarke’s Musical Warehouse advertised print copies of “the majority of the songs, airs and scenes &c. from Wallace’s celebrated opera”.⁴³⁶ As previously mentioned, in 1846 or early 1847 Francis Ellard printed the *Maritana* ballad **In happy moments**, while it and **Scenes that are brightest** also appeared in editions by James

⁴²⁹ “ENGLISH EXTRACTS: MR. WALLACE’S NEW OPERA OF *MARITANA*”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (10 April 1846), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12886456>; “MUSIC AND MUSICIANS”, *The Atlas* 2/ 75 (2 May, 1846), 212: <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/1440365x/18460502/00020075/7-8.pdf>.

⁴³⁰ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (16 June 1846), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12887849>.

⁴³¹ “MRS. BUSHELLE’S FAREWELL CONCERT”, *The Australian* (18 June 1846), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37154914>.

⁴³² “SYDNEY NEWS”, *The Courier* (29 August 1846), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2945019>.

⁴³³ “MR. WALLACE’S CONCERT”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (4 September 1846), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12899260>.

⁴³⁴ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (9 December 1846), 1s: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12897282>; the same program, mentioned above, in which Ellard played a *Rondo Brillante in E flat* by Wallace.

⁴³⁵ [Advertisement], *The Courier* (25 July 1846), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2945166>.

⁴³⁶ “NEW MUSIC”, *The Melbourne Argus* (3 July 1846), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4759465>.

Grocott.⁴³⁷ In rural New South Wales, **There is a flower that bloometh** was advertised for sale by a Maitland bookseller early in 1847.⁴³⁸ Further local interest was generated when Eliza Bushelle returned to London at her brother's behest to take the title role in a revival of *Maritana* there in October 1848.⁴³⁹

The complete opera was first performed in Sydney at the Royal Victoria Theatre on 19 April 1849,⁴⁴⁰ and in Melbourne in 1856.⁴⁴¹ But the claim that Wallace actually composed some of the opera in Sydney appears to have been circulated, and possibly invented, by Lyster's Grand Opera Company, at the time of their Sydney season in 1861, which notably also included another supposedly "colonial opera", Stephen Marsh's *Gentleman in Black*:⁴⁴²

LYSTERS GRAND OPERA COMPANY. The Director begs to inform the public of Sydney that he has made arrangements for an opera season of four weeks [...] Operas selected from the most popular works of the following composers: Mozart, Weber, Rossini, Bellini, Donizetti, Verdi, Wallace, Auber, Balfe, Marsh [...] The first performance will be given on TUESDAY EVENING, August 6 [...] by the production of Wallace's Grand Opera of MARITANA [...] The greater part of the Opera of *Maritana* was written in Sydney, where the composer first rose to distinction, since which time it has been translated into Italian and German, and sung with great success in all the principal cities of Europe, being universally acknowledged tho best English opera ever composed.

Nevertheless, the claim was not universally accepted; in Perth in 1876, *The Western Australian Times* pilloried the music reviewer of one of its rival newspapers for spreading same legend:⁴⁴³

But all that's nothing to poor Wallace, who produced *Maritana* in Sydney! Poor Wallace! I always thought it was first brought out in Drury Lane in the Mother Country, but our tuning fork musico-genius, says other wise, and sure he is a competent man.

Meanwhile, Tasmania seems to have entered the legend at least by 1909, when *Maritana* was being restaged again in Hobart, *The Mercury* reporting then that Wallace's "ever popular opera" was:⁴⁴⁴

⁴³⁷ Spencer Wallace may well have turned to Grocott because of Ellard's insolvency, see [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (7 September 1846), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12889522>.

⁴³⁸ [Advertisement], *The Maitland Mercury* (21 April 1847), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article689351>.

⁴³⁹ For example, "SUMMARY OF GENERAL NEWS (Abridged from the latest papers)", *The Moreton Bay Courier* (3 March 1849), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3713441>; John Bushelle had died while the couple were giving concerts in Hobart in August 1843; see "MRS. BUSHELLE", *The Courier* (18 August 1843), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2952302>; originally "Bushell", it was only upon his marriage to Eliza Wallace in 1839 that their joint surname acquired its final "e".

⁴⁴⁰ With Theodosia Guerin and the Howson brothers in the principal roles, see [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (19 April 1849), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12903072>.

⁴⁴¹ "THE OPERA COMPANY: from the Melbourne Herald", *The Hobart Mercury* (15 September 1856), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3339209>.

⁴⁴² [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (1 August 1861), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13069091>.

⁴⁴³ "THE OWL AND MAGPIE", *The Western Australian* (16 June 1876), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2976151>.

[...] of peculiar interest to Tasmanians, the composer, who died all too soon, having, it is said, partly composed it at New Norfolk, and completed it in Sydney.

According to this version of the legend, Wallace composed “Scenes That are Brightest” during his brief Tasmanian visit in 1835-36,⁴⁴⁵ while looking out over the Derwent River from the balcony of the old Bush Inn at New Norfolk.⁴⁴⁶

While this Tasmanian claim was judged early to be spurious, other planks of the Wallace legend fell gradually into place, both in Australian and international sources, in the last quarter of the century. According to the *Adelaide Advertiser* in 1901:⁴⁴⁷

[...] At the age of 20 Vincent Wallace, being in delicate health, came to Australia with the intention of abandoning music and turning his hand to colonial pioneering. He spent some time in the New South Wales bush to the west of Sydney, but subsequently travelled professionally through the colonies, applying himself to composition in private and violin playing in public. In 1845 he returned to England, where he completed his opera *Maritana*, a great part of which had been scored in Sydney [...].

In 1875, the American W. Francis Gates, in his *Anecdotes of the Great Musicians*, had described Wallace’s arrival in Australia:⁴⁴⁸

Cast down by circumstance, Wallace then drifted to Australia, where he took up his abode among the roughs and savages of the ‘bush’. On one of his visits to Sydney, his acquaintances discovered that the man they considered to be an ordinary immigrant, was in reality a fine musician and an excellent violinist. The news was carried to the Governor of the colony, and he insisted that Wallace give a concert. This was done with great success. The Governor was so pleased that he made him a present of a hundred sheep, the staple currency of the colony at that time. Wallace later went to Tasmania, where he narrowly escaped being butchered to make a Tasmanian savage’s holiday, and on one occasion his life was saved through the romantic intervention of a chief’s daughter. After that he went on a whaling voyage and only he and three companions escaped the wreck of the vessel [...].

The gist of this was still being repeated in Melbourne’s *Argus* in 1923, in a report on plans to erect a statue of the composer in his native Waterford:⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴⁴ “AMUSEMENTS: THE THEATRE ROYAL: *MARITANA*”, *The Mercury* (4 May 1909), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article9980981>; see also “THE OPERA *MARITANA*: To the Editor”, *The Mercury* (5 August 1912), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article10239305>.

⁴⁴⁵ Whereas, another non-Australian legend, mentioned by Myers, has it that he composed the same ballad in Ireland, well before he left for Australia in 1835.

⁴⁴⁶ See also “I’M TELLING THE WORLD”, *The Argus* (27 January 1945), supplement 22: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article1092964>.

⁴⁴⁷ “OPERA”, *The Advertiser* (12 August 1901), 6: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4851368>.

⁴⁴⁸ W. Francis Gates, in his *Anecdotes of the Great Musicians* (Philadelphia, T. Presser, 1895), 106-07: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=29IQKxNVVBEC&pg=PA106#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

⁴⁴⁹ “*MARITANA*’S COMPOSER: VINCENT WALLACE STATUE”, *The Argus* (28 September 1923), 11: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article1993825>.

In 1835 Wallace left Ireland for Australia, with his wife, and for some years he abandoned music for sheep-farming and other occupations. He separated from his wife—a daughter of “Kelly of Blackrock”—and never saw her again. Casually taking part in the performance of a Mozart quartet in Sydney, he attracted the notice of the Governor, and was induced to give a concert on his own behalf. The Governor is said to have paid for the seats of his party by presenting Wallace with 100 sheep. (Coin was scarce in Australia in the very early days.) [...]

Meanwhile, John Philip Deane’s sons and their descendents added credence to the claims that some of *Maritana* was composed in Sydney. In a letter to the Mitchell Library in 1957, Deane’s great-grandson, W. H. Deane, wrote:⁴⁵⁰

There has never been any doubt among the Deanes that part of *Maritana* was written in Brougham Place, now Rowe Street [...] Brougham Place, adjoining the old Theatre Royal had in earlier times always been a theatrical street. It is very probably that Wallace, finding there congenial company and atmosphere, here ran off some catching arias which he later incorporated into his Opera when completing its composition in London. The history of these arias seems to have been well-known to the Deanes for with the eventual production of the Opera here in Sydney these arias already familiar to the Deanes were immediately recognised by them.

But the Wallace legend was never solely confined to *Maritana*. After his first Sydney concerts in 1836, reports that Wallace was “about becoming a resident among us” were construed hopefully as “the commencement of a new era in the chronology of music in this colony”,⁴⁵¹ which, in the event, was more or less how later histories chose to see it.

Vincent Wallace died in 1865, “like many a man of genius before him [...], so poor that his publishers were good enough to bury him”; at least, that was the recollection of his son.⁴⁵² As the jubilee of *Maritana*’s premiere approached in November 1895, Wallace junior claimed

⁴⁵⁰ Myers, 33; William Harrison Deane, “Errata to Dr Orchard’s *Music in Australia*” [Letter to the Mitchell library] (30 October 1957); see also C. H. Bertie, *Royal Australian Historical Society Journal and Proceedings* (1937), 50; Bertie had asked W. S. Deane, father of the former, and grandson of John P. Deane, for his opinion on the matter: “My grandfather before leaving London and coming to Australia was a member of the London Philharmonic Society. My grandfather gave many concerts in Sydney in conjunction with Vincent Wallace, who composed the Opera *Maritana*. He, my grandfather, really introduced orchestral music into Sydney—Vincent Wallace introduced the vocal side. The Opera *Maritana* was actually composed on the site of our present offices here in Rowe Street then known as Brougham Place, and when my father purchased the property to make way for the erection of our present offices here in Rowe Street he removed the old brick building, brick by brick, and had it erected on part of his estate at Burwood. He called the old cottage when erected, *Waldema*, a combination he used to smile over, and so did the neighbourhood, of the names of Wallace, Deane and *Maritana*. The old place has since been pulled down, having been resumed for railway purposes. My father died on the 22nd November, 1910. He was then in his eighty-fifth year. On several occasions during his lifetime he spoke to me of Wallace who was well known to him, and he told me, and he seemed to have not the slightest doubt about it that the Opera *Maritana* was composed in Sydney and on the site in Rowe Street.”

⁴⁵¹ “MR. WALLACE’S CONCERT”, *The Sydney Gazette* (16 February 1836), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2202786>; a hope that, as we have seen, was borne out later, independently by Henniker Heaton’s decision to commence his account of Australian music with Wallace.

⁴⁵² “THE COMPOSER OF MARITANA, WALLACE’S WIDOW AND SON” [letter from William Vincent Wallace, 11 November 1895, to the editor of the *Weekly Sun*, London], *The Brisbane Courier* (10 January 1896), 6: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3616470>.

further injustice, in that neither he, nor his widowed mother, were making anything out of the composer's works, "though others made fortunes":

To make bad worse, my father's old friends have died off, and, as far as I know, we seem, unfortunately for us, to have outlived them all. The old order has changed, and the new knows us not, for a great German wave has passed over the world of Music, driving poor Melody—with both her fingers in her ears—before it. And yet there is an astonishing vitality left in some of the old stuff which refuses to be snuffed out [...].

During the intervening half-century my father's simple ballad opera has been played innumerable times at home and abroad.

It has delighted hundreds and hundreds of thousands of unpretentious admirers of melodious music, and has put money into many pockets, but, *mirabile dictu*, during all those years not a single performance has ever been given for our benefit [...].

In Australia, New Zealand, and the other British colonies—as well as in America—it has been played times out of mind, but we have not received from the Antipodes a penny piece of the thousands due to us for fees [...].

[2.8] *Vincenzo Chiodetti: a compositional challenge*

Coinciding with the imminent loss of George Sippe's erstwhile collaborators, Mr. Lewis and the band of the 17th regiment, early in 1836, *The Sydney Herald* reported on the arrival of a new military music establishment in Sydney in January:⁴⁵³

The Head Quarters and Band of the 28th Regiment, came ashore yesterday, from the *John Barry*, and were escorted to the Barracks by the Band of the 17th Regiment. The Band of the 28th is said to be of a superior description.

A correspondent, unaware of the colony's earlier Italian bandmaster, Reichenberg, but with a clearly developed colonial and aesthetic agenda, was soon reporting to the *Gazette*:⁴⁵⁴

In my humble capacity, I hail with pleasure the arrival of any thing which can contribute to the advancement—or even the rational amusement of this colony, and so I do also the arrival of Mr. Cheadle [sic], the first Italian band master this colony ever possessed. His band plays with more strength and pith than any other I have ever heard in this place, and this can be derived from that reason that the players have yet some British blood in their veins. They look all stout and well, and are therefore able to blow with pith into their instruments. [...]

It is generally acknowledged that their airs are rich and powerful, and their bass full of resonance. However, in praising new things, one should not be forgetful of the merits of more ancient friends, and then I might acknowledge that Mr. Lewis took great pains to prepare a large stock of all new interesting and scientific music he could get hold of, and the choice of marches, overtures, and other tunes, reflects

⁴⁵³ "DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE", *The Sydney Herald* (21 January 1836), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12853766>.

⁴⁵⁴ "THE BAND OF THE 28TH", *The Sydney Gazette* (2 February 1836), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2202581>.

great credit on the 17th. It is, at any rate, very pleasant to any man, to hear again and again common-place tunes he heard thirty years ago.

In the ongoing tug-of-war of musical taste in Sydney, this correspondent placed Lewis in the “scientific” vanguard, whereas he evidently associated the new band, on its debut at least, with more old-fashioned tuneful fare. Nevertheless, “Mr. Cheadile”, actually **Vincenzo Chiodetti (Italy c.1786-1858) {1836-58}**, and his band also went on to side with “science”, appearing in concert for Vincent Wallace early in his Sydney stay in 1836 (playing the Overture to *The Barber of Seville* “in fine style”),⁴⁵⁵ and more explicitly later, when Isaac Nathan gave his first Sydney concert in 1841, “with the aid of the band of the 28th, under the *scientific* superintendence of their able master, Cheodetti”.⁴⁵⁶

Chiodetti was also a composer. He presented his credentials in an advertisement in 1839, though under duress, and in, for the young colony, under extraordinary—indeed, up to that time, unique—circumstances:⁴⁵⁷

Vinchenzo Chiodetti (from the city of Rome),

Band master to Her Majesty’s 28th Regiment, master of the first class of Music, knowing also Full Harmony, *Legate e Fugate*, having likewise a stamped Certificate to the above effect, which he can produce,

HEARING that a certain Music Master in Sydney took the liberty of ridiculing him in presence of one of his Scholars, proposes to enter into a discussion on Music with that Gentleman. The Band Master [...] having seen the system adopted by the Gentleman alluded to, begs to point out the following errors to him: 3 5th octavo consecutively is a classical error in composition, when 2 5th[s] cannot be written one after another. Mr. Chiodetti having likewise seen a small Cadame (bass) F G , the superior part being C and D, points this out for the Gentleman’s information as a gross error, and tends to show he may have learned the interval of major and minor, but not how to take out diminuate and superfluous, consequently the Gentleman’s musical, education appears rather imperfect. Mr. Chiodetti is very sorry any Gentleman professing the Science of Music should so far forget himself as to ridicule one with whom he is not acquainted, and consequently cannot be a judge of his abilities as a Master of Music; everyone must live by his profession, that has one to depend upon only for his support, and the observations made by the Gentleman alluded to wore as unwarranted as unexpected.

Mr. C. is sorry he cannot give a Challenge on the subject of Music in the style Fugat, not having a competent judge of that style in the Colony, but he will accept of a subject on Melody from that Gentleman, and will give him one to be rendered into Harmony. The discussion to take place in a room where therefore neither Instruments or Books; afterwards both compositions to be played in public; the musical public, when they hear them, will be able to judge as to the abilities of the parties.

If this Challenge is accepted, Mr. C will go to Sydney, or the Gentleman shall

⁴⁵⁵ “LAST FRIDAY’S EVENING’S CONCERT (From a Correspondent)”, *The Sydney Gazette* (1 March 1836): <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2203019>.

⁴⁵⁶ “MUSIC”, *The Sydney Herald* (22 February 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12867927>.

⁴⁵⁷ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Herald* (13 February 1839), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12862960>.

come to Parramatta, provided the expenses be paid by the parties defeated; under these circumstances, or by a private letter of excuse, the name of the party will be kept secret; otherwise, if no answer be received before a fortnight, Mr. C. will publish the name of the Gentleman and of his author.

Alas, we read nowhere of an outcome, if any, of Chiodetti's challenge. But he received a further sleight to his reputation in 1843, and placed a similar advertisement, this time naming the offender, in January 1844:⁴⁵⁸

Signor V. Chiodetti, Professor of Music, at Windsor, has heard with surprise, that Mrs. Brown, now Mrs. Hadsley, who has recently left Windsor, where she kept a school, said to her pupils before leaving that he, the said Professor, is incompetent to teach the Pianoforte. V. Chiodetti cannot conceive what reason this lady had for making such an assertion. Having spent many years under masters of the first rank in the Colleges and Conservatories of Italy, from which he holds his Diplomas as a Professor of the Art; having studied harmony in all its varieties, from the simplest counterpoint to the sublimity of the fugato style, he flatters himself that he is qualified to give lessons on the Pianoforte. To do this with effect, it is no doubt necessary to know all the intervals, major, minor, and diminished—the modulations from one key to another—the simple, complicated, and interrupted cadences—the perfect and imperfect chords—also discords, with the manner of resolving them.

But how little of this does Mrs. Hadsley know, who can only pretend to teach her pupils to commit to memory a few airs which they perform mechanically without knowing why or wherefore? And how few of the pupils of those “but-a-broom professors” are ever competent to play a new piece at sight themselves? [...].

Should Mrs. Hadsley, or her friends, feel offended at this necessary vindication, V. Chiodetti is prepared to discuss the subject in a public academy, at Sydney, with any one they may appoint. Windsor, January 19, 1844.

Nevertheless, like that other Italian bandmaster Reichenberg before him, Chiodetti opted to stay on in Australia when his regiment left, marry here, and continue (at least, to offer) to teach composition:⁴⁵⁹

SIG. VINCENT CHIODETTI. Professor of Music, having been Band Master of the 28th Regiment for the last fourteen years, and having left the service to avoid going to India, has resolved to settle in High-street, West Maitland, in which town, and throughout the vicinity, he will teach the Pianoforte, Guitar, Violin, and other instruments, and give complete instructions in bass and Composition. He will also tune pianofortes. April 4.

⁴⁵⁸ “Music at Windsor”, *The Weekly Register* 2/ 25 (13 January 1844), 381:

<http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18440113/00020025/9-12.pdf>; also [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (7 February 1844), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12413508>; on Mrs. Hadsley's move to Sydney, see [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (12 December 1843), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12414883>.

⁴⁵⁹ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Herald* (21 April 1842), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12874802>.

Alas, we have neither any of his compositions, nor names of any of his pupils. He died at his house in Phillip Street, Parramatta, near Sydney, on 5 December 1858, aged 72 years.⁴⁶⁰

[2.9] *Thomas Stubbs's "Native Minstrelsy"*

One of the local soloists in Wallace's first Sydney concert was **Thomas Stubbs (Australia c. 1803-1878)**, who performed a fantasia (otherwise unattributed) on the flute. And if Wallace deserves no other accolade, during his stay in Sydney he did at least promote and assist Stubbs, who may well be the first Australian-born settler composer. Reviewing the appearance of the **Australian Jubilee Waltz**,⁴⁶¹ published early in 1838 by William Fernyhough, on the 50th Anniversary of the colony, and "arranged for the piano forte by Wm. Wallace", the *Gazette* observed:⁴⁶²

This delightful little waltz has been composed by Mr. Thomas Stubbs, a native of the Colony, also the composer of the *Minstrel Waltz*, both of which were arranged by Mr. William Wallace, the Australian Paganini. We have heard both of these pieces of music lately played by that talented performer, assisted by his brother [S. W. Wallace] on the flute; need we say that we were much delighted, not only with the performance but with the waltzes themselves, and particularly with the *Jubilee*, which is certainly a most delightful little piece of music; as such we can confidently recommend it to the notice of the public.

Precisely because he was "a native musician", it was Stubbs, rather than Wallace or Nathan, that Manning Clark singled out from the composers of the 1830s and 1840s to rate a lone mention in his *History*.⁴⁶³ Had Clark also realised that the same Thomas Stubbs was an auctioneer, he would not doubt have mentioned it. And Stubbs was not just any auctioneer; Sydney's leading vendor of prestige real-estate, his name crops up among the advertisements in almost every issue of every major journal in the years around 1840. That someone in his walk-of-life should also be a composer is today almost unimaginable; how much more so, then, among Manning Clark's colonial "philistines"?

Stubbs's public musical activities go back to at least 1832, when he advertised his services as a "Professor of the Royal Patent Kent Bugle and Teacher of the Flute, Violin, & French Horn", offered, unusually for a professional music teacher at the time, not to young ladies, but specifically to the "Young Gentlemen of Sydney, who wish for a knowledge of any of the above instruments".⁴⁶⁴ (On the same page, Stubbs also advertised as a commission

⁴⁶⁰ "DEATHS", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (10 December 1858), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13017501>.

⁴⁶¹ Copy at NLA: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-an5415301>.

⁴⁶² "THE JUBILEE WALTZ", *The Sydney Gazette* (6 February 1938), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2547425>.

⁴⁶³ Clarke, *A History of Australia, III: The Beginning of An Australian Civilization 1824-1851* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1973), 138.

⁴⁶⁴ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Herald* (18 June 1832), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12844722>; [Advertisement], *The Sydney Herald* (21 June 1832), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12844745>.

agent.) In April 1835, *The Sydney Herald* described him as “the celebrated player on the flute and bugle”.⁴⁶⁵ Stubbs had advertised a concert for 21 April to be:⁴⁶⁶

[...] aided by the whole of the Professors and Amateurs of Music in Sydney, and having made such general arrangements as are available in this Colony, for the gratification of his Patron [the Governor] respectfully trusts his “NATIVE MINSTRELSY” will be handsomely supported and popularly attended.

Whether any of the music performed was actually composed by Stubbs is unclear, however the reference to his “NATIVE MINSTRELSY” suggests that, already by then, one or more of his works with “minstrel” in the title were already in circulation. The previously mentioned **Minstrel Waltz**, “for 1836”, officially released on New Year’s Day,⁴⁶⁷ was Stubbs’s first published composition, and may well have been, as claimed, the first printed settler composition, and (after Lhotsky’s *Song*) only the second piece of music of any sort ever actually printed in the colony. As reviewed in the *Gazette*:⁴⁶⁸

Barely have we been more truly gratified at any literary present, than by this unique New Year’s Offering to the Muses. The composer of the piece is Mr. Thomas Stubbs. The artist who engraved and printed it is Mr. Wilson, of Hunter-street, Sydney. We do not say too much when we set down this little work as a *chef d’oeuvre* in its way, considered as a Colonial production, and the first thing of the kind yet published here. Did it not possess half the merit of composition and ingenuity that it does, we should still applaud it as opening a way for the fine arts into New South Wales, of which, the composer, Mr. Stubbs, is a Native, and the engraver a Colonist of some years. No lady in the Colony should be without *The Minstrel Waltz*.

And in *The Monitor*:⁴⁶⁹

We have received a copy of a Musical trifle just issued from the Australian Press, entitled *The Minstrel Waltz*, composed by Mr. Thomas Stubbs, of Sydney, which is intended as a New Year’s Gift for the Colony. The sheet is very well engraved and printed; and the composition appears creditable to Mr. Stubbs, who, by the by, is a Native of the Colony. The Waltz is set in an easy key—C major—and arranged in the most simple manner, so as to be accessible to juveniles. Some of the passages in Mr. Stubbs’ production are extremely pretty—particularly that commencing at the

⁴⁶⁵ “DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE”, *The Sydney Herald* (6 April 1835), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12851851>; see also “CONCERT”, *The Sydney Herald* (26 March 1835), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12851766>. “The finest piece of music next to the military performances, was a beautiful selection of airs with variations, by Mr. Stubbs, on the flute, and which for sweetness and expression we never heard equalled at any previous Concert”.

⁴⁶⁶ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Herald* (2 April 1835), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12851809>; see also list of performers, [Advertisement], *The Sydney Herald* (20 April 1835), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12851948>.

⁴⁶⁷ [Advertisement], “For the Ladies”, *The Sydney Herald* (31 December 1835), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28654562>.

⁴⁶⁸ “THE MINSTREL WALTZ”, *The Sydney Gazette* (5 January 1836), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2202100>; also [News], *The Sydney Herald* (4 January 1836), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28654581>.

⁴⁶⁹ [News], *The Sydney Monitor* (6 January 1836), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article32150454>.

third double bar; the finale is not so good. The Waltz is on sale at Mr. Ellard's.

Evidence of the wider public dissemination of Stubbs's music came in 1837, at a dinner for the notoriously exclusive United Australians' Society (at the Royal Hotel) on the 49th anniversary of settlement, when Mr. Coleman, master of the band of the 4th regiment and a stalwart of concert and theatrical music in Sydney in the mid-1830s,⁴⁷⁰ delivered a program of "appropriate airs" in answer to the usual toasts that included an unprecedented amount of local material, according to the reports in the *Gazette*, and *Monitor*, and *Herald*:⁴⁷¹

[Toast] Our Fair Countrywomen – [Air] **Currency Lasses**

The Fair Visitants of our Native Land – **Minstrel Waltz** ("arranged by Mr. Coleman [...] expressly for the occasion")

The Sister Colonies – **Hail Australia** [or *Hail Australasia*]

The President – **Australian Minstrel March** ("arranged for the occasion by Mr. Coleman")

The Vice-President [John Piper] – **Captain Piper's Fancy** [or *Bonnie Laddie*]

Though arranged for band by Coleman, both the *Minstrel Waltz*, and the **Australian Minstrel March** (possibly the same work as the *Australian March* mentioned below) were most likely Stubbs's.

"Expressly for" the toast to the Lord Mayor of Sydney at the Anniversary Dinner on 26 January 1843, Stubbs reportedly also composed a **Corporation Waltz**.⁴⁷² Possibly his last attested composition, **Lady O'Connell's Waltz**, was reviewed on appearance in September 1845 by W. A. Duncan, who, like most other Sydney newspaper proprietors, had over the years received a good deal of his advertising revenue from Stubbs's auctioneering activities:⁴⁷³

What! "Is Saul among the Prophets?" and does our friend of "princely domains" and "terrestrial paradises", repeating the "Quare quis tandem me reprehendat" of Cicero, devote his hours of relaxation to the worship of Euterpe! Yes, truly, and not without fruit, if we regard this production that a first attempt demands from the impartial critic.

Lady O'Connell's Waltz is a pleasing melody, in A flat major, having some affinity to the productions of the Strauss school, at the same time that it possesses considerable originality. Thus far our fair readers will hardly be disappointed with the waltz. With regard, however, to the harmony, we are obliged to say that while

⁴⁷⁰ [News], *The Sydney Gazette* (13 May 1837), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2210894>; for Coleman's departure from the colony, "SHIP NEWS", *The Sydney Gazette* (10 August 1837), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2212355>.

⁴⁷¹ "UNITED AUSTRALIANS' DINNER", *The Sydney Gazette* (28 January 1837), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2209082>; "DINNER OF THE UNITED AUSTRALIANS", *The Sydney Herald* (30 January 1837), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12861100>; "THE JUBILEE DINNER", *The Sydney Monitor* (27 January 1837), 2s: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article32154702>.

⁴⁷² "ANNIVERSARY DINNER", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (28 January 1843), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12409506>.

⁴⁷³ "NEW MUSIC", *The Weekly Register* 5/113 (20 September 1845), 135: <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18450920/00050113/1-4.pdf>.

much of it flows on, appropriately, in good full common chords, there are some progressions of which it is difficult to see the meaning; an occasional doubling of parts, which should not have been attempted without a better knowledge of the rules regarding consecutives, and a few discords which are not correctly resolved.

Things of this kind are indeed to be met with in the works of professed composers, but they should be avoided by new candidates for fame, and it is the duty of the critic not to pass them over. It is but just, however, to say that they are not so numerous, or conspicuous, in this composition as to mar the effect of the pretty melody, or to hinder it from being honoured by its period of favour in the ball room of family circle.

The *Herald* called it:⁴⁷⁴

[...] a very pretty waltz, and so far from requiring apologies as the production of an amateur, would demand praise were we noticing it as the composition of a musician of standing. The arrangement is excellent, and bespeak[s] Mr. Stubbs to be a harmonist of no mean pretensions. We think this waltz will become a favourite.

But Stubbs evidently still needed help to bring the tunes he composed to book, as he admitted in a letter to the editor of the *Herald*, in response to the review:⁴⁷⁵

GENTLEMEN, In your kind notice of my composition of *Lady O'Connell's Waltz*: the merit of its arrangement is due to the kindness of Mr. Nathan,—the Waltz or Melody alone being that of Your very humble, And very obliged servant, Thomas Stubbs.

This *Atlas* also reviewed it (below a notice of Nathan's *Leichhardt's Grave*):⁴⁷⁶

In the dry, prosaic, utilitarian business of auctioneering, Mr. Stubbs has not altogether forsaken or forgotten the graceful and the ornamental. The composition which he had favoured the public with, is one that speaks very highly of his musical ability; and thought, as he tells us, the piece was harmonized by Nathan, yet great credit is due to him notwithstanding. We may mention in paying Mr. Stubbs this compliment, that he is a native of the colony.

The Australian March by Thomas Stubbs—a short, unassuming but completely adequate piece in military style, possibly identical with the *Australian Minstrel March*—was also printed in Sydney by Edwin Copley and James Fussell in their *Australian Musical Bouquet* in 1861. Stubbs left Sydney in 1850 to carry on his trade as an auctioneer in Melbourne. Sometime during the 1850s, his son Robert assumed the surname Fitz-Stubbs.⁴⁷⁷

⁴⁷⁴ "NEW MUSIC", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (22 September 1845), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12882317>.

⁴⁷⁵ "To the Editors", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (23 September 1845), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12882346>.

⁴⁷⁶ "Lady O'Connell's Waltz. Composed by T. STUBBS. Jervis. Sydney, 1845", *The Atlas* (27 September 1845), 523: <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/1440365x/18450927/00010044/7-8.pdf>.

⁴⁷⁷ "MISS CATHERINE HAYES", *The Courier* (26 June 1855), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2485971>.

Thomas died in Melbourne in 1878, aged 75 years.⁴⁷⁸ His granddaughter, Maud Fitz-Stubbs was a prolific and well-known published composer of the Federation era.

[2.10] *The death of poor Cavendish, and the brief transit of Dr Reid*

The year 1839 was an especially eventful one for Australian music. It began with what the papers aptly described as a “Melancholy Accident” on Sydney Harbour during the annual regatta on Anniversary Day, 26 January, “sufficient to throw a cloud over the amusements of the day”. William Cavendish and his “sister” Mary (in fact, his common-law wife), were thrown into the water when their boat overturned:⁴⁷⁹

Mr. C. is reported to have been an expert swimmer, and could therefore have easily saved himself, but he lost his life in endeavouring to rescue his sister. He was seen to make towards her as she floated away, and the last words which he was heard to utter, were “Mary dear, don’t be afraid—I’ll hold you up”. His efforts to save his sister were unavailing, and he lost his own life in the attempt.

The Australian concluded its similar report with the funeral, at which “the bodies of the deceased were followed by a numerous train of friends”:⁴⁸⁰

The musical profession has lost a friend and a warm supporter in Mr. Cavendish, who has always been foremost to render his services, *gratuitously*, to the advancement and encouragement of the science. In private life he was greatly esteemed.

Cavendish would later be remembered as the “founder” of the Cecilian Society, which, as a memorial, hung a portrait of him at its November 1839 meeting.⁴⁸¹ In December 1838, Cavendish had given over his dancing rooms for rehearsals of the recently formed Society, whose “weekly meetings form a delightful concert in themselves”, under the direction of John Philip Deane.⁴⁸² Since 1834, Cavendish had also regularly “presided at the seraphine”—an instrument he himself had donated—at services in St. Mary’s Cathedral, where he and the clerical music director, the Reverend Mr. Spencer,⁴⁸³ were ably supported “in the vocal department” by such Sydney professionals as Mrs. Rust (late “pupil of the Royal Academy, London”), George Worgan, the ex-convict *basso* John Bushell, on occasion John Philip

⁴⁷⁸ “MELBOURNE: SUNDAY”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (4 March 1878), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13409010>; “DEATHS”, *The Argus* (4 March 1878), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5923733>.

⁴⁷⁹ “MELANCHOLY ACCIDENT”, *The Sydney Gazette* (29 January 1839), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2551500>; also “MELANCHOLY ACCIDENT”, *The Colonist* (30 January 1839), 3:

<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31722464>; Beedell, *Decline*, with the apparently characteristic preference for the most dramatic explanation of events that mars her otherwise useful book, cannot forebear suggesting that Cavendish may, rather, have conspired to drown Mary, only to change his mind at the last moment.

⁴⁸⁰ “THE ANNIVERSARY REGATTA”, *The Australian* (29 January 1839), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36860064>; also “DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE”, *The Sydney Herald* (30 January 1839), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12855757>.

⁴⁸¹ “CECILIAN SOCIETY”, *The Sydney Gazette* (8 June 1839), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2544672>.

⁴⁸² “Musical Society”, *The Australian* (29 December 1838), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36862213>.

⁴⁸³ [News], *The Sydney Gazette* (13 February 1836), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2202735>.

Deane, and even Vincent Wallace himself.⁴⁸⁴ His death thus left the cathedral and diocese without one of its regular accompanists, and it must have seemed all the more fortunate when, in March, providence stepped in with an apparently ideal replacement.

There was from the very first, however, something slightly mysterious about the arrival of **Dr. J. A. Reid (Scotland ?-?) {1839-40}**. According to *The Asiatic Journal*, Dr. Reid, “a surgeon”, and two Misses Reid had embarked for Sydney on the *Augustus Caesar*, though, inexplicably, press reports of the ship’s arrival, on 2 April, lists only the sisters, Mary and Catherine.⁴⁸⁵ Nevertheless, on 27 April, Reid (a “Member of the Royal Bavarian Academy of Music”) advised “the Gentry of the Colony” that he was “intending of establish himself as a Professor of Music” at 15 Bridge-street.⁴⁸⁶ A few days later, an advertisement for the forthcoming Benevolent Asylum Charity Sermon at St. Mary’s Cathedral, advised:⁴⁸⁷

The choir will be augmented for the occasion, under the superintendence of Dr. Reid, the Organist and Musical Composer to the Cathedral.

In a letter to his cousin in England later that month, bishop Polding was enthusiastic about the new appointee:⁴⁸⁸

And now I suppose I may pass to Dr. Reid. He is installed Director and Musical Composer to the Cathedral, with a stipend of £50 per ann., one half of which is paid in advance, as he stood in need of it at his first starting. He has the choir entirely under his control, has practice three times a week [...].

Not content with poor Cavendish’s seraphine, Reid also persuaded Polding to rent a small pipe organ for the cathedral, imported by one of the Ellards (more probably Andrew than Francis).⁴⁸⁹ And, as the bishop also noted, “Dr. Reid composes very prettily”.

⁴⁸⁴ “ST. MARY’S CHURCH”, *The Colonist* (2 June 1836), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31718094> (copied from [News] *The Australian* (24 May 1836), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36858949>; on John Bushell (he used that spelling until, when they married, Eliza Wallace added a final “e”—Bushelle), also known as the “knave of diamonds”, see also Roger Therry, *Reminiscences*, 113: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=RikXAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA113#v=onepage&q&f=false>; Bushell and Worgan were both involved in the dedication ceremony in 1838; “Roman Catholic Chapel”, *The Australian* (16 October 1838), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36860138>; see also John Bede Polding, letter to Thomas Paulinus Heptonstall (25 June 1838); quoted in Birt, *Benedictine Pioneers in Australia*, vol. 2, 213-214 (also O’Farrell, *Documents*, 110-11): “Under the care of Mr. Bushell our choral department shines brightly. We have Mozart and Haydn’s music every Sunday [...] Bushell has a splendid bass voice; I have never heard such a voice, and he wants some bass solos [...]”.

⁴⁸⁵ “Per *Augustus Caesar*, for N. S. Wales [...] Dr. Reid, surgeon [...] two Misses Reid”, *The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Miscellany* 28 (1839), 77:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=-iYoAAAAYAAJ&pg=RA1-PA77&dq#v=onepage&q&f=false>; “Shipping Intelligence: ARRIVALS”, *The Sydney Gazette* (2 April 1839), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2547465>.

⁴⁸⁶ [Advertisement]: “Dr. J. A. Reid”, *The Colonist* (27 April 1839), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31722976>.

⁴⁸⁷ [Notices]: “Benevolent Asylum Charity Sermon”, *The Australian* (2 May 1839), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36863100>; see also “Charity Sermon”, *The Australian* (4 May 1839), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36861266>: “[...] the accession of the talents of Dr Reid, lately arrived, in conducting and superintending the department of sacred music on this occasion”.

⁴⁸⁸ John Bede Polding, letter to Thomas Paulinus Heptonstall (20 May 1839); Henry Norbert Birt, *Benedictine Pioneers in Australia*, Volume 1 (London: Herbert & Daniel, 1911), 409, 410.

It was also during 1839 that the Scottish-born Catholic convert, W. A. Duncan, entered upon his colonial career as a journalist—a journalist, moreover, with strong, and generally well-informed opinions on music (and also, as we shall see in the next chapter, a published musical arranger, and lyricist for Isaac Nathan). On 2 August, the “organ of the colonial Roman Catholics”, *The Australasian Chronicle* first appeared under Duncan’s editorship,⁴⁹⁰ and in August he advised his readers of Dr. Reid’s intention to present that month a concert “for the benefit of the distressed poor:⁴⁹¹

The object of the Concert would be itself a sufficient argument to induce an attendance; but when Dr. Reid’s first-rate talents, both as a composer and director of Concerts, which are not unknown in any part of Europe, are taken into consideration, we feel confident the old Court House will not be too large for the audience. We hope Dr. Reid will be induced to bring forward some of his own compositions on this occasion. There are some beautiful movements in his Oratorio of *Paradise Lost*, which we think would surprise the ears of the sons of Australia.

Duncan later revealed that he previously “had the pleasure of being intimate with” in Scotland.⁴⁹² Reid’s oratorio **Paradise Lost** may, therefore, have been the work on that subject “performed (in April, 1837) in St. Andrew’s Catholic Chapel, Great Clyde Street [Glasgow], by eighty-six performers, or whom sixty were choralists”.⁴⁹³ He was probably also the Dr. Reid who, in 1838 also in Glasgow, conducted a concert at Ducrow’s Arena, with a band and chorus of 120 performers “including all the professional talent in Edinburgh and Glasgow”.⁴⁹⁴

Despite Duncan’s prompting, Reid’s Sydney concert program, when advertised, contained nothing from the oratorio, though it did include three other compositions by him, the **Overture to Zriny**, and two other operatic excerpts, the Scena and Aria **O thou sweet star of love on high** and the Chorus and Solo **Spring is come and the wars are all over**.⁴⁹⁵ According to Duncan’s review:⁴⁹⁶

⁴⁸⁹ But, as Polding observed, “It is a weak, vacant, ill-toned instrument, for which the speculator has the modesty to ask 500 guineas. If he obtain one half, he will have double its real value. We have had it for one half year paying £20 for it.”

⁴⁹⁰ Barton, *Literature in New South Wales*, 33:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=3KclAAAAMAAJ&pg=PA33&dq#v=onepage&q&f=false>; see also “DEATH of Mr. W. A. DUNCAN, C.M.G.”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (26 June 1885), 7: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13591696>; James Bonwick, *Early Struggles of the Australian Press* (London: Gordon & Gotch, 1890), 25, 28 <http://www.archive.org/details/earlystrugglesao0obonwgoog>; for a less censorious recent view of Duncan than Clark’s (cited above), see Terry Irving, *The Southern Tree of Liberty: the democratic movement in New South Wales* (Sydney: Federation Press, 2006), 56: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=Ss29l9YX1BcC&pg=PA56&dq#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

⁴⁹¹ “Concert for the benefit of the Poor”, *Australasian Chronicle* (13 August 1839), 1s: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31726208>.

⁴⁹² “Music”, *Australasian Chronicle* (17 January 1840), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31727325>.

⁴⁹³ “Music in Scotland: A BRIEF HISTORICAL SURVEY”, *The Musical Times* (1 November 1901), 723.

⁴⁹⁴ Robert Marr, *Music for the people: a retrospect of the Glasgow international exhibition, 1888, with an account of the rise of choral societies in Scotland* (J. Menzies, 1889), lxxxii.

⁴⁹⁵ [Advertisement]: “CONCERT”, *Australasian Chronicle* (16 August 1839), 4s: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31726249>; [Advertisement]: “CONCERT”, *The Australian* (17 August 1839), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36862661>.

We may look upon this concert, as the first introduction into this colony of that style of orchestral accompaniment generally known under the designation of the German School [...] This style of instrumentation, though at first like every improvement, violently opposed, is now obtaining ground wherever talent and good taste are found united; and if the severe simplicity of the old classical music gave way to its power, the miserable opposition which it now meets with from those musicians who are carried away by the fantastic yagaries of Rossini and his imitators, will soon yield up its passing influence to the claims of sound taste and enlightened criticism.

The performance, considering the short time for preparation, was highly creditable to Dr. Reid, and to the performers generally. The Overture to *Zriny*, which we heard for the first time, is a piece of excellent music, and seemed to be a general favourite with the audience. [...] We pass over the others to come to the last Solo and Grand Chorus, which we believe are from a new opera by Dr. Reid. These pieces are of such a character, both as to their merit and the manner in which they were performed, as would have fully atoned for all the rest had they been deficient [...].

Though in the weeks following the concert *The Australian* twice averred that Reid was somewhat dilatory in forwarding the proceeds, Duncan eventually reported that £50 had been paid to the charity, as promised.

Thereafter Reid was billed to conduct the chorus and orchestra at George Peck's farewell benefit early in October,⁴⁹⁷ and at the end of the month Duncan reported on a liturgical performance of Reid's **Mass No. 1 in C** at St. Mary's:⁴⁹⁸

On Sunday, a solemn Mass was celebrated in the Cathedral [...] The new choir and orchestra of the Cathedral performed publicly for the first time on this occasion, and we have pleasure in adding in a style which surprised and delighted every body. The Mass was Reid's No. 1 in C, which is, upon the whole, a charming composition. The Kyrie, which, like Mozart's No. 12, is written upon the dominant of the key, is a beautiful piece of genuine church music, in which every part is a melody, and the combined effect of which is truly fine. The Gloria is chiefly remarkable for its combining brilliancy with a full body of harmony. But the Credo is our especial favourite. Its opening and concluding movements contain some of the finest natural modulation with which we are acquainted, and the melody is throughout most pleasing. We venture to predict that the succession of sounds of which this piece consists, will be speedily heard resounding in all parts of our capital, as the *Jager Chor* of Weber was formerly in every part of Europe. The

⁴⁹⁶ "Concert", *Australasian Chronicle* (23 August 1839), 1s: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31726296>; see also "DR. REID'S CONCERT", *The Colonist* (28 August 1839), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31723606>; "The concert commenced with an overture composed by Dr Reid, which was received with great applause. Dr Reid, as leader, exerted himself to the utmost, and was well supported by the other performers"; "DR. REID'S CONCERT", *The Sydney Monitor* (23 August 1839), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article32165280>.

⁴⁹⁷ "The lovers of music [...]", *The Australian* (1 October 1839), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36859831>; [Advertisement]: "GRAND CONCERT", *The Sydney Herald* (2 October 1839), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12858352>; Curiously, someone has handwritten "Dr Reid" below a copy of the *Chronicle's* review, "Mr. Peck's Concert", *Australasian Chronicle* (4 October 1839), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31726559>.

⁴⁹⁸ [News], *Australasian Chronicle* (29 October 1839), 1s: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31726755>.

Benedictus, as sung by the Misses Reid, accompanied by the Seraphine and Violoncello produced a very fine effect. The subject of the Agnus Dei is the same as that of the Kyrie, and forms the conclusion of a musical composition, of which any composer might be proud.

Yet for all Duncan's enthusiast, another observer, Columbus Fitzpatrick, would much later recollect: "I have seen Dr. Reid, who was a great man, assisted by his sisters and Miss Lane and a great body of singers, but they could not equal the choir formed by Mr. Richenberg".

There was another notable development in the New Year, when, on Andrew Ellard's departure to return to Ireland, *The Colonist* reported that Reid had "succeeded to the business of Mr. Ellard of Pitt Street".⁴⁹⁹ With his partners George Smith (a cabinetmaker) and Jeremiah McCrohan (a "Professor of Music"), Reid advertised not only as a music seller, but as a publisher ("Preparations are being made for establishing a Branch for the Publication of STANDARD AND ORIGINAL MUSIC").⁵⁰⁰ They also lent their premises to a newly formed society, as reported by the *Gazette*:⁵⁰¹

As we were passing the shop of Messrs. Reid, Smith, and M'Crohan (late Mr. A. Ellard's), on the night of Tuesday last, between the hours of 9 and 10 o'clock, we had the pleasure of hearing several airs played by a very full and efficient orchestra. On enquiry, we were informed that it was the rehearsal night of a new musical society, called the "Dilletanti Society". We heard in particular one set of Mozart's celebrated waltzes played in a style we have never heard surpassed in this colony. Dr. Reid, we are informed, is the leader; we have to congratulate him and the other members of the society on the success they are certain to meet with in the cultivation of this most pleasing accomplishment. We understand that this society is entirely composed of amateurs, no professional person being admitted as a member. We wish them every success. Such societies are the surest indications of the rising prosperity of the arts and sciences in New South Wales.

Duncan's final word on Reid appeared around the same time: "Laying claim to some judgment in musical matters, we have no hesitation in asserting that as a Composer and Teacher, he has no equal in these Colonies".⁵⁰²

By 31 January, one of Reid's partners, Smith, had left the business,⁵⁰³ and at the same time was unanimously expelled from the "Dilletanti", of which he had been secretary.⁵⁰⁴ Then, on 23 February, Reid advertised that he and McCrohan had transferred their business

⁴⁹⁹ "MUSIC", *The Colonist* (18 January 1840), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31724423>.

⁵⁰⁰ [Advertisement]: "To the Gentry and Public of New South Wales", *The Sydney Monitor* (17 January 1840), 1s: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article32166937>.

⁵⁰¹ "DILLETANTI SOCIETY", *The Sydney Gazette* (23 January 1840), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2540491>; also reprinted, "DILLETANTI SOCIETY", *Australasian Chronicle* (24 January 1840), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31727383>; see *Mozart's Three Favorite Waltzes arranged for the Piano-forte* (Sydney: F. Ellard); copy at SL-NSW; Permalink: [http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/record=b2406418~\\$2](http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/record=b2406418~$2).

⁵⁰² "Music", *Australasian Chronicle* (17 January 1840), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31727325>.

⁵⁰³ [Advertisement]: "Notice", *The Sydney Monitor* (31 January 1840), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article32167094>; on the same page Smith announced the dissolution of another of his business ventures with the cabinetmaker, Watson.

⁵⁰⁴ [Advertisement], "DILLETANTI SOCIETY", *Australasian Chronicle* (31 January 1840), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31727423>.

back to Andrew Ellard, presumably having failed to pay him for its purchase.⁵⁰⁵ The last repeat of this advertisement was placed at the end of the month, and thereafter Reid seems, simply, to have disappeared from view.⁵⁰⁶ Thomas Leggatt, meanwhile, was reportedly about to take over as music director of the combined Cecilian and Dilletanti Societies.⁵⁰⁷

Exactly what happened to Reid, and why, remains unclear, though there was one, possibly two, later references to him, both in the *Gazette*. On 3 July 1841, a correspondent warning Isaac Nathan against “over-puffing”, reminded readers of “the laughter and contempt” that had befallen “*a certain Doctor* professing a crusade against the ignorance of the day, and ending only in the most glaring display of his own”.⁵⁰⁸ And a letter on 31 July, also on the subject of Nathan, replied to a certain editor (presumably Duncan):⁵⁰⁹

You, Sir, accuse me of falsehood, in quoting your own words, “Reid’s fifth, &c.” In proof of my assertion, I refer you to the *Chronicle* of 1839, when Dr. Reid was the object of your adulation.

Some new light has only very recently been shed on Reid’s identity and earlier career by the Scottish music researcher Shelagh Noden.⁵¹⁰ Noden discovered a manuscript bass part for various hymns and motets, at St. Peter’s, Buckie, including a setting of *Adeste Fidelis* attributed to Dr. J. Reid. Later, she found a full score of the same piece in the Scottish Catholic Archive, for four-part choir, organ and strings.⁵¹¹ The archive also has several letters from a Dr. James Reid, an Aberdeen surgeon and musical amateur, obviously our Dr. Reid. In a letter dated 28 March 1835, Reid also referred to the musical compositions of his “late lamented uncle”; he hoped to get them published and make some money thereby: “Since I have had the labour [of preparing them for publication] I would wish to have some of the profit”.⁵¹² Other compositions by Reid survive in possibly later copies, including the “Grand Anthem” *Great and Good*, sung at the dedication of St. Mary’s Church (later cathedral) Aberdeen, in 1860.

A letter of 1835 reveals that Reid was moving to Glasgow to take up an organist’s post, and also find medical employment there (“I am fully aware the blow that my moving from

⁵⁰⁵ [Advertisement]: “Notice”, *The Sydney Herald* (19 February 1840), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28653955>.

⁵⁰⁶ One of his sisters, Catherine, meanwhile, had married William J. Howard Bower, at St. Mary’s, “MARRIED”, *The Sydney Herald* (17 February 1840), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28653944>.

⁵⁰⁷ “MUSICAL WORLD”, *Australasian Chronicle* (25 February 1840), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31727675>.

⁵⁰⁸ “ORATORIO [From a Correspondent]”, *The Sydney Gazette* (3 July 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2553780>.

⁵⁰⁹ “St. Mary’s Organ: Oh! save me from my friends. To the Editor”, *The Sydney Gazette* (31 July 1841), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2554030>.

⁵¹⁰ Shelagh Noden, “Musical Memories of the North East”, *Light of the North: A Quarterly Magazine* [Catholic] Diocese of Aberdeen] 15 (August 2010), 25-26.

⁵¹¹ Scottish Catholic Archives, CH/SCA/LS/11/13; and CH/SCA/LS/11/11.

⁵¹² SCA/ BL/6/119/1; BL/6/178/4.

Aberdeen choir will inflict on the music”).⁵¹³ But in Glasgow, he found that Protestants would not employ a Catholic doctor: “In Glasgow I have laboured a good deal, both in the medical profession and as director of the Choir [...] I succeeded in raising a splendid orchestra and in giving four Oratorios”.⁵¹⁴ He then announced that he planned to emigrate to Australia, where he hoped to set up a “musical warehouse and Academy” in New South Wales.⁵¹⁵ It remains to be asked, then, were some of our Reid’s compositions in fact works by his uncle? And could the discovery of this have been the occasion of his embarrassment and sudden disappearance?⁵¹⁶

[2.11] *Joseph Gautrot*

Far more auspiciously, the year 1839 also saw the advent of Monsieur Gautrot. A year after that other fiddler, Vincent Wallace’s, pre-emptive departure, the French violinist and composer **Joseph Gautrot (France 1775-1854) {1839-54}** came to Sydney.⁵¹⁷ He arrived early in March 1839 with a French Operatic Company performing recent French vaudevilles (by Zetis, Mellesville, Desaugiers, and Nicolo).⁵¹⁸ The company, which had previously been based in Batavia for several years, opened at the Royal Victoria on 5 March,⁵¹⁹ with Gautrot’s wife as lead soprano, and four other singers.⁵²⁰ Gautrot led the local orchestra, and—though a local wit wondered, probably correctly, “Pray, what do our musicians know about French

⁵¹³ BL/6/119/3.

⁵¹⁴ BL/6/217/12.

⁵¹⁵ Interestingly, Noden also found in a letter from the mother of the future Rev. John Reid (BL/6/217/8), dated 1 August 1838, the information: “James and the girls are not away yet”.

⁵¹⁶ The evidence on his possible whereabouts after February 1840 is conflicting; on the one hand, a J. Reid departed for New Zealand in March, see “DEPARTURES”, *The Sydney Gazette* (14 March 1840), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2549762>; on the other, in May a James Reid subscribed £1-0-0 to a fund to establish a Catholic school in Campbelltown, “CATHOLIC SCHOOL, CAMPBELLTOWN”, *Australasian Chronicle* (26 May 1840), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31728346>; moreover, a James Reid was later among Isaac Nathan’s creditors, see “INSOLVENCY PROCEEDINGS”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (20 March 1844), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12418124>; and to add to the confusion, a “J. Reid, chemist and druggist [...] recently arrived in this Colony” went into business in Sydney in April 1840; [Advertisement], “MR. H. DAY”, *The Sydney Gazette* (14 April 1840), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2551057>.

⁵¹⁷ The forename reported in both his insolvency proceedings and obituary was “Joseph”, not “Henri” as in some other contemporary (and most recent) sources, or “John” as in one; however, most previous secondary literature gives his name as Henri; for instance Gyger, 30; he may have been the composer of Franconi junior’s, *Caïn, ou Le Premier crime, pantomime en trois actes, imitée du poëme de Gesner* (Paris: Fages, 1817), premiered at the Cirque Olympique, Paris, 26 June 1817 with music by “M. Gautrot”; also the “M. Gautrot” listed in the Paris *Almanach des 25,000 adresses* (1816), 280, as “chef d’orch.”; *chef d’orchestre* at the Grand Théâtre de Gand in 1830, *Almanach des Spectacles* 9 (Paris: Barba, 1830), 338: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=ls8BAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA338&#v=onepage&q&f=false>; and likewise at the Théâtre de Genève in *Almanach de Spectacles* (1831), 251; he signed a letter to the press in Sydney in 1839 “J. Gautrot, Pere”, see “To the Editor”, *The Australian* (20 August 1839), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36859865>, and W. A. Duncan also refers to him as “Pere” in the *Australasian Chronicle*.

⁵¹⁸ On the Gautrots in Batavia, see Victor Ido [pseud.], *Indie in den Gouden Ouden Tijd: radio-voordrachten voor de Nirom gehouden door Victor Ido* (Bandoeng: N.V. v/h Nic & Co., 1949); Franki R. Notosudirdjo, *Music, Politics, and the Problems of National Identity in Indonesia*, 56, names Minard as head of an opera troupe that first came to Batavia in 1836; Minard was also in Australia with Gautrot in 1839; see also F. de Haan, *Oud Batavia: gedenkboek uitgegeven ter gelegenheid van het dire honderdjarig bestaan de staad in 1919* (Batavia: G. Kolff, 1919 & 1922-23), 442.

⁵¹⁹ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Gazette* (14 March 1839), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2543492>.

⁵²⁰ Hall, *The Canon* 5/10 (May 1952), 456-60.

music?”—the combined effort of visitors and locals drew “a good house together [...] owing in great measure to the novelty of the proceedings”.⁵²¹ Between the two halves of their first night program, Gautrot promised to “execute, on a discordant violin”, a **Barcarole with variations**, “composed by himself, in the style of Paganini.”⁵²² A fortnight after the company’s last night (12 April),⁵²³ the Gautrots presented a concert with local amateurs and professionals, including the Wallaces, William Stanley, and the band of the 50th regiment,⁵²⁴ in the presence of the Governor. According to *The Monitor*:⁵²⁵

Madame’s voice is too loud for a room. At the Opera house she might excel Miss W[allace] [...] Mons. Gautrot’s violin is of the finest. This gentleman may not excel Mr. Wallace (the absent Mr. W. we mean) in execution, but he excels him in a much superior thing to mere execution, and that is soul. In his *Air varié*, Mons. Gautrot, being himself inspired, inspired his hearers. Mr. Wallace was never inspired in his life, and cannot be. He therefore never inspired his hearers. He was an imitator of Paganini, but he could imitate that necromancer only in his manipular skill. He could not imitate him in his inspiration and frenzy, because he has no capacity for exquisite feelings.

The Gautrots then left for Hobart on 7 May,⁵²⁶ arriving on 16 May,⁵²⁷ and a week later announced a concert there.⁵²⁸ It was held on 28 May, with Joseph Reichenberg as clarinet soloist, with the band of the 51st Regiment, in the presence of the governor.⁵²⁹ Gautrot introduced two of his own compositions, Mozart’s *O Dolce Contento* “with variations, composed by Mons. Gautrot”, sung by his wife, and another set of **Variations on the Violin**.⁵³⁰ A slight to local manners (whereby the Governor was forced to relinquish his seats to some young ladies who had inadvertently taken them) occupied the first half of the notice

⁵²¹ “DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE: FRENCH MUSIC [...] THE FRENCH PERFORMERS”, *The Sydney Gazette* (19 March 1839), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2537815>.

⁵²² “ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE”, *The Sydney Herald* (5 April 1839), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12857931>.

⁵²³ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Herald* (12 April 1839), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12863218>,

⁵²⁴ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Gazette* (25 April 1839), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2547830>.

⁵²⁵ Reprinted in “The Concert”, *The Sydney Gazette* (30 April 1839), 2:

<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2539861>.

⁵²⁶ “DEPARTURES”, *The Sydney Herald* (8 May 1839), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12864501>

⁵²⁷ “SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE”, *The Hobart Town Courier* (17 May 1839), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4158566>.

⁵²⁸ [News], *The Hobart Town Courier* (24 May 1839), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4158500>; Tasmania, State Archives, Gautrot, per *Marian Watson*, ex Sydney, arr. Hobart 17 May 1839; Tasmania, State Archives, MB2/39/1/4, 279.

⁵²⁹ This despite the fact that Jane Franklin had written to her husband from Sydney: “I suppose the French musicians are at Hobarton. Sir George [Gipps] told me they were horrible. They contrived to get up one concert at Sydney, but their attempt was a total failure, as well as their French plays ...”; Jane Franklin, letter to John Franklin, 15 June 1839, in Penny Russell, *The Errant Lady: Jane Franklin’s Overland Journey to Port Phillip and Sydney, 1839* (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 2002), 244, note 224: <http://www.nla.gov.au/pub/ebooks/pdf/This%20Errant%20Lady.pdf>.

⁵³⁰ [Advertisement], *The Hobart Town Courier* (24 May 1839), 3:

<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4158477>; [Advertisement], *Colonial Times* (28 May 1839), 8:

<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8749724>.

in the *Courier*, whereafter it did “revert with more satisfaction” to the Gautrots’ performances, Madame’s in particular, which they hoped:⁵³¹

[...] to see repeated before her departure from this colony, as they remind us that we are not altogether excluded from the excellencies of the old world.

The Gautrots stayed on in Tasmania, giving concerts in Campbell Town and Launceston in July,⁵³² while the gubernatorial faux-pas on their debut continued to rankle with some. When a full year later the governor failed to attend a concert given by the stalwart Anne Clarke, the *Colonial Times* wrote:⁵³³

[...] but we cannot forbear an observation to the following effect: Sir John and (if we mistake not) Lady Franklin patronized a Concert, given by a brace of French Birds of Passage—“Monsieur et Madame Gautrot”, by name. Was it too much beneath the dignity of His Excellency to patronize Mrs. Clarke and her family [...]?

The couple arrived back in Sydney on 4 August,⁵³⁴ where Gautrot advertised his intention of “establishing himself as a Professor of Music”.⁵³⁵ On 11 September, they appeared along with the Deanes, Sippe, and Stanley, for the recently married Mrs. Bushelle (“late Miss Wallace”) at her concert,⁵³⁶ and on 20 September for the pianist Miss Fernandez’s concert.⁵³⁷ They gave their own second Sydney concert on 13 November, including another violin solo, advertised variously as ***Australiana, a Pastorale***,⁵³⁸ and ***Australia, a Pastoral***, “composed by Mons. Gautrot for the Ladies of the Colony”.⁵³⁹ According to W. A. Duncan in the *Australasian Chronicle*, Gautrot’s first violin solo, an air with variations:⁵⁴⁰

[...] was good and performed with great taste and purity of tone. We cannot say that it is *very* original, having anticipated every bar before we heard it; but, as we have said, it was good. The solo *Australia* was also well performed and much more original; but *que diable*, Monsieur, what do you mean by calling this a *pastoral*?—you might as well call it an opera or a mottet!

Unfortunately, Gautrot’s patriotic gesture went unnoticed by the *Herald*, which merely praised his playing, again noting that—unlike Wallace’s—there was “no mountebankism”

⁵³¹ “THE CONCERT”, *The Hobart Town Courier* (31 May 1839), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4158367>.

⁵³² “THIS MORNING’S POST”, *The Hobart Town Courier* (12 July 1839), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8747264>.

⁵³³ “THE CONCERT”, *Colonial Times* (16 June 1840), 6: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8750814>.

⁵³⁴ “SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE: ARRIVALS”, *The Sydney Herald* (5 August 1839), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12864598>.

⁵³⁵ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Gazette* (27 August 1839), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2547132>.

⁵³⁶ “MRS. BUSHELLE’S CONCERT”, *The Sydney Herald* (13 September 1839), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12859063>.

⁵³⁷ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Herald* (20 September 1839), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12857409>.

⁵³⁸ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Herald* (13 November 1839), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12857239>.

⁵³⁹ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Gazette* (9 November 1839), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2550699>.

⁵⁴⁰ “M. GAUTROT’S CONCERT”, *Australasian Chronicle* (15 November 1839), 1s: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31726856>.

about it.⁵⁴¹ The *Herald* feared, however, that the Gautrots “will not realize much by their concert”.

They took none of the risk on their next appearance—along with the Deanes and Wallaces, Sippe, Leggatt, Worgan, and “all the theatrical band”—in another Eliza Bushelle concert on 18 December, which opened (an Australian first) with a “Symphony ... Beethoven ... Full Orchestra”. Madame sang Arne’s **The soldier tir’d** “with new orchestral accompaniments by Mons. Gautrot”,⁵⁴² and Monsieur probably also composed the **Fantasia on the airs from *La vestale*** “executed on the Violin by Mons. Gautrot”.⁵⁴³ By the evening of the 52nd colonial anniversary night at the theatre, 27 January 1840 (the theatre having been closed the day before, Sunday), the Gautrots almost counted as locals:⁵⁴⁴

Madame Gautrot will (positively for this night only) sing *Rule Britannia*, assisted by the whole strength of the company.

The Gautrots appear to have got on with everybody. For Mrs. Clancy’s concert on 3 March 1840 (again with all the Sydney regulars participating), Madame G. introduced to Sydney, the “**Song, Success** (words by Linsburg—Music by Mons. Gautrot)”.⁵⁴⁵ In July they appeared for the Cecilian Society, and for Wellington Wallace’s theatrical benefit in October. At Deane’s concert, on 8 July, Madame sang a “**Song *Le rendezvous*** [...] composed by Mons. Gautrot”. But the real historical interest of this program was a second Gautrot work, possibly the first serious piece of string chamber music especially composed by an Australian resident (and if not newly composed, then certainly revived to make use of local talent), a:⁵⁴⁶

Quintett: Composed by Mons. Gautrot, for two Tenors, two Violoncellos, and one Double Bass. 1st Tenor, Mons. Gautrot; 2nd, Mr. Deane; Violoncellos, Mr. Curtis, and Mr. E. Deane; Double Bass, Mr. Parbury.

Thereafter, the Gautrots appear to have had enough of Sydney,⁵⁴⁷ and moved on to Melbourne,⁵⁴⁸ where in December the *Port Phillip Gazette* noted:

Thursday evening has been fixed for the first appearance before a Melbourne audience of Monsieur and Madame Gautrot; and the novelty of a concert in this town, together with the fame of the talents of both artists [...] will no doubt prove

⁵⁴¹ “MONSIEUR GAUTROT’S CONCERT”, *The Sydney Herald* (18 November 1839), 2:

<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12857551>: “With Monsieur Gautrot’s violin playing the public are now pretty familiar. He is the most chaste player we have ever heard in the Colony. His must, indeed, be a nice ear which can detect a false note in Monsieur Gautrot’s stopping [...]”.

⁵⁴² For an English edition of Arne’s original song, see: <https://jscholarship.library.jhu.edu/handle/1774.2/7149>.

⁵⁴³ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Gazette* (14 December 1839), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2549780>.

⁵⁴⁴ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Herald* (27 January 1840), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12861047>.

⁵⁴⁵ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Herald* (2 March 1840), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12864130>.

⁵⁴⁶ [Advertisement], “Royal Victoria Theatre: Grand Concert”, *The Sydney Herald* (6 July 1840), 6: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12864988>.

⁵⁴⁷ “CONCERT”, *The Sydney Gazette* (29 October 1840), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2548214>; also “CONCERT”, *The Sydney Herald* (30 October 1840), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12866267>.

⁵⁴⁸ “Departures”, *The Sydney Herald* (2 December 1840), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12866822>.

an attraction to the public, compensatory to the performer, and gratifying to the auditory.

Later counted as the first public concert in Melbourne,⁵⁴⁹ it was evidently so only as a result of a previous attempt at presenting an amateur program to raise funds for a new Church having been denied a government license. Thus, as in Hobart, the Gautrots' Melbourne debut was (like that in Hobart) subject of dispute, as the *Port Phillip Herald* explained:⁵⁵⁰

His Honor Mr. La Trobe versus the Church.— In our publication of the 17th ult. [November], we had occasion to make some strictures upon His Honor's refusal to countenance the proposed amateur concert in aid of the funds for the completion of the Episcopalian Church. Since that date Madame and Monsieur Gautrot, professors of music, have arrived from Sydney, and intend giving a public concert, which, as announced by advertisements in the *Patriot* and *Gazette*, is to be "under the patronage of His Honor Mr. La Trobe." Leaving entirely out of the case the charge of inconsistency [...] we must say that His Honor has not acted with much delicacy, in first endeavouring to damp the ardour of a number of our fellow townsmen, whose object was the promotion of the interests of a public and religious body, and, in the second place, to lend his support to the very same means for enriching private individuals—strangers, and un-known amongst us. Of the attractive influence of the novelty of a public concert in a small community like ours, His Honor cannot be ignorant, and, therefore, must be fully convinced that he has acted unjustly towards the Episcopalian cause by refusing his patronage to a similar entertainment to be held first for its benefit [...].

Nevertheless, the reviewer in the *Port Phillip Gazette* found himself unexpectedly impressed at the success of the "undertaking", in which the couple made up for appearing without the support of local amateurs with Madame's strategic closing bid for local sympathy:⁵⁵¹

Monsieur and Madame Gautrot held the first of a series of Concerts on Thursday evening last. The whole performance resting upon themselves was an undertaking which predisposed the public opinion to conclude that the entertainment would prove heavy and monotonous, but as the programme proceeded, the auditors were agreeably relieved from any sensation of tedium or ennui [...] There were four solo performances on the violin, and the same number of songs, allotted respectively to Monsieur and Madame Gautrot, and to say that they were admirably executed is the only remark we need make to sustain the reputation already so justly acquired by both parties throughout these colonies. Towards the conclusion Madame Gautrot complimented the company voluntarily, with the air of *Rule Britannia*, in the chorus of which the audience seemed strongly disposed to unite, but they sacrificed their patriotic to their politer feeling, and suppressed in half smothered tones the exciting national strain.

⁵⁴⁹ "The First Professional Concert", in "Garryowen", *The Chronicles of Early Melbourne, 1835 to 1852* (Melbourne: Fergusson and Mitchell, 1888), volume 1, 488.

⁵⁵⁰ "PORT PHILLIP" [from *The Port Phillip Gazette*], *The Sydney Gazette* (29 December 1840), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2545226>; see also review, "PORT PHILLIP EXTRACTS: CONCERT", *The Sydney Herald* (4 January 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12867281>.

⁵⁵¹ Reprinted in "CONCERT", *The Sydney Gazette* (5 January 1841), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2552220/694320>.

Thereafter, Gautrot made a further effort to charm the locals at a concert on 12 April 1841, with an especially composed (or, at least, retitled) orchestral work, **Overture a la Melbourne**, the earliest overture on Australian record, just predating Nathan's "new overture" composed for Sydney in June.⁵⁵²

According to Melbourne chronicler, "Garryowen", the Gautrots "took up residence in a brick cottage in Little Collins Street",⁵⁵³ and Joseph was listed as a professor of music in Collins Street in the 1841 *Almanac*.⁵⁵⁴ When Isaac Nathan passed through Melbourne, they appeared in his concerts, and also returned briefly to Sydney to appear for Nathan there in September 1841.⁵⁵⁵ But, as eventually revealed in the Hobart press in 1845, the couple's Melbourne stay would end on an unfortunate note:⁵⁵⁶

We may here mention the fact, not generally known, that about four years ago Mons. Gautrot had been enabled to make arrangements to return to Europe, and that just when preparing to join the vessel at Melbourne in which he had taken his passage, he was heartlessly robbed of his desk containing the earnings of years of laborious industry. Not only were his plans thus cruelly frustrated, but he was thrown back, at an advanced age, on the precarious resources of professional skill and the liberality of the public.

To add to this misfortune, the Gautrots made the mistake of moving back to Sydney, which was then sinking into depression. There, they appeared for circus proprietor and strong-man, Signor Luigi Dalle Case's "opera" at his soon-to-fold Australian Olympic Theatre. In March 1842 Gautrot performed a violin solo, an **Air varié**,⁵⁵⁷ and in April Nathan advertised that at his forthcoming concert at Sydney College, "A new SOLO will be performed on the violin, by that great musician and excellent theorist, MONSIEUR GAUTROT";⁵⁵⁸ though while the first may have been his own composition, the second turned out to be Kreutzer's variations on *Nel cor piu non mi sento*. Gautrot also played a violin solo for Stephen Marsh's concert that month.

This was followed by several months of what, in the sinking colonial economy, must be counted as musical speculation. In May, the Gautrots and the Bushelles formed their own unpromisingly named "Foreign Operatic Company", to give a short winter season at the old

⁵⁵² John West, *Theatre in Australia*, 22; Katherine Brisbane, *Entertaining Australia*, 36.

⁵⁵³ "Garryowen", *The Chronicles of Early Melbourne*, 488.

⁵⁵⁴ Also in the 1841 Census: GAUTROT Henri; Township Melbourne; County Bourke; District Port Phillip [X949]1312222.

⁵⁵⁵ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Herald* (20 September 1841), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12871229>.

⁵⁵⁶ "LOCAL: MONS GAUTROT'S CONCERT", *The Courier* (5 July 1845), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2948041>; in fact, something of this had previously been revealed, see [News], *Colonial Times* [Hobart] (17 August 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8751971>: "Burglaries are rather prevalent at Melbourne, several gentlemen have lately suffered by the prowling gentry; Messrs. Gautrot and Cameron are amongst the number".

⁵⁵⁷ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Herald* (2 March 1842), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12873969>.

⁵⁵⁸ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Herald* (29 April 1842), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12874903>.

Royal Hotel.⁵⁵⁹ Then, in July, Gautrot and the dancing master Charrierre presented a ball, at which:⁵⁶⁰

MONSIEUR GAUTROT, at the head of a numerous and effective Orchestra, will execute splendid Quadrilles, never before performed in public in Sydney.

Their own concert on 17 August notably included two more chamber works by Gautrot, again performed with the assistance of the Deanes:⁵⁶¹

Russian Air with variations, a Sestett for Piano-forte, two Violins, two flutes, Violoncello, and Double Bass, composed by Mons. Gautrot.

Septett for Pianoforte, two Violins, two Flutes, Violoncello, and Double Bass, composed by Mons. Gautrot.

According to W. A. Duncan, in the *Australasian Chronicle* the following day: “Among the principal performances [was] a beautiful instrumental septett, composed, we believe, for the occasion by M. Gautrot”.⁵⁶² Also on the program was an unattributed *Grand Quartet Concertante* (possibly by Moschelles) in which Stephen Marsh played the piano, and Gautrot and two Deanes the string parts.

All this entrepreneurial activity was evidently too much to sustain financially, however, and on 24 October, the *Herald* reported:⁵⁶³

NEW INSOLVENTS. The following persons filed their schedules on Saturday last: Joseph Gautrot, of Castlereagh-street, Sydney, musician [...]

When his case was duly heard before the commissioner, John Bushelle was among the creditors in attendance (owed £14), and it was ruled, bleakly:⁵⁶⁴

In the estate of Joseph Gautrot [...] the meeting allowed the insolvent his wearing apparel and a violin.

On 8 March, “the friends of Monsieur Gautrot” duly convened to present a concert in his benefit, the proceeds “to be appropriated towards the payment of Monsieur and Madame’s passage to Valparaiso”.⁵⁶⁵ As the *Herald* explained:⁵⁶⁶

⁵⁵⁹ “THE ROYAL HOTEL”, *The Sydney Gazette* (3 May 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2556402>.

⁵⁶⁰ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Gazette* (9 July 1842) 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2556949>.

⁵⁶¹ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Gazette* (16 August 1842), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2557136>.

⁵⁶² “M. GAUTROT’S CONCERT”, *Australasian Chronicle* (18 August 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31736909>.

⁵⁶³ “NEW INSOLVENTS”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (24 October 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12420455>; also “MEETINGS OF CREDITORS”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (2 November 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12418383>, where his name is given as “John Gautrot”.

⁵⁶⁴ “INSOLVENCY PROCEEDINGS”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (3 November 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12422619>.

⁵⁶⁵ “CONCERT”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (28 February 1843), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12416456>.

⁵⁶⁶ “PHILANTHROPIC CONCERT”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (7 March 1843), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12421772>.

The concert for the benefit of Monsieur and Madame Gautrot will take place at the Royal Hotel to-morrow evening. The performances are of themselves attractive, but it is the object to which the funds are to be appropriated that induces us to draw the attention of the public to this concert. The Gautrots are first-rate artistes, and have always borne a high character; but partly from their inability to speak English, and partly from the great depression of the times, they have been unfortunate since their arrival here, and a few philanthropic individuals have resolved upon getting up this concert for the purpose of providing funds to enable them to leave the colony and proceed to some place where their talents are likely to be made more available than they have been here.

Nevertheless, the Gautrots did not quite yet quit Australia; he was still in Sydney playing in the orchestra of the Royal City Theatre in May and June, and when they did finally sail out of Sydney, on 30 September (Isaac Nathan later sent a letter to the press expressing his “regret that so talented a man should have been forced from this colony for want of patronage”),⁵⁶⁷ it was not for Valparaiso, but Hobart again,⁵⁶⁸ and the Victoria Theatre:⁵⁶⁹

VICTORIA THEATRE: Mr. Clarke has returned from his excursion to Sydney, by the *Waterlily*, bringing with him an accession to the musical ability of the Colony, viz. Monsieur and Madame Gautrot [...].

Frank Howson was in the cast when Gautrot led the orchestra there during the opening performance, on 30 October, of:⁵⁷⁰

[...] the celebrated Historical Play of *William Tell* [...] To be followed by the **CHINESE QUADRILLES**, just arrived, arranged by Monsieur Gautrot.

These must have been Hart’s *Chinese Quadrilles*, not only just arrived, but only recently published in London the previous year. And between the two plays that opened on 20 December, Gautrot inserted what was billed as a “Musical Olio”, a small concert, to be introduced by an **Overture**, “composed expressly for this Theatre [...] with variations for all the instruments”.⁵⁷¹

In February, however, they renewed their attempt to leave Australia:⁵⁷²

On Tuesday next Monsieur and Madame Gautrot, assisted by Mr. John Howson and a lady amateur, give a concert [...] which will commend itself to the heart of the

⁵⁶⁷ [Letter to the editor]: “CINDERELLA”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (12 February 1844), 2s: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12412733>.

⁵⁶⁸ “SHIP NEWS”, *Colonial Times* (10 October 1843), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8754080>.

⁵⁶⁹ “VICTORIA THEATRE”, *Colonial Times* (10 October 1843), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8754083>.

⁵⁷⁰ [Advertisement], *The Courier* (27 October 1843), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2951958>; a later advertisement has “just imported”, in place of “just arrived”; “Hart’s Celebrated *Chinese Quadrilles*”, see [Advertisement], “A Piece of China”, *The Musical World* 17 (1842), 395:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=4vgsAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA395#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

⁵⁷¹ [Advertisement], *Colonial Times* (19 December 1843), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8754328>.

⁵⁷² “CONCERT”, *The Courier* (2 February 1844), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2951475>.

benevolent, that the principals give it to assist in reaching their own country, for which this talented musician and his wife intend immediately to embark. We wish them that which their talents deserve—the the best of success.

Their program, on 6 February, included compositions by both instrumentalists:⁵⁷³

1. Set of favourite Waltzes, composed and executed by Mr. J. Howson [...]
4. **Air, with Variations for the Violin on ONE STRING**, composed and performed by M. Gautrot.—Pianoforte Accompaniment Mr. J. Howson.

Probably with some assistance from his organist Joseph Reichenberg, John Therry, priest at St. Joseph's Church, then organised an "Oratorio" for the Gautrots' benefit, on 13 March, in consideration of the fact that:⁵⁷⁴

Monsieur Gautrot has been lately labouring under severe indisposition, and is in very reduced circumstances. The object of this relief is to enable Monsieur and Madame Gautrot to return to their native country.

Though the program included no new Gautrot compositions, he shortly afterward returned Therry's gesture in kind:⁵⁷⁵

THE FESTIVAL of ST. JOSEPH will be celebrated THIS DAY, the 19th instant, in this church, by a solemn Mass [...] Evening Service at seven o'clock. A new Hymn will be sung (for the first time), at the latter, by Madame Gautrot, which, with its musical arrangement by Monsieur Gautrot, is, in the course of a few days, to be lithographed, and afterwards sold for their benefit.

Gautrot's **Josephian Hymn**⁵⁷⁶ did get into print, and a copy survives (his only known work to do so) to flesh out the description in the advertisement and short review it received in *The Courier*:⁵⁷⁷

JOSEPHIAN HYMN (on Prayer and Divine Love); Words by the Rev. J. J. Therry. Music arranged by Monsieur Gautrot, and respectfully inscribed to the most Rev. Count Polding, Archbishop of Sydney and Metropolitan of Australia. Festival of St. Joseph, 1841 [...].

SACRED MUSIC. We have been favoured with a copy of a new piece of sacred music which has just been published, entitled *The Josephian Hymn* [...] the music being arranged by Monsieur Gautrot, for whose benefit we are informed the proceeds of the sale will be devoted.

In Sydney, W. A. Duncan also advertised the hymn for sale at the *Register* office.⁵⁷⁸

⁵⁷³ [Advertisement], *Colonial Times* (6 February 1844), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8754507>; the waltzes were probably from have been from Howson's two sets of *Tasmanian Waltzes*.

⁵⁷⁴ [Advertisement], *Colonial Times* (8 March 1844), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2951353>.

⁵⁷⁵ [Advertisement], *Colonial Times* (19 March 1844), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8754696>.

⁵⁷⁶ Copy at Sydney, Veech Library, NLA Trove record: <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/31195622>.

⁵⁷⁷ [Advertisement], *The Courier* (5 April 1844), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2951233>; "SACRED MUSIC", *The Courier* (5 April 1844), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2951222>.

Yet again, the Gautrots lingered in Hobart, to appear for Deane in both his concerts during his return to the colony in April. As a result of the second, another “oratorio” to have been held the same night was cancelled, and along with it advertised repeat performances of Gautrot’s *Josephian Hymn*, and the *Quintette—Composed by Mons. Gautrot—2 tenors [violas], 2 violoncellos, 1 bass*.⁵⁷⁹ They were still in town in October, when the *Quintet* finally got a local hearing in an oratorio presented by the Hobart Town Choral Society in October:⁵⁸⁰

The instrumental department was the most efficiently managed, especially the opening overture, and Monsieur Gautrot’s exquisite quintette, the composer himself conducting.

This was followed by the Gautrots’ own benefit in November, over which *The Courier* editorialised:⁵⁸¹

On Thursday evening next, at the Mechanics’ Institute, a Concert will be held, at which the whole of the chief professional talent in this place will lend their aid. It will be for the benefit of Madame and Monsieur Gautrot [...] whose peculiar situation as foreigners in a strange land have drawn the sympathy of the largest and most respectable portion of the public. We understand that His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, the Lord Bishop, the Chief Justice, and others have already taken tickets [...].

The advertised program included possibly as many as three original works, the first on Paer (or Paisiello’s) aria *Nel cor non piu mi sento, with variations*, “composed by Mons. Gautrot for Mad. Gautrot”, evidently inspired by the Kreutzer violin variations he had played earlier in Sydney;⁵⁸² and another “**Solo-Violin-Air and Variations** composed expressly for this occasion, by Mons. Gautrot”. Perhaps with the Gautrots’ plight in mind, a young local composer G. F. Duly also contributed an original ballad *What care I, tho’ fortune frowns*, and Madame Gautrot herself no doubt pulled the collective heartstrings of the audience with her final aria, *The Soldier Tir’d*.⁵⁸³

But still they lingered, appearing in further “oratorios”,⁵⁸⁴ and “Mons” spending most of 1845 gainfully employed as joint leader of the theatre orchestra with the Howsons. At John Howson’s benefit in March, there was another set of Gautrot violin variations:⁵⁸⁵

⁵⁷⁸ [Advertisement], *The Weekly Register* 2/41 (4 May 1844), 574:

<http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18440504/00020041/9-12.pdf>.

⁵⁷⁹ [Advertisement], *The Courier* (10 May 1844) 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2951088>; cancellation, [Advertisement], *Colonial Times* (14 May 1844), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8754873>.

⁵⁸⁰ “ORATORIO”, *Colonial Times* (19 October 1844), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8755483>.

⁵⁸¹ “GRAND CONCERT”, *The Courier* (19 November 1844), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2950245>.

⁵⁸² [Advertisement], *Colonial Times* (16 November 1844), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8755645>.

⁵⁸³ [Advertisement], *Colonial Times* (16 November 1844), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8755645>.

⁵⁸⁴ “LOCAL: THE CHORAL SOCIETY”, *The Courier* (23 January 1845), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2949830>.

⁵⁸⁵ “MR. J. HOWSON’S CONCERT”, *Colonial Times* (11 March 1845), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8756325>.

[...] decidedly the most remarkable performance of the evening was Mons. Gautrot's violin **solo, on one string, Air—Rendez moi ma Patrie**. The clear, flute-like tones which Mons. drew forth from the instrument, or rather from but a fourth part of it, created alike astonishment and pleasure. He is decidedly the most accomplished violinist we ever heard out[side] of England.

This work was followed, in a musical interlude between the acts at the theatre on 28 May, by a **Grand New Air with Variations for the Violin**" by Gautrot,⁵⁸⁶ repeated in yet another Gautrot concert on 13 June, along with the new **Le plaisir des Dames—Variations on one string**, dedicated to the Ladies, and composed for this occasion, by Monsieur Gautrot".⁵⁸⁷ It was a special event, as the *Courier* intimated:⁵⁸⁸

We have no need to draw the "long bow" in praise of the veteran performer, whose merits as a violinist have hitherto been perhaps better known than remunerated. We trust the kindness, if not the taste of the public may induce them to make the celebration of Mons. Gautrot's birthday (his 70th) Concert, as profitable to him as we have no doubt the performances would be pleasing to themselves.

And in review, the *Courier* duly congratulated Hobart on its charity:⁵⁸⁹

We rejoice, therefore, to know that the just appreciation of his artistical talent and moral worth in Van Diemen's Land secured him on Tuesday evening an amount of pecuniary compensation that will help to cheer, for a brief season at least, the evening of his days.

In July, Gautrot led the orchestra in a Haydn symphony, while Reichenberg conducted from the piano, at the opening of "the Jews' Synagogue", and played at Charles Packer's local debut in August.

In Hobart, more so even than in Sydney (where the *Herald* merely noted that, "latterly residing in Hobart" they were "about to return to France"),⁵⁹⁰ the Gautrots were clearly much loved, and news of yet another benefit "farewell" scheduled for 9 December, was again received with proprietorial support:⁵⁹¹

We perceive that Mons. Gautrot, the veteran violinist of the colony, has advertised a concert [...] Sickness, with other calamities, has fallen hardly upon our old friend; and the public have it in their hands to make him some compensation—we

⁵⁸⁶ [Advertisement] "Royal Victoria Theatre", *Colonial Times* (27 May 1845), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8756853>.

⁵⁸⁷ [Advertisement], *Colonial Times* (17 June 1845), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2948206>.

⁵⁸⁸ "GAUTROT'S CONCERT", *The Courier* (26 June 1845), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2948123>.

⁵⁸⁹ "LOCAL: MONS GAUTROT'S CONCERT", *The Courier* (5 July 1845), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2948041>; the well of local good feeling toward the Gautrots was not bottomless, however, see [Letter]: "To the editor", *The Courier* (12 July 1845), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2947968>.

⁵⁹⁰ "MULTUM IN PARVO (from late Australasian papers)", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (19 November 1845), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12883589>.

⁵⁹¹ "MONS. GAUTROT'S CONCERT", *Colonial Times* (28 November 1845), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8757791>

hope a liberal one—for so solid and talented a servant [...].

There was to be only one new Gautrot work on the occasion, a **Grand Solo Violin, (Sur des Airs de la Vestale de Spontini)**, or a least a new version, in that it is described in significantly more detail than on earlier outings, as being “avec trois variations sur une corde, une sur deux cordes, et une sur quartres cordes”.⁵⁹² But the concert was, anyway, postponed until the 16 December. In the meantime, Gautrot fell ill,⁵⁹³ seriously enough to require some further reassurance a few days before the new date:⁵⁹⁴

[...] The protracted illness of Mons. Gautrot has occasioned previous postponements, but we are authorised to say that the entertainment will now positively come off on the above-mentioned evening. The talents, ill health, age and poverty of the luckless musician, render him an object of interest to every generous and reflecting mind; and we trust that the kind patronage of the public will yield our musical Belisarius some relief from the weight of want and weakness that now press down the old man’s head.

When the new program was advertised, one of the Spontini airs on which the new variations were based was named (“*Recit la priere*”), and friends rallied to ensure that there would be a further Gautrot composition, a revival, with slightly amended instrumentation of the earlier Septett, the **Grand Septuor**, for “Three Violins, Viola, Violoncello, Flute, and Contra Basse”.⁵⁹⁵ “We have seldom heard Madame Gautrot to more advantage”, said the ever-supportive *Courier*; Mons’s performance, however, can only be guessed at:⁵⁹⁶

On the whole, we trust the expectations of the valetudinarian musician were, in every respect, fully realised. The manner in which he was conveyed into the Hall, and the infirmity which his appearance betrayed, seemed to awaken the sympathy of every heart for one so manifestly bending under the wintry storms of more than three score years and ten.

Gautrot then appeared with Duly and Reichenberg in a choral concert in February 1846 “considerably recovered from his late indisposition, and played with great spirit and effect”.⁵⁹⁷ But a sadly desperate measure was still required, as reported on 11 March:⁵⁹⁸

GAUTROT’S FIDDLE. On Wednesday evening last a raffle came off at Mr. Mezger’s, for Monsieur Gautrot’s violin. We understand that it is a real Cremona, and it was won by Mr. Singer.

⁵⁹² [Advertisement], *Colonial Times* (8 November 1845), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2946976>.

⁵⁹³ “LOCAL: CONCERT”, *The Courier* (6 December 1845), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2946715>.

⁵⁹⁴ “GAUTROT’S FAREWELL CONCERT”, *The Courier* (13 December 1845), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2946676>.

⁵⁹⁵ [Advertisement], *Colonial Times* (16 December 1845), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8757827>.

⁵⁹⁶ “LOCAL: MONSIEUR AND MADAME GAUTROT”, *The Courier* (20 December 1845), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2946605>.

⁵⁹⁷ “CONCERT”, *Colonial Times* (6 February 1846), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8758084>.

⁵⁹⁸ “GAUTROT’S FIDDLE”, *The Courier* (14 March 1846), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2946142>; “Mr. Singer” had played second violin for Gautrot in concerts in both 1844 and 1845.

Only thus cashed up, were the Gautrots able finally to sail from Hobart on 6 June 1846, and still then only for Sydney,⁵⁹⁹ though according to the *Atlas*, welcoming its “old friends”, “en route to Calcutta”.⁶⁰⁰

Gautrot must have found another fiddle, and announced a Sydney Farewell benefit, assisted by the Deanes and Wallaces, on 29 July, as the *Herald* explained:⁶⁰¹

[...] when we state that the object of these highly respectable artists is to obtain sufficient funds to enable them to return to their native country, and that they are very badly off, we are sure we have done more towards securing them a numerous attendance than the most glowing anticipations of the performance would effect. Mrs. Gautrot is said to have much improved in her singing since she was last in Sydney, and Mr. Gautrot is well known as a most accomplished violinist.

In gratitude for putting together the orchestra, Gautrot included on the program a **Solo Violin**, “dedicated to his friend Mr. S. W. Wallace, by Gautrot”. Possibly as another gesture of thanks, Mrs. Bushelle sang (“by desire”) Isaac Nathan’s *Jephtha’s Daughter*,⁶⁰² for Nathan had come out publicly in support the Gautrots, observing during his 1846 public lectures:⁶⁰³

Monsieur Gautrot, whose genius as a violinist we are not likely to meet again in Australia for at least half a century to come, was so little appreciated in this Colony, that he was compelled to emigrate to Van Diemen’s Land, to satisfy the cravings of nature. This poor gentleman is now in Sydney, suffering from ill health and broken spirits, almost wanting the common necessities of life.

Forced into further concert giving, they left Sydney and went south, appearing in Campbelltown in February 1847,⁶⁰⁴ and the Queen Victoria Inn in Berrima on 6 May, where:⁶⁰⁵

Great disappointment was felt at Mons. Gautrot not displaying his talents as an artiste on the violin. On enquiry, we find he had not his own instrument with him, and the one he had was not adapted for such performance. They leave this tomorrow, for Goulburn, where they purpose residing [...].

⁵⁹⁹ “SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (12 June 1846), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12887774>.

⁶⁰⁰ *The Atlas* (20 June 1846), 298:

<http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/1440365x/18460620/00020082/9-10.pdf>.

⁶⁰¹ “CONCERT”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (29 July 1846), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12888780>.

⁶⁰² [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (27 July 1846), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12888714>.

⁶⁰³ Isaac Nathan, *The First, Second, and Third of a series of Lectures* (Sydney: W. Ford, 1846), unpaginated, see footnote, <http://www.nla.gov.au/apps/cdview?pi=nla.mus-an6426940-s6-e>.

⁶⁰⁴ “CAMPBELLTOWN”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (5 February 1847), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12892323>.

⁶⁰⁵ “BERRIMA”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (11 May 1847), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12891039/1516967>.

On arrival there, too, they gave a concert,⁶⁰⁶ and a ball in July, before penury, probably, forced them into teaching music at John Layard's "Private Establishment for Young Gentlemen".⁶⁰⁷ Nothing more is heard of them until June 1848, when *The Sydney Morning Herald's* Goulburn correspondent reported they had taken Layard to court to recover unpaid sums.⁶⁰⁸ Layard replied in a letter to the editor, to the "impudent and unjust claim trumped up by M. Gautrot", and accusing the correspondent of "creating a spurious sympathy in favour of M. Gautrot".⁶⁰⁹

Not surprisingly, we find the Gautrots back in Sydney in October, after what seemed to the *Herald* like "an absence of some years", and purposing "giving some concerts".⁶¹⁰ That which they gave at the Royal Hotel on 1 November 1848 must count as one of the earliest concerts to feature the work of not one or two, but three Australian composers, namely Gautrot, John Howson, and Charles Stier.⁶¹¹

Overture. Composed by Mr. STEER, Band-master of H.M. 11th Regiment
Ballad. *The Bride's Farewell to her Mother* (composed by Mr. J. Howson)
[sung by] Madame Carandini.
Fantasia. Violin (composed by Monsieur Gautrot)
Aria and Variations (composed by Monsieur Gautrot) [sung by] Madame Gautrot.

In June 1849, Gautrot was featured in a somewhat different context, when, at the second exhibition held by the "Society for Promoting the Fine Arts in Australia", one of the pictures on show was:⁶¹²

No 171. Portrait of Monsieur Gautrot. Rodius. Property of Mr. Rodius. A free, light, loose sketch, full of artistical talent, and a very striking likeness.

A former convict, Charles Rodius was also a singer, who had appeared as a tenor in concerts and oratorio for the Wallaces in 1836. Though his Gautrot portrait is not known to survive, that of another erstwhile musician, Joshua Frey Josephson, does.⁶¹³

The following year, 1850, at a benefit at the Royal Victoria Theatre for Frank Howson

⁶⁰⁶ "GOULBURN", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (21 May 1847), 3: (<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12891634>).

⁶⁰⁷ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (10 August 1847), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12890490>.

⁶⁰⁸ "NEWS FROM THE INTERIOR: GOULBURN", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (10 June 1848), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12904863>.

⁶⁰⁹ "ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE: GAUTROT VERSUS LAYARD", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (17 June 1848), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12904558>.

⁶¹⁰ "MUSIC", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (12 October 1848), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12911546>.

⁶¹¹ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (1 November 1848), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12911150>.

⁶¹² "SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING THE FINE ARTS IN AUSTRALIA: SECOND EXHIBITION", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (2 June 1849), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12910294>.

⁶¹³ SL-NSW: <http://acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/item/itemDetailPaged.aspx?itemID=446349>; on Rodius (also "Rhodius"), Jocelyn Hackforth-Jones, Anita Callaway, Joan Kerr, "Charles Rodius" *Dictionary of Australian Artists Online* <http://www.daaao.org.au/main/read/5444> lists Gautrot portrait.

on 8 May, the program opened with Gautrot's last recorded new work, **A new Grand Overture**, "by a Double Orchestra, composed expressly for this occasion".⁶¹⁴

Tragically, Joseph Gautrot never made it back to France. He died in late January or early February 1854. His obituary, in *Bell's Life* on 4 February, contains more information about him than any previous Australian source:⁶¹⁵

DEATH OF A VETERAN MUSICIAN. In our weekly obituary will be found the name of Monsieur Joseph Gautrot, at the advanced age of 71 years. The deceased was one of the Emperor Napoleon's Imperial Guard, and was present at the fatal Moscow conquest and conflagration. Subsequently he became director of the principal theatre in Batavia, which post he filled for a period of about eight years. Mons. Gautrot had, during the last fourteen years, been engaged in the orchestra of the Royal Victoria Theatre, and his name is not unknown to the world, his proficiency on the violin having been frequently displayed and acknowledged by the public. The lamented gentleman leaves a wife to deplore his loss.

As brought to book for the first time here, then, Joseph Gautrot gives every impression of having been a significant early Australian composer (as he may also, previously, have been a significant Batavian composer). And even the probably irredeemable loss of all but one of his compositions need not detract from our estimation of a worklist that includes, for the colonial period, an unusual number of works possibly in sonata-form, including at least three overtures, and at least three possibly major ensemble chamber works. In the circumstances, one could even imagine Gautrot's friend J. P. Deane wanting to cede his later reputation as "father of Australian chamber music", to his worthy friend and colleague.

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⁶¹⁴ [Advertisement]: "Royal Victoria Theatre", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (4 May 1850), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12917664>.

⁶¹⁵ As reprinted in *The Maitland Mercury* (8 February 1854), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article683111>; as at late 2010, the original source not yet digitised.

Chapter 3

Isaac Nathan's *Australian Melodies*: *Composition in Sydney in the 1840s*

MR. NATHAN was an eccentric gentleman, who possessed considerable talent for music. He was the "Sunburn Nathan!" of Byron's *Hebrew Melodies*. He published many pieces of music in this Colony [...]

G. B. Barton, *Literature in New South Wales* (1866).¹

The Sydney people are very musical ... [They] are chiefly indebted to Mr. Nathan for their musical acquirements. He has got up a well-trained choral society. I went to hear them, and was much struck with their good voices, excellent time, and their general performance [...] Some morceaux were composed by Mr. Nathan himself [...] He has also found out many airs of the Aborigines, and arranged them for the pianoforte.

John Shaw, *A Tramp to the Diggings* (1852).²

[3.1] "Why are you wandering here, I pray?"

WE ARE NOT professional musicians, but we esteem our capacity of criticism upon this subject precisely by this rule: "We love the union of sound and sense". We therefore cordially, in common with several of our contemporaries, though we are unavoidably late in the day, record our protest against the frequent introduction of Italian or any other foreign words into our musical melanges. We consider NATIONAL music as one of the most obvious indications of national character; and now that the British Colonies of Australia are assuming the proud position of the future character of the southern hemisphere, let us not bow down in idolatry to establish forms.

The melodies of Dibdin, of Moore, and of Burns, have borne each the impress of a national bias, and why should not the early aspirations of Australia's sons seek a similar distinction—we see no reason. We encourage the science of music among us not only as a harmless amusement, but as an elevating appropriation of that time which might otherwise be—which frequently has been in this Colony—devoted to the debasing indulgences of sensuality rather than to the cultivation of mental capacity; our youth will find happiness and peace from a devotion to it [...]

It is worthy of remark that the three popular, the three national lyric poets, whose names we have quoted, felt it no disgrace [...] to train their several muses to the popular air, of their respective native lands. Let us hope then that the sons of

¹ Barton, *Literature in New South Wales*, 193:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=3KclAAAAAAAJ&pg=PA193#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

² John Shaw, *A Tramp to the Diggings: Being notes of a ramble in Australia and New Zealand in 1852* (London: Richard Bentley, 1852), 203-04:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=rcMNAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA203#v=onepage&q&f=false>; for details of the Nathan concert Shaw attended, see [Advertisement]: "ST. MARY'S CHORAL SOCIETY", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (20 November 1851), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12932208>.

Australia, in their early cultivation of this “divine art”, as in every thing else, will aspire to originality; but above all, that they will not be such slaves as to bow down to fashion, and submit their reason to the frivolities which have brought about the destruction of many a maturer nation.

“Vocal Music”, *The Sydney Gazette* (25 March 1841).³

FOR ALL their claims to celebrity—large or small—once settled, Deane, Wallace, Gautrot, and any number of bandmasters arrived in Australia without their reputations preceding them. Not so **Isaac Nathan (England 1792-1864) {1841-64}**.⁴ A well-educated colonist in the 1830s would immediately have recognised Nathan as composer of Byron’s [Hebrew Melodies](#).⁵ Nathan had, in this way, already made his Sydney press debut *in absentia* in 1830, in an article with the guaranteed eye-catching headline, “Lord Byron”. Its mostly favourable portrait of Nathan was lifted verbatim, as was much of the literary content of early Sydney papers, from an English journal:⁶

Mr. Nathan, the musical composer, has just published a pleasant volume of *Fugitive Pieces and Reminiscences of Lord Byron*, with a new edition of the celebrated *Hebrew Melodies*, and some never before published [...].

As “Select Poetry”, the *Gazette* reprinted three of the “new” Byron lyrics, with Nathan’s reminiscences of collaboration with the poet, and recollections of Walter Scott and Thomas Moore, all of which must have bound him, in the minds of attentive Sydney readers, more firmly into the “national music” movement:

When the *Hebrew melodies* were first published, Sir Walter, then Mr. Scott, honoured me with a visit at my late residence in Poland-street: I sang several of the melodies to him—he repeated his visit, and requested I would allow him to introduce his lady and his daughter ; they came together, when I had the pleasure of singing to them *Jephtha’s Daughter* and one or two more of the most favourite airs; they entered into the spirit of the music with all the true taste and feeling so

³ “Vocal Music”, *The Sydney Gazette* (25 March 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2552863>.

⁴ The *ADB* gives Nathan’s year of birth as 1790, but Graham Pont has claimed that 1792 is correct; for the source of this date, and an account of Nathan’s career to 1827, see “Nathan, Isaac”, in John Sainsbury, *A Dictionary of Musicians from the Earliest Ages to the Present Time: comprising the most important biographical contents of the works of Gerber, Choron ... together with upwards of a hundred original memoirs of the most eminent living musicians; and a summary of the history of music* (2nd edition; London: Sainsbury and Co., 1827), vol. 2, 209-212: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=cTNDAAAACAAJ&pg=PA209#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

⁵ *A Selection of Hebrew Melodies: Ancient and modern, newly arranged, harmonized, corrected and revised with appropriate symphonies & accompaniments by I. Nathan; the poetry written expressly for the work by Lord Byron* (London: J. Fentum for the Proprietor, [1827-1829]); copy at NLA; <http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-vn902136>.

⁶ “LORD BYRON”, *The Sydney Gazette* (13 May 1830), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2195106>; from *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction* 13/373, Supplementary Number: <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/11338/11338-h/11338-h.htm>; for the edition under review, Isaac Nathan, *Fugitive Pieces and Reminiscences of Lord Byron: containing an entire new edition of the Hebrew melodies, with the addition of several never before published; the whole illustrated with critical, historical, theatrical, political, and theological remarks, notes, anecdotes, interesting conversations, and observations, made by that illustrious poet: together with His Lordship’s autograph; also some original poetry, letters and recollections of Lady Caroline Lamb* (London: Whittaker, Treacher, and Co., 1829); <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=24OO7x4wErcC>.

peculiar to the Scotch.

The 1830 review concluded, “Altogether, Mr. Nathan’s is just the book for the season”; though, in due course, other books read in Sydney recorded Byron’s exasperated complaint to Thomas Moore: “Sunburn Nathan! Why do you always twit me with his ‘Ebrew Nasalities?”⁷

Far more so than Wallace’s mostly invented history, Nathan’s personal odyssey—from his native Canterbury, via relative celebrity in London, to prison supposedly for unpaid debts incurred in the service of an unreliable monarch William IV, and finally to Australia to begin a new life with his family at the age of almost 50—has already entranced several biographers. And, historical facts aside, his assiduous assimilation of an Australian identity fits so neatly into an archetype immortalised by Dickens that one almost wonders whether the author of *David Copperfield* (published in 1849) actually had Nathan in mind in creating his Mr. Micawber, the honest debtor, seeking to start life afresh in the Antipodes:

“Mr. Micawber, I wonder you have never turned your thoughts to emigration.”

“Madam,” returned Mr. Micawber, “it was the dream of my youth, and the fallacious aspiration of my riper years.” I am thoroughly persuaded, by the by, that he had never thought of it in his life.

“Aye?” said my aunt, with a glance at me. “Why, what a thing it would be for yourselves and your family, Mr. and Mrs. Micawber, if you were to emigrate now.”

“Capital, madam, capital,” urged Mr. Micawber, gloomily. [...]

“Think of this now, both of you. Here are some people David knows, going out to Australia shortly. If you decide to go, why shouldn’t you go in the same ship? You may help each other [...]

“There is but one question, my dear ma’am, I could wish to ask,” said Mrs. Micawber. “The climate, I believe, is healthy?”

“Finest in the world!” said my aunt.

“Just so,” returned Mrs. Micawber. “Then my question arises. Now, are the circumstances of the country such, that a man of Mr. Micawber’s abilities would have a fair chance of rising in the social scale? I will not say, at present, might he aspire to be Governor, or anything of that sort; but would there be a reasonable opening for his talents to develop themselves—that would be amply sufficient—and find their own expansion?”

“No better opening anywhere,” said my aunt, “for a man who conducts himself well, and is industrious.”

“For a man who conducts himself well,” repeated Mrs. Micawber, with her clearest business manner, “and is industrious. Precisely. It is evident to me that Australia is the legitimate sphere of action for Mr. Micawber!”

“I entertain the conviction, my dear madam,” said Mr. Micawber, “that it is, under existing circumstances, the land, the only land, for myself and family; and that something of an extraordinary nature will turn up on that shore. It is no distance—comparatively speaking [...]

Shall I ever forget how [...] Mrs. Micawber presently discoursed about the habits of the kangaroo! Shall I ever recall that street of Canterbury on a market-day, without recalling [Mr. Micawber], as he walked back with us; expressing, in the hardy roving manner he assumed, the unsettled habits of a temporary sojourner in the land; and looking at the bullocks, as they came by, with the eye of an Australian farmer!

⁷ See *The Works of Lord Byron Complete in One Volume* (London: John Murray, 1842), 463, footnote 1: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=TWxAAAAAYAAJ&pg=RA1-PA463&#v=onepage&q&f=false>; but, possibly of significance, Byron is also said to have pronounced his own name “burn”.

In 1942, Edward Dibdin explained Nathan's "trouble" in as much detail as needs to be gone into here:⁸

For several years before Nathan departed to Australia in 1841 he had much trouble about what Mrs. Phillips calls the Melbourne affair. Exactly what it was is not made clear, further than that it was the payment of a bill for over £2,000 incurred in the service of the lately deceased king. Perhaps it had something to do with Queen Caroline and George IV, perhaps the versatile Nathan was employed on the Continent as a spy, perhaps it related to bogus bonds issued by that monarch. Nathan's appeals to Lord Melbourne and others were duly handed to the Circumlocution Office, and nothing resulted. As Nathan's creditors were equally pressing about their claims on him, he became disheartened and took ship for Australia to pursue his profession "among a depressed people". On February 11th 1841 he landed, appropriately, at Melbourne. Whether or not the Micawber family went out on the same ship is not recorded.

Nathan's arrival in Melbourne was greeted effusively by the *Port Phillip Patriot* on 8 February 1841, one of several press reports duly copied by the papers in Adelaide, Hobart, and Sydney.⁹ *The Australian* in Sydney possibly reproduced Nathan's own "press release" for one Melbourne concert, that advertised: "He appears, by an egotism perhaps in this case pardonable, to have selected several of his own compositions for performance". Possibly also merely repeating his own stated intentions, the *Patriot* anticipated Nathan taking a leading role in the formation of a new Australian national music:¹⁰

[...] Wherever Mr. Nathan may settle, his arrival in Australian is a matter for congratulation, and we sincerely hope that he will succeed in establishing a national character for melody for Australia as the ill-fated David Rizzio is said to have for Scotland.

However, one Sydney report added a gentle warning:

We have the most unfeigned pleasure in announcing to our musical friends, that the celebrated composer, Nathan, has arrived [...] at Port Phillip, with his family, on his way to Sydney. The strength of our musical corps will thus receive a most important addition, and, with the aid of the band of the 28th, under the scientific superintendence of their able master, Cheodetti [sic] [...] we may have the

⁸ Edward Rimbault Dibdin, "Isaac Nathan", *Music & Letters* 22/1 (January 1941), 75-80, a review of Olga Somech Phillips, *Isaac Nathan: Friend of Byron* (London: Minerva Publishing Company, 1940).

⁹ "MUSIC", *The Sydney Herald* (22 February 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12867927>; also "MUSIC", *The Sydney Gazette* (25 February 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2552616>.

¹⁰ "PORT PHILLIP (From the Port Phillip Patriot, Feb. 8 1841), *Colonial Times* (23 February 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8751469>; on Rizzio, see *The Scottish Review* 13 (1889), 261: "The notion was at one time widely entertained that the best of the national music of Scotland was composed by David Rizzio, the unfortunate favourite of the equally unfortunate Mary Stuart"; but see also George Farquhar Graham, *The Songs of Scotland adapted to their appropriate melodies* (Edinburgh: Wood and Co., 1848), vol. 2, 43 note: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=jeTWAAAAMAAJ&pg=PA43#v=onepage&q&f=false>; but the reference to Rizzio (who Darnley believed to be Mary's lover, and murdered) may plausibly have been a barbed double reference to Nathan's close relationship with Caroline Lamb, Lord Melbourne's wife.

satisfaction of obtaining concerts of a superior description to any ever witnessed here. *We greatly want public amusements, and we know of none more deserving of encouragement than music—national or foreign, or both, we care not, so that the pieces be well selected, and all the foreign pieces confined to the instrumental music [...].*

Clearly, the *Sydney Herald* was still running its campaign against “Italian” songs, in which the Bushelles and Mrs. Prout (sister of the shortly to arrive Stephen Marsh) were prime offenders. Again, on 18 March, under the headline “Italian Concerts in Sydney”, it exhorted the recalcitrant Bushelles, and the yet-to-arrive Nathan:¹¹

If the Italian music be so very superior to all others [...], let us have it by all means, from every wind and stringed instrument, solo or concerto, but let us have no more Italian songs [...] whose Buffo humour no mortal Australian can guess at [...] how are Italian words to be made intelligible in Sydney, where Hebrew is better understood. We expect Mr. Nathan shortly, and we should recommend him to eschew Italian, but if we must have outlandish songs, to let us have a specimen of Hebrew or High Dutch, or of the beautifully liquid Aboriginal tongues of Australia, Tahiti, or Tongatahoo, superior to our ear, to all the smooth and oily, but feeble and strengthless Italian ... We have just seen one of Mr. Nathan’s Melbourne programmes and are happy to observe only two Italian vocal pieces in the whole of it [...].

Thus, Nathan received some local impetus to turn his attention to Indigenous song even before he arrived in Sydney.¹² In the event, the *Gazette* greeted him twice, first on 8 April:¹³

This gentleman, his wife, and family arrived here a few days ago from Port Phillip, to the infinite gratification of our musical savans, who are on the tiptoe of expectation to hear this celebrated master of vocal music. Mr. N. has, during the few weeks he remained at Melbourne, won golden opinions from the denizens of that fair city, and we trust his popularity here will not fall short of his deserts. We doubt not Mr. Nathan’s debut will go off with éclat [...] [we] beg to congratulate Mr. Nathan on his safe arrival in the capital of the far South. That step, we trust, he will never have any cause to repent.

And again on 1 May, with another aesthetic *desideratum* (and a backhanded reference to Wallace):¹⁴

We greet the arrival of the composer Nathan cordially, and we hope, that he will have energy and industry sufficient to elicit for us enlightenment, and for himself solid advantage, by introducing the spirit of harmony among the people of N. S. Wales—his practical inductions we trust will be similar to what he upholds in his

¹¹ “ITALIAN CONCERTS IN SYDNEY”, *The Sydney Herald* (18 March 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12868313>.

¹² Having left Melbourne on 2 April, on Monday, 5 April, “SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE”, *The Sydney Gazette* (6 April 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2552964>.

¹³ “MR. NATHAN”, *The Sydney Gazette* (8 April 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2553001>.

¹⁴ “WET WEATHER”, *The Sydney Gazette* (1 May 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2553198>.

published works, feeling and expression, in opposition to the mechanical display of the modern taste—musical metamorphoses and playing upon one string.

In that same issue of the *Gazette*, Nathan advertised for sale copies of a large portion of his *oeuvre*, compositional, and theoretical;¹⁵ and announced that his “Academy” would “open in a few days, at his residence”, Tuesdays and Fridays “exclusively set apart for private instruction in singing, piano forte, thorough-bass, or composition.” The *Chronicle* printed a long biography,¹⁶ while the *Herald* taxed its readers with a serialised “review”—actually lengthy and turgid extracts—from his treatise *Musurgia Vocalis*, that one of his detractors remembered even twenty years later for their unreadability.¹⁷

On 13 May, evidently gratified that the “celebrated composer and professor of music” was continuing his paid advertisements, the *Gazette* called them to the reader’s attention and begged:¹⁸

[...] Mr. Nathan will so far gratify a large section of his admirers as to get up a concert; in these dull times, we require something to make our blood circulate a little more freely than it has done for some time past.

Accordingly, on 18 May, Nathan announced that “early in June” he would present “a Grand Oratorio” at St. Mary’s, “consisting of a SELECTION of SACRED MUSIC, from the works of Handel, Mozart, Beethoven, Haydn, Nathan, &c.”, in which “all the VOCAL talent of the Colony [...] will assist”.¹⁹ The *Australasian Chronicle* also understood that it was “Mr. Nathan’s intention to indulge in a little improvisation on the organ, upon a favourite subject of Mozart”.²⁰

When the date was finally set for 30 June, the program (liberally interspersed with *Hebrew Melodies*) was advertised to open with Nathan’s first “Australian” work, billed as a “New National Anthem, *Long Live Victoria*”.²¹ Virtually simultaneously with the concert advertisement, Francis Ellard printed the music,²² though the online edition here is that reissued by J. R. Clarke in the late 1850s: [Long Live Victoria: A National Anthem](#), “for

¹⁵ [Advertisements], “New music”, and “Mr. Nathan’s Academy”, *The Sydney Herald* (29 April 1841), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12868881>; see also W. A. Duncan’s notice, “NEW MUSIC”, *Australasian Chronicle* (29 April 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31731588>.

¹⁶ “THE COMPOSER NATHAN”, *Australasian Chronicle* (25 February 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31730986>.

¹⁷ “REVIEW: Musurgia Vocalis”, *The Sydney Herald* (15 May 1841), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28651709>; “Nathan’s Musurgia Vocalis [second article]”, *The Sydney Herald* (22 May 1841), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12869194>; “Nathan’s Musurgia Vocalis [third article]”, *The Sydney Herald* (1 June 1841), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12869374>.

¹⁸ “Summary of Public Intelligence”, *The Sydney Gazette* (13 May 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2553301>.

¹⁹ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Gazette* (18 May 1841), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2553338>.

²⁰ “GRAND ORATORIO”, *Australasian Chronicle* (5 June 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31731948>.

²¹ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Gazette* (8 June 1841), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2553546>.

²² [Advertisement]: “NEW MUSIC”, *The Australasian Chronicle* (15 June 1841), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31732032>.

voice and chorus, with full orchestral accompaniments”. In review, on 19 June, the *Herald* noted:²³

Long Live Victoria; a New National Air, (to be) Sung by Mrs. Bushelle, at the Oratorio in the Cathedral of Sydney. Words by W. A. Duncan, Esq., composed and most respectfully inscribed to His Excellency Sir George Gipps, by I. Nathan. Sydney, published for the Proprietor, by F. Ellard, George-street.

We would be wanting in true colonial patriotism if we did not cordially hail a publication like the present in Australia a publication which gives one indication amongst many others, that we are making some advances in the fine arts, so well fitted to enhance the pleasures of the domestic circle, and to add embellishment to the every day business of life. We may well, from the beginnings already made, anticipate the time, and at no great distance too, when we shall have music, painting, and all the fine arts, flourishing amongst us and every where patronised. Till the high treat is given, now promised to the musical public in the Oratorio to be performed in St. Mary’s, we cannot too strongly recommend, all private singers and performers to possess themselves of this most interesting piece [...].

According to the *Australian*, Nathan’s music “seems simple and graceful, the words by Mr. W. A. Duncan, are appropriate and in good taste”.²⁴

William Augustine Duncan, a Scot and convert from his native Presbyterianism to Catholicism, was a St. Mary’s connection, and would continue to be a public supporter, and presumably friend, of Nathan over the coming years. Duncan came to Australia in 1837 to be a Catholic school teacher, though took to journalism as editor of the (Catholic) *Australasian Chronicle*, and between mid-1843 and the end of 1845 of his own paper, the *Weekly Register*. During his short press career in Sydney, he wrote two lyrics set by Nathan.²⁵ At the *Register*, Duncan frequently also printed poetry by Charles Harpur, Henry Parkes, and Henry Halloran,²⁶ so that it is, perhaps, somewhat surprising that Nathan did not set any of their verse. Duncan’s verses for *Long Live Victoria* differ from more typical secular national anthem lyrics earlier and later, in that they take a semi-liturgical turn, freely paraphrasing the Latin chant *Salvum fac, Domine, regem*, perhaps indicating that Duncan intended the setting for use in the same position, after Mass, at St. Mary’s:

*Long live Victoria! O Lord save the Queen!
And hear us this day while we call upon Thee;
God of our Fathers, protect and defend,*

²³ “REVIEW”, *The Sydney Herald* (19 June 1841), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12869718>.

²⁴ Also published separately, in “ORIGINAL POETRY: NEW NATIONAL MELODY”, *The Australasian Chronicle* (24 June 1841), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31732115>.

²⁵ Michael Roe, “Duncan, William Augustine (1811-1885)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 1 (1966), 335-337: <http://adonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A010319b.htm>.

²⁶ A. W. Martin, “Parkes, Henry (1815-1896)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 5 (1974), 399-406: <http://adonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A050455b.htm>; Halloran would even prompt composers to set his verses; see, for instance, his “Sons of this Southern soil!”; in “A CHANT FOR THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE COLONY. (To be set to Music.) BY HENRY HALLORAN”, *The Australian* (31 December 1846), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37129810>.

With help out of Sion, the Queen of the free. [...]

Nathan appears not to have informed the Sydney public, however, that the music was essentially that of a much earlier “new national air”, *Long Live our Monarch*, for William IV, which he had published in London, also “with full orchestra accompaniments”.²⁷

Between the first and last advertisements, Nathan also added to the second part of the program **A New Overture**, “composed for the occasion” (unidentified, but not necessarily lost, were it reused later for one of his Australian operas).²⁸ But neither new Nathan composition rated a mention in an unfavourable opinion of the event published in the *Gazette*:²⁹

ORATORIO (“From A Correspondent”): The usual consequence of over excited expectation was apparent in the come off of this grand affair: personal and general puffery of the most glaring kind had been resorted to, and the result was, of course, the usual recoil. All the world knows the laughter and contempt that has fallen upon the devoted head of a certain Doctor professing a crusade against the ignorance of the day, and ending only in the most glaring display of his own. This business has been akin to it. The pompous oratorio must, by every honest chronicler, be pronounced a failure.

The two great organs of this stupendous musical exhibition—Mr. Nathan and his automaton rival for public fame—are pronounced, and pose, to have disappointed the public. Without assailing the well-earned reputation of this gentleman as a composer and author, it cannot be disputed that his vocal powers are any thing but attractive, and the getting up of the affair was miserably mismanaged [...] Five hundred liberal subscribers to fifteen shilling tickets were detained for half an hour after the appointed time of opening, and when admitted they found access by such an inconvenient entrance, that a scene of pushing and low lived selfish scramble ensued, which would do honor to the approach to the shilling gallery at Sadler’s Wells or the Wapping Theatre, but which was certainly out of place in St. Mary’s. Many ladies, with their parties, retired in disgust; but those who had the perseverance to get in, did not feel their irritated feelings soothed by finding a large party of the elite of our society arrayed at The Altar, having been comfortably admitted, privately, to all the advantages suitable to their superior position!

The ennui and lassitude which succeeded was an amusing contrast to the eagerness of the scuffle for places. The audience was continually falling away by piecemeal, and this became so apparent that the falling of the curtain was hastened by the omission of the last four pages of the programme [...]

Nathan would indeed look back on his first Sydney appearance as the beginning of “a crusade against the ignorance of the day”; though not everyone gave such a bleak account of the event. The *Herald* was clearly enchanted with what may well have been the first Sydney

²⁷ My thanks to Graham Pont for this information; a copy of *Long Live our Monarch* is at British Library Music Collections H.1678.(7.) [004549126].

²⁸ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Herald* (30 June 1841), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12869906>.

²⁹ “ORATORIO”, *The Sydney Gazette* (3 July 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2553780>; see also “ORATORIO”, *The Australasian Chronicle* (3 July 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31732191>.

performance of [Jephtha's Daughter](#), the enduring favorite of the *Hebrew Melodies*, and probably the only one that (on the model of Wallace's *Maritana*) was adopted into a notional colonial "canon". When, a week later, Deane announced a concert, the *Herald* was:³⁰

[...] sorry, however, to see Mrs. Bushelle's name to Bellini's *La Tremenda*, instead of so very superior a piece for showing her powers as Nathan's *Jephtha's Daughter*.

In the event, the *Herald* sustained its view of Bellini ("We have no wish ever to hear her repeat it, and are pretty certain the audience was of our opinion"), and gave a notably proprietorial mention to a repeat performance of Nathan's new Australian anthem:³¹

The whole concluded with our own Australian piece *Long Live Victoria*, by Nathan. We only wish we had also had a few more of this composer's pieces—that is, if they had been sung by Mrs. Bushelle, who alone (in Sydney) can do them full justice. *Jephtha's Daughter* is worth a whole concert of common-place and inferior stuff, whether it be from Germany or Italy.

Thus prompted, Eliza Bushelle had no option but to satisfy her admirers at her own next concert in September:³²

Then came the sublime piece of the night—JEPHTHA'S DAUGHTER, in which Nathan has in so masterly a manner "married the immortal verse" of one of Lord Byron's splendid lyrics, to most exquisite and appropriate music, and Mrs. Bushelle, with her powerful voice and no less powerful pathos, caused every word to thrill to the hearts of those who heard her. Not only every word, but every letter was enunciated so clearly and forcibly, that the poetry was felt in all its agonising force as strongly as the music; an argument from fact—unanswerable—unassailable—indestructible, by any sophistry or quibbling logic which can be brought forward, of the gross absurdity of thrusting unintelligible Italian on an English audience. To all such logic we reply: produce one single Italian piece, that with its poetry and its music, even if sung by our *Prima Donna*, Mrs. Bushelle, will speak home to the heart like the electric and thrilling pathos of the great master piece of *Jephtha's Daughter*, and we will give up the task for ever of opposing

³⁰ "DEANE'S CONCERT", *The Sydney Herald* (13 July 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12869978>.

³¹ "DEANE'S CONCERT", *The Sydney Herald* (17 July 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12870042>; of Bushelle's performance of Lover's *Land of the West*, which it admitted was "a very pretty song", it thought: "She is in truth an exquisite and splendid singer—a *Prima Donna* of which Australia may well be proud. *The Land of the West*, however it is not *Jephtha's Daughter* no more than Sam Lover is Lord Byron, and Mrs. Bushelle did not appear to the same advantage in the quiet sentimental of the Irish song as in the heart-rending pathos of the Hebrew Melody."

³² "BUSHELLE'S CONCERT", *The Sydney Herald* (24 September 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12871293>; compare also these English notices, [Review], *The London Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles lettres, Arts, Sciences, &c.* 846 (6 April 1833), 220: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=54dHAAAAAJ&pg=PA220#v=onepage&q&f=false>: "EXQUISITELY beautiful: nothing can be more perfect than this melody. No collection of sacred music should be without so fine a composition"; but see also a critique of Byron's verses, in "INTRODUCTION TO THE HEBREW MELODIES", *The Poetical Works of Lord Byron: A new edition in six volumes* (London: John Murray, 1855), vol. 2, 14: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=p04CAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA14#v=onepage&q&f=false>: "[...] the majority are somewhat tame in sentiment, and one or two, like *Jephtha's Daughter*, are not far removed from the school of Sternhold".

Italian vocalism [...].

Nathan can have been in no doubt, then, that what was required from him, compositionally, was more works in the line of this Hebrew melody.³³

Nathan had by then given his own first concert, on 4 August, with Deane as leader, the program clearly distinct from the Oratorio:³⁴

[...] chiefly to consist of the favourite pieces, serious and comic, from the operas of *The Illustrious Strangers* [sic], *The Alcaid*, *Birds Without Feathers*, and *Sweethearts and Wives* [...].

This time, the *Gazette* gave no further space to its oratorio “correspondent”, but effused a few days in advance:³⁵

It gives us great satisfaction to announce to our musical friends that Mr. Nathan, the celebrated composer, intends to give a grand concert at the Victoria Theatre [...]. That the affair may come off with the greatest possible *eclat*, we hear that Mr. Nathan is to spare neither trouble nor expense to ensure a rich treat to his patrons. To effect that object, all the vocal and instrumental performers of note in the colony, besides the bands of the 28th and 80th regiments are to be in attendance. The whole arrangements, from all that we can learn, are such as to ensure for the forthcoming concert, the highest patronage. Mr. Nathan, since his short sojourn among us, has earned from all persons and classes *golden* opinions, and on the occasion of the concert, we trust the same persons will shower upon him, golden testimonials, as he is certainly wholly deserving.

And it effused still further on the day before the event:³⁶

Mr. Nathan’s first *personal* concert [...] will be patronised by the Governor and all the *haut ton* of Sydney. This gentleman is the first of established reputation as a musical composer, who has favored our shores with a visit, and it would be ungrateful, as well, as impolitic, if we failed to show our sense of the obligation [...] We hail, however, Mr. Nathan’s bill of fare most cordially, because of its intelligible character—we are assured, and can assure our readers, we shall have melody as well as harmony [...] we shall have sense as well as sound—these are old-fashioned practices, and we thank Mr. Nathan for reviving them [...]

Finally, getting the measure of the man, the *Gazette* concluded:³⁷

³³ Before the oratorio, a local poet, “J. D., of Sydney” was prompted to publish his own lament, *Jephtha’s Daughter*; “ORIGINAL POETRY”, *The Sydney Gazette* (17 June 1841), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2553624>.

³⁴ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Gazette* (27 July 1841), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2553995>.

³⁵ “NATHAN’S CONCERT”, *The Sydney Gazette* (29 July 1841), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2554024>.

³⁶ “DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE”, *The Sydney Gazette* (3 August 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2554060>.

³⁷ For comparison, see “CONCERT”, *The Australian* (7 August 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36852282>: “To the laurels gathered by Mr. Nathan as a musician throughout Europe, within the last five-and-twenty years, he has now added another leaf at the Antipodes. A large proportion of the music at Wednesday’s Concert, was the original composition of this gentleman, the characteristics of which, are an elegant

Such talent as he possesses is ever accompanied by ambition, and it will be a pleasure to Mr. N. to say hereafter that he has given the first genuine impulse to the soul of music in New South Wales.

Two-thirds of the twenty or so items on the program had Nathan's name against them, though none of them was new, and most merely local premieres.³⁸ In a long review, the *Herald* concluded that the first overture, from *The Alcaid*, was "a very scientific and pleasing composition", and the second, to the *Illustrious Stranger*:³⁹

[...] in a much lighter style than the first, and being excellently led by Mr. Deane, was much better performed than the very feeble and tame things of this kind usual in Sydney [...] The audience very properly stood up (which they did not do at the last concert [Deane's] when *Long live Victoria*, our own Australian anthem, was performed.

We cannot conclude without drawing public attention to the fact that, with one or two exceptions the music, vocal and instrumental, was the composition of Mr. Nathan himself [...] It was pleasing to see his Excellency patronising by his presence our newly arrived musical composer and his truly English and non-Italian concert [...].

The *Gazette*, a day later than the *Herald's* notice, agreed that it was "truly English":⁴⁰

The assembly, though not so numerous as we have witnessed on similar occasions, gave, however, pleasing indication to Mr. N., both by their numbers and respectability, a mark of the high esteem he and his talented family are held in, by the Australian public [...] The excellent bands of the 28th and 80th regiments were in requisition and by the admirable mode in which they performed, tended greatly to that *eclat* with which this truly English concert passed off. [...] We may here state that the greater, indeed we might say almost the whole, part of the music and songs, were the compositions of Mr. Nathan himself. [...] In conclusion, we as one of the organs of public opinion, return to Mr. Nathan our sincere thanks for the excellent arrangements made by him [...] Mr. N.'s exertions have met with public approbation, and we shall certainly long for his next public appearance, when we doubt not, he will receive substantial tokens of Australian gratitude.

Nevertheless, when Nathan next advertised his intention of giving a whole series of concerts, an overly fulsome editorial in the *Australian*—with extravagant detail all too

playfulness, inspirited by rich musical feeling, and under the direction of a refined taste and consummate science [...].

³⁸ For a full list, see [Advertisement]: "Royal Victoria Theatre", *The Sydney Herald* (4 August 1841), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12870383>; *The bark before the gale* was wrongly attributed to him; see "ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE", *The Sydney Herald* (2 August 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12870315>.

³⁹ "MR. NATHAN'S CONCERT", *The Sydney Herald* (6 August 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12870415>.

⁴⁰ "MR. NATHAN'S CONCERT", *The Sydney Gazette* (7 August 1841), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2554096/695031>.

evidently sourced from the composer himself, his claimed “royal descent”, and “having been the friend of princes”⁴¹—was too much for the *Gazette*, which reverted to skepticism:⁴²

“God protect us from our friends and we will be prepared to defend ourselves against our enemies.”

Many a public man has had occasion to say this, and none may say so, we think with more reason than Mr. Nathan, after leading the fulsome article which forms the leader of Tuesday’s *Australian*.

We were of opinion, and so were the rest of the Sydney public, that Mr. Nathan was a man of eminent rank and talent as a musician and composer—but all this extravagant puffery will make every one suppose that he is only a quack after all [...] what could be the object of this absurd publication, we cannot imagine, but though it may minister to the vanity of Mr. N., we are sure it will be prejudicial to his interests.

What care we about [...] his (asserted) familiarity with Byron, Moore, and Shelly—we only know him as an organist and a music master, in which character, no doubt, he will prosper in Sydney, if he does not swamp himself in this evil quagmire of self adulation.

The *Gazette* concluded by encouraging Nathan to “disclaim all act and part in this superlative piece of puffery”.

In the context, Nathan’s next new local work was a deft counterblow. Described as a “new Australian Glee”, composed charitably in support of the amateurs of the Cecilian Society, it was greeted in the *Herald* only a day after the *Gazette*’s diatribe, its subject matter apparently drawn wryly from life:⁴³

NATHAN’S NEW AUSTRALIAN GLEE: We have much pleasure in mentioning that our talented and scientific musical composer, Mr. Nathan, has written a new glee, in the humourous style, for the Cecilian concert, on the 15th inst., in compliment to his Excellency the Governor and Lady Gipps, who are to honour the concert by their presence. As we shall then have an opportunity of giving our opinion of the music we shall, for the present, content ourselves by publishing the words.

*’Tis true that all the world must live;
But fortune frowns on some,
They too must thrive, if they contrive
Most prosperous fools to hum.
Who lives by his wits
Must mind his hits,*

⁴¹ He claimed to be—and indeed may well have been—an illegitimate grandson of the Polish king Stanislaus Poniatowski; another possible Australian descendent, though similarly illegitimate, is the present-day composer Paul Grabowsky; see Graham Pont, “Nathan, Isaac”, in *The Oxford Companion to Australian Music* (1997), 417; Nathan’s descendent, Catherine Mackerras, treated both these claims skeptically, see, Mackerras, “Nathan, Isaac (1790-1864)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 2 (1967), 279-280: <http://adonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/AO20245b.htm>.

⁴² [News], *The Sydney Gazette* (9 September 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2554422>.

⁴³ “NATHAN’S NEW AUSTRALIAN GLEE”, *The Sydney Herald* (10 September 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12871057>; also “Summary of Public Intelligence”, *The Sydney Gazette* (11 September 1841), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2554439>.

*The rich and poor to hum.
For humbug is a thriving trade,
And flattery an estate,
Whose crops are sure, Whose rents secure,
Without paying tax or rate.
Then live by your wits,
And mind your hits,
To hum the rich and great.*

In performance, however, the *Herald* thought it “by no means well sung”, and therefore “could not properly judge of its effect as a composition”.⁴⁴

As the depression set in and professional concert-giving declined, singing classes,⁴⁵ lectures, and societies for low-cost amateur musical “improvement”, like the Cecilians, flourished in Sydney, and both Nathan and Stephen Marsh tried to cash in on these alternative activities. In March 1842, Nathan took over as musical director of the “Australian Harmonic Club”, which then seems to have relaunched itself in June 1844, when Nathan’s friend W. A. Duncan greeted it as “new”:⁴⁶

A new Musical Society has been formed in Sydney, [...] the Australian Harmonic Institution. It is chiefly composed of amateurs, and its objects are mutual improvement in the art, and the promotion of sound musical taste in our metropolis. They have selected Mr. Nathan for their professional conductor. [...] Their first concert came off on Wednesday, at the Royal Hotel [...] The selections were almost wholly *classical*, as all the music studied by such a society *ought strictly to be*. The only exception in this case was the finale to Nathan’s new opera of *Merry Freaks in T[r]oublous Times*; but apart from the above principle, which we must contend for, this was no great error, this fine chorus being not unworthy a such a place.

A year later still, one might have thought that the Harmonic Club’s June 1845 concert of comic glees descended somewhat from Duncan’s classical remit; however, in his *Register* review (copied also in the *Herald*), he welcomed it:⁴⁷

Amongst the very few sources of rational amusement which the City of Sydney affords, we know of none more deserving of encouragement than the musical reunions which occur from time to time, or which are more calculated to refine the

⁴⁴ “THE CECILIAN CONCERT”, *The Sydney Herald* (17 September 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12871185>.

⁴⁵ Interest in singing classes was also a local response to reports of John Hullah’s hugely successful activities in London, see for instance, “ENGLISH EXTRACTS: MR. HULLAH’S SINGING CLASSES IN EXETER-HALL (From the Morning Chronicle)”, *The Sydney Herald* (28 February 1842), 2S: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12873931>; in Sydney, Marsh identified himself with Hullah’s methods, Nathan contrarily took issue with them.

⁴⁶ “Musical Register”, *The Weekly Register* 2/45 (1 June 1844), 617: <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18440601/00020045/9-12.pdf>.

⁴⁷ “THE AUSTRALIAN HARMONIC CLUB”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (16 June 1845), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12880280>; from “THE AUSTRALIAN HARMONIC CLUB”, *The Weekly Register* 5/99 (14 June 1845), 287: <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18450614/e0050099/9-12.pdf>.

general taste, and promote both harmony and good feeling. A Concert was given by the above-named Society, at the Rechabite Hall, on Friday last, which in spite of a very crowded room, and some minor annoyances, afforded us much gratification. The whole was under the judicious management of Mr. Nathan, and Mr. J. Deane, the leader. The programme was well selected, especially for amateur singers. The songs [...] were sung with taste and expression and in good voice, as were also the following glees—*Peace to the Souls of the Heroes* (Callcott) and *Life's a Bumper* (Wainwright) and Mr. Nathan's new glee of *Humbug* [...].

Nathan's "new glee"—none other than his 1841 "Australian Glee" for the Cecilians revived—finally found its way into print in September 1845, under the title [Humbug](#), "inscribed to all professors of the art", and described as having been "executed by Amateurs". But the joke of 1841 was long since cold, leaving the *Atlas* to conclude in reviewing the print:⁴⁸

[...] it has evidently been written in a fit of ill humour with the world, as the best of us find it in New South Wales, though few are found every day to proclaim it so hastily as the author has done in his emphatic accents and full harmony. We should regret it we thought Mr. Nathan's established fame and acknowledged merits as a composer and professor were sacrificed at the shrine of the genus he satirizes, but he will remember, that in new communities like this, the Muses are not woo'd, but must *ex necessitate* come a wooing, the alternative is one from which naturally independent minds shrink, but being one of the ills which professional flesh in this Colony is "heir to", we must only look for better times and a few more compositions from Mr. Nathan, in the style and strain which gained for him a name among the guests of the old world.

In a letter of reply, Nathan begged to be permitted to:⁴⁹

[...] lament the impoverished state of this Colony and its want of means to uphold and support science; but, I surely cannot be charged to rail against its inhabitants for such an unforeseen calamity [...] I have nothing to complain of, but much to be thankful for; having experienced every mark of kindness at the hands of warm-hearted Australians.

And explain the reason for the long delay in publication:

Shortly after my arrival in this Colony—on His Excellency the Governor's visit to witness the performance of a Concert given by the Cicilian [sic] Society, I was, at few hours notice applied to, to write a glee for the occasion [...] the words of which were written some years before I left England for an Opera intended for representation at Drury Lane Theatre. The glee was sung at the Cicilian Concert, and gave satisfaction; some person, however, took a particular fancy to the music, who [...] walked off with the M.S. the only copy then committed to paper. From that time up to a very recent period, I had not sufficient courage to make the attempt to

⁴⁸ "MUSIC AND THE THEATRE", *The Atlas* 1/28 (29 March 1845), 211:
<http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/1440365x/18450329/00010018/7-8.pdf>.

⁴⁹ "MUSIC AND MUSICIANS", *The Atlas* 1/29 (5 April 1845), 223:
<http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/1440365x/18450405/00010019/7-8.pdf>.

re-set the words; when I did bring myself to the task, I had the good fortune to recollect the original music as is now laid before the public [...].

In the *Register*, Duncan, too, was supportive, greeting the print proprietorially as a “specimen of colonial harmony”:⁵⁰

NEW MUSIC: *Humbug* [...] is a lively and amusing satire set to easy and playful music. The effect, when “executed” with spirit, is exceedingly comic, especially at page 5, where the bass keeps tolling the burthen “hum, hum, hum” to the sprightly strain floating above. We are sure of a kind reception for this specimen of colonial harmony, which we hope may be followed by others equally good.

But, to return to its at its first performance by the Cecilians back in 1841: the *Gazette* must have accepted Nathan’s parry in good faith, recording the occasion only to query: “What is Mr. Nathan about, that he does not bestir himself, and get up another Concert?”⁵¹ Which, anyway, Nathan was about to do, at the Royal Victoria Theatre, on 27 October,⁵² the program billed to close with yet another performance of the “new national anthem”, though, after the event, a “correspondent” to the *Herald* took issue with Nathan’s presumption in doing so:⁵³

It is by no means approved substituting our old national anthem by any composition whatever. It is an Englishman’s loyalty, all over the world, abroad and at home, in battle and in peace. Especially, as Mr. Nathan knows very well, that the Greatest Master that ever lived declared that he would abandon all his music if he had only composed *that*.

The program also included a new chorus, **Drink and a Fig for all Sorrow**, based on an old Nathan solo song,⁵⁴ designed to be sung after it, and described as a “Glee, to the same words, composed expressly for the Sydney Harmonic Club”. According to the *Gazette*:⁵⁵

Drink and a fig for sorrow, a new composition of Mr. Nathan’s followed. It was sung by Mr. Griffiths with much spirit. [...] The song, as a composition, pleased us

⁵⁰ “NEW MUSIC”, *The Weekly Register* 4/87 (29 March 1845), 147:

<http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18450329/00040088/1-4.pdf>; see also advertisement, 155:

<http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18450329/00040088/9-12.pdf>.

⁵¹ “THE CECILIAN SOCIETY”, *The Sydney Gazette* (18 September 1841), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2554499/695173>.

⁵² [Advertisement], *The Sydney Herald* (16 October 1841), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12871705>.

⁵³ “MR. NATHAN’S CONCERT (from a Correspondent)”, *The Sydney Herald* (29 October 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12871963>.

⁵⁴ One of three Nathan songs in J. D. Millingan, *The King’s Fool; or, The Old Man’s Curse: An historic play in three acts [...] the music by MM. Nathan and Wade* (London: John Miller, 1833), 53:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=olwQAQAIAAJ&pg=RA3-PA53#v=onepage&q&f=false>; see also

[Advertisement]: THE NEW SONGS FROM THE KING’S FOOL”, *The National Standard of Literature, Science, Music, Theatricals, and the Fine Arts* (31 August 1833), 139:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=TnUPAAAAQAAJ&pg=RA1-PA139#v=onepage&q&f=false>; the play was revived in Sydney, with Nathan’s songs, at the Royal Victoria in 1846; see “ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (5 May 1846), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12887015>.

⁵⁵ “Mr. Nathan’s Concert”, *The Sydney Gazette* (30 October 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2554858>; also “NATHAN’S GRAND CONCERT”, *Australasian Chronicle* (28 October 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31733245>.

much. We know no bas[s] solo of modern production to compare with it. The air is bold—much in Shield’s style—while the accompaniment is full and effective *à la Mozart*, but our readers must hear in order to appreciate it. The glee to the same words (composed for the Sydney Harmonic Club) was rich in melody and harmony, and gave us great delight—it was well sung by Messrs. Griffiths, Worgan, Allen, &c. &c..

However, Duncan’s description of the pair in the *Chronicle* (he also printed the words) suggests a rather alarming juxtaposition:⁵⁶

The solo, which is a bold Beethoven looking composition, is in the key of D, and is followed, after a short symphony containing some skilful modulation, by an original glee for six voices, in the key of E flat, composed for the Sydney Harmonic Society.

Club members must have been singing it around the town in advance of this first concert performance, however, for a satirical article in the *Herald* on 29 September suggested that Nathan also compose a glee on Tobacco to the text *Little tube of mighty power*.⁵⁷ Clearly, Nathan had already been adopted by the press as a *de facto* “colonial composer”.

[3.2] *The Aboriginal Mother*

Whether he was fully aware of it or not, Nathan reopened a sore point with the local press—and probably with some of his audience, too—in launching his other new composition at the 27 October concert. “*The Aboriginal Mother*, a new Colonial composition”,⁵⁸ set some topical verses by Eliza Hamilton Dunlop, wife of David Dunlop, the Government Protector of Aborigines at Wollombi, near Singleton.⁵⁹ Dunlop’s poem concerned what she, and some others, believed to be a shameful massacre of “blacks” by a party of white convict farmhands in 1838. For many settler-colonists, however, not the massacre itself, but its outcome for the whites, was shameful:⁶⁰

In November [1838], an event occurred which has always been regarded as one of

⁵⁶ “NEW MUSIC”, *Australasian Chronicle* (21 October 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31733170>.

⁵⁷ “ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE: TOBACCO”, *The Sydney Herald* (29 September 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12871396>; tobacco had been a subject of some contention in the Club earlier that year, see “SMOKE versus HARMONY”, *The Sydney Gazette* (4 March 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2552683>: “At a meeting of the ‘Australian Harmonic Club’, convened for the purpose of discussing the merits and demerits of smoking, it was (almost unanimously) agreed to abolish the practice *in toto* [...] prohibiting the indulgence of the “light cigar” during the performance of the programme [...]”

⁵⁸ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Herald* (16 October 1841), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12871705>.

⁵⁹ Niel Gunson, “Dunlop, Eliza Hamilton (1796-1880)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 1 (1966), 337-338: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/AO10321b.htm>; apart from those set by Nathan, Dunlop’s lyrics were published with one other local music print, now lost, “NEW MUSIC: AN IRISH MELODY”, *Australasian Chronicle* (13 April 1843), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31739492>: “The Irish Volunteers, Dedicated to Captain M. C. O’Connell; the poetry by Mrs. E. H. Dunlop; the music composed by a professor in Dublin, in 1780”; probably, the tune was the same as that at Johns Hopkins University, Levy Sheet Music Collection, Box 014, Item 026: <https://jscholarship.library.jhu.edu/handle/1774.2/15511>.

⁶⁰ Roderick Flanagan, *The History of New South Wales*, vol. 1 (London: Sampson Low, Son, & Co., 1862), 528-32: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=WSEPAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA528#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

the most striking occurrences in the history of the colony. At the criminal sitting of the Supreme Court eight men were placed in the dock charged with the murder of aboriginals [...] at a place called Myall Creek [...] the indictment charged the accused with killing two persons, but the entire number killed was twenty-eight, men, women, and children. The accused were convicts, assigned as stockmen and labourers to various settlers [...]

Outside the trials:

[...] the discussions between those who respectively took the part of the blacks and the settlers sometimes waxed violent. Threats were even uttered that if the accused were condemned and executed, a war of extermination, by poison, would be waged against the entire aboriginal race. To such an extent did the state of feeling proceed, that [...] the attorney-general asked the judge to issue an order prohibiting the publication, during the trial, of certain sanguinary articles [...]

This did not stop the *Herald*, once a death sentence was passed on the whites, “vilifying the aborigines as the most degenerate, despicable and brutal race of beings who stood to shame the whole human race”.⁶¹

Three years after the trial, then, when the *Herald* reported on the publication of Nathan’s new song, it printed the contentious full text (nine stanzas) of Dunlop’s poem with its own derisive commentary:⁶²

THE ABORIGINAL MOTHER

“Only one female and her child got away from us”—Evidence before the Supreme Court”

*Oh, hush thee, hush, my baby, I may not tend thee yet,
Our forest land is distant far, and midnight-star is set,
Now hush thee, or the pale-laced men will hear thy piercing wail,
And what would then thy mother’s tears or feeble strength avail [...]*

The above lines are from the pen of Mrs. Dunlop of the Wollombi, who sent them to Mr. Nathan; they have been set to music by that gentlemen, and will be sung at his approaching concert by Miss Nathan with full orchestral accompaniment. The words are pathetic, and display much poetic feeling, but they ascribe to the aboriginal woman words which might have been used by a North American Indian, but which a very slight acquaintance with the natives of this colony would enable

⁶¹ Clark, *History* 3: 149.

⁶² “THE ABORIGINAL MOTHER”, *The Sydney Herald* (15 October 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12871688>; also “SELECT POETRY”, *Australasian Chronicle* (16 October 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31733155>; and “The Aboriginal Mother”, *The Sydney Gazette* (19 October 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2554757>; as John O’Leary, “Giving the Indigenous a Voice—further thoughts on the poetry of Eliza Hamilton Dunlop”, *Colour: Journal of Australian Studies* 82 (2004), 85-93 (and notes 187-189) observed, Dunlop had previously published in the more welcoming pages of the *Australian* several other “laments”; see “SONGS OF AN EXILE (No 1)”, *The Australian* (8 November 1838), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36859656>; “SONGS OF AN EXILE (No 2)”, *The Australian* (22 November 1838), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36860702>; “The Irish Mother (Songs of an Exile No 5)”, *The Australian* (12 January 1839), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36862585>; and “Songs of an Exile (Number 8)”, *The Australian* (7 May 1840), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36862754>.

any one to say never issued from the mouth of the woman who escaped from the New England massacre for which, we may remark, seven men were executed in Sydney. The lines will no doubt be copied in England where they are almost sure to be popular.

As Dunlop's last couplet made plain, her intention was:

*To tell of hand—the cruel hand—that piled the fatal pyre;
To show our blood on Myab's ridge, our bones on the stockman's fire.*

And this pro-Indigenous stance, the *Herald* adverted, would make the production “popular” among liberals at “home”, a point also repeated in the *Gazette* review of the concert, which made it abundantly clear that it, too, considered the subject matter, if not the setting, in poor taste:⁶³

Next came Mr. Nathan's new song *The Aboriginal Mother*. We had seen the verses in the public prints; we had also seen Gins, and from our acquaintance with the gyn-eocracy of Australia, we could but regret that these thrillingly touching lines should have been so misplaced. Disconnect them however, from their present black heroine—fancy her any one else, and a treat awaits you. By the time the few first bars of the symphony were played, we were totally absorbed in the composition [...] the accompaniments were most appropriate, the melody touching and effective. We were in spite of ourselves affected even to tears, and most of our neighbours from a similar state, were prevented observing our weakness. Since *Jephtha's Daughter*, we have not had such a treat, and we shall conceive no concert complete for months to come without a repetition of the *Aboriginal Mother*. In England the song must become a favorite.

The *Herald* ran two reviews of the concert; having already expressed its disdain, its own made no mention of the new “colonial melody”; but the second, from an evidently like-minded “correspondent”, claimed that it:⁶⁴

[...] was scarcely noticed! Bad taste this. Things are not so, at home.

Perhaps some excuse may be said for the song itself. And it will serve Mr. Nathan as a hint for the future, not to attempt putting into music what is unintelligible in verse: that, having no meaning in itself, not Handel himself could have made any thing of it. For music, after all, as Nathan knows very well, is only another mode of expressing our thoughts. And, yet, so odd is it with the public, that had this been got up in the character of a black Gin with a ghastly, toad-like looking brat, gnawing a raw opossum—the house would have been in a roar of applause, and no end of encore, and, why? because the association of ideas would have been representative of the character, which no one could recognise in the song [...]

All that was sung was sweet, chaste, and true, and most scientifically accompanied by Nathan, who by the way ought to have given us one of his own solos.

⁶³ “Mr. Nathan's Concert”, *The Sydney Gazette* (30 October 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2554858>.

⁶⁴ “MR. NATHAN'S CONCERT (from a Correspondent)”, *The Sydney Herald* (29 October 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12871963>.

But, politics aside, the *Herald's* own review did raise a salient economic point, that Nathan's concert was performed:⁶⁵

[...] to a respectable, though by no means a numerous audience. No doubt the pressure of the times operates disadvantageously for public amusements; yet we are not quite so bad in that respect as they were, some time ago, at New Orleans, where they were actually obliged to close the Theatres during the crisis of crashing banks and mercantile embarrassment [...].

And according to the *Gazette*, too, Nathan's "exertions to improve the state of music in our colony has really excited our interest for his welfare":

We are afraid, however, that Mr. Nathan, like most men of genius, is an injudicious arranger, as regards pecuniary calculations; or he would never have chosen this time for his entertainment; the Governor, and many other persons of distinction, being absent from Sydney, and our financial state miserably depressed [...] Mr. Nathan, as his concert demonstrated, has done much—very much—for music in this colony [...].

The same theme was recapitulated the following week in a good-humoured spoof on Nathan's "colonial melody" also in the *Gazette*:⁶⁶

Colonial Melodies: No 1. Those Auction Bells

Air: *The Bells of St. Petersburg.*

*Those auction bells! those Sydney bells!
How sad a tale their ringing tells
Of folks "hard up" ah, who that feels
can listen calmly to their peals [...].*

But the October 1841 concert also prompted another long and bilious letter to the editor of the *Herald*, taking locals to task for risking making the colony "a laughing-stock among our friends at Home" by variously under- and over-valuing two resident artists, the painter Felton, and "our only resident composer", Nathan":⁶⁷

Nathan [...] is known in Europe, and favourably known, though by no means in the first rank, as having composed a few good pieces and a great many indifferent ones. His knowledge of music is most probably greater than that of any man in the Colony, and he is, I believe, our only resident composer [...] a good, though certainly far enough from first rate composer [...] but some foolish friend, or some

⁶⁵ "NATHAN'S GRAND CONCERT", *The Sydney Herald* (29 October 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12871965>.

⁶⁶ "Colonial Melodies", *The Sydney Gazette* (4 November 1841), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2554898>; later, see also, "Colonial Melodies: No 2. The Mayor's Tea Party", *The Maitland Mercury* (12 July 1845), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article674510>.

⁶⁷ "SYDNEY EXTRAVAGANZAS—FELTON—NATHAN", *The Sydney Herald* (3 November 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12872050>.

wily enemy, commences to “tar and feather” him, and seriously injure him, with all sorts of extravagant puffery. First, we are told he is the grandson of Stanislaus, King of Poland; then, that he was the personal friend of George the Fourth, of William the Third, and of Lord Byron. What is all this to us? [...]

In the first instance, it seems to have turned Nathan’s own head by placing him so much higher than he ever stood at Home, that he has been induced to dose us *ad nauseam* with his own compositions [...]

The writer judged Nathan’s every appearance to date a failure, overly “puffed” by silly locals:

[...] the *Aboriginal Mother* [...] “another failure” in fact—is praised as equal to the sublime, superhuman pathos of *Jephtha’s Daughter*. How much farther can this absurdity go [?].

If Nathan was to survive, as thus the colony retain his valuable services as a professor, he strongly advised:

If he do attempt concerts [...] he must get some sternly neutral friend to strike nine-tenths of the Nathan (compositions and well as performers) out of the programme, for it will never do; no, not though the Governor and Lady Gipps with all the *élite* besides, should be kind enough to lend their high patronage to bolster up the failing concerts.

Nathan sent in a flowery, but surprisingly measured reply, claiming not to know the identities of either his puffers or detractors, but assuring the writer—who went by the curiously double cognomen “Mr. Thorough Bass”—“that at my next concert, not more than six of my songs shall be performed”.⁶⁸

The Aboriginal Mother appeared in print on 22 January 1842,⁶⁹ reviewed briefly that day in the *Chronicle* (“The Air is simple and pathetic, and the harmony learned and skilful. It ought to be on the pianoforte of every lady in the colony”),⁷⁰ and by the *Herald* two days later, claiming—unaccountably—to have spoken “highly” of the music previously, though repeating its view of the words:⁷¹

Mr. Nathan has published the song of the *Aboriginal Mother*, the music of which we spoke so highly of, when it was sung by Miss R. Nathan. Those who were not at the Concert, but who have had an opportunity of seeing the song in print, confirm the opinion we expressed, that it is a melody of great beauty—worthy the composer’s high name in the musical world. We can only regret that the words are not more worthy of the music.

But posterity seems to have vindicated Dunlop; in 2009, the text of *The Aboriginal*

⁶⁸ “THOROUGH-BASS AND NATHAN: To the Editors [...]”, *The Sydney Herald* (5 November 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12872091>.

⁶⁹ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Gazette* (20 January 1842), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2555555>.

⁷⁰ “NEW MUSIC”, *Australasian Chronicle* (22 January 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31734813>.

⁷¹ “NEW MUSIC”, *The Sydney Herald* (22 January 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12873433>.

Mother was included in two major new anthologies of Australian literature.⁷² According to her biographer, Niel Gunson, Dunlop “contributed to the literary life” of the same Hunter region circle as Charles Harpur, who lived nearby at Jerry’s Plains.⁷³ Yet unlike Harpur, and despite her connection with Nathan, Dunlop never had any of her poetry published by the fastidious Duncan in the *Register*, this despite Duncan and Dunlop sharing similar views on the “Aboriginal question”,⁷⁴ and a general antipathy toward the squatters party and its organ, the *Herald*.

The second Dunlop poem set by Nathan was also Aboriginal in theme. Called *The Eagle Chief*, it was received at the time as owing more to Celtic literature, via Scott or Burns, or even to Native American mythology, than Aboriginal culture, despite Dunlop’s explanatory footnotes linking it to local traditions. But, as John O’Leary rightly pointed out, its:⁷⁵

[...] un-Aboriginal tone should not cause surprise, for as nineteenth-century Britons encountered Indigenous cultures in various parts of the Empire, they tended to see those cultures in terms of the traditional Celtic societies of their British homeland.

Indeed, Dunlop probably—and, as we shall see, Nathan similarly—went to considerable lengths to compare Australian Aboriginal productions with the primitive sources of British “national song”.

Nathan’s setting of ***The Eagle Chief*** was announced as ready of publication “in a few days” on 7 February 1842.⁷⁶ But it was probably delayed, and was not reviewed until mid-April. In the meantime, Nathan had reconfigured it and *The Aboriginal Mother* as the first two of an ongoing series of “Australian melodies”, clearly implying they were successors of the *Hebrew melodies*.⁷⁷ According to the *Chronicle*, the “light and pleasing melody” was “partly from a popular French air”.⁷⁸ The *Gazette* found the poetry:⁷⁹

[...] far superior to that usually written for song, and is what an Australian melody should be, characteristic of the aborigines, it is therefore free from the objections we made against No 1 of these Australian melodies the *Aboriginal Mother*. Mr.

⁷² Nicholas Jose (ed.), *Macquarie PEN Anthology of Australian Literature* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2009); John Leonard (ed.), *The Puncher & Wattmann Anthology of Australian Poetry* (Sydney: Puncher & Wattmann, 2009).

⁷³ John O’Leary, “Giving the Indigenous a Voice—further thoughts on the poetry of Eliza Hamilton Dunlop”, *Colour: Journal of Australian Studies* 82 (2004), 85-93, notes 187-189, has also more recently pointed out that one later writer of “Aboriginal” verse in the 1860s was probably indebted to her; George McCrae, *The Story of Balladeadro* (Melbourne: H. T. Dwight, 1867), iii, stated that his poem was based on notes “taken down by the wife of a former protector of Aborigines”, see <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=EBEuAAAAYAAJ&dq>.

⁷⁴ For Duncan’s view of the *Herald*’s reporting “into the history of aboriginal massacre and squatting humanity in this country”, see “The Political Register: The Squatters, the Government, and the Blacks”, *The Weekly Register* 3/65 (19 October 1844), 193: <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18441019/00030065/1-4.pdf>.

⁷⁵ O’Leary, “Giving the Indigenous Voice”, 89-90.

⁷⁶ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Herald* (7 February 1842), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12873585>.

⁷⁷ [Advertisement], *Australasian Chronicle* (28 April 1842), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31735736>; also [Advertisement], *The Sydney Gazette* (7 May 1842), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2556439>.

⁷⁸ “NEW MUSIC”, *Australasian Chronicle* (16 April 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31735630>.

⁷⁹ “NEW MUSIC”, *The Sydney Gazette* (16 April 1842), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2556255>.

Nathan's music is strictly in keeping with the subject, and combines the rare desiderata of beauty—simplicity, and learning, especially in the quartette. We hope that our fair and gifted poet will continue her labours, and that Mr. Nathan will give us a set of Australian Melodies not unworthy the composer of the *Hebrew Melodies*, but we must also hope, that they will be perpetuated in better type and printing, than those before us. Every musical person should procure a copy of the *Eagle Chief*.

Again, however, the *Herald* slighted Dunlop's contribution:⁸⁰

The publication of new music is now no novelty in Sydney. Two new compositions have come under our notice within the last fortnight, and we have now before us another, *The Eagle Chief*, being No 2, of Mr. Nathan's Australian Melodies, the poetry by Mrs. Dunlop. It is arranged as a treble solo, and quartette for two trebles, tenor and bass. The melody is simple, pretty, and appropriate, but it is the harmonics that have most engaged our attention; these are rich and classical, and in every respect worthy the composer.

Having spoken thus of the music, we regret we cannot say anything favourable of Mrs. Dunlop's poetry; it is entirely out of character, and instead of giving any idea of the habits of the black natives of this Colony, it is calculated to mislead [...] we should imagine from her poetry that she was a cockney, and that her only knowledge of the aboriginal natives, was acquired by reading the Last of the Mohicans. The song is supposed to be sung by a black gin, who is waiting the return of her husband, and upon hearing his "gladsome step", bids her attendants:

*Light, light the pine! let cedar burn,
To great Maliyan's glad return.*

Maliyan, we are told in a note, means the "great Eagle Hawk" [...].

We should not have taken the trouble to show the folly of this second attempt of Mrs. Dunlop's to make the blacks appear a different race of people from what they really are, were it to be circulated in this Colony only, but Mr. Nathan's music is likely to make it known in England, and therefore we thought it a duty to shew the real character of the verse [...].

But, comparing the "Australian melodies" with a literary opposite number, the recently issued first instalments of the printer James Tegg's serialised convict novel *The Legends of Australia* (now thought to be the work of John Dunmore Lang),⁸¹ another journal, *The New South Wales Examiner* offered a trenchant critique of Nathan's "national" project right at its outset:⁸²

⁸⁰ "NEW MUSIC", *The Sydney Herald* (18 April 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12874750>; the other two new publications were W. A. Duncan's *Adoro te devote*, reviewed on 4 April, and on 5 April Frederick Ellard's *Suisse Air with Variations*, both discussed below.

⁸¹ "LEGENDS OF AUSTRALIA", *The Sydney Gazette* (5 February 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2555678>.

⁸² Also "NEW MUSIC", *The New South Wales Examiner* (20 April 1842), [3]: <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402203/18420420/00000006/3-3.pdf>: "If music be rarely "married to immortal verse", it is certain that verse is rarely married to immortal music—a rule to which this piece is by no means an exception, so that Poet and Composer may view their performances with an equal degree of complacent satisfaction. The air is arranged for the Piano-forte, with a chorus of four voices, and on the whole is a very tolerable composition, and is as good as the generality of such productions, but we think it might have been written by any single individual out of the thousand and one who manufacture music, just as well as by Mr.

[...] Looking upon it [...] as an *Australian* melody, it is as great a misnomer as that of the so-called *Legends of Australia*, and the reasoning which applies in the one case applies—*mutatis mutandi*—in the other. The Irish Melodies, as all the world knows, are a series of songs, written by one THOMAS MOORE, and adapted to airs which had existed in the country for a long time anterior to the birth and reputation of the Irish poet. But in the present case, Mrs. DUNLOP writes some very pretty verses—which are without a single *local* association—and Mr. NATHAN makes a tune for them, and forthwith they are exalted, under distinguished patronage, into the style and title of *Australian Melodies*! The Public have had quite enough of this sort of pretension and quackery, and we say reform it altogether.

The Eagle Chief was first performed at Nathan's next grand concert, in the hall at Sydney College, on 27 May 1842. As the *Herald* advised, Nathan wisely kept his own works to a minimum, though *Long Live Victoria* again closed the concert, now advertised as having been supplied with "Extra parts". According to the *Gazette*, it "was performed as it has never before been performed in New South Wales. We like it the oftener we hear it".⁸³ Nathan also promised to perform on the piano "an EXTEMPORANEOUS CAPRICCIO modulating in the Major and Minor modes through thirty different keys" [sic!].⁸⁴

[3.3] *Koorinda Braia*

More interesting by far was another new written-down composition, *Koorinda Braia*, a new departure, described in the program as:

A genuine Aboriginal Melody, sung by the Maneroo tribe of Australia—presented to Mr. Nathan, by a highly respectable merchant of this Colony, and its authenticity identified and fully established by several native blacks.

The merchant in question was probably the same Henry (later the Reverend) Tincombe, or Tingcombe, who, according to Nathan, "resided for several years at Maneroo", and who supplied him with the melody for another later Monaro tribe setting, *War-goon-da Min-ya-rah*,⁸⁵ and possibly others. Nothing more is known of Tingcombe's ethnographic interests,

NATHAN—of whose powers such a trifle as this can give no very exalted notion. We cannot compliment the publisher on the style in which it is got up—the impression, upon indifferent paper, being a very inferior one, apparently from Zinc, and presenting a striking contrast to the chaste typography of *Adoro te devote*—recently published under the superintendence of Mr. W. A. DUNCAN. With respect to the poetry, as by a very allowable courtesy the words are termed, the verses are very pretty—very pretty indeed—such verses, in short, as a lady may write without damage to *her* reputation, and a composer set to music without any very favourable accession to his own [... continues with extract above...]."

⁸³ "Mr. Nathan's Concert", *The Sydney Gazette* (2 June 1842), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2556644>.

⁸⁴ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Gazette* (24 May 1842), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2556557>.

⁸⁵ See Nathan, *The Southern Euphrosyne*, 108: <http://www.nla.gov.au/apps/cdview?pi=nla.mus-an6427468-s118-y>; Tingcombe was a landowner near Liverpool by 1836, "LANSDOWNE BRIDGE", *The Sydney Herald* (30 May 1836), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12854426>; son of John Tincombe of Plymouth, he was 7 in 1817, and a student at Blundell's School, *Register of Blundell's School*, Volume 1 (1904), 97 (no 1551); John was at Parramatta in business in the mid-1830s, and an associate of Samuel Marsden; Henry was clerk of court at Penrith in 1839; vicar of St. Peter's, Armidale from 1846, and ordained priest at St. Andrew's, Sydney, by

but since his likely period of residency at Monaro was in the early 1830s, when he was in his twenties, it is tempting to speculate that he might also have supplied Lhotsky with the Monaro melody that he published in 1834, and a decade later brought the same melody to the attention of Nathan to be reworked as his *The Aboriginal Father*, discussed below.

The *Gazette* found *Koorinda Braia* “a fine specimen of good music”;⁸⁶ the *Herald* confessed to being “much delighted with some of Mr. Nathan’s new Australian Melodies”, referring back to its previous mention of *The Eagle Chief*:⁸⁷

[...] but the most striking of these is *Koorinda Braia*, a solo, quartette, and chorus [...] in the accompaniment the idea of the stick-beating by the gins is most cleverly maintained; the Cooee is introduced with really a most pleasing effect, and the variety of harmonics which are ingrafted upon the paucity of melody, says very much for Mr. Nathan’s knowledge of the science.

Though aware that “the introduction of these harmonies” to an Indigenous melody might be seen by some as “a liberty” (an issue for some, apparently, already in 1842), the *Herald* could not “help forgiving it in our admiration of the beauty and cleverness of the composition”. An “Observer” writing in to *The Australian* quibbled:⁸⁸

The genuine Aboriginal *Koorinda Braia* was genuine no doubt, but it is to be doubted if the introduction of such sounds in a Concert Room be calculated to inspire a refined taste for music.

Nevertheless, the anonymous critic seemed at one with Nathan in his hopes for Sydney producing its own popular song. As he walked home from the concert:

I could not help hoping after what I had heard, that the metropolis of New South Wales may one day have its peculiar popular song, and that little boys and wandering minstrels may ere long be allowed to give utterance to musical sounds in the streets, without fear of the handcuff, or truncheons of the policemen.

At the start of July, the printed edition of [Koorinda Braia](#)⁸⁹ was reviewed at length by Duncan in the *Chronicle*, apparently with some information supplied by Nathan himself:⁹⁰

This, if not the most elaborate, is, to our taste, the most interesting, of Mr. Nathan’s colonial compositions, inasmuch as it is destined to be preserved as a memorial of

Broughton, in 1847; “SYDNEY”, *The Courier* (27 March 1847), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2972304>; he was priest at Camden in 1867, and preached the sermon at John Macarthur’s funeral, later published: <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/28879257>; he died in 1874, aged 63: “DEATHS”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (31 July 1874), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13346696>.

⁸⁶ “Mr. Nathan’s Concert”, *The Sydney Gazette* (2 June 1842), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2556644>.

⁸⁷ “MR. NATHAN’S CONCERT”, *The Sydney Herald* (30 May 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12875453>.

⁸⁸ “ORIGINAL. CORRESPONDENCE: CONCERT. To the Editor”, *The Australian* (31 May 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37115169>.

⁸⁹ The NLA copy lacks the original title-page.

⁹⁰ “NEW MUSIC”, *The Australasian Chronicle* (2 July 1842), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31736395>.

ancient Australian melody after the race of ill fated aborigines shall have ceased for ever to sing and hold their *corroborees* on their invaded territories. The melody is extremely simple, and is preserved with great propriety by the composer in its original state. The harmony is also simple, but it is that kind of simplicity in which the master hand appears to the greatest possible advantage. Before commencing the song, which is in common time, the natives, by striking two pieces of wood against each other, beat two or three bars of perfect measure in treble time. Mr. Nathan has given a very good imitation for the piano of this kind of invocation as a prelude to the air, which he gives first as a solo, with varied accompaniments, and concludes the whole with a chorus for two trebles, two tenors, and bass, the stick beating process being again partially introduced in the accompaniment, as well as the singular Australian *coo-ey*, which, however, Mr. Nathan very properly states, has no relation to the melody, and is merely introduced *ad libitum*. The effect is certainly very curious. We would recommend the composer to have this interesting piece published in London, where it cannot fail to attract attention from the many who feel an interest in every thing tending to illustrate the manners and habits of savage tribes. We wish we could add that we hope the publication will be appreciated in the colony as we are convinced it deserves to be.

The composer's fond hopes and intentions—as much as the work's actual reception—may also have informed another long review, a month later, in *The Australian*:⁹¹

[Since] Nathan our Australian composer, has sent forth to the musical world his Aboriginal melody *Koorinda Braia*, the ladies of Sydney have all become infected with a mania for cooing: there is scarcely a patty now given where the visitors are not greeted with a *coeey* or a *Koorinda Braia*. Joking apart, we are happy to find this ingenious production introduced into the drawing room, and likely to become so general a favourite; it is no more than what we anticipated when we first heard it performed under the composer's own direction at the Sydney College, in June last [...] Those who are capable of appreciating the beautiful richness of, harmony which Nathan generally introduces into all his compositions, must admire to enthusiasm his ingenious mode of treating this simple Aboriginal Melody, which in common treatment, gives only for its bass the tonic and dominant. Who but a true musical genius and theorist like our English composers could have repeated, as he has done, this short melody of only eight bars, seven times, and excite in the listener a desire to hear it again repeated seven times without dread of offending the ears by the least shadow of monotony? monotony which the composer has most ingeniously avoided by his brilliant bursts of scientific and characteristic *discords* elegantly *resolving* into *concord*s to every repetition of the melody; and what makes this singular relief from monotony so very extraordinary is the fact, that we have but two words to the whole composition, namely, *KoorindaBraia*, and these two words are repeated two and forty times; thus, an *encore* gives us eighty-four “Koorinda Braia's”, which the audience at the Sydney College listened to with delight, and appeared as if they could have listened to it again with pleasure [...] With regard to the *coeey* so effectively introduced at the conclusion of the composition, we cannot pass a greater compliment on Nathan than quote what a contemporary has already said, that “when we first heard the *coeey* we thought it

⁹¹ “COOING WITHOUT BILLING”, *The Australian* (8 August 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37118235>.

issued from some person lost in the Bush”. We have now only to offer our best apology to the ladies, for presuming to interfere with their cooing, and are ready to admit that every excuse must be allowed for the fascinating appearance of *Koorinda Braia*.

Nathan later reset and republished *Koorinda* in a “new edition” in *The Southern Euphrosyne*, with the typically hyperbolic claim:⁹²

[...] which may be thought acceptable since it is a melody as popular and as well known to every Australian, as *God Save the Queen* to every Englishman.

Nathan’s anonymous source for the description of the Kibbarah ceremony in *The Southern Euphrosyne*, places the original *Koorinda* chant at the end of an initiation ceremony after the last of the ordeals:⁹³

This final rite duly accomplished, a loud koo-ee rings out its warning notes for the women to return to the encampment. Sufficient time having elapsed, the tribes follow singing the *koorinda-braia* (the song of peace) as they return in procession.

According to the note of explanation also published there:⁹⁴

The *Koorinda-braia* is a song of rejoicing, held in great estimation by the aborigines, and sung by them at their Corrobories and Kibbarahs; their mode of singing this and all their native strains, whether the subject be plaintive or cheerful is somewhat singular [...] before the commence the *Koorinda-braia* which is in 2/4 time, they first (by striking [sic] two pieces of stick against each other) beat two or three bars in perfect *measure* to *triple-time*, seemingly as if trying to excite inspiration; they then continue beating and marking the time and rhythm, with accuracy not to be surpassed by the best musicians at the Italian Opera, of the melody which is sung with sweet correctness, repeating the song several times; each repetition with increased energy and animated gestures—until the singers become completely exhausted by their enthusiasm [...]

What “*Koorinda-braia*” really imports, we could never satisfactorily ascertain; many persons whom we have consulted, are of the opinion, that it is the name of one of their chiefs, whose memory they venerate, and always eulogise in song. We have questioned the aborigines on the subject, but, either from some superstitious motive, or a desire to prevent us from becoming as wise as themselves, no two of them give the same translation [...]

But Nathan stopped short of claiming to have witnessed a native performance of *Koorinda-braia* himself.

According to the *Gazette*’s report of what was probably the second performance, on 8

⁹² *The Southern Euphrosyne*, 126; first page of music, 127: <http://www.nla.gov.au/apps/cdview?pi=nla.mus-an6427468-s137-v>.

⁹³ *The Southern Euphrosyne*, 101: <http://www.nla.gov.au/apps/cdview?pi=nla.mus-an6427468-s111-v>.

⁹⁴ *The Southern Euphrosyne*, 107: <http://www.nla.gov.au/apps/cdview?pi=nla.mus-an6427468-s117-v>.

July 1842:⁹⁵

There was music, humour and taste, and in such company, who could fail to be pleased? *Koorinda Braia* was performed in first-rate style. When the Cooley chimed in, a gentleman near us said, “Some unfortunate fellow has lost himself in the bush”. This is just the effect which should be produced. It gives a complete view of the aboriginal wild scene, and despite all the evidences of civilization around us, for the moment we almost thought ourselves savage. We scarcely know which we most admired, the composition or the performance. We could say much more on this piece, but all would fail properly to represent the effect to those who have not heard it. It was encored, of course. We saw even our aristocracy relax their dignity, and join as heartily as others in the unanimous cheer.

At that same concert,⁹⁶ Nathan made a well-aimed bid for public sympathy, advertising he would devote the entire proceeds to the benefit of the Benevolent Asylum (the sum reportedly £16).⁹⁷ As well as repeats of the *Long Live Victoria*, the *Aboriginal Mother*, and *Koorinda Braia*, he tried his hand at another, this time Hibernian “Australian melody”, [Mable Macmahon](#), with words from the Irish by Eliza Dunlop, and strategically dedicated on publication to the Irish-born colonial Attorney-General, Roger Therry.⁹⁸ Unfortunately, the new song was not mentioned in the *Herald's* review of the concert, though it praised Nathan:⁹⁹

[...] for exerting his well known musical talents in aid of so worthy an object as the Benevolent Asylum and it is only to be regretted that the pressure of the times prevented (as we know) many from testifying their sense of the obligation. The audience was highly respectable and amounted to about three hundred: in better times we should undoubtedly have had at least three times that number.

When [Star of the South](#), “an Australian national melody”, appeared in print in August, the *Herald* not only noted Nathan’s resolve in “establishing us a music of our own”, but, instructively, gave its opinion of what Australian National melody should be:¹⁰⁰

Mr. Nathan, with most laudable industry, seems resolved upon establishing us a music of our own. We have now before us his fifth Australian composition, *Star of the South*, an “Australian National Melody”, the composition pleases us much, and we allow it to possess no small amount of beauty and merit in pronouncing it to be one Mr. Nathan’s best. The air is what a national air should be—Majestic; but it is

⁹⁵ “Mr. Nathan’s Concert”, *The Sydney Gazette* (12 July 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2556974>.

⁹⁶ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Herald* (4 July 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12876006>.

⁹⁷ “BENEVOLENT ASYLUM”, *The Sydney Herald* (28 July 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12876429>.

⁹⁸ C. H. Currey, “Therry, Roger (1800-1874)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 2 (1967), 512-513: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020470b.htm>.

⁹⁹ “CONCERT FOR THE BENEVOLENT ASYLUM”, *The Sydney Herald* (11 July 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12876089>.

¹⁰⁰ “NEW MUSIC”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (9 August 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12419051/1521485>; also “NEW MUSIC”, *Australasian Chronicle* (11 August 1842), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31736838>.

at the same time flowing and pleasing, and is enriched throughout with the most effective combinations; whether we listen as an idler, or scrutinize the harmonies with more critical industry, we have nought but delight, as far as the composer is concerned.

Predictably, however, it again drew the line at Dunlop's lyrics:

We wish, for gallantry sake, that we could speak of the poetry in the same terms, but we cannot, even in our most allegorical mood, imagine what the "Star of the South" has to do with either "Soft flowing tresses," or "Proud eagle glances". It is not polite of us, but we do wish that the new "National Melody" had been set to better words.

This prompted Dunlop, in a feisty reply, to outline her political position, and insisting that her words:¹⁰¹

[...] an offering to the people of New South Wales, should have been published by the Critic to enable the many to form their own judgment of its fitness for the period when we can for the first time be truly designated A PEOPLE [...] To have given that poetry to your readers unslurred by prejudicial remark, would have been no more than justice to a pen, not a paid one, but proud of contributing to the quota of original literature of the colony. But has not the author added to a former offence, against a formidable clique, by saying that Australia possesses "*happy homes and altars free!*" and, by ascribing the moral bulwarks of a nation to this young country, offended by declaring in the name of the People that we value the blessings we possess and that the advancement or ascent of Australasia in the scale of the nations of the earth should, in full fellowship of feeling with the sons and daughters of the land be the honest desire of all those who have found a refuge and a rest within it! [...]

To which the *Herald* replied:

As Mrs. Dunlop appears to wish that her song should have a place in the columns of the *Herald*, we have not the slightest objection to oblige her [...] We admire, as much as Mrs. Dunlop can possibly do, "*happy homes and free altars*", but it does not follow that we should admire bad poetry written in their praise. Eds.

*Hail, star of the south! Australasia advance,
With thy soft flowing tresses, they proud eagle glance.
Happy homes and free altars, broad lands and bright skies—
All are thine—star of beauty, arise!
Chorus: Hail, star, &c. [...]*

The editor of the *Gazette* gave to space to a longer view of "Mr. NATHAN AND HIS AIRS IN AUSTRALIA":¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ "THE STAR OF THE SOUTH: To the Editors", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (30 August 1842), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12426027>.

To any one at all conversant with the sublime science of music, it must appear that the land we love promises as fair as ever did Italia; and there may be found, yet, some day, a feminine admirer of the divinity of sounds equal to the celebrated, but unfortunate, Mary Queen of Scots, and a performer as Sardanapalian as the equally unfortunate Rizzio. Mr. Nathan, since his arrival amongst us, has earned “golden opinions of all sorts of men”, and his endeavours to set to music the poetry of the highly gifted Mrs. Dunlop, adds another laurel to the crown won by his meritorious adaptation of Byron’s *Hebrew melodies*. Still, *Koorinda Braia* strikes us, with all its nativeness, as a hoax on that science which is a kin to mathematics; and if any one more gifted than another with the rudiments of Apollo’s school can desecrate a refinement of harmony in the aforesaid *Koorinda Braia*, we lay our judgment on the shelf. *Star of the South*, and *Mable Macmahon* have but an ordinary standing, in our opinion, to a good judge; still are there beauties of composition in the music, as well as the poetry, which deserved much admiration, and we would fondly hope that the fair authoress of the poetry, and the renowned composer of the music will long live to establish the fame of Australia.

[We insert the above facetious paragraph which has been written for our columns by an itinerant musician. Mr. N. cannot take offence at the jealousy of the poor unfortunate whose pocket and elbows bear a great similitude, being both out.—ED. SYD. GAZ.]

And by then, there were indeed enough of Nathan’s “Australian airs” in circulation to warrant categorising them generically, as his advertisement in late August indicates:¹⁰³

AUSTRALIAN and ABORIGINAL MELODIES, by Nathan.

STAR OF THE SOUTH - Inscribed to His Honor Mr. La Trobe.

MABLE MACMAHON - Inscribed to Roger Therry, Esq., Attorney-General.

KOORINDA BRAIA - Inscribed to Mrs. E. Deas Thomson

THE EAGLE CHIEF - Inscribed to Lady O’Connell.

THE ABORIGINAL MOTHER - Inscribed to Lady Gipps.

National Anthem, LONG LIVE VICTORIA - Inscribed to Sir George Gipps.

Published by the Composer, Ada Cottage, Prince-street.

Meanwhile, interest in his activity among those “who feel an interest in every thing tending to illustrate the manners and habits of savage tribes”, would seem to have been growing even in the colony, on the strength a review of volume 2 of George Grey’s recently published *Journals of Two Expeditions in North-West and Western Australia*, that suggested:¹⁰⁴

Of those aboriginal songs which Captain Grey has published and translated, we

¹⁰² “MR. NATHAN AND HIS AIRS IN AUSTRALIA”, *The Sydney Gazette* (18 August 1842), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2557151>; this was Nathan’s farewell notice from the *Gazette*; after almost 30 years, it succumbed to the pressures of the times and ceased to publish on 20 October 1842: <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/696082>.

¹⁰³ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (27 August 1842), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12408146>.

¹⁰⁴ “NOTITIAE AUSTRALASIANAE”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (23 September 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12411576>; Grey’s book has been referred to previously.

recommend some to the notice of Mr. Nathan. If *Korinda Braia* deserved immortality, some of the others ought not to be passed over.

After Dunlop's *Star of the South*, Nathan celebrated the new political era of landowner suffrage ushered in with the establishment of a city council for Sydney in 1842, by composing a song dedicated to the new mayor, John Hosking, Australia's first elected leader. According to Nathan's title page, and as reported in the *Chronicle*, his and W. A. Duncan's new "national song", [Australia, the Wide and the Free](#), was sung by Nathan himself at the first Sydney civic dinner on 21 December 1842, an event Hosking paid for out of his private purse.¹⁰⁵ Though the song was not mentioned in other press reports,¹⁰⁶ another versifying observer took time out—amid the insolvencies and the bitter economic plight—similarly to read, in the Mayor's Dinner and Elections, evidence that:¹⁰⁷

*A week eventful in Australia's fame
Has given the closing year a deathless name,
And furnish'd pledge that this henceforth shall be—
The glorious birthplace of the brave and free [...].*

[3.4] *The Aboriginal Father*

The print of *Australia, the Wide and the Free*, with its dedication to Hosking, was reviewed at New Year 1843,¹⁰⁸ and advertised in time for 55th colonial anniversary on the 26th January—along with Nathan's second setting of a "native melody", [The Aboriginal Father](#), subtitled "a native song of the Maneroo tribe", with words by Mrs. Dunlop, and dedicated to Hosking's wife Martha.¹⁰⁹ These dedications were, even for Nathan, especially apposite; Hosking's extensive country land holdings then included Gillimatong Station in the Monaro,¹¹⁰ and the following year 1843 would hit Hosking's fortunes hard, as it would Nathans'.¹¹¹ Nathan made it abundantly clear, even without naming his source, that he first encountered the melody of *The Aboriginal Father* as "deformed and mutilated" in Lhotsky's 1834 print, deprecations he then claimed to have been able, to his "astonishment", to put

¹⁰⁵ "THE MAYOR'S DINNER", *Australasian Chronicle* (22 December 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31738318>.

¹⁰⁶ "THE MAYOR'S DINNER", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (26 December 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12420511>; "THE MAYOR'S FEAST", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (22 December 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12412355>; curiously, neither Nathan nor Duncan was listed among the guests, though Nathan's son, Charles, was.

¹⁰⁷ "ORIGINAL POETRY: THE MAYOR'S DINNER AND THE ELECTIONS", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (30 December 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12413939>.

¹⁰⁸ "NEW PUBLICATIONS", *Australasian Chronicle* (31 December 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31738426>.

¹⁰⁹ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (21 January 1843), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12417181>.

¹¹⁰ Vivienne Parsons, "Hosking, John (1806-1882)", *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 1 (1966), 554-555: <http://adonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A010515b.htm>.

¹¹¹ William Henry Wells, *A Geographical Dictionary: or Gazetteer of the Australian Colonies* (Sydney: W. & F. Ford, 1848), 180: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=FRUXAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA180#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

right, having himself later heard “the same melody sung in all its genuine purity & simplicity, by one of the Maneroo tribes”:¹¹²

On my arrival in Australia, I felt anxious for the honor, pride and glory of musical tradition to make myself acquainted with the characteristic peculiarities of the native Aboriginal airs. I was [We were] favoured with a lithographic copy of this beautifully pathetic melody, so deformed and mutilated by false rhythm, so disguised in complete masquerade, by false bases & false harmony, that I [we] cast it from me [us] [...] My [Our] astonishment however, a short time later afterwards was only equalled by the delight I experienced at hearing the same melody sung in all its genuine purity & simplicity, by one of the Maneroo tribes.

As duly corrected, Nathan whimsically imagined:

There is in the first 4 bars of this melody, so striking an affinity to one of Handel’s Compositions, that those who are unacquainted with the works of that great master might find difficulty in divesting themselves of the belief, that the Aborigines had been guilty of piracy [...] As to the affinity of the four bars alluded to [...] we must exclaim [...] that there can be no stronger proof of the musical powers of these beings, nor of the nature of Handel’s compositions.

The edition was reviewed on 19 January in the *Herald*, which, prompted by similarity to “Handel and Neukomm”, was forced to the remarkable concession that “we may yet discover much reason to be proud of our Aboriginal composers”:¹¹³

Among the many compositions with which Mr. Nathan has favoured us during his residence in Australia, none has pleased us more than the above song: it is in every respect worthy of the composer of the *Hebrew Melodies*. The melody (in D minor) is very beautiful, and capable of great effects from harmonisation. Mr. Nathan has realised all these in the most judicious and scientific style. The air was taken by Mr. Nathan from one of the Maneroo tribe, but it certainly savours strongly of the compositions of Handel und Neukomm [...] It appears that we may yet discover much reason to be proud of our Aboriginal composers [...] There are others who fancy that scientific harmonization is only to be appreciated by the musical

¹¹² *The Southern Euphrosyne*, 104: <http://www.nla.gov.au/apps/cdview?pi=nla.mus-an6427468-s114-v>; an edited version also appears in *South Australian Register* (25 February 1843), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article27444047>; what firsthand experience Nathan had of Aboriginal music is unclear; if his essay on “Traits of the Australian Aborigines” in *The Southern Euphrosyne* is to be read at face value as his own observations, he must have travelled surprisingly widely, claiming as he did to have witnessed Aboriginal children at school “with the offspring of Europeans, and on the same forms” in Adelaide (95); but it was to “W. C.” author of “*Wanderings in Australia* [...] an unpublished M.S.” that he attributed the observation of having to travel as far south as to cross the Murray, into the Goulburn River district of Australia Felix (modern Victoria), before meeting an aboriginal in the wild (95-96), and despite claiming to “delineate that which we have beheld” (98) probably likewise his description of “The native Corrobory (Dance)” (97) witnessed on the MacLeay River in the Far North of modern New South Wales, was not his either (97); the description of the Kibbarah, or initiation ceremony, in “A Scene in the district of Port Macquarie”, is not his own, but reprinted.

¹¹³ “NEW MUSIC”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (19 January 1843), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12411279>; see also: “NEW PUBLICATION”, *Australasian Chronicle* (19 January 1843), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31738598>; and “THE ABORIGINAL FATHER”, *The Australian* (27 January 1843), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37116848>.

theorist.—let them compare this song by Mr. Nathan with a former arrangement of the same air by another composer. We hope to see the *Aboriginal Father* an universal favourite, as the study of music of this sort must beget a correct taste for the science.

Despite encouragement from this least likely of sources, there is no record of even a single performance of *The Aboriginal Father*, and it was the last of Nathan's Aboriginal melodies issued as a separate print.

His remaining arrangements appeared together in *The Southern Euphrosyne*, released at New Year 1848.¹¹⁴ As well as a new edition of **Koorinda Braia**, it included the first and only editions, with explanatory notes, of a separate set of harmonised **Koo-ees**,¹¹⁵ and three other fully-composed settings: **War-goon-da min-ya-rah**, another "Aboriginal Melody sung by the Maneroo Tribes of Australia" (it had been performed once previously in June 1844, along with *Koorinda Braia*);¹¹⁶ **Ah! Wy-a Boo-ka**, or The Turtle Song, "An Aboriginal Melody sung by the Wellington Valley Tribe of Australia";¹¹⁷ and **Dital Dital Balooni** (A Native Battle Song). Nathan also described one further setting, **Ah! Warin-ee, Ah Warin-ee**:¹¹⁸

[...] a sweetly flowing melancholy strain, supposed to be a song of lamentation, sung over the body or grave of a departed relative [...] The melody admits of exquisite pathos—great variety of harmony, and free scope for fanciful accompaniments [...].

However, he explained that "our limited found of music type, will not at present allow us to lay before the public". Of all these extra works, however, there is only one record of a performance, on 6 February 1854, in a concert by Nathan and the St. Mary's Choral Society, when the *Herald* observed (sic): "The native war song, *Dirai dital valonni* fell very flat".¹¹⁹

Nathan may also have intended to set another poem by Mrs. Dunlop printed in the *Euphrosyne*, "Our Home is the *Gibber-gunyah*".¹²⁰ When Dunlop herself sent the poem, based on her experiences of the tribes at her home in Wollombi, to the *Herald* in September 1848 (her rift with the paper, by then perhaps repaired), she included the following note:¹²¹

There is a god of Poesy, Wallatu, who composes music, and who, without temple,

¹¹⁴ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (1 November 1847), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12892185>.

¹¹⁵ And notes, 102: <http://www.nla.gov.au/apps/cdview?pi=nla.mus-an6427468-s112-e>.

¹¹⁶ Notes, 108: <http://www.nla.gov.au/apps/cdview?pi=nla.mus-an6427468-s118-e>; on the performance, see [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (10 July 1844), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28651248>.

¹¹⁷ Notes, 114: <http://www.nla.gov.au/apps/cdview?pi=nla.mus-an6427468-s124-e>.

¹¹⁸ Notes, 114: <http://www.nla.gov.au/apps/cdview?pi=nla.mus-an6427468-s124-v>.

¹¹⁹ "ST. MARY'S CHORAL SOCIETY", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (7 February 1854), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12953477>.

¹²⁰ Page 94: <http://www.nla.gov.au/apps/cdview?pi=nla.mus-an6427468-s104-v>.

¹²¹ "NATIVE POETRY", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (11 October 1848), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12904464>.

shrine, or statue, is as universally acknowledged as if the oracles were breathed by Belus or Osirus: he comes in dreams, and transports the individual to some sunny hill, where he is inspired with the supernatural gift.

Nevertheless, Nathan had probably realised by early 1843, that his Australian and Aboriginal melodies were not going to develop into local counterparts of the *Hebrew Melodies*. He only made one other desultory—and deeply unfortunate—public attempt in this direction, advertised in the *Herald* on 24 February 1845, and reviewed in the same issue:¹²²

A GOOD BLACK GIN: AN AUSTRALIAN MELODY. Inscribed with great deference, and profound respect, to the loyal subjects of his late most gracious, highly accomplished, and revered antipodal Majesty KING BUNGAREE. Poet, LIEUT. DENT, R.N. Composer, J. NATHAN.

New Song: We have received a newly published song, the words by Lieutenant Dent, and the music by Nathan. It is in praise of a black gin, and is as ribald a production as it has been our lot to meet with for a long time. It cannot be admitted into any decent family, and we regret that any of Nathan's music should be arranged to such words.

It would be pleasant to think that this was a *Herald* hoax at Nathan's expense. But Lieutenant Dent was real enough (he arrived in Sydney in 1842,¹²³ and left to return to London on 12 March 1845,¹²⁴ shortly after the *Black Gin* was released); and so, alas, is Nathan's music, though the surviving copy of **A Good Black Gin**¹²⁵ is notably one Nathan work that has not been digitised for online viewing. That Nathan, from asserting the "musical powers" Indigenous Australians in *The Aboriginal Father*, was apparently reduced to lampooning one of their number, the already historical Sydney figure of Bungaree (who died in the early 1830s)¹²⁶—not uncommonly a figure of fun in the settler community—may well have been symptomatic, also, of Nathan's growing general disenchantment with his Australian project that set in around 1843, discussed below. Another possibly mitigating explanation, however, is that Dent and Nathan, both only relatively recent arrivals, may have confused the earlier (and today famous) Bungaree with an Australian boxer, John Gorrick, who affected the name Bungaree, and who had reportedly died as a result of injuries

¹²² [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (24 February 1845), 2:

<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12877634>; "NEW SONG", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (24 February 1845), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12877635>; also [Advertisement], *The Weekly Register* 4/85 (8 March, 1845), 119:

<http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18450308/00040085/9-12.pdf>.

¹²³ "ARRIVALS", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (14 April 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12874709>.

¹²⁴ "CLEARANCE", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (13 March 1845), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12878013>.

¹²⁵ Copy at SL-NSW: <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/15607824>.

¹²⁶ F.D. McCarthy, "Bungaree (-1830)", *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 1 (1966), 177:

<http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A010162b.htm>; on Bungaree, see also David Hansen, "Death Dance", *Australian Book Review* (April 2007), 27-32; also in ABR online archive: http://www.australianbookreview.com.au/files/Features/Calibre/ABR_April_07_Hansen_essay.pdf.

sustained in a prize fight in London in 1842.¹²⁷ According to Graham Pont, Nathan had been a keen amateur pugilist in London.

Yet another mitigating factor, Nathan's Australian and Aboriginal Melodies had, likewise, attracted comic and satirical imitators, at around the same at the same time as the earliest Sydney appearance, from the United States, of "Nigger melodies". At Coppin's Saloon, in May 1844, Jim Brown, it was promised, "will screech his unrivalled Nigger Melodies",¹²⁸ and in November, G. Skinner's Clown Hotel advertised "ROMBO SOMBO, the celebrated Nigger Melodist".¹²⁹ Later, in 1847, Nathan's friends, the Howson brothers, were involved with F. W. Horncastle's comedy evening of "Aboriginal Irish Music",¹³⁰ though as repeated in July 1848, the program as advertised appears to have been rather more at the expense of the Irish than the Aborigines:¹³¹

THIS DAY [...] he will repeat one of his vocal Irish Entertainments of Aboriginal Music [...] PROGRAMME: PART I. 1. *Irish Mother's Lament*. 2. *Wonderful Tune* 3. *Legend of Knocka rafter*. [...]

But the level to which satire of Nathan's project could and did descend, and the vitriol it summoned up, is all too clearly apparent in this spoof article in *The Moreton Bay Courier* in November 1847:¹³²

LATEST FROM LONDON: THE NIGGERS' PROTECTION ASSOCIATION. BY the Aerial Machine's Mail we have received à report of the proceedings of the above-named Society at their last meeting in London, Mr. Alderman Tallow in the chair [...] Mr. Fig Muggins [...] had heard it stated that the aborigines of Australia were in a state of the deepest human degradation, but he knew the contrary. He had received from his son an original war song, called *Coreenda Braiaa*, which had been written and set to music by a respectable old native called Ngaythun. Of the beauties of this composition he would enable them all to judge, as he has made himself master of it, and would sing it to them now if they pleased. (Hear, hear.) [Mr. Fig Muggins then sang the song called *Coreenda Braiaa*, accompanying himself on an inkstand and a ruler, and performing at the same time the appropriate war dance. The exhibition was received with great applause, after which Mr. Muggins proceeded.] He would now ask the meeting if a people boasting a musician like Ngaythun did not deserve their best assistance ? (Hear, hear.) [...]

¹²⁷ "THE GREAT FIGHT BETWEEN BROOME AND BUNGAREE", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (19 September 1842), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12411207>; "DEATH OF BUNGAREE THE PUGILIST", *The Sydney Gazette* (13 October 1842), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2557547>.

¹²⁸ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (6 May 1844), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12415327>.

¹²⁹ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (9 November 1844), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12420642>.

¹³⁰ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (16 July 1847), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12893324>; by 1849, when Mr. Howard sang at Madame Carandini's Hobart Farewell, the press noticed his *Lucy Neal* and the *Buffalo Gals*, "which songs have been most ridiculously entitled by a most vitiated taste, Nigger Melodies"; "THE CONCERT", *Colonial Times* (25 May 1849), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8764994>.

¹³¹ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (19 July 1848), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12911657>.

¹³² "LATEST FROM LONDON: THE NIGGERS' PROTECTION ASSOCIATION", *The Moreton Bay Courier* (13 November 1847), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3708401>.

Nor, contrary to such local press predictions, do Nathan's Aboriginal melodies seem to have found an English or European audience. They did not, for instance, come to the attention of Carl Engel who, rather, in his *An Introduction to the Study of National Music* in 1866 did quote a closely contemporary extract from the published *Journals* (1845) of Edward John Eyre, concerning his experience of central Australian Indigenous dance and song—apparently, to Europeans, a far more captivating proposition:¹³³

New figures and new songs are constantly introduced, and are as much applauded and encored as more refined productions of a similar kind in civilized communities; being sometimes passed from tribe to tribe for a considerable distance. I have often seen dances performed to songs with which I was acquainted, and which I knew to belong to distant parts of the country where a different dialect was spoken, and which consequently could not be understood where I heard them. Many of the natives cannot give even an interpretation of the songs of their own districts.

Even in Australia, if the newspaper record is anything to go by, Nathan's Aboriginal melodies were mostly quickly forgotten. After Barton listed *The Southern Euphrosyne* in his 1866 *Literature in New South Wales*,¹³⁴ and it was not until 1891 that Robert Etheridge, a paleontologist, in his "Catalogue of Works, Reports and Papers on the Anthropology, Ethnography, and Geological History of the Australian and Tasmanian Aborigines", next observed:¹³⁵

There appears to be a great dearth of literature relating to the Music and Songs of our Aborigines [...] But one of the most interesting results of my bibliographical researches has been the unearthing of four native melodies, arranged by J. Nathan, in an old and long lost-sight-of Sydney magazine, called the *Southern Euphrosyne and Australian Miscellany* [...].

¹³³ Edward John Eyre, *Journals of Expeditions and Discovery into Central Australia* (London, 1845, II: 229: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=RiAQAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA229&pg=PA229#v=onepage&q&f=false>; quoted in Engel, *An Introduction to the Study of National Music*, 319; in his pamphlet, *Manners and Customs of the Aborigines of the Encounter Bay Tribe, South Australia* (Adelaide, 1846), Heinrich August Meyer reported one tribe's account of the origins of language differences, as quoted in Gerstaecker, *Narrative of a Journey Round the World [...] with a visit to the gold regions of California and Australia* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1853), 481: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=F_FIAAAAIJ&pg=PA481#v=onepage&q&f=false: "Languages originated from an ill-tempered old woman. In remote time an old woman, named Wurruri, lived toward the east, and generally walked with a large stick in her hand, to scatter the fires round which others were sleeping. Wurruri at length died. Greatly delighted at this circumstance, they sent messengers in all directions to give notice of her death. Men, women, and children came, not to lament, but to show their joy. The Raminjerar were the first who fell upon the corpse, and commenced eating the flesh, and immediately began to speak intelligibly. The other tribes to the eastward arriving later, eat the contents of the intestines, which caused them to speak a language slightly different. The northern tribes came last, and devoured the intestines and all that remained, and immediately spoke a language differing still more from that of the Raminjerar".

¹³⁴ Barton, *Literature*, 162:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=3KclAAAAMAAJ&pg=PA192&#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

¹³⁵ R. Etheridge, Junr., "Catalogue of Works, Reports and Papers on the Anthropology, Ethnography, and Geological History of the Australian and Tasmanian Aborigines. Part II", *Memoirs of the Geological Survey of New South Wales: Palaeontology, Volumes 7-9* (1890), 3; see also 36.

Etheridge also noticed one other example seldom, if ever, cited since, “A chant [...] found in J. P. Townsend’s *Rambles and Observations in New South Wales*”, published in London in 1849.¹³⁶ In fact, with Lhotsky’s 1834 *Song*, and Nathan’s *Melodies*, Townsend’s [An Aboriginal Chant](#) is one more setting of a clearly genuine original, harmonised and arranged with piano accompaniment, no less, and indeed perhaps more accurately than its predecessors.

Between 1842 and 1846 when he returned to England, Townsend travelled country New South Wales, from Ulladulla to the Illawarra, and the *Rambles* includes several observations of native song. Not always a sympathetic observer, he borrowed a couplet from Ford: “*When they joined in doleful chorus,/How these happy blacks did bore us*” (90), yet admitted at the same time that one of his most admired native guides, “Jimmy Woodbury” was “a great man at corrobories [...] and I know that he has walked fifty miles, in one day, in order to join in a dance at night”.¹³⁷ Townsend also noted:

When our blacks visited Sydney, and saw the military paraded, and heard the bands, they said that was “white fellow’ corrobory” [...]

And, like Eyre, he also observed that “new songs” passed quickly from tribe to tribe:

Their own songs are monotonous, and consist of the frequent repetition of a few words, such as, “Water, water, where is water? There is water, welling out of the ground”; but this, of course, is sung in their own dialect. They have their bards or rhymers, who compose their songs; and, when a new song is produced, it passes quickly from tribe to tribe. (100)

But as to the *Aboriginal Chant*, unfortunately, Townsend gives no information as to where and how he collected, or arranged it.¹³⁸

¹³⁶ Joseph Phipps Townsend, *Rambles and Observations in New South Wales with sketches of men and manners, notices of the Aborigines and glimpses of scenery, and some hints to emigrants* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1849): <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=uhNFAAAAIAAJ&source=gbs>.

¹³⁷ Townsend, *Rambles*, 89; also 97: “During the fine summer nights, the blacks held frequent corrobories, dancing, by the light of the moon, to the chant of the gins, which was accompanied by the clapping together of sticks [...]”; see also this later description, “Roma”, *The Queenslander* (19 October 1867), 7: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article20315620>: “All the Verdis, Donnizettis, Rossinis, Balfes, Wallaces [...] of the bush seem to be born and reside on the Ballonne, and every time they invent a new “corroboree”, or compose new music, there is a general gathering of the tribes from far and near, to be drilled and rehearsed, just as at the opera. I was present at one by invitation just before Christmas. There were between 200 and 300 performers, exclusive of the “orchestra”, which might number fifty [...] the dancing part of the affair somewhat resembled the last figure of our “Lancers” [quadrilles]. The whole was exceedingly picturesque; the music, though somewhat monotonous and very nasal, was more varied than usual, and was in the minor key (I believe all nature sings in the minor key). The time, both in the music and the dancing, was perfection [...]”.

¹³⁸ Townsend’s surviving papers include a later correspondence with the colourful William Augustus Miles, supposed bastard son of William IV, Sydney’s police commissioner, and who shared some ethnographic interest in Aboriginal culture, notably in Miles’s case sketches he made of native rock carvings; moreover, Miles’s (legal) father, also William Augustus Miles, was a composer whose musical career (he wrote and published several Drury Lane operas in the 1770s and 1780s) and unhappy association with the then prince of Wales and later with his brother William IV, ran along very similar lines to Nathan’s, several decades later; Hazel King, “Miles, William Augustus (1798-1851)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 2 (1967), 228-229: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020195b.htm>.

[3.5] Nathan's Sydney circle

[...] *In the far sunny South there's a refuge from wrong,
Where the Shiloh of Freedom, expected so long,
To Genius already is shouting his song!—
'Tis the evergreen Land of AUSTRALIA.*

Charles Harpur, *The Emigrant's Vision* (1846).¹³⁹

NATHAN'S talented daughter, Rosetta, who had sung the *Aboriginal Mother* for the first time, died unexpectedly on 1 April 1843, aged just sixteen, a "highly accomplished, amiable, and virtuous young lady, who was but a few hours ago the pride and delight of her family and friends".¹⁴⁰ Eliza Dunlop sent in from Wollombi, *Rosetta Nathan's Dirge*, published without further comment in the *Herald*:¹⁴¹

*Way for my grief—give way—
Shroud not that beauteous form,
I would but kiss the brow which yesterday
With life's young pulse was warm,
And now—oh God! 'tis clay! [...].*

For once, Nathan did not make the most of an opportunity, and Dunlop's dirge—despite having rather more sinew than some of the verses she offered him—remained unset. Close on the heels of the *Aboriginal Father*, it is hard not to see Rosetta's death as marking a turn in Nathan's personal life that coincided with a downturn in his public fortunes. He appears to have to have lost heart in his Australian melodies, realising perhaps that Australians themselves valued them less highly than he had hoped. And his fiscal rewards, which the pundits warned him on arrival were anyway likely to be curtailed in the straightened times, were slipping away.¹⁴² He'd been insolvent at least once, fifteen years previously in England.¹⁴³ And again, while not the first composer in Australia to be declared so, he was certainly the first in Australia to be named both "composer" and "insolvent", on 1 March 1844:¹⁴⁴

¹³⁹ From "POEMS BY CHARLES HARPUR, IX: The Emigrant's Vision", *Maitland Mercury* (27 June 1846), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article682383>.

¹⁴⁰ "DEATHS", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (3 April 1843), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12413592>.

¹⁴¹ "ROSETTA NATHAN'S DIRGE", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (25 April 1843), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12417841>.

¹⁴² On the serious effects of the general depression, see Manning Clark, *History* 3: 293-94; Clark also reproduced extracts from some of the ballad songs circulating during the depression, 299-300, though interestingly there is no evidence of any corresponding repertory of "depression" art music.

¹⁴³ On his application for a "certificate" of release from insolvency, see "From the *London Gazette* of Tuesday, Aug. 7: Certificates", *The Morning Chronicle* (8 August 1827): "Isaac Nathan, of Wellington-place [...], music-seller".

¹⁴⁴ "INSOLVENTS", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (2 March 1844), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12413726>; Nathan was also in dispute at this time with Eliza Bushelle, "ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE: ADVERTISEMENT", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (16 April 1844), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12416317>; for his discharge, see: "APPLICATIONS OF INSOLVENTS", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (24 July 1844), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12415680>; for a list of creditors,

INSOLVENTS: The following estates were sequestrated yesterday, viz. Isaac Nathan, of Hunter street, Sydney, composer of music, there being an execution issued against him. Debts £530 17s Assets—personal property, £75. Balance deficiency £455.

Nathan never tabulated in print what his Australian venture cost him. And, anyway, he could be remarkably resilient. Already in December 1844, he was trying to interest local magazines in the publication of his Sydney College lectures on music. As *The Atlas* described his prospectus:¹⁴⁵

After an amusing exposition of the reasons which urged him to consent to appear as a lecturer at the Sydney College and to prepare his lectures for publication, Mr. Nathan adds, that a kind of patriotic pride, to send home to our mother-country our own produce of science, as well as sheeps'-wool and mutton-fat, induced him to make an effort and publish his lectures here in Sydney, and hence the prospectus before us.

But when the first three of the lectures did finally appear in print two years later, ultimately self-published, his introduction hinted at the personal toll. Looking back to his first Oratorio at St. Mary's in 1841, he recalled both the lack of musical sophistication in "one part of the audience", and a more ingrained lack of welcome, by quoting one of his own song titles :

They [...], judging from their looks, seemed to say,
"Why are you wandering here, I pray?"¹⁴⁶

In matters of taste—rather than the anti-Semitic prejudice he also seems to be hinting at—Nathan, in 1846, read it as a sign of "how far behind [...] the known world was the cultivation of music in Australia on my first arrival here", that Sydney so undervalued his friend Gautrot ("that he was compelled to emigrate to Van Diemen's Land"); and so, too, Thomas Leggatt:¹⁴⁷

[...] a first-rate oboe and clarinet performer, and the only musician in Sydney who was sufficiently versed in the theory of music to arrange orchestral parts correctly, and who formerly filled the office of Military Band-master for upwards of 40 years, was from the little encouragement he experienced in his profession, compelled to turn publican, and lately died in a small public-house in Sydney, having an amiable wife and family to deplore his loss.

including W. A. Duncan, see "INSOLVENCY PROCEEDINGS", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (20 March 1844), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12418124>.

¹⁴⁵ "Music and Musicians", *The Atlas* 1/1 (30 November 1844), 9:

<http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/1440365x/18441130/00010001/9-10.pdf>.

¹⁴⁶ A song from his own *Sweethearts and Wives*, and also the subject of a lost set of piano variations by Nathan, as listed in his 1862 sale of books; see also "SWEETHEARTS AND WIVES", *The Harmonicon* 1 (1823), 147:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=E2sPAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA147#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

¹⁴⁷ Nathan, *Lectures*, preface [unpaginated], footnote: <http://www.nla.gov.au/apps/cdview?pi=nla.musan6426940-s6-v>.

In fact, **Thomas Leggatt (Ireland c.1791-1846) {1839-46}** left the military in 1838, *before* he came to Australia.¹⁴⁸ He was in Sydney by September 1839, when he bought the license of the Hope and Anchor in Sussex Street.¹⁴⁹ Thereafter, he played regularly in concerts and at the theatre with Sippe, the Wallaces, the Gautrots, and the Deanes. At the Royal Victoria in 1841 he was credited with arranging “The Characteristic Irish Ballad, **Molly Carew**, with Orchestral Accompaniments by Mr. Leggatt”,¹⁵⁰ and in 1842, Braham’s “celebrated Song **The Death of Nelson** [...] arranged for a full Orchestra, by Mr. Leggatt”.¹⁵¹ For Nathan’s Oratorio in 1842:¹⁵²

[...] the professional men, particularly Messrs. Johnson and Leggatt, have bestowed a great deal of time and attention on the arrangements [...].

Leggatt also put his experience as a military bandmaster to good use, forming in 1842 the first civic band, the so-called “Sydney band”, serving the newly proclaimed city.

Nathan’s claim that he was Sydney’s best arranger is enough to grant Leggatt a place in a history of early colonial composition. In a musical economy whose repertory of works circulating in print at all (let alone in score), was so circumscribed, the orchestral arranger played almost as important a role as the composer in delivering diversity. Not only the accompaniments of vocal operatic extracts, but orchestrations of the overtures usually had to be reconstituted from the keyboard reductions in which they arrived onshore, as Sippe, Edwards and Kavanagh had no doubt done with Weber’s *Freischütz* overture in 1826. In 1844, when Nathan revealed in a letter to the *Herald* that he had “supplied the theatre with the only copy, in Sydney, of the score of Rossini’s elegant music to *Cinderella*”, he made it clear that it was only a vocal score, and that, moreover, already adapted for the English stage

¹⁴⁸ Leggatt was born in Kinsale, Cork and served in the 7th Dragoons, until discharged aged 47: National Archives UK: Item details WO 97/81/33; “formerly, and for a period of twenty-eight years, master of the 7th hussars’ Band”, he died on 30 April 1846: “DIED”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (4 May 1846), 3:

<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12886962>.

¹⁴⁹ “LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL”, *The Sydney Gazette* (12 September 1839), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2548410>.

¹⁵⁰ [Advertisement]: “Royal Victoria Theatre”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (18 September 1841), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2554493>.

¹⁵¹ [Advertisement]: “Royal Victoria Theatre”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (3 August 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12411821>.

¹⁵² “THE ORATORIO”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (23 August 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12408209>; doubts expressed by W. A. Duncan in the *Australasian Chronicle* about the identity of one of his and Nathan’s programming choices on that occasion, prompted Leggatt to venture into print, “CRITICISMS OF THE ORATORIO: To the editors”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (2 September 1842), 3:

<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12417901/1521567>: “In what position then do I place the writer [...] when, in contradiction to his mere assertion, I can prove, by the work itself, that Mozart did write ‘an Instrumental Overture to his *Requiem*’? and as evidence of the fact, I have left a copy of the composition, to be seen by the curious in such matters, during a fortnight from this date, at the office of the *Australian*, Bridge-street”; see also “THE ORATORIO”, *Australasian Chronicle* (1 September 1842), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31737044>; “THE ORATORIO: To the editor”, *The Australian* (2 September 1842), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37114030>; “THE ORATORIO”, *Australasian Chronicle* (3 September 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31737064>.

by Rophino Lacey.¹⁵³ According to Nathan, he himself orchestrated only the second-act finale, Gautrot, Wallace, and Gibbs did the rest.¹⁵⁴ And for at least one performance later that year, Rossini's original overture appears to have been replaced by "Paer's Celebrated Overture to *Sargino* ([...] arranged expressly for this occasion, to combine the joint powers of a Theatrical and Military Orchestra, By MR. NATHAN").¹⁵⁵ Only a few years later, in the considerably younger and musically less developed colony of South Australia, the composer **Henry Witton (UK ?-?) {fl.1847- 51}**, a former pupil of the Royal Academy of Music, was fulfilling the task of arranger of orchestral accompaniments for the reportedly fifty-strong band that accompanied the in Adelaide Choral Society in its February 1848 concert.¹⁵⁶ Like Leggatt in Sydney, Witton in Adelaide was master of its first Town Band.

Publication of liturgical music began in Australia in the 1840s, arrangers also playing a partly compositional role. Reichenberg's *Ancient Hebrew Melodies* for the opening of the Hobart Synagogue in 1845, and published in 1847, certainly fall into this category. Curiously, Isaac Nathan published neither of the new settings that, according to *The Australian*, he composed for the opening of the Sydney Synagogue in 1844, **Blessed is he who cometh in the name of the Lord**:¹⁵⁷

[...] harmoniously sung by the choir, who had been trained by Mr. Nathan; the music composed expressly by him was exceedingly appropriate. The melody—in common time—is simple, yet bold and energetic, whilst the modulations are natural and elegant [...].

And, at the conclusion of the service, a new **Hallelujah Chorus**:

[...] composed expressly for the occasion by Mr. Nathan. It is set in G major, common time, and is a delightful composition. There is in it a solo movement, sung with much spirit by Mr. Anderson, and replete with classical modulations and harmonious combinations and dispersion of chords. The hand of a master is visible throughout, and we hope Mr. Nathan will be induced to publish it.

¹⁵³ "ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE", *The Australian* (8 February 1844), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37120151>.

¹⁵⁴ "CINDERELLA: To the editor", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (12 February 1844), 2s: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12412733>; in November 1845, for instance, the "grand Opera of *THE DEVIL'S BRIDGE*" was done "With all the original Music, arranged by Mr. S. W. Wallace", see *The Australian* (25 November 1845), 2; Hall, 23, *The Canon* 6/7 (February 1953), 269; and in August, *Fra Diavolo*, see "The Drama", *The Atlas* (9 August 1845), 438: <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/1440365x/18450809/00010037/5-6.pdf>: "To Messrs. Howson and Gibbs was committed the arrangement of the music, to suit the strength of the Sydney company. And bearing in mind the constitution of the orchestra, it must be admitted that, to maintain the character of the original music, the task was not easy. We do however think that this *Procrustean* adaptation might have been more humanely performed. Now, every concerted piece was struck out, and wherefore? [...]"

¹⁵⁵ [Advertisement]: "ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE. MRS. BUSHELLE", *The Australian* (29 February 1844), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37123387>.

¹⁵⁶ [News], *South Australian Register* (9 February 1848), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article48728598>.

¹⁵⁷ "CONSECRATION OF THE NEW SYDNEY SYNAGOGUE", *The Australian* (3 April 1844), 2-3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37118533>.

Perhaps Nathan was, charitably, leaving the field to his young collaborator on the music for the event, James Henri Anderson, who went on to issue his *The Lays of the Hebrews* (discussed later), a set of piano arrangements of chants sung at the ceremony (including two by the English cantor-composer Matthew Moss, but nothing by Nathan), published through Ellard's later that year.¹⁵⁸

Nathan's first Australian literary collaborator, **William Augustine Duncan (Scotland 1811-1885) {1837-85}**, was also, out of circumstance, active himself as an arranger of necessary liturgical items for worship at St. Mary's, which he also printed. In late March and early April 1841, he released the first two issues of a projected twelve-issue series, **The Sacred Minstrel**, "being a collection of APPROVED HYMNS, arranged and adapted to the choicest movements of THE MOST CELEBRATED COMPOSERS", including Haydn, Gluck, Mozart, Pergolesi, and Cramer.¹⁵⁹ As Duncan explained, "The musical works from which the airs are extracted have cost the compiler the labour of many years in collecting", and the task of fitting them to English hymn texts and arranging them in simple choral format can hardly have been less laborious. But already by issue two, Duncan was forced to "confess the slow demand" for the publication, and the release a third issue, "now in the hands of the printer", was never advertised.¹⁶⁰

Having meanwhile scored a firmer success with his collaboration with Nathan on *Long Live Victoria* in June 1841, Duncan returned to his sacred project the following year, if in somewhat reduced format, to publish two further single title arrangements. The first, an "**Adoro Te Devote**, adapted to [...] the prayer in Rossini's *Moise in Egito*" was announced in the *Herald* in April 1842:¹⁶¹

An offertorium for the service of the Roman Catholic Church has just been published by Mr. W. A. Duncan, the subject is the Hymn of Saint Thomas *Adoro Te Devote*, adapted to the music of the prayer in Rossini's *Moise in Egito* [...] The words that Mr. Duncan has selected for it are well adapted, and the instrumental arrangement says much for his taste, and knowledge of musical theory [...] The "getting up" of the piece is also novel in Sydney. It is printed in moveable musical

¹⁵⁸ Discussed below; also capitalising on the interest raised by the synagogue ceremony, *The Australian* reprinted a notice on a lecture on Jewish music from the *London Times*, see "THE MUSIC OF THE JEWS", *The Australian* (22 May 1844), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37119474>.

¹⁵⁹ [Advertisement], *Australasian Chronicle* (27 March 1841), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31731282>; [Advertisement], *The Sydney Herald* (30 March 1841), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12868457>; "NEW PUBLICATIONS", *Australasian Chronicle* (30 March 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31731328>.

¹⁶⁰ [Advertisement], *Australasian Chronicle* (8 April 1841), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31731402>; "NEW PUBLICATION: THE SACRED MINSTREL NO. II", *Australasian Chronicle* (10 April 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31731426>; the series was "to be continued monthly", but no further numbers were advertised.

¹⁶¹ "NEW MUSIC", *The Sydney Herald* (4 April 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12874514>; Duncan's arrangement evidently remained in use for some time, see "SYDNEY PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (11 July 1855), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12971591>; "The chief features of the choral selections were Rossini's grand chorus, Adoro te devote, from *Moise in Egipto*"; see also, with lengthy quotation from Stendahl, "NEW MUSIC", *Australasian Chronicle* (5 April 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31735508>; and "NEW MUSIC—JUST PUBLISHED: ADORO TE DEVOTE", *The Australian* (5 April 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36849731>.

type, which is very neat and distinct, and a great improvement upon bad stamping. We only hope that the great musical talent of which Sydney may now justly boast, will keep this type in constant requisition.

The following month, Duncan's second published effort, a [Kyrie Eleison](#), "adapted to a morceau in A minor of Karl Heinrich Graun", was also reviewed by a press colleague:¹⁶²

Mr. Duncan has again presented the Roman Catholic Church with a piece of music, a *Kyrie Eleison* for four voices and chorus, with organ accompaniment. The subject is Graun's, a beautiful largo movement in A minor, and so well adapted to the words, that we know no Kyrie for the Roman service, in which the idea of supplication is so well maintained throughout. The *Kyries* of Mozart, Haydn, and Weber, are generally much too lively and florid, and although surpassingly beautifully, are in our opinion too operatic for the solemnity of the words. Mr. Duncan's adaptation to the *Kyrie Eleison* is not only free from these objections, but is all solemnity and plaintiveness, and abounds with beauty of melody, and harmonic combination. It is more in the style of the older Church composers than any production we have seen of late [...].

And, according to another advertisement, Duncan already had in the press a *Gloria* "from Mozart, with an easy, compressed accompaniment", and "a complete Vespers Service",¹⁶³ though neither of these promised offerings ultimately appeared.

Duncan also maintained a lively interest in theatre, and a friendship with one of the notable colonial original talents of the early 1840s. On 4 May 1842,¹⁶⁴ at the Royal Victoria Theatre, **Charles Nagel (Germany ?-?) {fl.1835-50}** brought original theatrical music in the colony a step closer to an operatic pattern with a new "musical extravaganza [...] written expressly [...] by a colonial amateur".¹⁶⁵ *Sham Catalani*, as it was billed for its first performance,¹⁶⁶ thereafter **Mock Catalani in Little Puddleton**, was the story of a young lady who forms an amorous attachment to her music master, adapted from a German play.¹⁶⁷ Though some locals chose to highlight the literary borrowing, for others there was much both

¹⁶² "NEW MUSIC", *The Sydney Herald* (30 May 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12875453>.

¹⁶³ [Advertisement], *Australasian Chronicle* (23 June 1842), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31736313>.

¹⁶⁴ [Advertisement]: "ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE", *The Sydney Herald* (7 May 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12875051>.

¹⁶⁵ Also "Nagle"; German-born, Nagel had been a serving British officer in the 97th regiment, "HIS MAJESTY'S BIRTHDAY", *The Sydney Gazette* (30 May 1835), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2198397>; he was appointed to the bench in 1840; [Advertisement], *The Sydney Herald* (3 November 1840), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12866315>; he sold up his property in 1847, and probably left the colony at that time, [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (4 March 1847), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12899315>.

¹⁶⁶ [Advertisement]: "ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE", *The Sydney Herald* (4 May 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12874994>; "VICTORIA THEATRE", *The Sydney Gazette* (7 May 1842), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2556435>.

¹⁶⁷ H. L. Oppenheim, "Simmons, Joseph (1810?-1893)", *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 2 (1967), 445-446: <http://adonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020407b.htm>; it may also take some inspiration from Septimus Globus's *Der Freischutz Travestie* (London: Baldwin, 1824), 40: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=YIQHAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA40#v=onepage&q&f=false>, in which a song to the tune of *Galloping Dreary Dun* has the words: "Fine singers we have, both woman and man / They all bravura away, as fast as they can / And mock Catalani ...".

topical and new. At the turning point of the plot, the music-master, played by the counter-tenor Joseph Simmons, made a burlesque appearance pretending to be the great—and, in real life, recently late—operatic diva Angelica Catalani.¹⁶⁸ The piece was also advertised as having “new Songs, composed expressly for this Theatre by the talented author, Captain Nagle”.¹⁶⁹ Nagel’s musical contributions were, presumably, those marked as “original” in the advertised list of songs:¹⁷⁰

In the course of the Piece, the following Songs, &c.

- Original, “The Sensitive Plant”, Mrs. Wallace.
- Duet, “Dear Maid”, Mrs. Wallace and Mr. Simmons.
- Song, “The Widow Malone”, Mr. Falchon.
- Song, “Oh men what silly things you are”. Mrs. Ximenes.
- Original. Song and Chorus. “Catalani”
- Original, “The pretty bark Hut in the Bush”, Mrs. Ximenes.
- Original. Song and Chorus, “Wellington”, Mr. Falchon.
- Song. Mrs. Ximenes.
- Original. Mock Italian Aria. Mr. Simmons.
- Grand Finale. Original.

And since Spencer Wallace was leading the orchestra, and Thomas Leggatt conducting, one or both of them probably assisted Nagel with the orchestrations.¹⁷¹ The *Gazette* was thoroughly delighted:¹⁷²

We shall conclude our report, with a short review of the amusing new Burletta of the *Mock Catalani in Little Follington* [sic], written, we understand, by Captain Nagle, formerly a Magistrate in this territory. The piece was eminently successful, as we have formerly stated, and each successive representation seems to give the audience greater satisfaction. The plot of the piece is as follows: A young lady named Fanny (Mrs. Wallace) daughter of Mr. Dubbs, Mayor of Little Puddington [sic], falls in love with a young man named William (Simmons) who attends her in the capacity of music-master. Her father has, however, determined that she will marry a Captain O’Leary [...] The matter is, however, arranged by the music-

¹⁶⁸ Her death, only a few months earlier, was reported locally in [News], *The Sydney Gazette* (28 December 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2555366>.

¹⁶⁹ [Advertisement]: “Royal City Theatre”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (29 May 1843), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12427124>.

¹⁷⁰ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Gazette* (7 May 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2556440>.

¹⁷¹ [Advertisement]: “Royal City Theatre”, *The Australian* (29 May 1843), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37115639>.

¹⁷² “Theatricals”, *The Sydney Gazette* (12 May 1842), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2556469>; also “Theatrical Examiner”, *The New South Wales Examiner* (11 May 1842), [3]: <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402203/18420511/00000012/3-3.pdf>: “Who that saw Mr. SIMMONS, as *The Mock Catalani*, could recognize in such a mirth-exciting performance, the personator of Macbeth, Iago, and a host of desperately tragical characters, which it is that gentleman’s misfortune occasionally to *mis*-represent? The laughable burlesque which Mr. SIMMONS presented to his auditors—his grotesque appearance—his pleasant affectation of air and manner—his coquettish management of an exaggerated fan—his voice—his look—and above all, his Italian *aria*—supremely absurd and ridiculous, yet abundantly entertaining—all these combines, fairly took the audience by surprise, and brought down a hearty and unrestrained effusion of merriment, such as the walls of the theatre have seldom witnessed [...]”

master, telling if the father will consent to his marriage with his daughter, he will, within a given time, make the old man kneel to him, and the valiant Captain likewise, kneel and kiss his hand. They both agree at once to this “merry bond”, thinking the poor music master mad; he is, however, too knowing for them. William gets a letter quietly sent to the old Mayor, as if from Madame Catalani, stating her intention of honoring the inhabitants of Little Puddington with a visit. This puts the old fellow in a great state of excitement, he being a great enthusiast in music, particularly of the “divine Catalani”. He therefore summons the council, gives orders for a general illumination, and the ringing of bells in honor of the auspicious event. A poet too is hired to write a complimentary ode; the inhabitants of Little Puddington are directly in a state of the greatest excitement. The procession proceeds in great pomp to meet the lady, who in due time arrives, and is received with great enthusiasm. The manner in which Simmons dresses himself as the “Mock Catalani”, is admirable—we must inform our readers that the celebrated lady is neither more nor less than “William” the music master in disguise [...] The denouement is as perfect as that of any farce we have ever seen. We have no more to say on this subject, than that we hope to see this original piece succeeded by many others of equal merit [...]

And later in the run, the *Gazette* still found it:¹⁷³

[...] indeed pleasing to recount the success which the excellent Colonial written farce of the *Mock Catalani in Little Puddleton* meets on every successive night of its representation.

After the first night the *Herald*, while positively welcoming a colonial original, was more measured in its praise:¹⁷⁴

We had a real novelty at the theatre last night, a piece written in the colony, it is entitled *Catalani in Little Puddleton*, and is a satire upon the rage for encouraging foreign singers: the dialogue is smart, some of the original music (composed by the author) is pretty, and on the whole the piece was successful. The principal character, the mock Caralani, was played by Simmons, who was at times rather too exuberant. The author is, we understand, a military man.

Joseph Simmons (England 1810?-1893) {1830-32; 34-93} had probably worked up most, if not all, of the comic “Mock Italian Air” previously, way back in January 1836 as a **Mock Italian Bravura**, when he coupled it in performance with a **Mock Minuet de la Cour**.¹⁷⁵ And so, it may, strictly, have been his composition. But it probably relied too heavily on his expertise and execution to be easily amenable to publication, as was soon promised for the rest of the *Catalani* songs. Over many years, Simmons was much in demand

¹⁷³ “Royal Victoria Theatre”, *The Sydney Gazette* (9 June 1842), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2556702>.

¹⁷⁴ “THEATRICALS”, *The Sydney Herald* (5 May 1842), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12875009>.

¹⁷⁵ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Gazette* (16 January 1836), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2202266>; see also H. L. Oppenheim, “Simmons, Joseph (1810?-1893)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 2 (1967), 445-446: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020407b.htm>.

from audiences for his trademark “Extemporaneous Songs”.¹⁷⁶ In May 1843, he advertised that he would sing an “Extemporaneous Song in the manner of *Billy Barlow*”, and in June, the newly enfranchised “Citizens of Sydney” were lured to the theatre with promise of an “Extemporaneous Song upon the Election” (“upon matters before the House”, and “on various subjects, Sydney Electioneering, &c.”).¹⁷⁷

Publication of *Catalani* songs was mooted well before the end of the May 1842 run, and on 2 June the release in print of “ALL the SONGS in the Musical Burletta, *The Mock Catalani*, as sung at the Royal Victoria Theatre” was specifically advertised.¹⁷⁸ But, a few days later, the list of the songs issued named but four:¹⁷⁹

THE following Songs in the Musical Burletta, *The Mock Catalani*, may be had at Rolfe’s Music and Musical Instrument Warehouse [...] “The sensitive Plant”, “The pretty Bark-hut in the Bush”, “It was but a Dream”, and “Wellington” [...]

Ultimately, only three were reviewed in the *Chronicle*, all explicitly with “music by Charles Nagel”; but all of them are, sadly, now lost, though the libretto, published by James Tegg, survives in a copy at the British Library.¹⁸⁰ *Mock Catalani* was revived several times during 1843 and 1844 (and thus, not, as advertised in February 1844, revived then “for the first time these three years”).¹⁸¹ At least two new songs were advertised as being having been added, “composed for this occasion”, in May 1843: the *Maid of Castile*, to be sung by Mrs. Wallace and “composed expressly for her by C. Nagle, Esq.”, and likewise the song *Little Girls and Boys* for Mrs. Ximenes.¹⁸² But, in the event, they were not sung, much to the disappointment of *The Australian*.¹⁸³

By the way we must observe, with reference to the revival of *The Mock Catalani*, that considerable dissatisfaction has been expressed in various circles at the omission of the new songs, written expressly for the occasion, by Captain Nagel, and which were announced in Monday’s bills. We regret this on every account, and must express our hope that the ladies, to whom these songs were assigned, will

¹⁷⁶ [Advertisement], *The Australian* (11 March 1844), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37126526>.

¹⁷⁷ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (13 June 1843), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12424264>;

[Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (15 June 1843), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12420194>;

[Advertisement]: “ROYAL CITY THEATRE”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (27 May 1843), 2:

<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12412302>.

¹⁷⁸ [Advertisements]: “MUSIC”, *The Australian* (10 May 1842), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37116981>;

also [Advertisement], *The Sydney Herald* (2 June 1842), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12875505>.

¹⁷⁹ [Advertisement], “New Music”, *The Sydney Herald* (6 June 1842), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12875568>.

¹⁸⁰ “NEW MUSIC”, *Australasian Chronicle* (14 May 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31735908>; the

libretto reviewed in “LITERATURE”, *Australasian Chronicle* (9 June 1842), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31736177>.

¹⁸¹ For a full contents list of the musical items, see [Advertisement], “Royal Victoria Theatre”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (23 February 1844), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12412310>; see also [Advertisement],

The Australian (19 April 1844), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37123640>.

¹⁸² With a full lists of numbers: [Advertisement]: “ROYAL CITY THEATRE”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (29 May

1843), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12427124>.

¹⁸³ “ROYAL CITY THEATRE”, *The Australian* (2 June 1843), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37115286>.

make the amende honorable to the clever author, by bringing them before the public in the next representation of this burletta.

The last revival of *Catalani* was followed, mid year, by another new comic “musical extravaganza” from Nagel, **Shaksperi Conglommorofunnidogammoniae**, on 1 July 1844:¹⁸⁴

Mr. Nagel’s *Shaksperi Conglommorofunnidogammoniae* [sic] was brought out for the first time on Monday, and was repeated again on Wednesday. The piece is full of humour, and enables Griffiths, Lazar, Simmons and Simms to display to advantage their powers in this department.

In this case, Nagel had previously had the text published in October 1843,¹⁸⁵ by W. A. Duncan no less; and Duncan himself had also reviewed it in the *Register*:¹⁸⁶

Here is a singular title prefixed to a not less singular Drama, in which the author brings simultaneously on the stage the principal characters of the Bard of Avon: namely, Richard III, Macbeth, Othello, Hamlet, the Ghost, Sir John Falstaff, Shylock, Justice Shallow, Ophelia, Anne Page, &c., for the purpose of shewing, in a laughable way, the working of the New South Wales Insolvent Act, and the value of sheep and cattle, and mortgage securities at the present time.

The piece contains a number of comic songs, adapted to well-known airs, and is full of humour from beginning to end. It is indeed by far the most rich, in this kind of merit, of the productions that have issued from the pen of its author. We can therefore recommend its perusal as a certain temporary relief from the “dull care” now universally prevalent.

This time eschewing full compositional responsibility for any of the songs, Nagel indicated that the tune *Oh dear, what can the matter be?* was to be used for an instrumental piece; there was to be a “fight to the tune of a gavotte”; Hamlet’s Ghost would rise “to the Tune of *Paddy Carey*”; there was a song to the tune *Here’s to the maiden of bashful fifteen*; and a finale to *Yankee Doodle*. The Sydney run was followed by a performance in Hobart on 30 January 1845.¹⁸⁷

But, as well as the three advertised songs from *Mock Catalani*, Nagel also published at least one other original song that does survive, **The Banner of Old England**.¹⁸⁸ It was

¹⁸⁴ *The Weekly Register* 3/50 (6 July, 1844) 5:

<http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18440706/00030050/5-8.pdf>.

¹⁸⁵ Copy at SLV: <http://www.slv.vic.gov.au/auspoetry/inter/316176.shtml>; NSW government, State Records, Plays Submitted to the Colonial Secretary for Approval: <http://www.records.nsw.gov.au/state-archives/guides-and-finding-aids/colonial-secretarys-correspondence-guide/letters-received/plays-submitted-for-approval>.

¹⁸⁶ “LITERARY REGISTER: *Shaksperi Conglommorofunnidogammoniae*”, *The Weekly Register* 1/12 (14 October 1843), 180: <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18431014/00010012/9-12.pdf>; and see also advertisement, 181: “This day is published [...]”.

¹⁸⁷ [Advertisement], “MR. NESBITT’S BENEFIT”, *Colonial Times* (25 January 1845), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8756025>.

¹⁸⁸ Copy at SL-NSW Q786.4/Mu3.

again reviewed by Duncan in the *Register*:¹⁸⁹

The Banner of Old England, a Song dedicated to the Blue and Red jackets, by an Old Soldier. Sydney: G. Hudson, 1845.

This is an exceedingly warlike production, as respects the words; so much so, that if it attain popularity, it will go further to induce England to declare war on France than all the article which recently appeared in the *Morning Herald* upon the same subject! The melody is pleasing, but seems in some degree founded on Braham's *Death of Nelson*. The harmony is very good, and proves that Captain Nagel has made some progress since we last met him in this department.

In the meantime, there had been other notable original contributions to the colonial stage. Following only months after the comic *Catalani*, Conrad Knowles introduced a new tragic play in three acts for his wife's benefit at the Royal Victoria Theatre on 4 August 1842. "Written expressly for the occasion" by Knowles, based on Bulwer's *The Siege of Granada*, it had "new and original music" by **Spencer Wellington Wallace (Ireland ?-?) {1836-after 1851}**.¹⁹⁰ Unfortunately, the notices give little hint as to what the music to **Salathial, Or the Wandering Jew** might have been like;¹⁹¹ however, Knowles's script was published in November, and survives.¹⁹² Wallace, as has already been mentioned, was not only one of Sydney's leading soloists and orchestral musicians, but one of its more active orchestral arrangers. His name appears frequently in theatre advertisements in both respects, notably in June 1843 when, between the plays, he performed a violin solo by Mayseder, "with full Orchestral Accompaniments" written by himself.¹⁹³ Attributions of entirely original compositions to Spencer Wallace have proved hard to uncover, however. A rare exception was the **Solo, Violin** ("written expressly by Mr. S. W. Wallace for his Pupil, Master R. White"), played in Adelaide in 1851.¹⁹⁴

What was submitted to the Chief Secretary as the libretto for "an operetta in two acts", **The Currency Lass (or My Native Girl)** was given at the Royal Victoria on 27 May 1844, and thus was not strictly, as has been claimed, "Australia's first musical play", or even the

¹⁸⁹ "NEW MUSIC", *The Weekly Register* 5/107 (9 August 1845), 62:

<http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18450809/00050107/1-4.pdf>; also [Advertisement], *The Examiner* (6 September 1845), 39: <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14401932/18450906/e0010039/7-9.pdf>.

¹⁹⁰ Wallace arrived in Sydney with his father and sister Eliza early in 1836, and their "first public appearance" was announced in May, at William Vincent Wallace's forthcoming concert, see "Mr. Wallace's Concert", *The Australian* (3 May 1836), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36854920>; see also "MARRIED", *The Sydney Gazette* (9 November 1841), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2554943>;

¹⁹¹ [Advertisement]: "ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE", *Australasian Chronicle* (2 August 1842), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31736718>; "Theatricals", *The Sydney Gazette* (11 August 1842), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2557104>.

¹⁹² See [Advertisement], *Australasian Chronicle* (12 November 1842), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31737847>; copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/22092351>.

¹⁹³ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (15 June 1843), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12420194>.

¹⁹⁴ At Frederic Ellard's Adelaide farewell, [Advertisement]: "MR. FREDERIC ELLARD", *South Australian Register* (27 October 1851), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38436394>.

“first ballad opera”.¹⁹⁵ But it was certainly the first locally-produced work (London pieces like *Omai* and *Giovanni in Botany* notwithstanding) to have an Australian scenario, concerning a rich English uncle fearing that his heir and nephew’s “currency lass” betrothed must be “black”. Again, the script provided new lyrics for existing tunes, like the characteristic “national airs” *The Fine Old English Gentleman*, and *The Raal Ould Irish Rollicker*. Traceable back at least to *The Beggar’s Opera*, the reuse of existing popular tunes in pastiche formats continued to be the mainstay of Australian music theatre for a few decades to come.¹⁹⁶ The book and possibly the entire conception was the work of **Edward Geoghegan (Ireland 1813-1869) {1840-69}**, a promising young physician from Trinity College, Dublin, who arrived in the colonies in 1840 to serve a seven-year sentence for “obtaining papers under false pretences”.¹⁹⁷ Nathan and Geoghegan can hardly have been unaware of each other. In 1846, Nathan composed a toast song called *Currency Lasses*, and in the tradition of Dunlop and Nathan’s *Aboriginal Mother* and *Aboriginal Father* (not to forget Dunlop’s own earlier *The Irish Mother*), Geoghegan named another of his plays *The Hibernian Father*. It was first staged on 6 May 1844.¹⁹⁸

Nathan became more closely involved in the Sydney theatre himself round this time. When he first introduced music from his 1827 London opera, *The Illustrious Stranger, Or Married and Buried* in concert in 1841, the *Gazette* recollected that its play, shorn of the music,¹⁹⁹ had already been done here:²⁰⁰

We have heard this at Drury Lane, and we have also heard *Married and Buried or Benjamin Bowbell* on the Sydney stage—not without being amused, however, at the farcicality of representing a musical afterpiece, minus the music—yet this is the *Illustrious Stranger* metamorphosed in New South Wales.

Finally, in January 1843, it was performed at the Royal Victoria with, according to W. A. Duncan, at least some of the original music:²⁰¹

¹⁹⁵ “Ballad opera”, *CCMDA*, 69; Edward Geoghegan (Roger Covell, ed.), *The Currency Lass, or My Native Girl* (Sydney: Currency Press, 1976); see “NEW COLONIAL PLAY”, *The Australian* (30 May 1844), 3:

<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37120018>.

¹⁹⁶ Still firmly in place, for example, in Garnet Walch’s 1873 pantomime *Australia Felix (or Harlequin Laughing Jackass and the Magic Bat)*, for Lyster’s Melbourne Opera House, though with the innovative addition of a locally composed tune, Zelman’s *Hail, Australia* while the female *corps de ballet* mimed the Australian cricket team; see Garnet Walch (Veronica Kelly, ed.), *Australia Felix or Harlequin Laughing Jackass and the Magic Bat* (St Lucia: UQP, 1988), 68.

¹⁹⁷ National Archives of Ireland, Ireland-Australia Transportation Database, TR 3, P 55

CRF 1839 G 45; search at: <http://www.nationalarchives.ie/search/index.php?category=18>.

¹⁹⁸ [Advertisement], *The Australian* (6 May 1844), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37118569>;

“THEATRICALS”, *The Australian* (21 May 1844), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37122648>.

¹⁹⁹ [Text only] *The Illustrious Stanger, Or Married and Buried: An Operatic Farce, in Two Acts as performed at the Theatre Royal Drury Lane, the Music by Mr. Nathan* (London: Wm. Kenneth, 1827):

<http://books.google.com/books?id=XYVi6-Hvq1wC&>.

²⁰⁰ “Mr. Nathan’s Concert”, *The Sydney Gazette* (30 October 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2554858>.

²⁰¹ “Theatrical Register”, *The Weekly Register* 2/25 (13 January 1844), 377:

<http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18440113/00020025/5-8.pdf>; nevertheless, when it was done again for Nathan’s benefit during the run of *Don John*, it was advertised again as “for the first time in this colony”, [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (14 May 1847), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12889934>.

[...] the performance concluded with the *Illustrious Stranger*, with, however, but a small selection of the original music, by Nathan, including the overture [...] Mrs. Gibbs, as Fatima, sung “Love and Folly” with her usual taste and spirit.

It was repeated at least once in Sydney that year,²⁰² in Hobart in 1844, possibly also with some of Nathan’s music,²⁰³ and in Adelaide several times in 1846 and 1847.²⁰⁴

[3.6] *Merry Freaks in Troublous Times*

Shortly after the *Currency Lass*, the still insolvent Nathan had his own somewhat foreshortened Australian operatic debut, with a partial concert performance of *Merry Freaks in Troublous Times*, on 29 May 1844, the author of *Mock Catalani*, Charles Nagel, his librettist. Sydney had been on notice of the venture since early March the previous year, when it was announced in the newspapers, though with conflicting messages. According to the *Herald* on 3 March 1843:²⁰⁵

An Opera is, we understand, now in course of preparation in Sydney, founded on the romantic and eventful history of the Stuarts. The author, Captain Nagel; composer, Mr. Nathan. It is intended to be sent to London for presentation. Now, although we have not the “means and appliances” here which are possessed in London for doing full justice to these pieces, we still think that the first colonial opera should at least be rehearsed before a colonial audience. We hope, therefore, to hear it in one of our theatres before it is finally shipped off for London.

And, indeed, by the following day, the *Chronicle*, in Duncan’s “News and Rumours of the Day” column, was intimating that it was, after all, being prepared “for the Sydney stage”.²⁰⁶ By May, while half of Sydney’s vocal amateurs were apparently supporting Stephen Marsh and James Johnson’s singing classes *a la Hullah*,²⁰⁷ the other half was assisting at the rival Nathan classes, rehearsing the new “colonial opera”:²⁰⁸

Our immediate purpose in now alluding to the system of class singing, is to express the gratification we have experienced in hearing a partial rehearsal by Mr. Nathan’s class pupils, of the new historical opera, written by Captain Nagel, and the music of which has been composed by Mr. Nathan. This performance justifies our hope as to

²⁰² “Royal Victoria Theatre”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (11 April 1844), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12425183>.

²⁰³ [Advertisement], *Colonial Times* (2 November 1844), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8755569>

²⁰⁴ Holmes, *Through the Opera Glass*, 20-22; *South Australian Register* (4 November 1846); (24 February 1847); see review, [News], *South Australian Register* (7 November 1846), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article27454190>; also (30 June 1847); *Sweetheart’s and Wives* was also done in Adelaide, *South Australian Register* (13 January 1847).

²⁰⁵ “NEW OPERA”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (3 March 1843), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12407971>.

²⁰⁶ “NEWS AND RUMOURS OF THE DAY”, *Australasian Chronicle* (4 March 1843), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31739048>.

²⁰⁷ “MUSIC AND MUSICIANS: SINGING FOR THE MILLIONS”, *The Australian* (29 May 1843), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37115646>.

²⁰⁸ “MUSIC AND MUSICIANS”, *The Australian* (12 May 1843), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37115306>.

the nature of the resulting influence upon the progress of musical science in this colony, to be expected from class teaching [...] The spirit and vivacity with which each young lady executed her allotted part, assures us that, in representation, those delightful effects [...] chorus [...].

And by the end of May 1843, there was a fuller apologia for the project, closing—of special note for historians of later Australian music—some very grand claims, very early on:²⁰⁹

Our ears have been of late so violently assailed by some musical monstrosities which some London friends have sent us, with the unnecessary information that they are very difficult, but very fashionable, that we really welcome the forthcoming New Opera with feelings of anticipatory pleasure. We know Mr. Nathan's vehement opposition to the modern school of English music, where art is preferred to nature, science to feeling, and contrapuntal involution to pure melody; where harmonic progressions, false relations, consecutions of fifths, and other complex barbarisms are the substitutes for the poetry of music; and we accordingly look forward to the promised *colonial fruits* of his genius as a relief [...]

As we have not yet had the pleasure of hearing the music of this opera rehearsed with an orchestral score, we are precluded from a complete appreciation of its merits, but we have no hesitation in expressing our belief, that it will be acknowledged to present an union of consummate art, with the most vivid conception of dramatic effect: and we are truly obliged to Mr. J. Simmons for affording the Sydney public an opportunity of becoming acquainted with its beauties.

In the literary portion of the affair, Mr. Nathan has been happy in meeting with so able a coadjutor as Captain Nagle, who has treated this subject with much tact and skill. The Opera is entitled *Merry Freaks in Troublous Times*, and the the plot commences after the defeat of Charles the Second of England at the battle of Worcester, whence the King and Rochester escape under the assumed names of Jacob Tomkins and Peregrine Samson. [...] The opera will be produced at the new Royal City Theatre under the immediate direction of Mr. Nathan, who will personally conduct the music; and we do trust that the sustained support of the Sydney public will reward all parties concerned in this attempt to lay the foundation of AUSTRALIAN OPERA.”

Nagle duly published the libretto, reviewed in the *New South Wales Magazine* in July 1843,²¹⁰ and in the *Herald* in September:²¹¹

COLONIAL LITERATURE. We have been favoured with a copy of an “historical operatic drama” in two acts, entitled *Merry Freaks in troublous times*, written by a german named Nagel The plot is founded upon the adventures of Charles II, when escaping the puritans, and, with the exception of one glaring anachronism, is well written, some of the scenes being highly humorous. Mr. Nathan has composed the music for the songs and we understand that it will shortly be performed.

²⁰⁹ “NEW HISTORICAL OPERA”, *The Australian* (29 May 1843), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37115646>.

²¹⁰ An early review was flagged in [Advertisement]: “New South Wales Magazine”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (8 July 1843), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12422491>.

²¹¹ “COLONIAL LITERATURE”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (26 September 1843), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12418559>.

And by September the music, too, indeed seems to have been complete and in circulation, or so W. A. Duncan reported in the *Register*:²¹²

What! An *Opera*, composed in New South Wales; with Overture, Songs and Choruses, in full score, adapted for her Majesty's Theatre in London! It is indeed so. It behoves us therefore to rub our spectacles, and see what degree of praise or censure appertains unto a production, forming so unexpected an accession to our scanty stock of Colonial literature and art. [...] Of the music we shall have another opportunity of speaking, as preparations are being made for its performance by a body of amateurs, previous to the transmission of the score to London. We regret we cannot add that the *Printing* of the drama will convey to the gentlemen of Paternoster Row, even a tolerable idea of the progress of the art in this part of the world.

Duncan was also privy to further rehearsals the following month:²¹³

THE NEW OPERA: A private rehearsal of the choruses of this work was held at Mr. Nathan's residence on Monday; at which some of the officers of the garrison, and other friends of the composer, were present. These choruses are really grand, and the proficiency of the amateurs in their performance delighted us not a little. We should much desire to see this Opera brought out, but we regret to find that some of the gentlemen who had undertaken the principal characters in the Drama have not yet found time to study their parts.

But the "gentlemen" could not be whipped into line, and Simmons's promise of a premiere at the theatre seems to have fallen by the wayside. Nathan accordingly reduced his plans for a full performance to giving only the finale ("*Tho' storms and perils linger near us*") to close the first part of the first of his "Australian Philharmonic Concerts".²¹⁴ According to the *Herald*:²¹⁵

[...] the finale from Mr. Nathan's new opera, performed, publicly, for the first time on this occasion [...] consists of a pleasing air, with a very full and effective chorus, and must have given the audience a favourable opinion of the work from which it was extracted.

Nathan repeated it at the next concert of the series, when *Merry Freaks* (a "freak" being a "caper" or "prank", not a person) was additionally billed as having been "composed in this

²¹² "LITERARY REGISTER: Merry Freaks in Troublous Times", *The Weekly Register* 1/9 (23 September, 1843), 132: <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18430923/00010009/9-12.pdf>; 133-34: <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18430923/00010009/13-16.pdf>.

²¹³ "MUSICAL REGISTER: The New Opera", *The Weekly Register* 1/12 (14 October 1843), 171: <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18431014/00010012/1-4.pdf>.

²¹⁴ [Advertisement]: "Australian Philharmonic Concerts", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (27 May 1844), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12417311>.

²¹⁵ "THE PHILHARMONIC CONCERTS", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (31 May 1844), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12418529>.

colony”.²¹⁶

An original manuscript autograph clarinet part survives for the **Overture**; Nathan later printed the full score himself, probably with the intention of circulating it in homeland Britain. But the first Sydney saw of the music in print was two years after the work’s genesis, in July 1845, when through William Baker’s Hibernian Press, Nathan issued separately two (clearly intentionally) old-fashioned songs for king Charles. Both were brisk bravura airs with Handelian symphonies, **Sweet smiles and bright eyes** in B flat major,²¹⁷ and the almost Purcellian **Oh, for the olden time** in C minor.²¹⁸ According to Duncan in the *Register*:²¹⁹

Sweet Smiles and Bright Eyes [...] combines liveliness with simplicity and will be found by the amateur vocalist an acceptable offering at convivial parties. We welcome it as an introduction to the public of an opera which, having heard it sung privately, we are bound to say contains some very good music [...].

The *Australian* perceived a wider, communal “colonial” significance in this latest labour from “that indefatigable composer, Nathan”:²²⁰

The accompaniment is easy, and the air simple; and as the composition, both musical and typographical, as well as the words, are colonial, we feel assured it will be readily purchased by all who feel a desire to advance the arts and science in Australia.

Of the second printed song:²²¹

Oh! For the Olden Time [...] This is the second of a series of songs from the above opera now in the course of publication, and bids fair to be as popular with gentlemen vocalists as its predecessor, *Sweet smiles and bright eyes*, has become with the ladies. Every body knows that Nathan’s harmony is unexceptionable; but we have here in addition a very pleasing melody [...] the best song in an Opera in which all the songs are good [...].

Thereafter, *Merry Freaks* reared its head only occasionally.²²² In his published lectures in 1846, as a demonstration of the power of “rich and masterly Basses added [...] by scientific

²¹⁶ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (10 June 1844), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12409840>.

²¹⁷ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (10 July 1845), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12880758>.

²¹⁸ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (21 July 1845), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12881014>.

²¹⁹ *The Weekly Register* 5/103 (12 July 1845), 15:

<http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18450712/00050103/1-4.pdf>; and advertisement 5 / 104 (19 July 1845), 36: <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18450719/00050104/13-13.pdf>.

²²⁰ “ANOTHER TUNE”, *The Australian* (10 July 1845), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37156994>.

²²¹ “NEW MUSIC”, *The Weekly Register* 5/105 (26 July 1845), 45-46:

<http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18450726/00050105/9-12.pdf>; see also: “NEW MUSIC: Oh! For the Olden Time”, *The Australian* (14 August 1845), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37156354>.

²²² Beside Nathan himself, William Stanley and James Waller included “one piece only” from it among “operatic examples” in their *Musical Entertainment at the Mechanics’ School of Arts in 1850* (between which Stanley performed “Fantasias, and a variety of other brilliant pieces on the Pianoforte”); [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (7 November 1850), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12922366>; and again [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (19 May 1851), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12927219>.

theorists”, Nathan printed its dramatic reharmonisation of [God Save the Queen](#), with this explanation:²²³

It is a stubborn fact that the most beautiful melody ever composed may be entirely destroyed by performing it with an unclassical bass [...] A striking instance of this fact occurs in the Opera of *Merry Freaks in Troublous Times*, composed in this colony (Sydney), in the plot of which King Charles II., quits England for the Continent. On his departure, *God Save the King* is performed, during the slow falling of the curtain; but to express the lament of the Loyalists at losing their beloved Monarch, the composer has given his own bass, which admits of harmony in the minor mode from beginning to end [...].

Thus, Nathan added, rendering it unrecognisable. Though also, perhaps, forgettable; was it the same harmonisation Nathan resurrected to open a Lenten concert by St. Mary’s Choral Society on 4 April 1853, as “National Anthem: *God save the Queen*, newly harmonised, expressly for the Society, by NATHAN”?²²⁴ Probably, since it was also repeated at the Society’s next concert, on 23 May 1853, when Nathan also dusted off the finale “*Though Storms and Perils*”,²²⁵ the latter then sung again in a concert on 8 August.²²⁶

In 1844, Nathan was clearly hoping (as Duncan intimated) that *Merry Freaks* might be a ticket home. When in 1862 he was selling off his copies of the sadly under-utilised 170-page score, engraved and printed at great effort in 1851, he was still advertising it as “composed in this colony, and sent off to England for representation at Covent Garden Theatre”.²²⁷ That he failed both in interesting London, and in organising a Sydney production, must have laid Nathan low.

[3.7] *Leichhardt’s Grave and Leichhardt’s Return*

Shortly after releasing *A Good Black Gin* early in 1845, a chain of events that one of the instigators, John Dunmore Lang, described as “one of the most interesting and important [...] that has yet occurred in the history of Australia”, provided Nathan with material for two further Australian Melodies, the first of which only further demonised “the blacks”, while the second, unexpectedly, exonerated them:²²⁸

²²³ Isaac Nathan, *The First, Second, and Third of a Series of Lectures on the Theory and Practice of Music* (Sydney: W. Ford, 1846), 7: <http://www.nla.gov.au/apps/cdview?pi=nla.mus-an6426940-s15-v>.

²²⁴ [Advertisement]: “ST. MARY’S CHORAL SOCIETY CONCERT”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (28 March 1853), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12944706>.

²²⁵ [Advertisement]: “ST. MARY’S CHORAL SOCIETY”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (19 May 1853), 1s: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12945950>.

²²⁶ [Advertisement]: “ST. MARY’S CHORAL SOCIETY”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (8 August 1853), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12947841>; these two concerts also included two Nathan arrangements for the young soprano, Mr. Palmer, both of which Nathan must simultaneously have published through Kern and Mader: “Solo-*Lungi dal caro bene* (arranged with variations for Mr. Palmer expressly for this Society by Nathan)”, copy at NLA: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-an6427423>; and “Solo-*Angels ever bright and fair* (arranged expressly for Mr. Palmer)”, copy at NLA: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-an6426936>.

²²⁷ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (7 June 1862), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13229816>.

²²⁸ The following, from Lang’s original account, taken from the *Australasian*, as reprinted in “LEICH[H]ARDT’S GRAVE”, *The Brisbane Courier* (10 August 1865), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article1276581>.

In the year 1843, a select committee of the Legislative Council of New South Wales [...] was appointed [...] to inquire into [...] the practicability of discovering an overland route to Port Essington, a settlement then in existence on the north coast of this continental island, to the westward of the Gulf of Carpentaria. This committee [...] reported very strongly in favor of the object, and recommended that his Excellency the Governor, Sir George Gipps, should be requested to place a sum upon the Estimates of the following year to carry it out.

According to Lang, who had served on the committee:²²⁹

The whole colony took an extraordinary interest in the proposed expedition; and although it was a time of unprecedented depression, a large subscription, principally in the shape of draught cattle and provisions for the expedition, would have been contributed at once by the colony [...].

“Disappointment was therefore deep and general” when Gipps declined to support the project:

In the meantime, Dr. Ludwig Leichhardt, a native of Prussia, had arrived in the colony in the year 1842, in the hope of attaching himself as a naturalist to any expedition of discovery to be undertaken in the interior, and [...] so far from being cast down or disappointed at this result of the recommendation of the Council, was induced to plan a private expedition, under his own guidance [...] and as the colony generally regarded the enterprise as a hopeless undertaking, the assistance he received from the colonial public was extremely limited.

The expedition left Sydney in the month of August, and Moreton Bay in September, 1844; and in the course of the first month, in passing through an extensive and impracticable tract of bricklow or acacia scrub, the whole of the flour was lost [...] A few weeks thereafter a report was brought [...] by certain black natives that the whole party had been attacked and murdered by a tribe to the northward. This report was almost universally credited, and every person was disposed at the time to give himself extraordinary credit for having actually foreseen and predicted the catastrophe.

It occasioned the composition and publication of the following beautiful lines by Mr. Robert Lynd, Esq., Barrack-master, Sydney, the intimate friend of Dr Leichhardt [...] some doubts having been subsequently thrown the report of the black natives, Mr. Pemberton Hodgson, the Darling Downs squatter, collected about £156 in Sydney, to supply the necessary means for the equipment of a party to trace the expedition to the spot which the murder was alleged to have taken place, and it was to this party that the lines were addressed [...].

Mr. Lynd's verses were, in the meantime, set to music by Mr. Nathan, a talented composer in Sydney, and colonial sentimentalism, which had left the traveller and his party to be provisioned and accoutred as they might for their perilous expedition, nevertheless shed many a tear over *Leichhardt's Grave*.

²²⁹ J.D. Lang, *Cookland in North-Eastern Australia: The Future Cottonfields of Great Britain* (London: Longman, 1847), 305-311
<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=iMwNAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA305#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

Lynd's stanzas, written at Sydney Barracks on 2 July 1845, had originally appeared in the *Herald* on the very next day:²³⁰

ADDRESSED TO THE PART PROCEED[ING]
ON THE TRACK OF DR LEICHHARDT [...]
*Ye who prepare with pilgrim feet
Your long and doubtful path to wend,
If—whitening on the waste—ye meet
The relics of my murder'd friend
His bones with rev'ence ye shall bear
To where some mountain streamlet flows
There, by its mossy bank, prepare
The pillow of his long repose [...].*

In early September, W. A. Duncan was among the earliest reviewers of Nathan's setting of Lynd's verses, [Leichhardt's Grave: An Elegiac Ode](#):²³¹

As we have just had intelligence of the safety of Captain Sturt, whose death was reported upon evidence similar to that upon which we have the melancholy report of the death of Dr. Leich[h]ardt, a *possibility*—though scarcely a *hope*—exists that the latter may still be alive. In the case, should the Doctor return to Sydney, he will have the satisfaction of hearing his own requiem chaunted, in a style too, which as regards both the poetry and the music would not be unworthy of any of the famed poets and musicians of his own country. Mr. Lynd's beautiful verses have already been admired by our readers, and we are bound to say that the music to which they are now united will do them no discredit. Every stanza has its own music, at once displaying variety of effect and unity of design. If there be a fault to find with the melody, it is that the author's characteristic playfulness sometimes find its way into a subject which required unaltered gravity. The harmony however is good throughout, and the piece altogether is worthy of a more extensive study than it is likely to receive at present in our latitude.

Nathan's connection with Lynd, who was also Honorary Secretary of the Australian Museum,²³² is unclear, though there is a good chance that Lynd was one of the "officers of the

²³⁰ "ADDRESSED TO THE PARTY PROCEED[ING] ON THE TRACK OF DR. LEICHHARDT. By R LYND, Esq.", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (3 July 1845), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12880636>; see also *The Weekly Register* 5/103 (12 July 1845), 17: <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18450712/00050103/5-8.pdf>.
²³¹ *The Weekly Register* 5/111 (6 September 1845), 111: <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferg/issn/14402548.html>; and [Advertisement]: "New Music", in same issue, 120: <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18450906/00050111/9-12.pdf>.

²³² [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (25 August 1846), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12895449>; Lynd was one of the dedicatees of Leichhardt's published *Journal* in 1847; for a summary of his career, see "DEATH OF ROBERT LYND, ESQ. (from the *New Zealander*, September 27)", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (23 October 1851), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12931442>: "[...]a native of Plymouth. He entered the army in the year 1816, as Ensign in the 65th Regiment, in which corps he served on the expedition to Persian Gulf including the capture of the forts of Rasal-el-Khyma and Zaya in 1819 and the expedition to Arabia in 1821, including the action of Beni-Boo-Ali. In 1823, Mr. Lynd (then Lieutenant) was on the half-pay list. He was subsequently appointed Barrack-master at Dominica, and after his service there was appointed to the same office in Hobart Town, then in Sydney, and finally in Auckland, where he has been stationed since 1847. He was a man of more than ordinary scientific attainments, and, in the surrounding colonies, as well as here, the students of Natural History will especially feel that in his death Australian science has sustained no inconsiderable loss. He was the intimate friend of the enterprising traveller Dr. L. Leichhardt, and it was on the occasion of the first

garrison” Duncan reported as having been present at the private rehearsal of *Merry Freaks* in 1843. Meanwhile, the *Atlas*—wondering how Nathan came to set the ode—stated that the composer was also an “intimate friend” of Leichhardt.²³³ Because of the depth of public sentiment concerning Leichhardt, no previous Australian musical production had attracted such detailed aesthetic critique. According to the *Australian Journal* (9 September), Nathan had:²³⁴

[...] given full scope to the riches of his luxuriant fancy. The harmony is enchanting, and, as if the composer were thoroughly imbued with the poet’s fond imaginings, the melody is marked by a deep and powerful tenderness, its plaintive strains varying with the varying character of the words, gliding, almost imperceptibly, from the sepulchral to the gentle wails of sorrow, whilst the accompaniment describes as it were the birds, the flowers, and other features of the imaginary bourne of the lost traveller’s repose [...].

The *Examiner* (6 September) also referred to “the sweet obligato accompaniment [...] which breathes of flowing streams, and the feathered tribes of Northern Australia”, within a convoluted structural and harmonic analysis. The *Australian* was impressed:²³⁵

[...] that every shade of sentiment expressed by the poet, has been adequately embodied (so to speak) by the composer [...] Witness the sombre character of the opening passage. “Ye who prepare”,—witness the harrowing effect produced on the word “murdered”, and at the end of the first line, second page—witness the sweetness of the *andantino* movement, “It shall be by a stream”. And near the conclusion of the succeeding page, the musical student will find one of the finest passages in the entire composition, “When ye have made his narrow bed”. The fine moving bass in this passage, played in a *marcato* style, gives it an air of grandeur, whilst the *legato* kept up in the right hand at the same time, preserves its mournful character [...] Nathan has not written anything in this colony equal to *Leichhardt’s Grave* [...].

By the time the *Atlas*, apologetically, got around to reviewing it on 27 September, it admitted that the ode’s reputation in the colony was already “established”:²³⁶

[...] Both the poet and the musician were, we believe, intimate friends of Leichhardt, and to this circumstance are we, in all probability, indebted in some measure for the great ability which they have both evinced. The heart was in their

supposed loss of that devoted explorer, some years since (1845), that Mr. Lynd composed the exquisitely touching stanzas which have been frequently reprinted both in these colonies and in Europe, and of which we published revised copy in the *New Zealander* some fifteen months since. We have reason to believe that other poetical compositions have proceeded from the same pen, little, if at all, less likely to command admiration had they been as generally circulated.”

²³³ *Atlas* (27 September 1845), 523.

²³⁴ As reproduced by Nathan in an advertisement at the end of his published *Lectures* (1846): <http://www.nla.gov.au/apps/cdview?pi=nla.mus-an6426940-s55-v>.

²³⁵ “REVIEW: NEW MUSIC: LEICHHARDT’S GRAVE”, *The Australian* (20 September 1845), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37154504>; also excerpted by Nathan in *Lectures*.

²³⁶ *Atlas* (27 September 1845), 523: <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/1440365x/18450927/00010044/7-8.pdf>.

work, and hence arose the excellence of their performances. Of the music, it is scarcely necessary that we should say anything, seeing that its reputation is established. It is undoubtedly the finest piece of composition ever produced in the Colony, and we believe that Mr. Nathan himself values it higher than anything that he has done since the *Hebrew Melodies*. In scientific arrangement and adaptation to its subject, it equally excels, and yet its simplicity is so great that a very moderate share of musical knowledge is adequate to its performance. In these days of difficult and impossible Music, we look upon this as a high recommendation, and we feel no hesitation in saying, that this Ode is destined to enjoy an extensive and lasting reputation in the music and literature of the country.

The only circumstance that might forestall the *Atlas's* golden prediction was Leichhardt's fate itself, about which some of the press were wisely sceptical. The *Register* thought it would be amusing should the doctor return to Sydney and:²³⁷

[...] have the satisfaction of hearing his own requiem, chaunted in a style too, which [...] would not be unworthy any of the famed poets and musicians of his own country.

The Australian hoped that Leichhardt "may yet survive and enjoy the very unusual privilege of hearing his own funeral dirge". This uncertainty may have ruled out premature public performances, though one was listed in mid-September, when James Waller sang it at the Sydney School of Arts during a lecture by James Johnson on the "History and Science of Music", reportedly to "a crowded and fashionable audience".²³⁸

Nothing more was heard of Leichhardt's fate over the summer, until as Lang later recollected:²³⁹

At length, on the 25th of March, 1846, the city of Sydney was electrified at the sudden apparition of Dr Leich[h]ardt and his party [...] direct from Port Essington, having accomplished the grand object of their expedition, and thereby achieved [...] an exploit scarcely paralleled in the annals of geographical discovery.

On 18 April, Leichhardt himself wrote to his brother-in-law in Germany:²⁴⁰

[...] a king could never have been received by a whole nation with more lively joy or cordial interest. Under the supposition of my having died long ago, or had been

²³⁷ *Weekly Register* (6 September 1846); Nathan's selections from this and the following reviews appears at the end of his *Lectures*, copy at NLA: [http://www.nla.gov.au/apps/cdview?pi=nla.mus-an6426940-s55-v](http://www.nla.gov.au/apps/cdview?pi=nla.mus-an6426940-s55-v;); [http://www.nla.gov.au/apps/cdview?pi=nla.mus-an6426940-s56-v](http://www.nla.gov.au/apps/cdview?pi=nla.mus-an6426940-s56-v;); Nathan also see also "NEW MUSIC", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (4 September 1845), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28649928>.

²³⁸ "SCHOOL OF ARTS", *The Australian* (16 September 1845), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37158084>.

²³⁹ Lang, *Cooksland*, 311:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=iMwNAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA311#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

²⁴⁰ "LEICHARDT'S LAST HOME CORRESPONDENCE", *The Argus* (13 September 1865), 5:

<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5769161>; Nathan's songs were also reported in Germany, in a review of Leichhardt's *Journal*, in *Gelehrte Anzeigen* 80 (21 April 1848), cols 644-646:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=QrUPAQAAIAAJ&q=Herr+Nathan#v=snippet&q=Herr%20Nathan&f=false>.

killed by the blacks, Mr. Lynd, my dear friend, had written a poem of my death, which I send you in English. The poem is very beautiful. A musician, Mr. Nathan, who composed the music for the *Hebrew melodies* by Byron, wrote the music for Lynd's poem [...] As Mr. Lynd had written a funeral song, so another young man—Mr. Sylvester—wrote a song of joy, which I likewise send you [...]

E. K. Silvester's welcome poem had appeared in the *Herald* on 27 March, all eleven stanzas written in the two days since his return.²⁴¹ By the end of April, Nathan had composed music, as reported in the *Herald* on 2 May:²⁴²

LEICHHARDT'S RETURN: ARRANGEMENTS having been entered into for the immediate publication of the Music set by Mr. Nathan to those beautiful Stanzas [...] on Dr Liechhardt's return from Port Essington, Mr. Ford has the honour to make known to the public that the Song is preparing for the press, and may shortly be obtained [...]

It was performed at the Royal Victoria Theatre, as part of its Queen's Birthday "Novelty" on 25 May, when, between the *Mountain Sylph* and *The Pacha's Pets*:²⁴³

The management has much pleasure in announcing that the beautiful verses of E. K. S., upon Leich[h]ardt's return, set to music (by a gentleman amateur) expressly for this theatre, will be sung upon this occasion, the solo parts by Mesdames Stirling and Wallace, and Messrs. F. and J. Howson, assisted by a full chorus.

The *Herald* reviewed the printed edition of [Thy Greeting Home Again: A Paean on Leichhardt's Return from Port Essington](#) two days later:²⁴⁴

[...] we do not know how in few words to convey to our readers a more correct idea of the composition than by expressing our feeling, that never were poetry and music more worthy of each other. The composition is by no means fertile or striking in melody; but the harmonies, and their adaptation, are rich and masterly. The composer has likewise displayed much management and skill in the effects produced by changes of key and time. The music, to be appreciated, should be studied. We strongly recommend it to the notice of our fair readers.

The *Australian* (30 June), standing back judiciously from the encomium it awarded

²⁴¹ "STANZAS", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (27 March 1846), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12886171>; described in his obituary as a "litterateur", Edward Kennedy Silvester died in 1863; he worked on the *Herald* at the time that "he wrote those beautiful verses on the Death of Leichhardt"; "THE LATE MR. E.K. SILVESTER", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (11 December 1863), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13086183>.

²⁴² [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (2 May 1846), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12886935>.

²⁴³ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (25 May 1846), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12887427>; Kassler, "Hinckesman", 59 says it was sung again at the theatre at Maria Hinckesman's concert in October, see *The Australian* (27 October 1846).

²⁴⁴ "NEW MUSIC", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (27 June 1846), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12888122>; Nathan, who as usual set his own type, incorrectly gave Sylvester's initial as "A.K."

Leichhardt's Grave, found a rather:²⁴⁵

[...] sentimental melody of the kind-hearted veteran of music who ornaments the society of Sydney as a first-rate man of the science of music. It is true we enjoy only his autumnal labours, which are not plentiful, like blossoms; but the fruit is delicious and wholesome [...] As long as poetry and music shall sway the sons and daughters of Australia, the glories of Leichhardt, as sung by Sylvester and Nathan, will excite and delight.

The *Atlas* (20 June) saw in the composition:²⁴⁶

[...] as it were, a perfect landscape—all the objects, in their appropriate light and shadow, are duly reflected [...] we view this effort of Mr. Nathan to be the most successful he has made since is sojourn among us. In England this composition would meet a cordial approval. We trust that the Australian community will not show less taste of the beautiful, nor less desire to encourage it [...].

According to the *Herald*, Leichhardt's return had "set all the muses on fire in every quarter".²⁴⁷ But when Leichhardt's other composer friend, Stephen Marsh, also produced a welcome song, it was again to Sylvester's words. Nevertheless, the identity of neither composer was of interest to Manning Clark, who simply recorded that, on Leichhardt's hero's return, "A song was composed in his honour".²⁴⁸

Leichhardt was grateful to have been so honoured. At a public lecture in August, in which he advanced his proposal for a second expedition, he was confident:²⁴⁹

[...] that, borrowing the words of that beautiful lyric in which I have been honoured by the Australian Muses

A nation's smiling welcome will be my greeting home again.

But on that next expedition, Leichhardt did indeed perish, so it was instead *Leichhardt's Grave* that the local muses would have had to dust off again, had they been moved to (though there is no evidence that they did).

Nathan released three new vocal works over the spring and summer of 1845-46. The first probably composed at the behest of his new friends, the theatrical duo, Frank and John

²⁴⁵ Reviews as reproduced by Nathan at the end of the *Lectures*:

<http://www.nla.gov.au/apps/cdview?pi=nla.mus-an6426940-s56-v>; original: "MR. NATHAN'S NEW SONG", *The Australian* (30 June 1846), 3; <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37156522>.

²⁴⁶ *The Atlas* (20 June 1846), 294:

<http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/1440365x/18460620/00020082/5-6.pdf>.

²⁴⁷ "LEICHHARDT", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (1 April 1846), 2:

<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12886265>: they printed the opening stanzas only of a long work in progress by a poet from Pyrmont, a versification of Leichhardt's journals, which he himself described modestly as "in a less ambitious style than most of the other elegies and salutations which have been published".

²⁴⁸ Clark, *History* 3: 340.

²⁴⁹ "DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE: DR. LEICHHARDT'S LECTURES", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (27 August 1846), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12898405>.

Howson, who had arrived from Hobart for the 1845 Sydney winter theatre season.²⁵⁰ The first new song was performed at the Royal Victoria on 29 September 1845, during the first Sydney performance of a play by David Burn, published in Hobart in 1842:²⁵¹

[...] entitled THE QUEEN'S LOVE [...] In the course of the Piece, Mrs. Ximenes will sing an olden Romance, called *Sir Wilfred he mounted his War-steed true*. The Melody and Orchestral Accompaniments written and arranged expressly for the Tragedy, by J. Nathan, Esq.

In review, *The Atlas* praised Eliza Ximenes:²⁵²

[...] for her efficiency in the romance [...] which is written with appropriate simplicity [...] set to appropriate music, and [...] sung with appropriate pathos [...].

The *Register* predicted that it:²⁵³

[...] ought to become a great favourite, and we would seriously recommend the composer, in the midst of his many publications, to favour the public with [it].

This Nathan did immediately, publishing [Sir Wilfred](#), again through Baker's press, as "The much admired romance, sung by Mrs. Ximenes, in the very successful tragic play produced at the Victoria Theatre". It is another sweetly old-fashioned English piece, in a style harking back to days of "Good Queen Anne", which the *Examiner*, on 4 October, found "Elizabethan":²⁵⁴

[...] a delightful composition in 6-8 time, and the Composer has given to the simple and characteristic melody such harmony as was in general use in the Elizabethan day [...] The whole of the modulations and progressions are in perfect keeping with the style which, as an historical musician, Mr. Nathan deemed appropriate to the *trouweres* of Queen Anne's Court [...].

Also printed by Baker and released in October was a new sacred piece, [The Lord's Prayer](#). Though dedicated to the (Episcopalian) "Lord Bishop of Australia", William

²⁵⁰ "THEATRICAL REGISTER", *The Weekly register* 5 [4], / 94 (10 May 1845), 226:

<http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18450510/e0050094/9-12.pdf>: "We perceive amongst the late arrivals the Messrs. Howson from Hobart Town, and as reports speak favourably of their musical talents, and more particularly of their vocal powers, we anticipate some good operas, or at least some concerts, during the winter season"; the Howsons then took out the longest concert advertisement ever to appear in the journal, see *The Weekly Register* 5[4]/95 (17 May 1845), 240:

<http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18450517/e0050095/9-12.pdf>.

²⁵¹ [Advertisement]: Royal Victoria Theatre", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (29 September 1845), 2:

<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12882472>; on Burn see Ralston Inglis, *The Dramatic Writers of Scotland* (Glasgow: G. D. Mackellar, 1868), 25-26:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=br5JAAAAIAAJ&pg=PA25#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

²⁵² "THE DRAMA", *The Atlas* 1/45 (4 October 1845), 535:

<http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/1440365x/18451004/00010045/7-8.pdf>.

²⁵³ "THEATRICAL REGISTER", *The Weekly Register* 5/115 (4 October 1845), 166:

<http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18451004/00050115/9-12.pdf>.

²⁵⁴ Nathan, *Lectures*: <http://www.nla.gov.au/apps/cdview?pi=nla.mus-an6426940-s56-v>.

Broughton, the Catholic Duncan—with his lively interest in sacred music—also welcomed it exceedingly warmly as:²⁵⁵

[...] by far the best of Nathan's Colonial Productions, and will live with the *Hebrew Melodies* even if all the rest should be forgotten. The piece is arranged so that it may be sung either as a solo or quartetto. The melody is simple and appropriate, and the harmony faultless. A few typographical mistakes might be pointed out such as the omission to mark a change of time in the opening symphony, but the whole is so excellent in other respects, that we cannot find in our conscience to dwell upon trifling defects.

Having a few years earlier exhorted the Harmonic Club to concentrate on “classical” productions, Duncan now “heartily” recommended it to the new Sydney Choral Society, “with whom the cultivation of native productions is we presume an object to be attained”.²⁵⁶ Even the Calvinists at the *Herald* admitted that:²⁵⁷

[...] Mr. Nathan's beautiful arrangement of this prayer has reconciled many scruples which we had to its being set to music at all; and we feel bound to confess that we have gone through it with considerable gratification. There is much plaintive and expressive melody in it, blended with harmonies of the first order; and we hesitate not to say that we cannot call to recollection a sacred piece of modern composition that has pleased us more.

The *Australian* (23 October) was, likewise, deeply moved:

Probably, amid the infinity of the indefatigable Nathan's creations, there is none to surpass this, the latest offering from his teeming brain, *The Lord's Prayer*. The mind half recoils as if there were profanity and impiety in the daring attempt to set to music the inspired language of our Saviour and our Guide—and yet whilst listening to the tender, solemn strains of this grand, this soul-subduing Anthem, we feel not only impressed by the beauty of holiness, but amazed that the light which inspired Mr. Nathan should never have illumed the minds of any of his great predecessors. Had Mr. Nathan never before have written one note, this magnificent Anthem alone were sufficient to have handed down his name to immortal fame. It is a brilliant gem of pure ecclesiastical music, and we have no doubt that the spirit-moving harmonies will thrill through the sacred aisles, not only in Australia, but the venerable Cathedral fanes of our “Parent Land”.

Perhaps his Australian *Lord's Prayer* put Nathan on his stride again, for the third piece

²⁵⁵ *The Weekly Register* 5/117 (18 October 1845), 191: <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18451018/00050117/9-12.pdf>; [Advertisement], *The Weekly Register* 5/116 (11 October, 1845), 180: <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18451011/00050116/9-12.pdf>.

²⁵⁶ Rather, according to the earliest report on its formation, its “principal object [...] will be, by providing and practising the best descriptions of Sacred Music, to create a taste for the works of the purest and best masters, and improve the general style of singing in churches”; see “SACRED MUSIC”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (18 April 1845), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12878868>.

²⁵⁷ “NEW MUSIC”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (13 October 1845), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12882794>.

also qualified as an “Australian melody”, the previously mentioned song, [The Currency Lassies](#), “inscribed with the utmost devotion and respect to the Fair Sex of Australia”. Ford’s print is dated “1846, The 58th Anniversary of the Colony”, so the song had probably appeared by 26 January, ready for a first outing as a toast air at an anniversary dinner. What resemblance, if any, it bears to the earlier unattributed song of the same title played at the first mayoral Christmas feast in December 1842 is impossible to say.²⁵⁸

On 5 May 1846, during “the favourite Drama of TRIBOULET THE KING’S JESTER; OR, THE BELL OF NOTRE DAME”, was revived, with three of the songs Nathan had composed for the original London run of Millingan’s play in 1833. Frank Howson, as Zeppa, revived “the original song of *Drink, drink, and a fig for all sorrow*, composed and arranged by I. Nathan”, Mrs. Ximenes, as Diane of Poitiers, “the original song *A pretty bird was moping*”; though, curiously, the third song, *Good traveller do not pass my gate*, had been attributed to Nathan’s then collaborator, Wade, in the 1833 wordbook.²⁵⁹ Nathan was clearly much taken up with the Howsons at the time. In the preface to his *Lectures* published later in the year,²⁶⁰ he looked both back to his arrival in the colony almost six years earlier, and forward:

It is to me some source of satisfaction, after forty years of labour, and still finding myself but an infant in my effort to evolve the mysterious labyrinth of music, whose vast depth, like infinite space, is without end—to know that I have been the happy means of laying a foundation in Australia for the cultivation of this glorious science; and if the rising taste for melody and harmony continue to make the rapid strides it has already done since my arrival in Sydney, and we have good fortune to receive amongst us a few more voices equal in quality, intonation and flexibility, to those of Messrs. F. and J. Howson, (the talented brothers of Madame Albertazzi), we may soon calculate upon standing upon an equal footing in every respect with our Mother Country in the production of musical entertainments.

But while adverting also to “the thirst for good music” that he had inspired (“by the constant introduction of works from classical authors” and “the variety of music composed in this Colony”, Nathan was contemplating a second attempt at an opera that might take him back “home”:²⁶¹

²⁵⁸ “THE MAYOR’S FEAST”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (22 December 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12412355>.

²⁵⁹ [Advertisement]: “ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (5 May 1846), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12887015>; . D. Millingan, *The King’s Fool; or, The Old Man’s Curse: An historic play in three acts [...] the music by MM. Nathan and Wade* (London: John Miller, 1833), 15, 51, 53: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=olwQAQAAIAAJ&pg=RA3-PA15#v=onepage&q&f=false>; see also [Advertisement]: THE NEW SONGS FROM THE KING’S FOOL”, *The National Standard of Literature, Science, Music, Theatricals, and the Fine Arts* (31 August 1833), 139: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=TnUPAAAAQAAJ&pg=RA1-PA139#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

²⁶⁰ “REVIEW”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (17 October 1846), 3s: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12892915>.

²⁶¹ “NEW OPERA”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (30 April 1847), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12897337>.

NEW OPERA: An Opera called *John of Austria*, is in course of rehearsal at the Victoria. The words are by a mercantile gentleman, who has taken for his subject Delavigne's celebrated Comedy of *Don Juan D'Autriche*, some of the scenes being almost literal translations. The music is by Mr. Nathan, and is spoken of by the few amateurs who have heard it as the most successful of that gentleman's productions. We believe the original intention of Mr. Nathan in composing the music was to proceed to England with it, but the terms offered by the proprietors of the Victoria induced him to defer his project until the end of the year.

According to the *Chronicle*, two days before the opening:²⁶²

A new era is now about to commence in the musical history of the Colony, for on Monday night a Colonial opera, the first of its kind, will be produced at the Victoria. The title of this opera is *Don John of Austria*—the words being by a gentleman whose name is not declared, and the music by that veteran composer Mr. Nathan. Both the words and music are said by those who have witnessed the rehearsal and are competent judges of such matters, to be first-rate; and we sincerely hope that it will meet with such a degree of patronage and encouragement, as shall induce the production of others, *for why should we send to Europe for our operas, when we can have them got up for us in the Colony equally good and attractive.*

Nathan's ***Don John of Austria*** was presented for the first time at the Royal Victoria on 3 May 1847, with the Howson brothers Theodosia Guerin in the lead roles.²⁶³ Five more performances followed, the *Herald* chiming in with its review on 8 May:²⁶⁴

The first Australian Opera has been received at the Victoria with decided approbation. The music is by Mr. Nathan, who is known to be no novice in those matters. The libretto by a gentleman of "acknowledged literary attainments". We refrained from giving an earlier notice of this production, as we were unwilling to form an opinion amidst the mistakes and confusion inseparable from a first performance, but we can now say that the music has won much upon us by acquaintance, which may at once be pronounced to be a test of its goodness. The plot is somewhat tame and gloomy, and wants relief; there is no counterplot, nor are there any striking dramatic effects. The character of the music is necessarily the same, and although the concerted pieces, especially a quartette and trio are very effective, we consider that most of it is much better adapted to the drawing-room than to the stage. There are several very pretty songs, which are certain to become favourites. The principal characters are sustained by Mrs. Guerin and the Messrs. Howson, who acquit themselves admirably. Mr. J. Howson's beautiful voice is brought out to great advantage. His song *I dare not say how, much I love*, is very pretty, and well suited to him. Mr. F. Howson has also a very nice song, into the accompaniment of which the air of *Why are you wandering* is very cleverly introduced. The orchestral accompaniments are throughout the opera very full and

²⁶² [News], *Sydney Chronicle* (1 May 1847), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31751772>.

²⁶³ "ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (3 May 1847), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12900105>; though Nathan later gives the first performance as 7 May, *The Southern Euphrosyne*, 14: <http://www.nla.gov.au/apps/cdview?pi=nla.mus-an6427468-s24-e>.

²⁶⁴ "Don John of Austria", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (8 May 1847), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12897423>; see also "LOCA L INTELLIGENCE: THE THEATRE", *The Australian* (4 May 1847), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37129418>.

good, but we are convinced that the copyist must have left out several pianos and mezzofortes, especially in the horn and clarionet parts, as the voices were frequently over-powered; this, however, can be easily corrected, and will not prevent the opera of *Don John* from having a most successful run.

On 1 November, Nathan announced the imminent publication in *The Southern Euphrosyne* of its [Overture](#) in piano score.²⁶⁵ The *Euphrosyne* also included four of the vocal numbers—Don John’s solo, [The Visions of Youth](#) (“in which is introduced as an obligato accompaniment the celebrated Air from *Sweethearts and Wives* ‘Why are you wandering here I pray’;”); Agnes (Mrs. Guerin)’s “expressive” air, [Canst thou bid the hand its cunning forget](#); Philip II (John Howson)’s [I dare not say how much I love](#); and Don Quixado’s solo [I’ll go to sleep](#)—all of which were also published separately by Ford. The record of the libretto’s submission to the Colonial Secretary for approval reveals that the gentleman of “acknowledged literary attainments”, credited merely “J. L. M.” in the song prints, was Jacob Levi Montefiore,²⁶⁶ resident in Sydney since 1837, and previously author of a play produced at the Theatre Royal in 1843.²⁶⁷

But at the fifth performance, *Bell’s Life* noted the “meagre house” for a work “not destined to hold a distinguished place” on account of “weak and insipid” dialogue, and a “plot (if such it may be termed) pointless in the extreme”. It judged the arias “heavy and tiresome”, more likely to be appreciated by professionals than amateurs, and the musical construction “capable of much improvement”, yet still concluded that it was “a highly praiseworthy composition”.²⁶⁸ In Melbourne, the *Port Phillip Patriot*, referring unpromisingly to the ethnicity of composer and author, called it “the first *jew d’espirit* which had made its appearance in the colony”, describing “the songs throughout” as “little piracies from old familiar airs—patches of this, and shreds of that most skilfully vamped”.²⁶⁹

Notably, *Don John* shared nothing of the local subject matter Nathan contrived to appear so important to his early “Australian melodies”. Indeed, like *Merry Freaks*, it was probably never intended to be reduced to being an “Australian opera” at all. According to a report sourced to the *Herald*:²⁷⁰

²⁶⁵ There is also a separate offprint, NLA: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-an6427436>.

²⁶⁶ NSW State Records, “Plays Submitted to the Colonial Secretary for Approval”: <http://www.records.nsw.gov.au/state-archives/guides-and-finding-aids/colonial-secretarys-correspondence-guide/letters-received/plays-submitted-for-approval>.

²⁶⁷ Martha Rutledge, “Montefiore, Jacob Levi (1819-1885)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 5 (1974), 270-271: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A050312b.htm>.

²⁶⁸ “THE DRAMA”, *Bell’s Life in Sydney* (8 May 1847), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article59766841>; see also Gyger, 59.; see also “THE DRAMA”, *Bell’s Life in Sydney* (22 May 1847), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article59768062>, and, immediately following, the satirical “review”, “from *The Australian*”; a month or so later, Nathan was subject of another satirical prospectus, possibly based on his own prospectus for *The Southern Euphrosyne*, “Now ready, No. 1 of a weekly paper, edited by I. Nathan, Esq., called *The Cut and Shuffle Magazine*”, *Bell’s Life in Sydney* (31 July 1847), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article59763877>.

²⁶⁹ As reported by Gyger, 60; regarding Graham Pont’s reported intuition that Stephen Marsh might have been the author of this notice, Marsh had left the Australian colonies in 1846 and did not return until 1850.

²⁷⁰ “SYDNEY NEWS [from “the Herald”]: New Opera”, *The Maitland Mercury* (5 May 1847), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article689714>.

We believe the original intention of Mr. Nathan in composing the music was to proceed to England with it, but the terms offered by the proprietors of the Victoria, induced him to defer his project until the end of the year.

So Nathan was, for a second time, on the verge of bringing his Australian sojourn to an early close. And even if, like his friend Joseph Gautrot, he never made it home in the flesh, few of his remaining colonial compositions make much of their Australian origins.

[3.8] *Later Nathan*

The chief musical authority [in Sydney] is that “sunburn Nathan” [...]. He is a pleasant old man, makes a good white port wine, and talks quite charmingly over it of the ill-starred bard [Byron].

Frank Fowler, *Southern Lights and Shadows* (1859).²⁷¹

On 1 October 1849, the Howsons revived Millingan’s play *The King’s Fool* yet again at the Royal Victoria, advertising “the original music, by I. Nathan”.²⁷² But, while the Howson brothers and Frank’s several performer children continued to support Nathan’s activities personally, this was the last time that his name appeared in Sydney theatrical bills.

A now fragmentary song for voice and piano, ***The Meeting of the East and West*** (the date and publisher’s name missing in the two surviving copies, both consisting only of the first and last pages) must count as Nathan’s last distinctively Australian-themed work, though not the last to words by a fellow colonial. It set some verses by the surveyor and explorer major Thomas Mitchell,²⁷³ celebrating the arrival in Sydney of mail steamers from Suez and San Francisco, in anticipation of a telegraphic link. The full text was published, anonymously, in the *Herald* on 24 December 1850 as “Stanzas for Music” (and subtitled “March of the Christian Men”), and Nathan’s setting may be tentatively dated to round the same time, even though the first mail steamer, the *Chusan*, did not arrive until 1852:²⁷⁴

*Where the Macedonian phalanx, nor the Legions of Old Rome
Nor Cortez nor Pizarro, in their pride could never come!
From the East and West advancing, Art and Science in the Van,*

²⁷¹ Frank Fowler, *Southern Lights and Shadows: being Brief Notes of Three Years’ Experience of Social, Literary, and Political Life in Australia* (London: Sampson, Low, Son, and Co., 1859), 38:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=EMMNAAAQAAJ&pg=PA38&#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

²⁷² “ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (1 October 1849), 2:

<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12906683>; for a review of the London production, see “VICTORIA THEATRE”, *The London Literary Gazette* (1833), 461:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=54dHAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA461#v=onepage&q&f=false>; for the original libretto, see J. G. Millingan *The King’s Fool; or, The Old Man’s Curse, An Historic Play in Three Acts ... The Music by MM. Nathan and Wade* (London: John Miller, 1833), 69:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=olwQAQAIAAJ&pg=PA69#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

²⁷³ D.W. A. Baker, “Mitchell, Sir Thomas Livingstone (1792-1855)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 2 (1967), 238-242: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020206b.htm>.

²⁷⁴ “STANZAS FOR MUSIC: THE MEETING OF THE EAST AND WEST”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (24 December 1850), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12923576>.

Over Time and Space triumphant, “See the March of Christian Man” [...].

*Haste westward, O, Americans, and cut your Isthmus through,
And o’er the Rocky Mountains pour, with spangled banner blue,
And eastward haste, Britannia’s Sons, still glorious to maintain
Victoria’s Eastern Empire, and rule the Southern Main.*

Two Nathan works appeared under the imprint of Kern and Mader (stationers and music-sellers of Hunter-street), the first, [Loyalty](#), a rousing accompanied glee for male voices, advertised in the *Herald* in October 1850.²⁷⁵ Dedicated to governor Fitzroy, it described itself as “a national paean” (as with the Leichhardt paean, generically complete with trumpet-like anapaests in the piano accompaniment). But the unattributed text begins with a significant qualification—“Tho’ distant far from Britain’s strand”—and the peroration casts Nathan firmly as a colonial conservative: “Thou democrat, and traitor vain/Confusion on thee light,/We’ll guard our gracious Queen’s domain/Our watchword, Loyalty!” A second piece, not unlike it, is the bravura air [Long Live Our Gracious Queen](#), which reverts to Nathan’s best Handelian vein, with what appear originally to have been string symphonies and a violin obligato. The print, which may well have appeared at around the same time as *Loyalty*, certainly dates from before 30 June 1853, when Kern and Mader’s partnership expired.²⁷⁶

Before then, Nathan went to W. J. Johnson, who was also organist of Christ Church and himself a composer, to print his [The Names of Christ](#), “composed as a soprano solo and arranged likewise as a sextetto expressly for St. James and St. Mary’s choral societies”. The latter was formed, under Nathan’s direction, on 3 February 1851,²⁷⁷ and his conductorship came to an end by October 1854.²⁷⁸ James Laughton, the author of the versified litany-like text (also separately printed, though also undated),²⁷⁹ was a Presbyterian minister; Nathan may have got to know him much earlier when the Laughton was teaching at Sydney College. Johnson advertised the setting for sale in April 1853,²⁸⁰ and Nathan conducted it in a concert by St. Mary’s Choral Society in August.²⁸¹ He gave it at least once more, with the assistance of

²⁷⁵ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (8 October 1850), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12921610>.

²⁷⁶ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (8 June 1853), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12946477>.

²⁷⁷ [Advertisement]: “ST. MARY’S CHORAL SOCIETY”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (7 September 1854), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12960357>.

²⁷⁸ [Advertisement]: “APPLICATIONS ... ST. MARY’S CHORAL SOCIETY”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (13 October 1854), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12957491>.

²⁷⁹ Copy at SL-NSW: <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/8324145>.

²⁸⁰ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (7 April 1853), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12944888>: “JEPHTHA’S DAUGHTER and Lungi dal Caro Bene—the two songs so unanimously received with enthusiastic marks of approbation on Monday last at St. Mary’s Choral Society—as sung by Mr. Palmer—are now published, 2s. each; with *Angels ever Bright and Fair*, *The Lord’s Prayer*, *The Names of Christ*, and all Mr. Nathan’s works. At W. J. JOHNSON’S Music Warehouse, 314, Pitt-Street.”

²⁸¹ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (8 August 1853), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12947841>.

the Howsons, in 1859.²⁸²

Hey diddle diddle dates from as early as 6 February 1854, when Nathan included it in a concert by the St. Mary's Choral Society, and the *Herald* judged it "a decided hit, eliciting general laughter".²⁸³ When he programmed it again in 1861, he advertised:²⁸⁴

2000 copies [...] have been printed exclusively for the pleasure of presenting to every young lady at the concert a copy as a New Year's gift.

In 1861, almost fifty years on from his collaboration with Byron, the elderly Nathan turned to a new poet, Tennyson, in a set of three songs published that year, **Circumstance**, **The Day Dream**, and **The White Owl**, sold by J. R. Clarke. The *Herald* regarded them as a "curiosity", by one "past the age allotted":²⁸⁵

We have just received three musical pieces, *The White Owl*, *The Day Dream*, and *Circumstance*, the words being by the poet laureate, Tennyson, and the music by I. Nathan. The two former have the singularity of being written in the now obsolete measure termed the quintuple, or five crotchets to the bar; but this innovation upon the present system, or rather reversion to an old system, the composer defends in a few lines of letter-press, attached to one of the pieces. Independently of their merit as a musical composition, these pieces may be regarded almost as a literary curiosity, being the production of one who, to use his own expression, "has passed the age allotted to man"; who, before most of the present generation were, had set to music Byron's beautiful *Hebrew melodies*, and who, with his own hand, has at his advanced age setup the type of the music which he has himself composed. With regard to the melody, on that we shall leave the fairer portion of our community to pronounce a judgment.

Evidence of the lingering respect felt towards Nathan by his professional colleagues, nevertheless, he was able to rally in March 1859 some of Sydney's finest musicians (and fellow composers) to assist in a morning concert he convened for the benefit of the Asylum for Destitute Children. Harking back almost twenty years to his arrival in Sydney, the program consisted largely of his own music, including an unidentified **Overture** to the second half.²⁸⁶ The performing forces included William Paling, Charles Eigenschenck, John Winterbottom, Frank Howson, William Cordner (later active as a composer), Sara Flower,

²⁸² [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (17 March 1859), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13014287>; at the same concert Nathan is billed as having arranged an Overture, by Gluck; Glover's song *Consider the Lilies* was also sung, probably using the same Nathan arrangement that reappeared as late as 1871, [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (8 August 1871), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13242876>: "Song—*Consider the lilies*. S. Glover (Orchestral accompaniment by the late Isaac Nathan)."

²⁸³ "ST. MARY'S CHORAL SOCIETY", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (7 February 1854), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12953477>.

²⁸⁴ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (23 December 1861), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13061493>.

²⁸⁵ "ORIGINAL MUSIC", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (22 May 1861), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13061788>.

²⁸⁶ [Advertisement]: "MORNING SELECTION OF SACRED AND SECULAR MUSIC [...] for the BENEFIT of the ASYLUM FOR DESTITUTE CHILDREN, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (17 March 1859), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13014287>.

and Charles Packer. As a representative selection of Sydney talent, it was a lineup probably only second to that for Lewis Lavenue's great University Musical Festival four months later.

Nathan returned to concert-giving in December 1861, again assisted by Sara Flower and the Howsons, for what was billed as his "first quarterly concert". The first half was dedicated to "A cheerful selection from Mr. Nathan's Operas", including the overture to *Don John*, the finale to *Merry Freaks*, and *Koorinda Braia* "as sung by the aborigines [...] faithfully transmitted to paper and harmonised by—Nathan". The one new work, "composed [and printed] expressly for this occasion", was [The Winged Fate](#), sung "with exquisite expression to a delighted audience" by Frank Howson's daughter, Clelia²⁸⁷ The *Herald* review noted that "the reputation which Mr. Nathan enjoys, both as an *English composer and in connexion with the practice of music in this colony*, would be sufficient at any time to attract an audience to a concert like that given last night". But the hall was half full, and that half:²⁸⁸

[...] consisting mainly of admirers [...] who, being probably acquainted with his mode of conducting concerts, were not disposed to take exception to those peculiarities which would not be tolerated in any less privileged musician [...].

Nevertheless, *The Winged Fate* "was extremely admired, and encored",²⁸⁹ and on publication in February the *Herald* gave it a detailed, somewhat reverential review:²⁹⁰

This exquisite little song [...] is a light and pleasing strain, with a dash of the melancholy and mystic in its character, in perfect keeping with meaning and the rhythm of the words, which are cast in a rather unusually short metre. The piece commences in G minor, 6-8 time, and afterwards (in the second part of the first verse) the movement changes to B flat major, in common time. In the charming bird-like refrain at the end of the verse, the music again returns to six-eight time, with a striking and peculiar effect. The third movement begins at the commencement of the second verse, in G major, and then, in conclusion, the air reverts, in a very expressive manner, to the original key. It is difficult to convey any idea of the merit of this delightful little song, which is, emphatically speaking, *full of music*, at the same time that the air is so simple that it might readily be learnt and sung by any moderately gifted child. We do not know who is the author of the words. Whoever he may be, he cannot be insensible to the honour of having them immortalised by that eminent composer and unfading veteran genius, who, in his earlier days, did ample justice to the *Hebrew Melodies* of Byron.

²⁸⁷ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (23 December 1861), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13061493>.

²⁸⁸ "MR. NATHAN'S CONCERT", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (31 December 1861), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13068270>.

²⁸⁹ But see also the bilious "NEWS AND NOTES (By a Sydney Man)", *The Courier* (7 January 1862), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4603153>: "Mr. Nathan, the author of *Koreenda Braaia*, *Hey diddle diddle*, and other romantic poems, and well known as the bore of Lord Byron with his *Hebrew Melody* music, gave a concert last night, which I hear was good for the megrims [migrains], and kept the audience in rare laughing exercise. The poor old gentleman is quite a character, and evidently has become utterly unconscious of what he must surely have known in his earlier days—namely that he is a hum—guess the rest."

²⁹⁰ "THE WINGED FATE, BY MR. NATHAN", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (18 February 1862), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13224767>.

Nathan's second last printed composition appeared in August 1862, topically in aid of distressed British weavers in Manchester and Coventry. [God Bless You!](#) was "originally composed expressly for Mr. Henry Squires", lead tenor in the Lyster Opera Company, and therefore probably while the company was in Sydney in mid-1861. The words were by Edward Reeve, a former colleague on the *Herald* of the late Edward Silvester (of *Leichhardt's Return*), and since 1860 curator of the museum of antiquities at the University of Sydney.²⁹¹ However, they were neither new—having appeared earlier in the press under Reeve's pseudonym Yorrick; nor new to music—having been set previously in 1860 as [God Bless You! Farewell](#) by Reeve's friend, Cesare Cutolo.²⁹² Cutolo's straightforward and strikingly modern setting may well have struck Nathan as perfunctory; but his is sadly old-fashioned and overly mannered. According another lengthy *Herald* review:²⁹³

A very excellent method of securing contributions to the Lancashire Distress Fund has been adopted by that veteran musician, Mr. I. Nathan, who has set to music a little poem of more than ordinary merit written by Mr. Edward Reeve, a gentleman who, at various times, under *a nomme de plume*, has contributed both in poetry and prose some valuable additions to the literature of the country. The song is entitled *God bless you* and is the farewell of a lover to his betrothed, and though the subject has certainly a hackneyed reputation in connection with poetry, Mr. Reeve has succeeded in securing originality of expression, and, by a happy choice of words, soft in pronunciation, and of short syllabic measure, has (though perhaps unconsciously) clothed his ideas in such a manner as to render them peculiarly fit for the musician's art. The composer states in a short preface to the song, that "When composing, I could not refrain from picturing to my mind a doating mother's emotion—such as a parent only can feel—at the parting from her son, with the reflection that it might be the last on earth" [...]

Nathan dedicated the song to William Lyster himself, for bringing together "the best operatic company [...] has ever appeared in Australia", generously so for Nathan, since though Lyster revived Wallace's *Maritana* and Marsh's *Gentleman in Black*, he had not

²⁹¹ Ed. K. Silvester and Edward Reeve both listed themselves among "The Parliamentary Reporters of the Herald" in 1858, see [Letter], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (23 December 1858), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13016470>; another interesting connection, Henry Tingcombe, Nathan's source for some of the "Aboriginal melodies", was celebrant at Reeve's wedding, at Christ Church, Sydney, in 1847, "MARRIED", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (23 March 1847), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12896811>; for more on Edward Reeve (1822-1889), see "REVIEW: RAYMOND, LORD OF MILAN", *Empire* (27 May 1851), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article60035245>; "UNIVERSITY APPOINTMENT", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (10 December 1860), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13050050>; "MR. H. N. WARNER'S BENEFIT", *Bell's Life in Sydney* (3 October 1863), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article59793839>; "MANY of our readers [...]", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (15 May 1889), 7: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13736599>; Martin Long, "Early Sydney Drama for Revival", *The Sunday Herald* (6 August 1850), 8s: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article18475275>.

²⁹² "NEW SONG", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (18 September 1860), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13046063>; on Reeve and Cutolo's other joint activities, see for instance, "AUSTRALIAN SWORD OF HONOUR TO BE PRESENTED TO GARIBALDI", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (27 February 1861), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13053358>.

²⁹³ "NEW SONG", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (3 September 1862), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13233733>.

extended his season to include Nathan's *Don John*.

In June 1862, Nathan advertised a catalogue for the sale by auction of what was, by Australian standards, an extraordinary collection, the greater part of his personal library.²⁹⁴ It included music theoretical works by Morley, Kollman ("On *Musical Harmony*, the best in the known world"), Rousseau, Tansur, Fedele Fenaroli ("*The composer's M.S.*"), Lablache, as well as scores of complete operas by Storace, Shield, Paer, and Salieri.

His final printed work was **The Song of Freedom**, "Composed and, with every sense of loyalty, respectfully dedicated to Prince Alfred Ernest Albert, Lieutenant in the British Navy".²⁹⁵ Premature rumours of an Australian tour by the young prince having occupied the local press early in 1863 (it would not eventuate until 1867), his promotion to the rank of naval lieutenant was finally reported in Sydney in August 1863.²⁹⁶ The publishers, Wilkie, Elvy and Co., had opened the doors of their new Sydney music warehouse in March 1863, and though the print has not yet been positively dated, it was probably issued later that year.

According to historian James Hall, Nathan, "during his 23 years in Sydney [...] put a solid foundation to its nebulous musical life, and set its course towards artistic maturity."²⁹⁷ However, after an early blaze of activity, Nathan played an ever declining role in the Sydney music scene. The bulk of his identifiably "Australian" works date from before 1846, by which time, already elderly, he had the odd distinction of having composed the first coherent body of music by an Australian resident to be, stylistically, far behind the times. Nathan never excited much colonial interest outside of New South Wales. But his death in 1864 was sufficiently macabre to interest the most jaded intercolonial journalist. In Melbourne, the *Argus* reprinted the Sydney *Herald's* detailed account verbatim:²⁹⁸

A fatal and most distressing casualty, which resulted in the death of Mr. Isaac Nathan, occurred yesterday afternoon (January 15), on the tramway, in Pitt-street, at its intersection with Goulburn-street [...] Mr. Nathan was a passenger by No 2 tramway car, which at about five o'clock yesterday afternoon was going along Pitt-street in the direction of the Redfern railway terminus. At about that hour the car was stopped at the corner of Goulburn-street [...] Mr. Nathan, who lived at No 442 Pitt-street, a few yards distant, alighted from the car at the Southern end, but before he had got clear of the rails tho car moved onwards, and the deceased gentleman was unhappily crushed beneath one of its wheels. It is said that, either in getting out or in trying to avoid the car, Mr. Nathan grasped hold of the railing in front of it, and he was thus whirled round by the sudden motion of the carriage and

²⁹⁴ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (7 June 1862), 8:

<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13229816>.

²⁹⁵ Copy at University of NSW Library; Trove Bookmark: <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/15608129>.

²⁹⁶ "ENGLISH AND EUROPEAN INTELLIGENCE", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (15 August 1863), 7:

<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13083062>.

²⁹⁷ Hall, "History", 364.

²⁹⁸ "INTERCOLONIAL NEWS: NEW SOUTH WALES (from *The Sydney Morning Herald*)", *The Argus* (20 January 1864), 6: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5742734>; see also "TELEGRAPHIC SUMMARY FOR ENGLAND OF NEWS", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (22 January 1864), 8:

<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13084663>; but note that the full-distance Anglo-Australian cable was not operational until 1872.

his body was brought under the front wheel. The wheel did not actually pass over Mr. Nathan, but was dragged on to his body, crushing his back and shoulders in a frightful manner. The unfortunate gentleman died almost instantly. Mr. Nathan was in the seventy-fourth year of his age. He was widely known and greatly respected, and his untimely death will be heard of by many with sincere regret. He had lived in the colony for a number of years.

Sadly, the Brisbane *Courier*'s Sydney correspondent's slighting obituary showed that, even 23 years on, some locals still held a grudge against "poor old Professor Nathan", for his initial presumption that a Jew, touting "nigger melodies" might—as even the *Herald* had once hoped—"establish us a music of our own":²⁹⁹

[...] Most people whom I have heard express an opinion on the subject think that there must be some mistake about the age of the deceased, and that he is much older than is here stated. I cannot at this moment refer to the date of publication of the *Hebrew Melodies*, but it must have been, I think, about forty-five years ago. Most people are familiar with the disgusted manner in which Byron used to speak of his share in those melodies; but, after all, it must be remembered that Lord Byron was about this time in high feathers with the dandies of the age, and that in those days a Jew was nearly as much a pariah in the fashionable world as Shylock is represented to have been [...]. If the late Mr. Nathan had preserved a faithful journal of his times, it would have been interesting [...] for he must have been thrown occasionally into the society of some very remarkable men at a very remarkable time. [...] But whether rightly or wrongly I cannot say, there has always been a strong impression of late years that Mr. Nathan's intellect was impaired. On his first arrival in the colony he did some very ridiculous things—published, with a most fearful flourish of puffing trumpets, a sort of musical lexicon, with a jaw-breaking Greek title; composed music for the Australian nigger melody, *Coreenda Braia*, as he called it, and, if I mistake not, got a whole chorus to chant it somewhere, like a lot of blackfellows. Then, when he became disgusted at what he considered want of appreciation, he wrote and composed what was meant to be a suitable song for Sydney, or Botany Bay, the burden being a complimentary remark and injunction us to the manner of succeeding in this part of the world:-

*Knavery is sure to thrive,
And flattery's an estate,
So live by your wits,
and mind your hits,
To hum the rich and great!*

The language and the sentiment [...] were not taken in very good part here at the time.

* * *

²⁹⁹ "NEWS & NOTES BY A SYDNEY MAN", *The Courier* (23 January 1864), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3168164>.

Chapter 4

“The Encouragement of Genius and Talent”: *Composers active from the 1840s onward*

IN THE COMMERCIAL language of the Port, Literature and the Arts are emphatically *at a discount* in Sydney [...] Agreeing with this opinion to a certain extent, yet we cannot acknowledge that the question has been looked upon in its proper bearings. Sydney, as far as the substantial evidences are before us, is not exceeded by many towns of Great Britain and Ireland in its publications, societies, and institutions connected with literature and the arts; although, if compared as the metropolis of a country, with Dublin, Edinburgh, and London, it falls far behind, in its encouragement of genius and talent. Sydney, with its daily and weekly newspapers, its theatres, its public libraries and museums, certainly excels the fame of such a City as Cork, Leith, Bristol, or Gloucester, in proportion to its extent and population, and is quite equal to Nottingham, or even Cheltenham, in its fame for scientific liberality and advancement [...]

“Review of Colonial Literature and Productions of Art”,
Arden’s Sydney Magazine (September 1843).¹

[4.1] *The arrival of Stephen Marsh*

MRS. PROUT’S CONCERT, at the Victoria Theatre, on Wednesday evening, was one of the most pleasing that we have attended for some time, and we can only regret that the house was so thinly attended as it was; but the fact is, that the class of persons who usually attend concerts, are those who suffered most from the late mercantile depression, and they cannot afford to spend money in amusements [...].

The Theatres are attended by quite a different class of persons. The pit and gallery are frequented by labouring men and mechanics, and the boxes by clerks and young men in public offices: these parties have not felt the depression; their wages and salaries have been continued [...].

But we must change the subject, or else we shall be writing an essay upon political economy, instead of a notice of a concert [...] The draw of the evening was Mr. Marsh, who has recently arrived from England, and made his *début* before an Australian public on Wednesday [...].

The Sydney Herald (11 March 1842).²

PROBABLY BECAUSE European “Australian music” continued to claim that it was young well into its second century, its history is littered with “firsts”. Many are dubious. In 1861, when Stephen Marsh’s *The Gentleman in Black* opened in Melbourne, its producers could still claim that it was a first, and *The Age* print the claim, reasonably certain that it would not

¹ “Review of Colonial Literature and Productions of Art”, *Arden’s Sydney Magazine of Politics and General Literature* 1/1 (September 1843), 2: <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/1329962x/18430900/00010001/49-56.pdf>.

² <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12874132>.

immediately be contradicted:³

The first production of the first original opera ever brought to the boards of an Australian theatre is an even of no slight importance in the musical world, and the enterprising manager of the Royal deserves the hearty support of the community for the risk he encountered in venturing out of the beaten track of favourite and well-known operas to give a local composer—in cricketing parlance,—“an innings”.

Certainly, Lyster’s advertisement called it an “Australian Opera”,⁴ and the printed book the “first original opera produced in Australia”⁵—but then Lyster, as we have seen, was also putting it about in 1861 that *Maritana* had been composed in Sydney. It has usually been assumed ever since that the Melbourne performance was the world premiere. It may well have been. But it is now also clear that Marsh brought the work complete—in some form—with him, to Australia in 1841.⁶

Marsh, and his wife,⁷ arrived in Sydney on 14 February 1842, after three and a half months at sea on the *Sir Edward Paget*, among only a dozen or so first-class passengers (another was Ludwig Leichhardt) on a ship whose main cargo was “248 Bounty Emigrants” from England and Ireland.⁸ Three months earlier, *The Sydney Herald* had reported:⁹

Our musical readers will be pleased to hear that we may soon expect the arrival of Mrs. Prout’s brother, Mr. Marsh, well known at home both as a musical composer and performer, more particularly on the harp. Mr. Marsh has been giving a series of concerts in England and Ireland; and in a *Dublin Patriot* of the 24th of April last, we find the following remarks:

“In our previous notice, we dwelt with some stress on the delightful effect imparted to the song, *The Parent’s Gift*, with newly-conceived and well executed accompaniments for three violincellos. We have since discovered that this unique composition is the production of Mr. Marsh, as also the charming terzetto (from his own Opera *The Gentleman in Black*) which was given in the second act, and which reflect the highest credit on his taste and skill. Notwithstanding his high reputation as an artist and composer [...] he proved himself an exquisite performer on the harp, as well as on the piano-forte, producing all the effects, and mastering all the intricacies by which each instrument is characterised, with a power and facility that must at once establish him as a harpist and pianoforte player (two very rare qualities combined) of the highest rank.”

³ [News], *The Age* (25 July 1861), 3.

⁴ [Advertisement]: “Amusements”, *The Argus* (25 July 1861), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5702359>.

⁵ [Libretto] *First Original Opera Produced in Australia, entitled, The Gentleman in Black [...] Poetry by E. Serle* (Melbourne: Lyster, 1861); copy at British Library, General Reference Collection 11777.cc.1.(11.) [003322780].

⁶ A possible source was Henry Mayhew’s satire, *Peter Punctilio: The Gentleman in Black*, published in 1838, and the basis of a popular “burletta in one act” by Mark Lemon, staged in 1840.

⁷ *Monthly Magazine and British Register* 28/2 (1826), 223:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=ECQAAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA223#v=onepage&q&f=false>

“Married.] At Sidmouth, S. H. A. Marsh, esq. To R. S. Marman, daughter of the late J. Marman, esq.”

⁸ “SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE: ARRIVALS”, *The Sydney Herald* (15 February 1842), 2:

<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2555764>.

⁹ “MUSIC”, *The Sydney Herald* (4 November 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12872072>; also

“Summary of Public Intelligence”, *The Sydney Gazette* (6 November 1841), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2554922>.

Mr. Marsh will be a welcome addition to the musical talent already in the Colony.

Marsh's sister, the singer and harpist Maria Prout (1807-1871), had arrived in Sydney with her husband, John Skinner Prout, on 14 December 1840.¹⁰ Skinner Prout would become, according to Bernard Smith, one of the three most important artists working in the Australian colonies in the 1840s, beside Conrad Martens, and George Angas.¹¹ In the seven years the Prouts spent in Sydney and later Hobart, Maria joined the leading locals who assisted each other in giving regular public concerts.¹² Her first Sydney concert, in March 1841, was criticised by the *Gazette* for the usual reasons:¹³

The infusion of Italian vocal music was superabundant, and in bad taste. We are not so wanting in judgment as to object to the compositions of the great masters of the foreign schools—as music—but as vocal performances before an audience, not one in twenty of whom understand the meaning of them, they are decidedly, *hors de combat*. Mr. Bushelle and the collected diletanti may say, if they please, in contempt of the taste of the people of Sydney, that they are “throwing pearls before s[win]e”—we care not; give us reason as well as rhyme.

However, Prout found a supporter in the cosmopolitan Scot, W. A. Duncan, at the *Chronicle*, who just as predictably berated:¹⁴

[...] those ignorant critics who continually cry out "give us English music", and who probably are not aware that no such thing exists. Exquisite critics, who would refine our musical taste by placing Mozart and Gluck and Weber on the shelf, and would not extend our knowledge of sounds beyond the fine, beautiful, but simple and unlearned, airs of Scotland and Ireland.

According to the *ADB*, Marsh was born in London in 1805, son of Henry Marsh;¹⁵ however, a death notice placed in Hobart in 1860 (very likely by Skinner Prout's cousin, the poet and artist Samuel Prout Hill) identified their father also as “Stephen Marsh”, of Penzance in Cornwall.¹⁶ Certainly, the Marsh family were more closely identified with the West of England than the East. Publication of what was probably Stephen's Op. 1 was noticed in the English musical press in 1824, a *Theme with introduction and Variations for the*

¹⁰ V.W. Hodgman, “Prout, John Skinner (1805-1876)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 2 (1967), 353-354: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020308b.htm>; Tony Brown, “John Skinner Prout”, *DAAO*: <http://www.daa0.org.au/main/read/5216>.

¹¹ Bernard Smith, *Australian Painting 1788-1970*, 42.

¹² “DEANE'S CONCERT”, *The Sydney Herald* (17 July 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12870042>; “MULTUM IN PARVO (From late Australasian papers)”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (24 March 1848), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12899956>.

¹³ “CONCERT”, *The Sydney Gazette* (30 March 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2552906>.

¹⁴ “MRS. PROUT'S CONCERT”, *Australasian Chronicle* (23 March 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31731257>.

¹⁵ Catherine Mackerras, “Marsh, Stephen Hale Alonzo (1805-1888)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 5 (1974), 213-214: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A050244b.htm>.

¹⁶ “DEATHS”, *The Mercury* (21 September 1860), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8793150>.

Mr. Marsh is an inhabitant of Sidmouth, and a pupil of Mr. Bochsa, to whom this work is dedicated, and we presume it to be one of his first attempts at composition. If so, it is highly creditable to him. The theme is smooth and elegant, the melody and character of which is preserved through seven variations. Without incurring the reputation of imitating his master, Mr. Marsh has given his style a resemblance to that of Mr. Bochsa in many points, in the introduction particularly, where he has taken the first bar of his theme as a subject, and also in the marks of expression. The prevailing character of the piece is smoothness and delicacy, with occasional passages of force, but the former qualities are most generally apparent.

The Prouts and one or other Stephen Marsh were in Bristol in the early 1830s, where in 1833, as a “Music and Musical Instrument Seller”, Stephen (senior or junior) was declared insolvent.¹⁸ A batch of Marsh’s compositions—quadrilles, and *valse rondos*—published by Chappell in 1837, were reasonably well received in *The Musical World*;¹⁹ and in 1838 he was the dedicatee of one of James Alexander Hamilton’s popular musical *Catechisms* (notably, the “Last number of my Miniature Course Of Harmony And Composition”), raising the possibility that Marsh studied with Hamilton.²⁰

As a performer, meanwhile, he was achieving considerable success. When the violinist Ole Bull appeared in Exeter in 1837, it was his accompanist Marsh “the celebrated pianist”, that *The Musical World* especially noticed, praising also his harp playing and his singing of “one of two compositions of his own, which were spoken highly of by the professional gentlemen present”.²¹ The young Catherine Hayes sang for Marsh in his Dublin concert in April 1841,²² and at Galway in August it was advertised:²³

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—and also a *Brilliant Fantasia* on the Piano-Forte.

¹⁷ [Review] *The Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* (1824), 261:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=mgUVAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA261#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

¹⁸ “BANKRUPTS”, *The Legal Observer, or Journal of Jurisprudence* 6 (1833), 176:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=iBQvAAAAIAAJ&pg=PA176#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

¹⁹ [Review], *The Musical World* 7 / 89 (24 November 1837), 170:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=EgkVAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA77#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

²⁰ James Alexander Hamilton, *Hamilton’s Catechism on the Nature, Invention, Exposition, Development and Concatenation of Musical Ideas illustrated with examples from the most celebrated authors: respectfully dedicated to S. H. A. Marsh, Esq.* (London: R. Cocks, 1838);

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=8vksAAAAyAAJ>.

²¹ “EXETER”, *The Musical World* 6/75 (18 August 1837), , 156:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=tOcQAAAAyAAJ&pg=PA156#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

²² According to Basil Walsh, *Catherine Hayes, 1818-1861: The Hibernian Prima Donna* (Irish Academic Press, 2000), 25, Catherine Hayes sang Marsh’s *Spirit of Music* at his concert at the Rotunda Rooms, Dublin, 20 April 1841.

²³ “CONCERT BILL EXTRAORDINARY”, *The Musical World* 16 (30 September 1841), 211:

<http://books.google.com/books?id=OhAtAAAAyAAJ&pg=PA211#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

Doubtless completely unaware, Marsh had already received one Sydney notice, less than flattering, before his and his sister's arrival, when at the Bushelles's concert in February 1841, the *Herald* noted:²⁴

Marsh's song (sadly miscalled National) *The Queen of Merry England* is a very wretched production, and we were sorry to see Mr. Bushelle wasting so much good time on so poor a composition [...].

Nevertheless, this “new national song” enjoyed several more Australian outings.

In October 1843, Marsh would publish a complete list of his British compositions (as well his Australian works to date) as a supplement to the very short-lived journal, *Arden's Sydney Magazine*.²⁵ [A Catalogue of the Musical Compositions of Mr. Marsh](#)²⁶ includes extracts from British press reviews, and lists close to fifty published songs, piano, and harp pieces, dating back to 1824, plus a complete list of numbers, vocal and instrumental, in the 2-act **Grand Opera of Gentlemen in Black**.²⁷ One of his several other “national music” productions, which also included arrangements of Irish airs, was a pretty “Scotch” song, [The Song of An Exile](#), which, for its subject matter, almost counts as a proto-Australian composition, more so for its close resemblance in melody and mood to its near contemporary, *The Emigrant* (1823) by the anonymous Edinburgh lady bound for Tasmania, discussed in Chapter 1.

Marking the beginning of Marsh's Australian career, the catalogue also lists four works “Composed on the voyage to Sydney”. On arrival, Marsh had two of these printed by Francis Ellard, the ballad, [The Parting Hour](#), “the words by Capt. A. J. Tait”, master of the *Paget*; and [The Paget Quadrilles](#)—the earliest of a steady stream of publications celebrating those colonial lifelines, ships—with a handsome engraving of the *Paget* on the cover.²⁸ The other

²⁴ “BUSHELLE'S CONCERT”, *The Sydney Herald* (12 February 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12867783>; the song had been published by Chappell, see *The Musical World* 8 (19 April 1838), 269: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=HvAqAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA269#v=onepage&q&f=false>, derived from his earlier song [The King of Merry England](#) (London: S. Chappell, [1835?]), copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/14950597>.

²⁵ Prout was one of Arden's illustrators; see P. L. Brown, “Arden, George (1820?-1854)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 1 (1966), 26-27: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A010027b.htm>; also Burton, *Literature in New South Wales*, 76; copies of two more of Marsh's English works at NLA; [There's a magic in thine eye, love](#); Trove Bookmark: <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/14950504>; and [Good night](#) (from Shelley's posthumous poems); Trove Bookmark: <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/14950383>.

²⁶ [Leaflet insert], *Arden's Sydney Magazine of Politics and General Literature* 1/2 (October 1843), supplement: <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/1329962x/18431000/s0010002/1-5.pdf>.

²⁷ Marsh's extant pre-Australian compositions also include an **Introduction and Variations on the ... Irish air of Kathleen O'More** for harp (London, [1830?]), copy at British Library, Music Collections h.184.b.(10.) [004509971]; the song **There's Magic in Thine Eye** (words: Harry Stoe van Dyk) (London, [1827?], British Library, Music Collections H.1677.(33.) [004509973]; and **A set of quadrilles, composed and arranged for the piano forte and dedicated to the subscribers of the Clifton balls** (London: Chappell's, [ca.1840]), British Library, Music Collections h.725.xx.(8.) [013599888].

²⁸ By Edward Winstanley, son of William Winstanley, Sydney theatre's leading scene painter (recently deceased) and brother of actor-singer Eliza Ximenes; see Anita Callaway, “William Winstanley” [c.1788-1842], *DAAO*: <http://www.daa0.org.au/main/read/6691>; and Colin Laverty, Joan Kerr, “Edward Winstanley” [1820-1849], *DAAO*: <http://www.daa0.org.au/main/read/6690>.

two works, the **Cantata 'Ere yet I left my Father Land** and **Chorus of Emigrants—The Voyager's Evening Song** presumably remained in manuscript, and were thus lost. Tait also wrote the words to the chorus, and may well have done so for the cantata. Clearly, the amateur poet, who had regularly plied the Sydney to London route as a mariner, but whose literary reputation was otherwise unknown, made an impression on Marsh.²⁹

Marsh included two of the Tait settings in his Sydney debut, on 9 March 1842 at his sister, Mrs. Prout's, concert, it having (according to the *Gazette*) been specially "postponed in expectations of her brother's arrival".³⁰ Marsh played a *Fantasia* for harp, improvised or his own composition, and the *Grandes Variations Brillantes* for piano "dedicated to him by Czerny".³¹ According to the *Herald's* review:³²

The draw of the evening was Mr. Marsh, who has recently arrived from England [...] in the three-fold capacity of composer, instrumental performer, and vocalist. The ballad of *The Parting Hour*, written by Captain Tait, on board the *Sir Edward Paget*, and set to music by Mr. Marsh during the voyage, is a pleasing melody [...] The quartette of the *Voyagers' Evening Song*, also written by Captain Tait and composed by Mr. Marsh, was rather a dull affair, it had however the merit of being short. Mr. Marsh's performance on the harp was brilliant [...] decidedly first rate, and as a general musician he is undoubtedly an acquisition to the Colony.

The *Gazette*, noting that Marsh had already been described in print as "the *great Lion of the evening*", warned him against Nathan's fate of "over-puffing":³³

We heartily welcome him to our shores, and hope that his most sanguine anticipations of success may be realised, but in order to ensure this, we would advise him to endeavour most sedulously to prevent his would-be friends from over-puffing him in the public journals, which only serves to raise the expectation of the public, and render them discontented with anything but a first-rate performance. This we could (if we chose) prove beyond doubt, by referring to some recent cases that fell beneath our notice [...].

From the announcement of Mr. Marsh's advent [...] we expected to have heard the Harp touched in the style of Bochsá, Chatterton, and other masters [...] 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

²⁹ Tait also made a favourable impression on his bounty passengers, 47 of whom were signatories to a testimonial, "for your kind, unobtrusive, and gentlemanly demeanour towards us", [Advertisement], *The Sydney Herald* (18 February 1842), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12873775>.

³⁰ [News], *The Sydney Gazette* (15 February 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2555761>.

³¹ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Herald* (7 March 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12874063>; "MRS. PROUT'S CONCERT", *The Sydney Herald* (8 March 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12874088>; see also Marsh's advertisement, *The Sydney Herald* (23 February 1842), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12873850>; and Prout's and Marsh's advertisements, *The Sydney Herald* (2 March 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12873960>.

³² "CONCERT", *The Sydney Herald* (11 March 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12874132>.

³³ "MRS. PROUT'S CONCERT", *The Sydney Gazette* (12 March 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2555975>.

extraordinary was attempted [...] but Mr. Marsh plays exceedingly well [...] and we consider that as a master he is a great and highly valuable acquisition to us.

As a Pianist, Mr. Marsh also excels, although we have scarcely heard enough of him to be enabled to say much. His singing is certainly not first-rate [...] Of Mr. Marsh's compositions, we must say that they are very pretty, although the accompaniment did not appear particularly erudite—the words are certainly not worthy of the melody.

The *Observer*—though it likewise warned Marsh not to follow Nathan into over-exposure—otherwise thought the *Gazette*'s “an unfair and invidious critique”, and advised him not to “give himself any uneasiness” over it.³⁴ *The Australian*—which had noted that, with “the flattering local reports that preceded his arrival”, went “with great expectations”—was “not disappointed”; but mentioned the pressing problem facing any professional concert artist, that “in the present depressed times, there were many anxious to attend, but who, from prudential considerations, were obliged to forego the enjoyment.”³⁵

Marsh prudently diversified his activities, advertising also as a teacher, and importer of pianos, harps, and printed music. The *Gazette*, now somewhat more enthused, also reported on 28 April:³⁶

It gives us great pleasure to inform our readers that a number of highly respectable gentlemen amateurs have formed a club under the designation of the “Sydney Philharmonic Society”. We understand that Mr. Marsh has the direction of the society. The members meet every Monday evening in Mr. Marsh's musical hall, Bligh-street, and are engaged practising some of the most classical glees, chorusses, duets, &c.

In May, Marsh played for Nathan's concert, and announced his own series of three “Subscription Chamber Concerts”, the programs to include “several of Mr. Marsh's most favourite Compositions on the Harp, and brilliant Fantasias on the Pianoforte”, and Czerny's “Grand Trio, for Six Hands, on One Piano Forte, by Mrs. Prout, Mr. F[rederick] Ellard, and Mr. Marsh”.³⁷ He originally advertised that his first chamber concert, on 2 June, would be given with the assistance of the Deanes, the Gautrots, and the Misses Nathans, but was forced to explain on the day:³⁸

[...] that from some misunderstanding with Mr. Nathan, Mr. Marsh has been induced to dispense with the assistance of the Misses Nathan at his Concerts, and will therefore have to make an alteration in his Programme [...].

³⁴ “MRS. PROUT'S CONCERT”, *The Colonial Observer* (16 March 1842), 188: <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/1327662X/18420316/00010024/1-8.pdf>; “MRS. PROUT'S CONCERT”, *The Sydney Gazette* (17 March 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2556012>.

³⁵ “CONCERT”, *The Australian* (12 March 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36849778>.

³⁶ “MUSIC”, *The Sydney Gazette* (28 April 1842), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2556349>.

³⁷ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Herald* (17 May 1842), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12875211>.

[Advertisement], *The Sydney Herald* (9 June 1842), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12875616>.

³⁸ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Herald* (2 June 1842), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12875505>.

In August, Marsh was the pianist at the Gautrots' concert, and played in Gautrot's *Septett*. Then in September, he launched what he described, probably with an eye to competition with Nathan's native "Australian melodies", as "No 1 of the Australian edition of popular songs, selected by S. H. Marsh", but fully imported from England: Hullah's "much admired", [Autumn Leaves](#), with words by Charles Dickens.³⁹ Nathan, no admirer of Hullah, may well have been behind the review this first (and only) issue of Marsh's series received in *The Australian*:⁴⁰

Mr. Marsh should bear in mind, that the musical taste of Australia has, of late, been too well cultivated to submit to every piece of trash that may be forced upon its notice. He should also recollect that we have in this Colony at present, scholars and scientific men who are capable, not only of detecting, but also of exposing errors. We are aware that *Autumn Leaves* is not Mr. Marsh's own composition, but when he puts himself forward as an Australian compiler, or caterer of music, we, at least expect him, as a *professor* of the art, to lay before us such compositions as will tend to improve the musical taste of the rising generation [...].

Meanwhile, when the Howsons introduced "A New Burletta entitled THE GENTLEMAN IN BLACK", in Hobart in December, there was no indication that any of Marsh's music was used.⁴¹

Having arrived later, Marsh came to the end of his Australian honeymoon even more quickly than Nathan; by the beginning of 1843, both of them were feeling the economic pinch. As struggling artists, only recently arrived, they were not alone. The architect Thomas Cramer, "son of the celebrated composer" J. B. Cramer, had come to Australia in mid-1842 on the advice of friends. According to the *Gazette*, he had been:⁴²

[...] under the impression that he would meet with no opposition in Sydney; however, we are sorry to add, that he is at present labouring under pecuniary troubles. We think that the merit of the father ought to draw sympathy for the son. We are given to understand that the fair prospects held up to him by residents in Sydney, was the cause of his leaving England. We trust the circumstance will be duly noticed by those who have it in their power to assist a person, who so richly deserves their benevolence.

³⁹Copy at SL-NSW: <http://acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/album/albumView.aspx?itemID=846426&acmsid=01>; [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (9 September 1842), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12427044>.

⁴⁰ "AUTUMN LEAVES—AUSTRALIAN EDITION OF POPULAR SONGS, SELECTED BY S. H. MARSH", *The Australian* (19 October 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37114074>.

⁴¹ [Advertisement], *The Courier* (16 December 1842), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2953423>.

⁴² "DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE", *The Sydney Gazette* (9 August 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2557087>; [News], *The Australian* (8 August 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37118235>; the Sydney pianist, Miss Fernandez (later Mrs. Smyth) had been a pupil of Cramer senior; Cramer junior went on to Hobart, where he designed scenery for the theatre, and in 1844 produced an "admirable panoramic view" of the city, see "VIEW OF HOBART TOWN", *Colonial Times* (26 November 1844), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8755693>; see also "Thomas Smyth Cramer", <http://www.daa0.org.au/main/read/1974>, but which may confuse the artist with another Cramer.

To improve his chances, Marsh tried (at first unsuccessfully) to divest himself of his Bligh-street “music hall”, and moved to Balmain. In May he formed a “singing class”,⁴³ and in October lectured at the School of Arts, where music was “a new feature in the catalogue of lectures at that useful institution”. He was “fully and fashionably attended” by “densely crowded houses”, and deemed an “intellectual treat”:⁴⁴

In the second lecture, he explained the general construction and formation of musical composition; gave an analysis of one of Mozart’s Overtures, and illustrated the same in an Overture of his own [...] The lecturer showed clearly how the effect of music is increased by the agency of association. Hence our fondness for the songs we listened to in our youth—hence the delight we experience from national airs, particularly when we hear them in a strange land [...] he stated his conviction that there was no foundation for the remark which appeared in the *New South Wales Magazine*, that music is on the decline in Australia. On the contrary, we have the strongest proofs that it is becoming the ornament and the solace of other classes besides the most affluent.

The reporter took heart:

[...] notwithstanding the depression of the times—and notwithstanding the fearful magnitude of the insolvency list, there are better days in store for us, and [...] we trust Australia will stick to her motto [“Advance Australia”], and continue to go swimmingly ahead.

On 11 October, at Mrs. Bushelle’s concert, the first half closed with “The new Waltzes, composed by Mr. Marsh for the Military Band of the 80th Regiment”, played by the band.⁴⁵ In review, Duncan in the *Register* welcomed the concert:⁴⁶

A concert in Sydney is an event of very rare occurrence now-a-days. Formerly we were hardly satisfied with one a week; now, almost a year elapses between each performance [...].

But he thought that the “new Waltzes, will not sustain much praise”. Probably, some part (or all) of them were identical with the work later published in London as [The Australian](#)

⁴³ Marsh claimed to be a disciple of Hullah, and, with Johnson, the organist of St. James, set up a singing class following Hullah’s methods, [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (2 May 1843), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12410910>.

⁴⁴ “MR. MARSH’S LECTURES ON MUSIC”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (12 October 1843), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12408182>

⁴⁵ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (10 October 1843), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12409678>; Nathan employed the band of the 80th (and that of the 28th) “to give affect to the original orchestral accompaniments and overtures” in August 1841; [Advertisement], *The Sydney Herald* (27 July 1841), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12870193>; see also “THE BAND OF THE 80TH REGIMENT”, *The Sydney Herald* (23 June 1842), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12875825/1522533>: “The admirers of martial music will [...] be much pleased with the arrangement made by Colonel Baker, of the 80th Regiment, for the excellent band belonging to that corps playing in the Domain every Monday and Friday afternoon; the men are ordered to be on the ground these days at half-past three. Mr. Audjatant [*recte* Egerton] is the band-master”.

⁴⁶ “MUSICAL REGISTER: MRS. BUSHELLE’S CONCERT”, *The Weekly Register* 1 / 12 (14 October 1843), 171: <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18431014/00010012/1-4.pdf>.

Valse, “composed for the opening of the Government House, Sydney, and dedicated to Miss Norton of Elswick”, which Marsh anyway included his 1843 list of compositions in *Arden’s Magazine*. The new Government House having been “thrown open” in May 1843,⁴⁷ so the opening referred to may have been the annual Queen’s Birthday Ball, held there for the first time on 24 May. Earlier that day, certainly, the Band of the 80th had been at Government House for the Levee.⁴⁸ Miss Norton, plausibly Marsh’s pupil, was one of two daughters of James Norton, whose property Elswick was in present-day Leichhardt.⁴⁹ In the London edition, as Marsh’s “Op. 58”, it is perhaps more obviously than usual a piano reduction of band music. The cover bore what the *Herald* had described on its earlier independent appearance, as:⁵⁰

[...] the fine view [...] taken by that superior artist, J. S. Prout, and excellently lithographed by W. Nicholas, a view which we recommend all immigrants send home to their friends in Britain, as the best means of showing them one, at least, of the many beautifully picturesque scenes in the vicinity of Sydney [...] it shows well, and gives an air of European improvement to the Australian adjuncts of gum trees and grass trees, while the numerous masts shooting up beyond the rising ground at Macquarie Point are infallible marks of our extensive commerce, the surest token of wealth and colonial prosperity.

Marsh offered nothing more of his own at his own concert at the Royal Hotel a week later, on 18 October, except a novelty arrangement:⁵¹

AUBER’S New Overture, to the Opera of LES DIAMAN’S DE LA COURONNE by THIRTEEN PERFORMERS, on Five New Grand Pianofortes and Three Harps, which great NOVELTY he is enabled to offer, by the extreme kindness and assistance of some of his Pupils.

Duncan in the *Register* feared that “the lowering times” would be “inimical to anything like an *harmonious* meeting”:⁵²

We were calculating, however, without Mr. March, who *affiche* for Wednesday last drew to the Royal hotel a numerous audience—including his Excellency and Lady Gipps, the Mayor and many of the élite of this City. The chief attraction was the mustering of “all hands” to the piano-fortes and harps, to the number of twenty-six,

⁴⁷ “THE NEW GOVERNMENT HOUSE”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (25 May 1843), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12424524>.

⁴⁸ “THE QUEEN’S BIRTH-DAY”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (25 May 1843), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12424511>.

⁴⁹ “Norton, James (1795-1862)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 2 (1967), 289: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/AO20254b.htm>.

⁵⁰ “THE NEW GOVERNMENT HOUSE”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (20 February 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12867914>; see: <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/15902888>.

⁵¹ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (14 October 1843), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12426119>.

⁵² “MUSICAL REGISTER: MR. MARSH’S CONCERT”, *The Weekly Register* 1 / 13 (21 October 1843), 196: <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18431021/00010013/9-12.pdf>.

belonging to thirteen individuals, most of them young ladies of very comely and amiable appearance, but whose chief occupation seemed to be to jump their fingers from the dominant to the key-note, as opportunity might offer during the time that Mrs. Marsh, Mrs. Prout and others, were playing from multiplied copies, the overture to *Les Diamans de la Couronne*, arranged as a duet for the piano with harp accompaniment. There certainly was some paucity of talent visible in this arrangement, but the performers were irresistible, and were most *gallantly* encored.

Again, Czerny probably provided Marsh with the model for this extravaganza. Marsh was probably one of the 16 Bochsa pupils who had participated in a performance of Czerny's "Celebrated Concert Stuck [sic] for Eight Grand Pianos and Twelve Harps" in London in 1835.⁵³

Probably at the suggestion of his brother-in-law, Prout, Marsh then proposed giving a series of "ART UNION CONCERTS [...] on the plan adopted in England for the distribution of works of Art".⁵⁴ But when he finally came close to realising this ambition two years later—with an Erard's Harp as door prize—lacks of subscribers forced him to withdraw the offer.⁵⁵

By New Year 1844, there were reports of "a slight amelioration perceivable in the state of the Colony".⁵⁶ Nevertheless, Marsh was obliged in February to correct rumours that he was in financial trouble,⁵⁷ and in May succumbed to the inevitable and called in his part-time composer colleague, auctioneer Thomas Stubbs:⁵⁸

Unreserved Sale of Magnificent New Pianofortes and Harps. Mr. Stubbs has the honor to announce, that in consequence of Mr. MARSH giving up his premises in Bligh-Street [...].

The Prouts left for Hobart in 1844; but Marsh was far from friendless, or at a loose end. In May 1844 he was giving another pair of public lectures on music to reportedly "overflowing houses":⁵⁹

[...] among the various illustrations which he gave in his Lecture of Wednesday, were an early composition of his own, consisting of an introduction *Thema and variations*; his cantata *Spirit of Music*; a new fantasia on the harp, in which he

⁵³ [Advertisement], "KING'S THEATRE", *The Court Journal: Court Circular and Fashionable Gazette* 7 (1835), 368: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=LLcRAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA368&dq#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

⁵⁴ "OUR WEEKLY GOSSIP: ART UNION CONCERTS", *The Dispatch* 1/1 (4 November 1843), [3]: <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/1440253X/18431104/00010001/3-4.pdf>.

⁵⁵ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (25 November 1845), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12883713>.

⁵⁶ *The Weekly Register* 2/1 (6 January 1844), 259: <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18440106/00020024/1-4.pdf>.

⁵⁷ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (24 February 1844), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12408579>.

⁵⁸ [Advertisement], *The Weekly Register* 2/44 (25 May 1844), 610: <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18440525/00020044/9-12.pdf>.

⁵⁹ "COMMERCIAL READING ROOMS AND LIBRARY LECTURES", *The Australian* (22 May 1844), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37119462>; see [Advertisement], *Morning Chronicle* (24 April 1844), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31742644>.

introduced the favorite airs of *Love Not*, and *Billy Barlow*; also a new song of a very spirited and effective character—*The Whale of the Southern Sea*—which he composed expressly for the occasion; together with some of the best compositions of Beethoven, Mozart, and Hummell. In his second Lecture, on Friday evening, he commenced by explaining the general construction and formation of musical compositions, with examples from the most celebrated authors, and the Overture to his opera of *The Gentleman in Black*; also on the construction of the fantasia, or free style of composition, by one on the harp *The Last Rose of Summer*. He also beautifully depicted the attractions which vocal music has over instrumental, with the scena from the *Somnambula*—“As I view those Scenes so charming”; concluding with Parry’s song, *Wanted a Governess*, and his own national song, *The Queen of Merry England*.

In June 1845, Marsh was soliciting the great and good of Sydney—with some success—for funds in support of his friend Ludwig Leichhardt’s forthcoming expedition.⁶⁰ He also had another new composition in the press, a setting of patriotic verses by no less a figure than John Rae, Town Clerk of the City of Sydney, and a fellow lecturer at the School of Arts (in September Rae’s subject would be “Elocution”).⁶¹ Rae had published his long poem, *The Mayor’s Fancy Ball*—inspired by the first of those events the previous year—in instalments in the *Herald* in April 1845.⁶² The opening invocation of the fourth canto may well have first caught the harpist Marsh’s attention:

*Harp of Australia! Lift thy voice on high!
While one unused to strike thy vocal strings,--
A nursling of a less luxuriant sky,--
Across thy cords his trembling fingers flings [...]
Give to his slumbering spirit soaring wings,
Of scenes of rare magnificence to tell:--
Harp of Australia! Wake the music of thy shell!*

However, it was two other sections from later in the canto that Marsh advertised on 3 May as having set to music as “Australian National Songs”, ready to be published “in a few days”.⁶³ One of them, **God of Our Father Land** apparently never made it through presses, for his

⁶⁰ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (21 June 1845), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12880435>.

⁶¹ Rae, who was also an amateur artist, had collaborated with Marsh’s brother-in-law on the publication of *Sydney Illustrated* in 1842–43, and he remained a friend and correspondent of the Prouts after they left for Hobart and later returned to England; for copies of Rae’s letters to the Prouts, see SL-NSW, ML MSS 6998; <http://acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/item/itemDetailPaged.aspx?itemID=404539>; see also Nan Phillips, “Rae, John (1813–1900)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 6 (1976), 1–2: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A060001b.htm>; and Elizabeth Webby, “John Rae” (2007), in *Dictionary of Australian Artists Online*: <http://www.daa0.org.au/main/read/5270>.

⁶² “THE MAYOR’S FANCY BALL: CANTO THE FIRST”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (11 April 1845), 2–3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12878689>; “THE MAYOR’S FANCY BALL: CANTO THE SECOND”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (14 April 1845), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12878729>; “THE MAYOR’S FANCY BALL: CANTO THE THIRD”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (15 April 1845), 2–3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12878762>; “THE MAYOR’S FANCY BALL: CANTO THE FOURTH”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (18 April 1845), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12878857>.

⁶³ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (3 May 1845), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12879208>.

next advertisement, on 29 July 1845, mentioned only [Hail to Thee, Mighty One](#).⁶⁴ But whereas the print has only piano accompaniment, the first performance, at Marsh's next concert on 3 December, of the new "Australian National Air", was advertised to be with "full Orchestra, Chorus and Military Band" (that of the 99th regiment).⁶⁵ According to the *Herald*, the concert was:⁶⁶

[...] well and fully attended [...] The Governor and Lady Gipps entered their box precisely at eight o'clock, when His Excellency was loudly greeted by the assembled company. The novelties of the evening were two compositions of Mr. Marsh's, *Hail to thee Mighty One*, a national anthem, solos, and chorus, which was well received, and was every way entitled to be so; and the *Overture* to the first part, which appeared to be a composition of considerable merit, and was most admirably performed by the excellent band assembled for the occasion [...].

This was the advertised **Grand Military Overture** "composed by Mr. Marsh (first performance) [for] Military Band and full Orchestra", which the *Atlas* also found "beautifully descriptive",⁶⁷ and there was a third advertised Marsh work, a **Duet for Trombone and Harp** ("in the celebrated Aria 'Fra poco' in *Lucia de Lammermoor*"), played by Marsh and with John Howson.⁶⁸

A second edition of *Hail to Thee* was put out by Thomas Boosey in London while Marsh was back there in 1848-49, slightly retexted and restyled as [Hail to Victoria! Queen of the ocean](#), "composed in Australia, and performed there as the national Australian anthem, and dedicated to its inhabitants". The Melbourne *Argus*—in the spirit of intercolonial one-up-manship—reprinted an ungenerous London review:⁶⁹

The English critics have given rather a rough reception to the *Australian National Anthem* which was received by our Sydney neighbours with so much rapture about twelve months ago. *The Athenaeum* thus notices it:

"But what have we here? A medallion of her Majesty, supported by a

⁶⁴ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (29 July 1845), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12881175>; also [Advertisement]: "THIS DAY IS PUBLISHED [...] THE NATIONAL SONG OF AUSTRALIA", *The Australian* (2 August 1845), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37158229>.

⁶⁵ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (18 November 1845), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12883552>: "[...] to commence with the AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL AIR, *Hail to thee Mighty One*, composed and arranged for full Orchestra, Chorus and Military Band"; a later advertisement gives the names and instruments of the entire orchestra, [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (27 November 1845), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12883766>.

⁶⁶ "MR. MARSH'S CONCERT", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (5 December 1845), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12883928>.

⁶⁷ "MUSIC AND MUSICIANS: CONCERT", *The Atlas* 1/54 (6 December 1845) 644: <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/1440365x/18451206/00010054/7-8.pdf>: "The whole of the evening's entertainment was highly satisfactory, but if we were to particularise, we should point to the beautifully descriptive grand military overture (composed by Mr. Marsh)."

⁶⁸ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (2 December 1845), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12883855>.

⁶⁹ "THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL ANTHEM", *The Argus* (22 May 1849), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4765785>.

kangaroo and a cassowary, with a dejected lamb slung underneath and a gigantic crown above—alias the National Australian Anthem! The words are by John Rae, Esq., Town Clerk, Sydney; the music is by S.H. Marsh, Esq.. We must really make room for the last two stanzas of civic inspiration:

*Hail to thee, happy Queen! Sweetest that earth has seen,
Dear to thy country, As chief to his clan;
Australia speaks loud of thee; Britain is proud of thee,
Wise as Elizabeth, Gentle as Anne.*

*Hail to thee, happy Queen! Be as thou still hast been,
Gilding with glory Thy reign upon earth;
Live in Australia's love, Live like the peaceful dove.
There as in England, The land of thy birth.*

Poor Mr. Marsh had small chance, it will be readily conceived, of “capping” these brave rhymes by braver music. His share in the hymn is accordingly less eminent than Mr. Rae’s. The melody is familiar enough: arranged, as it would seem in certain verses for the express comfort of the wheezy, if we are to judge from the number of rests which it contains, whereby the sense is broken in order that the singer may “fill his bellows afresh”. Picture and all respectfully appraised—we opine that this kangaroo and cassowary (or emu?) Hymn, will not put out of court—whether English or colonial—our genial, generous and glorious national air of *God save the Queen*.

Marsh’s national anthem, nevertheless, appears to have made a bigger splash in Australia than Nathan’s. Hannah Villiers Boyd evidently had a copy of the English edition that Marsh brought back with him to Sydney. She reproduced Rae’s revised verses, and mentioned Marsh’s music, in her utopian tract *A Voice from Australia* (“An Inquiry into the Probability of New Holland being Connected with the Prophecies Relating to New Jerusalem and the Spiritual Temple”), in Sydney in 1851.⁷⁰ It was still on sale, in the English edition, in his brother, Henry Marsh’s 1853 catalogue (as, too, was Stephen’s *Leichhardt Ode*),⁷¹ and was performed as far away as Ballarat’s Star Concert Hall, at Queen’s Birthday 1856.⁷² Perhaps, too, the example of Marsh’s and Nathan’s national anthems encouraged Charles Packer, in 1856, to write and set his own ***Australia, Hail! Australian National Anthem***,⁷³ though as we shall see in Chapter 7, a wider national anthem movement was by the early 1850s

⁷⁰ (Sydney: Robert Barr, 1851), 31:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=SAIDAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA31#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

⁷¹ [Advertisement]: “H. MARSH & CO.’S MUSICAL CIRCULAR”, *Colonial Times* (10 December 1853), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8774978>.

⁷² [Advertisement], *The Ballarat Star* (24 May 1856); see Doggett, “And for harmony most ardently we long”: Musical life in Ballarat, 1851-1871 (Ph.D thesis, University of Ballarat, 2006), vol. 2, 86.

⁷³ Lancelot Threlkeld in Sydney, and Nathaniel Kentish in Melbourne, venture into print with verses for their own anthems, Threlkeld’s albeit to be sung to the tune of *Rule Britannia*, copy at NLA: <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/22018547>; for Kentish’s three (including one each to *Rule Britannia* and *God Save the Queen*), see N.L. Kentish, *The Question of Questions [...]* (Melbourne: J. J. Blundell & Co., 1855), 53, 80-83 <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=CnsBAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA53#v=onepage&q&f=false>; in Adelaide in 1859, Mrs. Carlton’s prize-winning verses were set by Carl Linger as his ***The Song of Australia***.

making its impact felt across the colonies.

Despite his early association with the Howsons in Sydney concerts, there is no record of Marsh—unlike Nathan—contributing toward their theatre programs. And it seems unlikely, since Marsh’s opera was in two acts, that the “entirely original eccentric Drama, in 3 Acts, called THE MEMOIRS OF THE GENTLEMAN IN BLACK [...]” at the Royal Victoria in August 1845 had anything to do with him, either.⁷⁴

An otherwise unidentified **Ballad**, composed or performed by Marsh (or both) appeared on the program of touring violinist, Leopold Ravac’s first Sydney concert on 5 August 1846.⁷⁵ Marsh was even better represented at Ravac’s second Musical Soiree, a week later, which included the likely first performance of his “Ode to Leichhardt, the poetry by Mr. E.K. Silvester, composed by Mr. Marsh”.⁷⁶ Curiously, the *Herald* ignored the *Ode*, though it did note:⁷⁷

Mr. Marsh’s *Australian National Song* concluded the evening’s entertainment; it is a fine melody, and was admirably sung by Madame Carandini, the Messrs, Howson, and Mr. Marsh.

Ravac and his accompanist, Julius Imberg, had arrived by what was already becoming a regular musical trade route, having, according to the *South Australian Register*:⁷⁸

[...] recently visited Hongkong, Canton, Macao, Manilla, Batavia, Singapore, and likewise South Australia, and about to call at Sydney and Hobart Town and probably also Port Phillip.

How, and why, it came about that Marsh then replaced Imberg and accompanied Ravac on the next stage of his world tour—while while Imberg stayed on in Sydney as a freelance professor of music—remains a mystery. Thomas Stubbs was duly called in again to preside over the auction, on 1 September, at Ermington on the Parramatta River of “The Residence of S. H. Marsh, Esq., previous to that gentleman’s departure for Europe, via India”.⁷⁹ Marsh’s

⁷⁴ “ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (7 August 1845), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12881381>.

⁷⁵ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (1 August 1846), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12888852>; probably through Marsh, Leichhardt may also have met Ravac; see letter to William Macarthur (1 August 1846); Arousseau, III: 888: “Tomorrow I wish to pay a visit to Mr. Ravac who is from Glogau in Silesia not very far from my own country; he called on me yesterday but I had too much to do”.

⁷⁶ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (10 August 1846), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12889028>.

⁷⁷ “MR. RAVAC’S CONCERT”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (14 August 1846), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12889156>.

⁷⁸ “LOCAL INTELLIGENCE”, *South Australian Register* (25 April 1846), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article27452691>.

⁷⁹ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (26 August 1846), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12890258>; Marsh and his wife left with Ravac on the *Emerald Isle* for Calcutta, on 3 September; see “Shipping Intelligence: DEPARTURES”, *Sydney Chronicle* (5 September 1846), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31748788>; see also “MR. MARSH”, *The Australian* (5 June 1847), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37130235>; “By a private letter, received yesterday, from Madras, dated March

farewell concert, including at least one probable new Marsh work, the **Souvenir de Sydney—Fantasia for Harp**,⁸⁰ was reviewed in the *Herald*:⁸¹

On Monday evening, Mr. Marsh gave a farewell concert, previous to his departure on a tour through the Indian Presidencies with Mr. Ravac [...] we had anticipated, from the deserved reputation Mr. Marsh has established, that the attendance would have been much larger, than we regret to say proved to be the case. Concerts have been very frequent of late, and [...] we fear the musical taste of the people of Sydney can scarcely sustain the claims for patronage which have been latterly made upon it. To this at least we must attribute Mr. Marsh's failure of success, for under other circumstances we cannot believe that a gentleman so esteemed [...] would have been allowed to depart from amongst us without a far more flattering testimonial of our applause than was offered on Monday night [...] 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 Leichhardt*, of his own composing, was well received. The introductory march is a very tasteful and pleasing composition. Madame Carandini sang two songs with considerable taste and feeling; and the performances concluded with Mr. Marsh's *Australian National Song and Chorus*.

It appears, then, that the *Ode to Leichhardt* in this performance consisted of both the march and the song proper. Once Marsh reached London, however, he had them published separately by Thomas Boosey. [Dr Leichhardt's March for the harp](#), "composed on the successful termination of his mission" (given Leichhardt's recorded appreciation of Marsh's harp music, an apt personal as well as public gesture) appeared with a fanciful cover engraving—of Leichhardt's exploration party in the outback—by William Boosey. The cover of [The Traveller's Return](#), "Song with an accompaniment for the Harp or Piano-forte", carried a quotation from J. D. Lang's *Cook's Land*, thus dating the print with certainty to after that book's publication in 1847.

In 1854, Marsh would again remember his late friend, Leichhardt, directing a grand concert, organised by the German Club, at the Royal Victoria on 13 March "for the purpose of contributing to a fund proposed to be remitted to the beloved parent [mother] of Dr. LEICHHARDT". Marsh contributed the finale to each half of the program, first a "**Grand Duo, for Harp and Pianoforte, Introducing Dr Leichhardt's March and favourite English, Irish, and Scotch Airs**" (performed with his brother, Henry), and to close the *Australian Anthem*.⁸²

17, we learn that Mr. Marsh had arrived there from Calcutta, and was performing on the harp, &c, to delighted audiences."

⁸⁰ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (31 August 1846), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12895665>; Marsh would reuse the designation, "Souvenir de Sydney", for his *Ferrolana Polka*.

⁸¹ "MR. MARSH'S CONCERT", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (2 September 1846), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12899675>.

⁸² [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (19 March 1854), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12954920>; "THE LEICHHARDT CONCERT", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (14 March 1854), 5:

As to Marsh's temporary colonial substitute, **Julius Samuel Imberg (Germany ?-1863) {1846-63}**, according to the *Hobart Courier* in June 1846:⁸³

[...] great merit of Mons. Imberg is as an accompanist. This part of his duty was discharged with superior judgment and taste. The task was not an easy one. No one but a person thoroughly accustomed to Mons. Ravac's style, could have accomplished it.

In September, Imberg announced his intention to stay in Sydney and give instruction on the piano to "a limited number of pupils [...] according to the principles of Herz and Moscheles".⁸⁴ But a year later, without leaving much evidence of his making an impact in Sydney, Imberg returned to Hobart.⁸⁵ There, the "pupil of Thalberg and Moscheles, and Member of the *Conservatoire Royale* at Paris", settled, took pupils, and appeared in concert with Charles Packer, Maria Prout, and Henry Howson.⁸⁶ An inkling that Imberg also composed came at his concert in January 1848, when the finale was a **Tasmanian Polka**, albeit unattributed, played by the band of 96th Regiment.⁸⁷ Imberg's "grand soiree" at the Royal Victoria a year later also included a **Pas Seul Tableaux Vivants** from Mrs. Young in costume "with Music expressly composed for the occasion", which in the circumstances probably means that Imberg was responsible.⁸⁸ Concert-giving being a risky business still, however, it probably also led to Imberg being declared insolvent in August 1849.⁸⁹

In January 1851, the *Colonial Times* noted that it had received a copy of "Mr. Imberg's Quadrilles [...] highly spoken of by all the votaries of Terpsichore";⁹⁰ and in April it was reported that, at a meeting of the Royal Society of Van Diemen's Land, "a note was read from Herr Imberg presenting a copy of his Quadrilles, with a request to have it placed in the library of the Royal Society".⁹¹ This was his set, **The Tasmanian Quadrilles**, lithographed by Thomas Browne in Hobart, and dedicated to Lady Denison. Curiously, copies of neither

<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12953900>: "This long-talked of entertainment, projected for the benefit of the mother of Dr. Leichhardt, took place last evening at the Victoria Theatre [...] The concert was under the immediate direction of Mr. S. H. Marsh [...]" ; after costs, £189 was raised, [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (6 April 1854), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12953261>.

⁸³ "THE CONCERT", *The Courier* (17 June 1846), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2945453>.

⁸⁴ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (7 September 1846), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12889522>.

⁸⁵ "SHIPPING NEWS", *The Courier* (15 December 1847), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2970281>.

⁸⁶ [Advertisement], *The Courier* (8 January 1848), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2970108>.

⁸⁷ [Advertisement], *Colonial Times* (7 January 1848), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8762068>.

⁸⁸ [Advertisement], *The Courier* (10 January 1849), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2967098>.

⁸⁹ "INSOLVENCY CASES", *The Courier* (8 August 1849), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2965345>.

⁹⁰ "MR. IMBERG'S QUADRILLES", *Colonial Times* (28 January 1851), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8768636>; see also [Advertisement]: "JUST PUBLISHED", *Launceston Examiner* (25 January 1851), 6: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36259431>.

⁹¹ "ROYAL SOCIETY OF VAN DIEMEN'S LAND", *The Courier* (16 April 1851), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2961046>; see also [Advertisement]: "JUST PUBLISHED", *Launceston Examiner* (25 January 1851), 6: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36259431>; "TASMANIAN QUADRILLES", *The Courier* (1 February 1851), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2961407>.

the original print, nor a second edition issued by Henry Marsh in Sydney in 1855,⁹² seem to have survived. Imberg also advertised the set for sale on his arrival to settle in Melbourne in 1856, when the press there described them in review as being “of a light pleasing character [...] directed to the interests of beginners”.⁹³

In July 1851, the *Colonial Times* recorded:⁹⁴

We have received a new Polka from Mr. J. S. Imberg, appropriately designated *Welcome to the Spring*, and dedicated to the “Ladies of Tasmania”. This production is neatly lithographed, and highly creditable to the head and hand of its author.

This [Welcome to the Spring Polka](#) appears to be Imberg’s only surviving Tasmanian composition. Notably, he was not among the contributors to either of Stoney’s Tasmanian anthologies in 1855. Perhaps he was not invited, or simply forgotten; in 1852, he’d left Hobart for Launceston,⁹⁵ and in 1856 he and his Tasmanian wife Janet, and their young daughter, moved across Bass Strait to Melbourne. There in 1861 he self-published [The Victorian Quadrilles](#).⁹⁶ Having in the meantime practised as a “professor of music and music seller”, he had the management of “a first class band” for a fancy dress ball, in honour of the visiting British cricket team, on 14 January 1862.⁹⁷ In an announcement of another ball the following January, he was described as “a very old member of the music profession in Melbourne”.⁹⁸ He died the following month, February 1863.⁹⁹

[4.2] “New Music”

It has lately been our good fortune to notice several pieces of excellent music, of not only colonial “getting up”, but of composition, by musicians resident amongst us; and our duty has, in many instances, been the most agreeable that a reviewer can have, viz.:—that of awarding praise—praise being due.

Our music press has again been to work, and has issued, not an Australian composition calculated to undeceive those who imagine that we can only deal and barter, but a reprint of a very trashy piece for the pianoforte, called *Prince Albert’s Band March*—the catchpenny title of which would be sufficient to deter any common-sensed amateur [...] But are these the things we are to have reprinted in Australia? Certainly not. There are too many amongst us who understand and appreciate music that is really good, having heard the best in England, and on the

⁹² “TASMANIAN QUADRILLES”, *Launceston Examiner* (19 April 1855), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36292363>.

⁹³ “THE TASMANIAN QUADRILLE”, *The Argus* (6 August 1856), 6: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7134395>; also “THE TASMANIAN QUADRILLE”, *The Argus* (1 August 1856), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7134125>.

⁹⁴ “NEW POLKA”, *Colonial Times* (29 July 1851), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8769663>; [Advertisement], *The Courier* (30 July 1851), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2960493>.

⁹⁵ [Advertisement], *Launceston Examiner* (15 September 1852), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36264010>; and “MUSIC”, *Launceston Examiner* (18 September 1852), 6: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36264034>.

⁹⁶ [News of the day], *The Argus* (10 May 1861), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5700073>.

⁹⁷ [Advertisement], *The Argus* (11 January 1862), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5708324>.

⁹⁸ [News], *The Argus* (22 January 1863), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article6482872>.

⁹⁹ “Funeral Notices”, *The Argus* (16 February 1863), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article6483450>.

European continent [...].

If European music is to be reprinted here, it must not be the catch-penny trash of the day. Good music is wanted,—and will be purchased, and if Mr. Rolfe, or any other enterprising person will reprint it at a moderate price, he may be sure of abundant support [...].

“Music”, *The Sydney Herald* (5 May 1842).¹⁰⁰

IN 1842 the production of new locally-composed and printed music seemed to reach the point of self-sustaining mass in Sydney, paradoxically as the economy went into deep depression. But since the market for printed music was almost wholly domestic, amateur, and (by report) female, that it ran counter to economic indicators is perhaps not so surprising; so too did representative government, which likewise, made its entrance with the bust in 1842, with the foundation of the City of Sydney.¹⁰¹

Nathan’s steady stream of new publications into his second year in the colony was supplemented by new prints from Marsh, and Frederick Ellard’s debut works that year. And it was a promising sign for the *Herald* to inveigh—in the extract above—against low-quality imports, and in support of locally composed product.¹⁰² Only a few weeks earlier, greeting Nathan’s *The Eagle Chief*, it noted: “The publication of new music is now no novelty in Sydney”;¹⁰³ and a week later, “The publication of music in this colony is becoming almost an every-day matter in Sydney: we have had three notices of colonial publications within the last few days [...]”.¹⁰⁴ On 28 October 1842 the *Herald* reviewed the “maiden composition” by John Philip Deane’s son, John Jnr, “a musician of much promise”, his “very pretty ballad”, **What is Love?**¹⁰⁵ The *Herald*’s “New Music” reviews over the next two decades managed to cover most everything new and Australian in print.

In December 1842, the *Herald* also recorded the appearance of a work by George Worgan, **How Sweet those tuneful bells**, published by Francis Ellard.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁰ <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12875009>.

¹⁰¹ James Belich, in *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), describes an economic boom in New South Wales and Tasmania from 1828-1842 on the back of wool, 89:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=Rh76bzOX7XAC&pg=PA89#v=onepage&q&f=false>; it took the colonial population from 54,000 in 1828, to 210,000 in 1841, 261:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=Rh76bzOX7XAC&pg=PA261#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

¹⁰² Thomas Rolfe’s offending edition of *Prince Albert’s Band March* is no longer extant; for a later edition published by Grocott, see copy at NLA: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-an6161032>; on the arranger, Weippert, conductor at Almack’s over many years see, “DEATH OF MR. JOHN WEIPPERT”, *Colonial Times* (23 January 1844), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8754439>; Rolfe later also issued Weippert’s *Prince Albert Quadrilles*, see “NEW MUSIC”, *The Australian* (9 April 1844), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37124141>.

¹⁰³ “NEW MUSIC”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (18 April 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12874750>.

¹⁰⁴ “NEW MUSIC”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (13 May 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12875148>.

¹⁰⁵ “NEW MUSIC”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (28 October 1842), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12408241>; “NEW MUSIC”, *Australasian Chronicle* (29 October 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31737690>.

¹⁰⁶ “NEW MUSIC”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (8 December 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12425033>; copy at SL-QLD listed in NLA: <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/8773540>; see also “NEW MUSIC”, *Australasian Chronicle* (6 December 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31737690>.

Mr. Worgan has made this oft tolled theme the subject of a very pretty Cantata [...] it is simple, pleasing, and good, and has the additional, and by no means immaterial advantage of being most easy of performance.

George William Worgan (England ?-?) {1838-51?} was probably of the same English musical family as surgeon George Worgan of the First Fleet. He arrived in Sydney from Plymouth on 3 August 1838,¹⁰⁷ advertised as a teacher on 8 August,¹⁰⁸ and made his local debut at Eliza Wallace's concert in October.¹⁰⁹ "George William Worgan" went on a piano-tuning tour with Francis Ellard to Maitland in 1839;¹¹⁰ "William Worgan, musician" was charged with being drunk in 1840;¹¹¹ and no doubt the same Worgan was organist of St. Mary's Cathedral and teaching singing (alongside Mary Logan) at Mrs. Rennie's College High School for girls in 1842.¹¹² His cantata, "respectfully dedicated to The Very Reverend F. Murphy" of St. Mary's, was evidently in anticipation of the arrival, the following year, of a new set of cathedral bells.¹¹³

Worgan also sang regularly for the Bushelles, the Gautrots, the Deanes, and Nathan, and—along with the best of his composer colleagues—was declared insolvent in July 1843.¹¹⁴ In 1845, he and a Miss Mary Touhy (they would marry in January 1847) were among the principal vocalists in James Johnson and S. W. Wallace's Christman *Messiah*.¹¹⁵ However, in February 1851, Worgan was charged with deserting Mary, and failing to pay maintenance.¹¹⁶ He was last heard of in April that year, assisting at "Grocott's Dissolving Views", one of Sydney's early proto-cinemas, a slide-show of such sights as "York Minster on fire, dissolved

¹⁰⁷ "SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE", *The Sydney Herald* (6 August 1838), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12860864>.

¹⁰⁸ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Herald* (8 August 1838), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12859679>.

¹⁰⁹ "CONCERT", *The Sydney Herald* (22 October 1838), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12859991>: "A gentleman named Worgan, who has recently arrived, sang a simple little ballad, accompanying himself on the piano-forte; Mr. W displayed much taste, but his voice is so low and weak that, at the lower end of the room, he was nearly inaudible; but from the way in which he acquitted himself, there can be no doubt of his being an excellent musician."

¹¹⁰ [Advertisement]: "F. ELLARD", *The Sydney Herald* (29 November 1839), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12860881>.

¹¹¹ "POLICE INCIDENTS", *The Sydney Gazette* (9 April 1840), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2551917>.

¹¹² [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (1 October 1842), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12420869>.

¹¹³ Joseph Fowles, *Sydney in 1848: Illustrated by Copper-Plate Engravings of the Principal Streets, Public Buildings, Churches, Chapels, etc. From Drawings by Joseph Fowles* (Sydney: for the author, 1848), 73-74; <http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks06/0600151h.html>; on the arrival of the bells, see "THE ARRIVAL OF A FAMILY OF 'NOTE'", *Australasian Chronicle* (20 September 1843), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31741085>; see also John Rae's watercolour of St. Mary's belfry, at SL-NSW; <http://acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/item/itemDetailPaged.aspx?itemID=447080>.

¹¹⁴ "INSOLVENCY BUSINESS", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (20 July 1843), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12420946>; according to Lea-Scarlett, he was even imprisoned.

¹¹⁵ [Advertisement]: "GRAND ORATORIO", *The Australian* (23 December 1845), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37154810>;

¹¹⁶ "DESERTED WIVES AND CHILDREN", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (19 February 1851), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12924911>; "MAINTENANCE TO A WIFE", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (13 February 1851), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12924759>; curiously, after this date, Worgan is listed as being the employer of one Bridget McWheeney, an orphan ex *Lady Peel*; see State Records NSW 4/4676.P321; 9/6173.6(x4); Worgan was also the subject of a satirical press article, "POLICE REGISTER: THE DISCORD-ION", *Bell's Life in Sydney* (15 February 1851), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article59772017>.

into the Kilsby Railway Tunnel”, and “Lord Nelson dissolved into the ship *Victory*”, a “treat for young folk and children [...] during which appropriate music is played by Mr. G. Worgan”.¹¹⁷ Reasonably enough, Errol Lea-Scarlett assumed that he must have been the same George Worgan, also a composer, who arrived in New Zealand in 1851 and died there in 1888;¹¹⁸ but while this is not impossible, the identification is far from certain.¹¹⁹

Professional women were also represented among published and reviewed composers in Sydney, notably the “PROFESSOR of Music, Singing, French, and Dancing”, Madame **Florentine Dudemaine (France ?-?) {1843-61}**, whose [Le pittoresque quadrille pour le piano forte](#) was published by Francis Ellard in June 1846.¹²⁰ When the Polka craze first hit Sydney in 1845,¹²¹ Dudemaine advertised that she had been “a pupil of the celebrated master MONSIEUR COULOU, the first who introduced THE POLKA DANCE in the fashionable circles in Paris”.¹²² Dudemaine had arrived in Sydney by 1843, married a local in 1849, and continued teaching into the 1850s as Madame Farrelly.¹²³ Having run a successful weekly quadrille night for several years, she and a son (but no husband) left for England in 1861.¹²⁴

Maria Hinckesmann (England 1803-after 1852) {1842-49} is one of the very few early colonial composers to have been dealt with properly by musical scholarship. But though her life was, as Michael Kassler indicated, a “remarkable story”,¹²⁵ her sole Australian composition hardly bears comparison with Dudemaine’s excellent quadrille; indeed, it still seems to bear out an English reviewer’s advice of some twenty years earlier: “to compose less till she has studied more”.¹²⁶ Hinckesmann arrived in 1842 as a bounty passenger by falsely

¹¹⁷ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (21 April 1851), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12926458>.

¹¹⁸ E. J. Lea-Scarlett, “Music, Choir and Organ”, in O’Farrell (ed.), *St. Mary’s Cathedral Sydney, 1821-1971*, 162.

¹¹⁹ The New Zealand George Worgan arrived there on the *Cresswell*, direct from London, on 20 March 1851, i.e. before the Australian Worgan was last mentioned in the Sydney press; see *Daily Southern Cross* (21 March 1851), 2: <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&d=DSC18510321.2.3>; it is usually assumed that the New Zealand Worgan had been organist of Camden Chapel, London, and was the editor and compiler of an anthology, *Gems of Sacred Melody*, advertised and reviewed in *The Musical World* 16 (1841), 318:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=OhAtAAAYAAJ&pg=PA318#v=onepage&q&f=false>; and 375:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=OhAtAAAYAAJ&pg=PA375#v=onepage&q&f=false>; on the New Zealand Worgan, see also Robert Parker, Wellington, 10 May 1888, “CORRESPONDENCE: MR. GEORGE WORGAN”, *The Musical Times* 29/546 (1 August 1888), 490–91.

¹²⁰ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (15 June 1846), 1:

<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12887816>.

¹²¹ “MUSIC AND THEATRE”, *The Atlas* 1/28 (29 March 1845), 211:

<http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/1440365x/18450329/00010018/7-8.pdf>: “What is the Polka?” we have heard asked a thousand times within the last few months; and very few to whom it was addressed have been able to answer it.”

¹²² [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (5 July 1845), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12880701>.

¹²³ “MARRIED”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (18 October 1849), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12907996>.

¹²⁴ “DEPARTURES FOR ENGLAND”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (20 July 1861), 9: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13060694>.

¹²⁵ Michael Kassler, “The remarkable story of Maria Hinckesman”, *Musicology Australia* 29 (2007), 43-67; see, under Hinckesman, 10 printed compositions by her in the British Library; in Australia, however, she clearly preferred to spell her name “Hinckesmann”.

¹²⁶ [Review], *The Harmonicon* 1 (1823), 209: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=E2sPAAAYAAJ&pg=RA1-PA209#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

claiming to be a household servant,¹²⁷ and she set sail to return to London again in March 1849,¹²⁸ leaving just one song, [A Dream of the Mayor's Fancy Dress Ball](#), published in the William Baker's *Heads of the People* on 10 July 1847, with Baker's lithographic decorations.¹²⁹ However, this was probably a second edition, the *Atlas* on 6 September 1845 having begged:¹³⁰

[...] to acknowledge receipt of a song entitled *The Grand Fancy Ball*, published by Mr. Baker, of King-street, but as it came too late to test its real merits by our vocal powers, we cannot speak further of it than to say, it appears neatly got up.

The very same day, Mrs. Gibbs was advertised introducing a song *The Grand Fancy Ball* between the plays at the Royal Victoria.¹³¹ Alas, there is no record of Miss Hinckesmann attending the first mayoral fancy ball in August 1844 (she was almost certainly not the “Miss Hankinson” who went as a “Neapolitan”),¹³² the event, in the interim, recorded in John Rae's long poem, *The Mayor's Fancy Ball*, and ultimately, too, in Stephen Marsh's setting from it. Meanwhile, the 1847 fancy ball—with the music provided, in alternation, by the band of the 99th regiment and the theatre band—probably went off at a somewhat higher level than Hinckesmann's “Dream”:¹³³

Dancing commen[ced] at ten, and was continued with scarcely [fiv]e minutes intermission until six in the morning: quadrilles, waltzes, gallopes, and polkas, succeeding each other with amazing quickness. No sooner had one band sounded the concluding note of one dance, than the symphony for the next was commenced by the other.

Ten years later, for the Fancy Ball in 1857, the mayor of Sydney himself, **George Thornton (Australia 1819-1901)**, composed [The Cornstalk Polka](#), a “pretty plaintive polka, with an exceedingly pretty trio”.¹³⁴ It was often performed as a dance tune and toast air during the

¹²⁷ For a notice of her first Sydney concert, see [Advertisement]: “Under the especialy patronage [...] MISS HINCKESMANN”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (23 August 1842), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12408193>; but on her false claims, see *Historical Records of Australia, Series I: Government Despatches to and from England* (Melbourne: The Commonwealth of Australia, 1924), 782, and vol. 22, 296.

¹²⁸ “CLEARANCES”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (10 March 1849), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12913592>.

¹²⁹ “William Kellett Baker”, *DAAO*: <http://www.daa0.org.au/main/read/418>.

¹³⁰ *Atlas* (6 September 1845): <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/1440365x/18450906/00010041/11-12.pdf>.

¹³¹ [Advertisement]: “ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (6 September 1845), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12881992>; and two years later, only a fortnight after the 1847 re-issue of Hinckesmann's song, Mrs. Gibbs likewise introduced a “Comic Song, THE MAYOR'S FANCY BALL! Written expressly for this occasion, by a Gentleman of known literary attainments”, see [Advertisement]: “ROYAL VICTORIAN THEATRE”, *The Australian* (26 June 1847), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37130017>.

¹³² “MAYOR'S FANCY DRESS BALL”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (23 August 1844), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12420001>.

¹³³ “The Fancy Ball”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (16 July 1847), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12893331>.

¹³⁴ Martha Rutledge, “Thornton, George (1819-1901)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 6 (1976), 273-274: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A060293b.htm>.

next decade, and went into a new edition as late as 1906.¹³⁵

Bandsmen, as well as bandmasters, were also represented in print. In August 1844, Duncan's *Register* published a ballad by **William Cleary {fl.1843-after 1859}**, corporal of the aforementioned 99th band.¹³⁶ According to Duncan's own review, the melody of **My loved my happy home** was:

[...] we think original, and the harmony of the accompaniment, though not without faults, is such as a composer of greater pretensions need not be ashamed of. We trust our fair readers will patronize this new composer.

After the regiment moved to Hobart in 1848-49, Cleary also had it reviewed there:¹³⁷

The composer is the well-known player on the bagpipes; and it is gratifying to observe, that amidst his military avocations he is endeavouring to cultivate his natural talents to advantage. This is just the ballad that ought to sell well in this colony, reviving reminiscences of the distant scenes of childhood, and encouraging fond hopes of once again regaining the "home of happy youthful days" [...].

In addition, Cleary later published a **[The Royal Victoria Volunteer Artillery Regiment Grand Polka](#)** in Melbourne in 1859. Another member of the 99th was **Arthur S. Hill {fl.1848-54}**, also later active in Tasmania, whose **Australian Grand Waltzes**, published in Sydney in January 1848, presumably with the 60th anniversary in mind, were, according to the *Herald*, "pleasing and easy [...] much in the Strauss style".¹³⁸

In December 1851, Henry Marsh issued three works by the German-born Master of the Band of the 11th Regiment, **Charles William Ferdinand Stier {1845-59}**, the **[Merry Old England Quadrilles](#)**, **[Fitz Roy Schottische](#)**, and **[The Native Flower Polka](#)**.¹³⁹ The first two were composed for the Governor-General's costume ball, and the third "dedicated to the ladies of New South Wales" was almost certainly written for played at the annual Australasian Botanic and Horticultural Exhibition in Sydney in the Botanic Gardens in mid-November. The British visitor, John Shaw, newly arrived that day, recalled visiting the show:¹⁴⁰

¹³⁵ "MAYOR'S BALL", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (17 September 1857), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13000666>; [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (26 September 1857), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13001086>; "CITIZEN'S RETURN BALL", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (8 October 1857), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13001295>; *The Brisbane Courier* (13 June 1906), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article19454428>.

¹³⁶ "LITERARY REGISTER: NEW MUSIC", *The Weekly Register* 3/56 (17 August, 1844), 85; and advertisement, 88: <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18440817/00030056/9-12.pdf>; see also "MUSIC AND MUSICIANS", *The Australian* (19 August 1844), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37120428>.

¹³⁷ "MUSIC", *The Courier* (31 January 1849), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2966883>; also [Advertisement], *The Courier* (18 April 1849), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2966208>.

¹³⁸ "NEW MUSIC", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (5 January 1848), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12892339>.

¹³⁹ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (7 November 1851), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12931874>.

¹⁴⁰ John Shaw, *A Tramp to the Diggings: Being notes of a ramble in Australia and New Zealand in 1852* (London: Richard Bentley, 1852), 196-97:

[...] and suddenly finding myself in the presence of the gay throng, with the band of the 11th Regiment performing polkas, waltzes, and morceau from different composers.

Stier, who had been an instructor at the Ducal Academy in Brunswick, arrived in the colonies with his regiment in 1845, and stayed on into the mid-1850s as a “professor of music”, notably offering to teach composition following “the system of Dr. Meux” of the University of Berlin.¹⁴¹ Stier, whose earlier band **Overture** has already been noted in one of Gautrot’s concerts, was naturalised in 1854. As was still often the course of things for recent musical settlers, he was charged with “fraudulent insolvency” in 1857. He made one further foray into publishing, with his **The Warrior’s Lament** (“March composed for pianoforte”), in mid-1858.¹⁴² He and his family returned to England in 1859.¹⁴³

[4.3] *Frederick Ellard*

Though Francis Ellard has been credited as a composer,¹⁴⁴ this was a confusion with his son, Frederick (or later, as he preferred, Frederic). **Frederick Ellard (Ireland 1824-1874) {1832-74}** may well have been the first Australian educated professional musician (singer, pianist, teacher, and composer) to pursue further studies in Europe, where he spent a year in the late 1840s. Presumably taught music by his father, he was also a student at Henry Carmichael’s school for young gentlemen, the Normal Institution, in Hyde Park.¹⁴⁵ In December 1840, Ellard, father and son together joined the Gautrot’s concert party on their trip to Melbourne.¹⁴⁶ The confusion between the two F. Ellards has also worked in reverse, several prints issued by Francis Ellard having been misattributed as compositions by

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=rcMNAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA196#v=onepage&q&f=false>; see also “AUSTRALASIAN BOTANIC AND HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (15 November 1851), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12932045>: “THE Summer Floral and Horticultural Exhibition of this Society took place yesterday afternoon [...] The band of the 11th was in excellent play [...]”

¹⁴¹ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (1 December 1858), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13012986>; [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (6 May 1854), 2: <http://newspapers.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12958313>.

¹⁴² “NEW MUSIC”, *Bell’s Life in Sydney* (10 July 1858), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article59868944>; [Advertisement]: “NEW MUSIC”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (28 July 1858), 6: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13022313>.

¹⁴³ “LAW”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (23 November 1857), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13003341>; “DEPARTURES FOR ENGLAND”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (12 November 1859), 9: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13033126>.

¹⁴⁴ John Wade, “Dick, Alexander (c.1791-1843)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* supplementary volume (2005), 102: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/AS10127b.htm>.

¹⁴⁵ “THE DISTRIBUTION OF PRIZES AT THE NORMAL INSTITUTION”, *The Sydney Gazette* (30 June 1835), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2198910>; see Clark, *A History of Australia* 2: 218; George Nadel, “Carmichael, Henry (?-1862)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 1 (1966), 210-211: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A010195b.htm>; see John Carmichael’s engraving of the school in *Picture of Sydney; and strangers’ guide in New South Wales in 1838* (Sydney: J. Macle hose, 1839), Plate 14, opp. 112: <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16011422>.

¹⁴⁶ “DEPARTURES”, *The Sydney Herald* (2 December 1840), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12866822>; “THE CLONMEL STEAMSHIP”, *The Sydney Herald* (23 December 1840), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12867186>; and “ADDRESS TO THOMAS SIMPSON, ESQ. COMMANDER OF THE BARQUE ANNE”, *The Sydney Gazette* (30 January 1841), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2552391>.

Frederick.¹⁴⁷ Frederick's name does appear unequivocally against a piano arrangement of **Woodland Call**,¹⁴⁸ issued as one of Francis's undated five-number print set, "The Child's Friend", "a series of familiar melodies written expressly ... [for] young pupils". But his official first work was the **Swiss Air with Variations for the Piano Forte, Op.1**,¹⁴⁹ again published by his father, and reviewed by *The Sydney Herald*, in 1842:¹⁵⁰

THIS is a production which we hesitate not to say, is very creditable to Australia. It is we are informed, the *opera prima*, the first composition of a young musician of great promise, the son of the publisher; and we are glad to see the rising young gentlemen of the colony, evincing a desire to excel in this, or any of the other fine arts, as it is a certain proof of our advancing in taste and refinement.

The *Swisse Air*, which our young composer has chosen for his *Tema*, though not quite so fine a melody as the *Swiss Boy*, or the celebrated *Ranz de Vache*, is simple and pastoral; and, throughout the variations, Mr. Ellard has very faithfully preserved this character. In all the three leading variations he, very skillfully, ends with the concluding strain of his *Tema*, a *modus recurrendi*, of which we greatly approve, though many composers are but too apt to lose sight altogether of the original and, in their anxiety to display their own twisted charms of interminable notes [...]

We cannot conclude without remarking that the engraving by Carmichael is well executed, and would do credit to a piece from a London house. Australia, there can be no doubt, so far as these matters are concerned, has advanced, is advancing, and will advance, if the wealthy, who have the means will only give the requisite encouragement to those who devote themselves to the fine arts as a profession. We therefore recommend all our amateur players on the pianoforte to possess themselves of this very pretty piece of music without delay.

This was followed in December by **The Sydney Corporation Quadrilles**, celebrating the recent establishment of the City council in 1842, and dedicated (as was Nathan's *The Aboriginal Father*) to Martha Hosking, wife of the first mayor. It drew a carping, if informed "scientific", review from W. A. Duncan in the *Chronicle*:¹⁵¹

No great originality or depth of science is looked for in the composition of

¹⁴⁷ Following attribution to Frederick on the old Mitchell Library index cards, Prue Neidford, 161-62, attributed *Ellard's National Country Dances for 1843* to Frederick; for similar reasons, Richard Divall, liner notes to *Australia Unite!* (Sydney: ABC Classics, 2001), 9, attributed to Frederick the unattributed Ellard print of the *Railroad Gallop*, by Jullien: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-an5993170> (also arranged by Divall as "The Sydney Railway Galop by Frederick Ellard", <http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-vn3700027>); Numbers 4 and 5 of the 5-issue *Ellard's [National] Country Dances for 1843* do include the so-called "Australian Ladies" set, dedicated to leading local women, but none are attributed on the print; the set was perhaps inspired by his reprint of Duarte Dos Santos's *Les demoiselles: An original set of quadrilles* (Sydney: F[rancis] Ellard, [undated]), copy at: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-an11182737>.

¹⁴⁸ Copy at SL-NSW: Q786.4/Mu4.

¹⁴⁹ Copy at SL-NSW: Q786.4/Mu4.

¹⁵⁰ "MUSIC", *The Sydney Herald* (5 April 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12874536>; see also "MUSIC", *The Sydney Gazette* (19 March 1842), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2556033>; and [News], *The Australian* (19 March 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36850153>.

¹⁵¹ "NEW PUBLICATIONS", *Australasian Chronicle* (17 December 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31738259>; also "NEW MUSIC", *The Australian* (16 December 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37117194>.

quadrilles, for the reason, we presume, that few, if any, real masters have ever condescended to devote their time to such trifles. Any combination and division of sounds which may give the time and enliven the steps of the party is considered, and perhaps justly, sufficient. In this view the *Corporation Quadrilles* will, we doubt not, serve their object, and give an additional interest to the Mayoress's Ball.

Considered according to the rules of thorough bass and composition, they will not bear criticism. For example, in the very first line we have a C sharp pitched nakedly against a doubled C natural in the bass, and twice in the same page we have such a chord as 7 6 5 3 with the 7 doubled, and so distributed as to make altogether such a passage as we do not remember to have ever before met with. In page 2, we meet with some unpardonable progressions; but, as we have said, these pieces *are* but quadrilles, and we have no doubt they will be found to serve their purpose in this respect. The opening of No 4, and the finale (barring some portion of the harmony) are very effective movements.

This, in turn, drew a spirited reply from the 18-year-old Ellard, which also gives a unique insight into the personal stylistic enthusiasms of a young Australian composer in the early 1840s:¹⁵²

MR. EDITOR. You have been pleased to notice my set of quadrilles. I am very sorry some of the distributions of harmony do not meet with your approbation. Allow me in justice to myself to remark, I have examples from the most eminent authors; the *egregious* blunder in the printing of the 4th bar, 2nd page, I have rectified; but also allow me to say, the chord of 7 6 5 3 (which by the bye is not the chord, the appoggiatura B being called an interval) must remain as a reminiscence of beauty, to be met with over and over again in the splendid and scientific opera of *Oberon*.—I am, sir, your obedient servant, FREDERICK ELLARD.

As usual, the printed version is for piano, though the quadrilles may very possibly also have been performed in public by his uncle, Thomas Leggatt, and the Sydney band. The *Herald* wished “every success to the aspiring young composer”, noting that “while the airs are by no means original”—mentioning Bellini—“the counterpoint is in many cases strikingly so”.¹⁵³

Often noted for his sartorial elegance and “European finish” later in his career,¹⁵⁴ Frederick attended the first Mayor's Fancy Ball in 1844, partnering his sister, as a “Greek Youth”.¹⁵⁵ As remarkable as Frederick being a composer, he was also, with John Deane junior, one of the first local boys to be trained up as a pianist, usually the remit of young

¹⁵² “TO THE EDITOR [...]”, *Australasian Chronicle* (22 December 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31738297>.

¹⁵³ “NEW MUSIC”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (26 December 1842), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12420511>.

¹⁵⁴ See, for instance, “Mr. Wallace gave a concert [...]”, *South Australian Register* (23 May 1850), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38442088>: “Mr. Ellard was faultless in his attire, as usual, and looked as like the immortal Jullien as that gentleman's waxen prototypes in the hairdressers' windows resemble their great original. Rowland's Maccassar, however, although it may be a splendid encourager, cannot coax into excellence an indifferent voice [...]”

¹⁵⁵ “MAYOR'S FANCY DRESS BALL”, *The Australian* (23 August 1844), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37120218>.

women.¹⁵⁶ By the mid-1840s, when his father was sinking further into financial trouble, Ellard was shaping up to be one of the better professional pianists so far trained (though not born) in the colony. At his cousin, Eliza Bushelle's concert in June 1846, performing works by Herz, the *Atlas* judged:¹⁵⁷

He has all the requisites for a first-rate player—time, study, acquaintance with the best models, are alone required to develop those capabilities.

A few months later he announced that he had “made arrangements to leave the colony in a few days”.¹⁵⁸ At his farewell, “assisted by all the available Musical Talent of Sydney”, Ellard played Vincent Wallace's *Rondo Brillante in E flat* for piano, and Eliza Bushelle sang Frederick's own **Ballad *I think of thee*** (from the German of Goethe's *Ich gedenke deiner*). Also on the program was a joint concoction, **Reminiscences of Maritana** by the cousins, “S. W. Wallace and F[rederick] Ellard”.

Ellard disappears from the record for almost a year (a year in which his father's insolvency was repeatedly reported). But he turns up again in Melbourne on 2 November 1847 with an advertisement in the *Argus*.¹⁵⁹ His first Melbourne concert, two weeks later, included none of his own compositions; though he did advertise the only documented performance of the *Introduction, et Finale a'la Fuga—Dédie à Monsieur Frederick Ellard, par son cousin, W. V. Wallace*.¹⁶⁰ After a concert at Geelong in January 1848, he embarked for England and Europe, on 21 February 1848.¹⁶¹

In April 1849, the *Argus* reported that Ellard had “returned to the Australian Colonies, having arrived at Adelaide [...] accompanied by Mr. Washington [*recte* Wellington] Wallace; brother of the composer of *Maritana*”.¹⁶² Ellard composed a **Sudaustralischer Galop** there in 1850.¹⁶³ He returned to Sydney, and on 6 November 1852 took out an advertisement in the *Herald* stating he was “determined upon remaining” there, to teach piano and singing “having studied both these accomplishments after the manner of the best Masters”,

¹⁵⁶ Compare the strictures on young women, in “On the Study of Music”, *The South Briton, or Tasmanian Literary Journal* 1/2 (May 1843), 121-128: <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/13295608/18430500/00010002/41-50.pdf>; <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/13295608/18430500/00010002/51-60.pdf>.

¹⁵⁷ “MUSIC AND MUSICIANS: MRS. BUSHELLE'S CONCERT”, *The Atlas* (20 June 1846), 294: <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/1440365x/18460620/00020082/5-6.pdf>; [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (16 June 1846), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12887849>.

¹⁵⁸ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (9 December 1846), 1s: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12897282>.

¹⁵⁹ [Advertisement], *The Melbourne Argus* (2 November 1847), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4762509>. “MR. FREDERICK ELLARD, Pianist, BEGS to state to the public of Melbourne that he has taken rooms at Mr. Read's, Artiste, corner of Market-square [...] as well as at Mr. J. Pullar's, Collins-street. Mr. Ellard has for sale a choice selection of the newest Music—both vocal and instrumental—selected by himself from the opera of the *Bondman* (Balfe), *Matilda* (Wallace) *Maritana*, &c. &c.”

¹⁶⁰ [Advertisement], *The Melbourne Argus* (16 November 1847), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4762618>.

¹⁶¹ “GEELONG”, *The Melbourne Argus* (25 January 1848), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4763075>; “SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE”, *The Melbourne Argus* (22 February 1848), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4763288>.

¹⁶² “MUSICAL”, *The Argus* (27 April 1849), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4765867>.

¹⁶³ *South Australian Advertiser* (1850); cited by Andrew McCredie, *From Colonel Light into the Footlights*, 244-291.

presumably during his European visit.¹⁶⁴ Along with the rest of the city, including poets and two fellow composers (Stephen Marsh and Jonah Daniell), Ellard celebrated the arrival in Sydney of the largest steamship in the world, Isambard Brunel's *SS Great Britain*,¹⁶⁵ recently refitted to answer the growing demand for passenger traffic from Europe in the wake of the 1851 gold rush. Ellard's [The Great Britain Polka](#), which Woolcott and Clarke issued as a souvenir on 27 November, was "embellished with a superb illustration of the steamer".¹⁶⁶ A later advertisement for Daniell's **Great Britain Polka** suggests the pecuniary reasons why three composers, and their publishers, went to such bother over a ship:¹⁶⁷

PERSONS desirous of forwarding to their friends in Europe a copy of the above much admired Polka, composed by Mr. DANIELL, are reminded that the *Great Britain* steamship's mail will close this day, at 12 o'clock, and that it has been printed on thin paper, expressly for the purpose of economy in postage charges. The same is played nightly at the Royal Victoria Theatre [...].

One of Ellard's most interesting pieces, issued in April 1854 in the very first anthology of Australian pieces, Woolcott and Clarke's *The Australian Presentation Album*, was [The Australian Bird Waltz](#).¹⁶⁸ In the 1840s, Francis Ellard had issued an Australian edition of *The Bird Waltz* by Francis Panormo Senior,¹⁶⁹ that had originally appeared in London in 1810.¹⁷⁰ A decade later, Frederick's piece was the first published work based on an Australian bird-call. As later did Henry Tate, Ellard in his preface to the edition also made a quite specific association between bird-calls and Indigenous music, explaining the piece's genesis, and notating separately the call in question:

It was just before sunrise, on a beautiful Australian summer morning, one of those mornings that precede a hot day [...] on a visit to the country (the Wollombi district) I was awoken by a beautiful long clear note from a Bird outside the window, and, by the way, I maintain that the birds of Australia have notes as beautiful as their plumage is brilliant [...] The note was clear, rose a second, fell a perfect fourth, rose an octave, and then gradually died away on the tonic [...] he is a little grey bird, the aborigines of South Australia call him "mingo", they have a song

¹⁶⁴ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (6 November 1852), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12941344>.

¹⁶⁵ "THE ARRIVAL OF THE GREAT BRITAIN", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (22 November 1852), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12941777>; "ORIGINAL POETRY [...] By E.S", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (23 November 1852), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12941790>.

¹⁶⁶ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (26 November 1852), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12941869>.

¹⁶⁷ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (20 December 1852), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12942403>; see also "THE GREAT BRITAIN POLKAS", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (1 December 1852), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12941988>.

¹⁶⁸ "The Australian Presentation Album", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (3 April 1854), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12958504>.

¹⁶⁹ Copy at NLA: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-an13385217>.

¹⁷⁰ "REVIEW OF NEW MUSICAL PUBLICATIONS", *The New Monthly Magazine* 10 (1816), 349: "A most charming little strain, the chef d'oeuvre of Mr. Panormo, which tickles and pleases the fancy in the most playful and elegant manner"; see also "MISCELLANEOUS: FRANCIS PANORMO", *The Musical World* 19 (1844), 4: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=HPksAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA4#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

called “Mingo, mingo, mi an darmi burra” which means the little grey bird singing on the tree [...].

Ellard was also represented in the second *Australian Presentation Album*, for 1855, by his [La Hayes Quadrilles](#). As with its sister anthology across Bass Strait, the *Tasmanian Lyre*, the *Album*, according to Woolcott and Clarke’s notice on 9 January 1855 was:¹⁷¹

[...] intended to be forwarded to the Paris Exhibition as a specimen of colonial publications. It will form an elegant present to friends at home or in the colony.

From the same advertisement we also learn that the anonymous [Volunteer March, Polka and Galop](#) at the end of the book was also Ellard’s. It had first been published separately, and anonymously, in September 1854, described then merely as “by a distinguished musician”, and “dedicated to those gallant gentlemen, The Volunteer Corps”.¹⁷² In reviewing the album, the *Herald* noted the:¹⁷³

[...] volunteer march, polka, and galop; wherein “playing at soldiers” is attacked with the usual suggestion of the “white feather”. But in these stirring times, the joke may not be a joke very long [...].

A descriptive work, with several prominent musical quotations (including from Haydn’s *Surprise* symphony), it is probably also loosely based around Ellard’s recollections of one of his father’s earlier Sydney publications, Brixi’s *Battle of Prague*.¹⁷⁴

The “stiring times” also inspired Ellard’s next large work, the choral and orchestral “military cantata”, [The Crimea](#), “the words by an old soldier” commemorating battles in the ongoing war (Alma, Inkermann, Balaklava), and introduced by the Sydney Philharmonic Society in 1855. It was sung twice, first at a Grand Concert in Aid of the Patriotic Fund on 28 April, and again on 4 June.¹⁷⁵ On the morning of the premiere, the *Herald* printed the complete text and commented:¹⁷⁶

A striking feature, it is anticipated, will be a grand symphony entitled *The Crimea*; the words by an amateur, and the music composed expressly for the occasion by Mr. F. Ellard. This will be illustrated by the full choir and by the orchestra. Its effect at the various rehearsals ha[s] been extremely successful.

¹⁷¹ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (9 January 1855), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12964106>.

¹⁷² [Advertisement]: “IN THE PRESS”, *Empire* (4 September 1854), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article60194590>; [Advertisement]: “IN THE PRESS”, *Empire* (19 September 1854), 6: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article60197747>.

¹⁷³ “AUSTRALIAN PRESENTATION ALBUM”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (10 January 1855), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12964158>.

¹⁷⁴ Francis Ellard’s edition (undated), copy at NLA: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-an11182479>.

¹⁷⁵ “SYDNEY PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY’S FIRST CONCERT OF THE SEASON”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (5 June 1855), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12970067>.

¹⁷⁶ “CRIMEA”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (28 April 1855), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12968677>.

And, in review:¹⁷⁷

[...] This cantata opens with the full chorus, wailing the distant knell, and “chanting the requiem of the brave”; to this succeeds a tenor solo, “Remote from France and Albion fair” [...] The next movement, *tempo di marcia*, “Behold the war-steeds stately prancing”, was rendered in true martial style by the full chorus and united bands. The following lines “Peace to the brave, in Freedom’s right,/Who fell in Balaclava’s fight,” were beautifully given by four voices. In the remaining portions [...] the alternations of the music by the tenor and the full chorus, produced an excellent effect [...].

When published by Stephen Marsh’s brother, Henry Marsh, in May, the print was also reviewed, with further detailed description and encomiums:¹⁷⁸

[...] the merits of the composition, which are of a high order, will, we feel confident, ensure for it a cordial reception, not only in all the musical circles in the Australian Colonies, but [in] those of England and France. As the work of a young Australian composer it is entitled to favourable consideration. Conscious that this is the most ambitious musical composition which has yet been published in Sydney, Mr. Ellard has summoned all the resources of his art and they have obeyed his call [...].

Ellard remained active for most of the next twenty years, travelling between Adelaide, Melbourne, Sydney, and Brisbane.¹⁷⁹ He returned from Adelaide to Melbourne late in 1872,¹⁸⁰ and was still advertising his services, as a “Professor of SINGING, Piano, Harmony, and Composition”, in Melbourne in April 1874.¹⁸¹ He died of apoplexy in Melbourne Hospital on 30 December 1874, aged 50.¹⁸²

[4.4] *James Henri Anderson’s “Lays of the Hebrews”*

A lesser figure perhaps than Ellard, his close contemporary, pianist-composer **James Henri Anderson (England 1823-1879) {1842-79}** nevertheless had interesting antecedents, composed music in Sydney, Hobart, Launceston, and Melbourne, and later in life ran a music retailing business with his short-lived son, Alfred, also a published composer. Anderson arrived in the colonies probably sometime in 1840-41,¹⁸³ after studies at the Royal

¹⁷⁷ “GRAND CONCERT IN AID OF THE PATRIOTIC FUND”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (7 May 1855), 6: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4807777>.

¹⁷⁸ “NEW MUSIC”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (14 May 1855), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12969225>.

¹⁷⁹ “NEWS OF THE WEEK”, *The Brisbane Courier* (23 July 1864), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article1259897>.

¹⁸⁰ “Extortion by a carrier [...]”, *The Argus* (4 January 1873), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5845693/234289>.

¹⁸¹ [Advertisement], *The Argus* (10 April 1874), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5867651>.

¹⁸² “DEATHS IN THE HOSPITALS: MELBOURNE HOSPITAL”, *The Argus* (27 January 1875), 2s: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article11511222/239694>; also “TOPICS OF THE DAY”, *The South Australian Advertiser* (9 January 1875), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28737267>.

¹⁸³ He may have been the James Anderson whose arrival, on the Lady Emma, on 29 June 1840, was noted in the *Launceston Advertiser* (2 July 1840), see Archives Office of Tasmania, index of arrivals; see also [Advertisement]:

Academy of Music, London, “during the same period (seven years) being the constant pupil of Cipriani Potter”,¹⁸⁴ the “English Beethoven”, and more recently with the late Professor John Thomson (d.1841) of the University of Edinburgh. Anderson was certainly in Hobart at New Year 1842, advertising that he would give, in Campbell Town on 11 February, “a GRAND CONCERT of the most popular music, as now performed in the principal places of fashionable report in London”, and that on “return from his tour”, he was intending “to give occasional Concerts in Hobart Town as advertised”.¹⁸⁵ In April, he begged “leave most respectfully to inform the inhabitants of Hobart Town” of his intention to give instruction in Music, Pianoforte, English Singing, and Thorough Bass,¹⁸⁶ though by July—either pleasantly surprised at their quality, or pandering to the inhabitants’ pretensions—he had taken to addressing his advertisement to “the Nobility and Gentry of Hobart Town”.¹⁸⁷ Possibly, he took over some of Mary Logan’s pupils for a while when she left for Sydney. However, having given a concert in Launceston in March 1843 with John and Eliza Bushelle,¹⁸⁸ by September he had moved there, and advertised his availability to give instruction “in the various branches of composition, the theory of music, singing, and the piano-forte”.¹⁸⁹

Anderson had moved on to Sydney by March 1844,¹⁹⁰ and was again looking for pupils, as W. A. Duncan noted with interest in the *Register*:¹⁹¹

A late arrival has brought to our shores a Mr. Anderson from the Royal Academy of Music, who is stated to be a pianist worthy of his talented instructor Cipriani Potter. *Nous entendrons*.

His arrival (perhaps intentionally) coincided with the opening of the new synagogue in York Street, for again according to Duncan, Anderson and Isaac Nathan shared responsibility for the musical part of the ceremony:¹⁹²

The music consisted partly of ancient Hebrew chaunts—not unlike Gregorian chant, but less solemn—and partly of light, pleasing melodies and choruses, by

“The advertiser has been advised of a case of BOOKS addressed to Mr. James Henry Anderson [...]”, *The Sydney Herald* (24 April 1841), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12868810>.

¹⁸⁴ [Advertisement], *The Melbourne Argus* (6 June 1848), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4763989>.

¹⁸⁵ [Advertisement], *The Courier* (4 February 1842), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2954905>; he later added Launceston to his schedule, [Advertisement], *Colonial Times* (8 February 1842), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8752417>; for Anderson’s concert program, given with singer and guitarist “Mons. De La Martini of the Italian Opera, Paris”, see, [Advertisement], *Colonial Times* (22 February 1842), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8752455>.

¹⁸⁶ [Advertisement], *The Courier* (8 April 1842), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2954531>.

¹⁸⁷ [Advertisement], *The Courier* (15 July 1842), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2954058>.

¹⁸⁸ [Advertisement]: “GRAND CONCERT”, *Launceston Examiner* (29 March 1843), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36233098>.

¹⁸⁹ [Advertisement], *Launceston Examiner* (27 September 1843), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36234765>.

¹⁹⁰ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (7 March 1844), 1:

<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12425565>.

¹⁹¹ “The Musical Register”, *The Weekly Register* 2/32 [recte 33] (9 March 1844), 476 <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18440309/e0020032/9-12.pdf>.

¹⁹² “OPENING OF THE SYNAGOGUE”, *The Weekly Register* 2/37 (6 April 1844), 519: <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18440406/00020037/5-8.pdf>.

Louis Leo and Nathan, the last composed expressly for this occasion.

In addition to the imported items by the British Leo (reportedly a former pupil of Nathan),¹⁹³ Nathan contributed two newly composed items, and there were two other imported psalm settings by another English cantor-composer, Matthew Moss (1795-1868).¹⁹⁴ Curiously, Nathan did not publish his new settings. However, in September, Francis Ellard did advertise publication of [The Lays of the Hebrews: A Selection of Hebrew Melodies](#), “as Sung at the Consecration of the Sydney Synagogue [...] Arranged for the Piano Forte by J. H. Anderson”.¹⁹⁵ According to *The Australian*, Anderson had undertaken the task of making the piano arrangements “at the desire of several families”,¹⁹⁶ and the four items he thus reworked included the two psalm settings attributed elsewhere to Moss,¹⁹⁷ and two others, all of them unattributed in the print. The new issue was also reviewed in the *Register* by W. A. Duncan:¹⁹⁸

The Hebrews were always a musical people, and this character they have carried into every country in which, since their dispersion, they have settled [...] Many of the traditional melodies of the Jews, as collected and published by Martini,

¹⁹³ English composer Louis Leo published a set of *Hebrew Melodies* (London: Mori, Lavenue & Co, [?1844]; copy at British Library, Music Collections H.1698.(5.) [004478512], microform copy at Sydney, University of NSW: <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/34745795>; see also “Hebrew Melodies”, *The Literary Gazette and Journal of the Belles Lettres* (20 January 1844), 43:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=uMZLAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA43#v=onepage&q&f=false>; also, report from London press, in “MUSIC OF THE JEWS”, *The South Australian Register* (13 July 1844), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article27447601>: “A very interesting lecture on the subject of the Music of the Jews was delivered [...] by Mr. H. Phillips, at the Music-hall, Store-street [London], being illustrated as he proceeded by specimens executed by himself, assisted by Miss Lucombe, Mr. Ansel Leo, and Miss Leo, with a piano-forte accompaniment by Mr. Louis Leo [...]”.

¹⁹⁴ “CONSECRATION OF THE NEW SYDNEY SYNAGOGUE”, *The Australian* (3 April 1844), 2-3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37118533>; see also: H. N. Kirwan, “HEBREW SERVICES: THE FIRST SYNAGOGUE”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (18 March 1933), 9: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article16985725>; the printed order of service contains no composer attributions, see *Order of service arranged for the consecration of the New Sydney Synagogue, “House of Israel”, “Beth Yisrael”, York street, city of Sydney, New South Wales, on Tuesday, April 2nd, (13th day of Nissan, 5604.) : = Seder Hanukat ha-bayit shel Kahal Kadosh bet hakneset ha-hadash “Bet Yisrael”* (Sydney: Printed for the synagogue, 1844); copy at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/37528220>.

¹⁹⁵ [Advertisement] *The Sydney Morning Herald* (17 September 1844), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12418309>.

¹⁹⁶ “THE LAYS OF THE HEBREWS”, *The Australian* (23 September 1844), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37119610>.

¹⁹⁷ Moss may well have been related to the Sydney pianist, publisher and occasional composer, Lewis Moss; a Mr. J. and L. Moss arrived with Mr. and Mrs. P. Solomon and family, from San Francisco on the *Crishna* on 23 February 1852; “SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE: ARRIVALS”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (24 February 1852), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12934589>; Lewis Moss was active from 1854, see [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (7 January 1854), 5:

<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12958917>; certainly Matthew Moss’s son was Joseph Moss of Melbourne, see [Advertisement]: “QUADRILLE PARTIES ATTENDED”, *The Argus* (27 November 1855), 8:

<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4824336>, and [Advertisement], “Messrs. R. and J. Moss, Professors of Piano-forte”, *The Argus* (16 May 1856), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4838014>; in March 1861 he reportedly performed his father’s compositions on the harmonium at the opening of the Ballarat Synagogue, see Goldman, *The Jews in Victoria* (1954), 169, and Doggett, “And for harmony we most ardently long” (2006), vol.1, 240-41.

¹⁹⁸ “LITERARY NOTICES”, *The Weekly Register* 3/61 (21 September 1844), 148: <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18440921/00030061/1-4.pdf>; also [Advertisement], *The Weekly Register* 3/61 (21 September 1844) 155: <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18440921/00030061/9-12.pdf>.

Marcello, Burney, and latterly by Nathan, are truly beautiful. Of those used at the opening of the Sydney Synagogue, a portion of which are now before us [...] [i]n their present shape they are placed by Mr. Anderson within the power of the youngest pianoforte player, being arranged in a very easy manner. We are bound to say, however, that in some of his harmonies the composer has widely departed from what we should assume to have been the lessons of his instructor in the science (Cipriani Potter, we believe).

We would merely point to bars 3, 21, and 22 in page 1 as examples to eschew in his next publication; which, though they may not be visible to the vulgar eye, or noticed by the uncultivated ear, yet greatly detract in the estimation of the dilettanti from the merits of an otherwise beautiful and characteristic melody.

A month or so before the appearance of the *Lays*, a letter to *The Australian* suggested that it was to be the first of a series “to be continued at intervals, should sufficient encouragement be afforded to those interested”,¹⁹⁹ and perhaps Nathan’s newly composed items would have appeared later, duly arranged for piano by Anderson.

As it was, though Anderson’s *Lays* remained a single volume, they contributed considerably to the young man’s reputation. When, early the next year, a synagogue was about to open in Hobart, another letter to the Sydney press noted that Anderson was again in demand:²⁰⁰

It appears to be the general desire of the Hebrew communities in both these places, that the services of our townsman, Mr. Anderson, who took a leading part in the consecration of the York-street Synagogue, should be secured to conduct the musical department at the opening of the new “Houses of Israel”, but I am given to understand that it is doubtful whether it will be in this gentleman’s power to accept their joint invitation.

Anderson must indeed have been unavailable for the Hobart consecration in July,²⁰¹ for Joseph Reichenberg—as we have seen in Chapter 1—instead provided the music. Yet Anderson was already back in Tasmania by then. In June, the Launceston *Examiner* had noted a dual accession to the city’s “Musical Profession”:²⁰²

Mr. [Edmund] Leffler, an old resident in Launceston, has again returned to reside amongst us, with the intention of practising his profession. Mr. Anderson has also returned from Sydney, to follow a similar vocation, having received an appointment from the members of the Jewish persuasion to conduct the music of

¹⁹⁹ “ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE: HEBREW MELODIES: To the Editor”, *The Australian* (19 August 1844), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37120411>.

²⁰⁰ “JEWISH SYNAGOGUES”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (30 January 1845), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12877054>.

²⁰¹ He was still in Sydney a year later, see: “DINNER”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (19 April 1845), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12878895>. “About sixty members of the Hebrew Faith dined together [...] The town band was in attendance, assisted by Mr. Worgan at the piano, and charmed their hearers with some sweet music [...] Messrs. Lazar, Simmons, Anderson, and several others, whose sweet voices and humourous songs need only to be heard, assisted materially in detaining their co-religionists till so late an hour”.

²⁰² “MUSICAL PROFESSION”, *Launceston Examiner* (4 June 1845), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36240128>.

the new synagogue.

And, indeed, in March 1846, at the dedication of the new Launceston synagogue, the *Examiner* reported: “The greater part of the solos and chorusses were, we believe, composed by Mr. Anderson”.²⁰³

Anderson settled in Melbourne in 1848, having arrived there, not from Tasmania, but from Mauritius.²⁰⁴ In 1850, he composed his first documented secular composition, [The Fitzroy Quadrilles](#), dedicated to Charles Fitzroy on the occasion of his first visit to Melbourne in his new capacity as first Governor-General of the Australian colonies. They were published later that year by Grocott in Sydney, and though there were no Sydney or Melbourne reviews, the set was favourably noticed in both Launceston,²⁰⁵ and Hobart, where Anderson was clearly well-remembered:²⁰⁶

The votaries of Terpsichore have the opportunity of testing Professor Anderson’s abilities, by purchasing a copy of these quadrilles for the pianoforte [...] The quadrilles are on sale at Messrs. Walch & Son’s, and would make very suitable vacation presents.

Anderson himself was back in Hobart in 1852, having meanwhile spent some time in Launceston.²⁰⁷ In April he established a music and instrument retail business,²⁰⁸ and in July gave a concert with Charles Packer, at which it was also advertised that his son, possibly the future composer Alfred, “Master Anderson, the juvenile Ethiopian [...]” sang “the *Pretty*

²⁰³ “CONSECRATION OF THE NEW SYNAGOGUE”, *Launceston Examiner* (26 March 1846), 6: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36244260>; Anderson is credited on the cover of the printed order of service: “THE MUSIC COMPOSED EXPRESSLY FOR THE OCCASION BY MR. ANDERSON”, and later “I.H. Anderson” is also listed as “honorary secretary” of the Launceston congregation; see *Order of service performed at the consecration of the new synagogue, St. John Street, Launceston, Van Diemen's Land, on 5606-1846* (Launceston: Printed for the synagogue, 1846); copy at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/20361962>.

²⁰⁴ [Advertisement]: MR. J. H. ANDERSON”, *The Melbourne Argus* (6 June 1848), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4763989>; but, curiously, apropos the confusion over Anderson’s identity noted above, the swindler John Anderson, “the Bolter” disappeared to Mauritius in 1846, and the musician James returned from there in 1848; a George Anderson was governor of Mauritius in 1848, perhaps more likely to be a relative of James, than of John; on John’s being tracked to Mauritius, see [News]: “Many of our readers [...]”, *South Australian Register* (22 July 1848), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article48728235>; see also: “THE PORT PHILIPIANS, PAINTED BY THEMSELVES”, *Sidney’s Emigrant’s journal: Information, advice, and amusement for emigrants and colonizers* (14 December 1848), 81: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=V3NNAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA81#v=onepage&q&f=false>: “Among the ‘cards’, Mr. Anderson, of the Royal Academy, announces his arrival from Mauritius, and readiness to teach music”.

²⁰⁵ “FITZ ROY QUADRILLES”, *Launceston Examiner* (25 September 1850), 6: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36267077>.

²⁰⁶ “THE FITZROY QUADRILLES”, *The Courier* (21 December 1850), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2961634>.

²⁰⁷ “MUSIC”, *The Courier* (1 May 1852), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2959114>: “Mr. J.H. Anderson [...] has recently arrived from Launceston, where he has for some time past successfully practised as a teacher on the pianoforte, and vocal instructor”; also “MUSICAL”, *Colonial Times* (7 May 1852), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8771362>; “MASCONIC: ST. JOHN’S DAY”, *The Courier* (29 June 1850), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2962585>: “Mr. J. H. Anderson exercised his professional talents [...]”

²⁰⁸ [Advertisement], *Colonial Times* (27 April 1852), 1s: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8771293>. “[...] on sale at the Musical Repository, of J.H. Anderson, Professor of Music [...] the cheapest and best collection of Standard Publications of [...] printed in music folio [...]”

Little Dark Eyed Maid, My Old Aunt Sally, and Sing, Sing, ye Darkies Sing!"²⁰⁹ In June 1853, he directed the music at Hobart Synagogue for a ceremony to welcome the new presiding rabbi, Mr. Hoelzel,²¹⁰ recently arrived in the colonies. In 1857, **Herman Hoelzel (Hungary ?-?) {1853-58}** himself became a figure of colonial compositional interest,²¹¹ when as an appendix to his *Lecture on the History and Use of Music*,²¹² printed by J. R. Clarke in Sydney, he published two of his own piano arrangements of Jewish liturgical music, "The music of the celebrated **Hosannah Hymn**, ascribed to King David" and "The music of **The hymn of the dead**, composed in time immemorial".

Anderson had moved on to Sydney again by December 1853, advertising as a professor of music.²¹³ In September 1859, he was also again in business as an "Importer of Music and Musical Instruments",²¹⁴ and that month presided at the harmonium and directed the choir at the dedication of the new Macquarie Street synagogue. On the occasion, according to the *Empire*, the choir sang "a very melodious **Hallelujah Psalm**, composed by Mr. J. H. Anderson, who himself sang the solos".²¹⁵

In October 1861, Anderson published **The Star of Love Waltzes**, on favourites theme from Wallace's *Lurline*, the first of several works he would issue composed by his barely teenage son, Alfred Anderson. A former pupil of his father and of Charles Packer in Hobart, Alfred in turn went to London to study at their *alma mater*, the Royal Academy of Music, in 1857. There, by 1859, the Sydney press reported that he had "attained great proficiency in composition", sufficient for him to be about to compete for the Mendelssohn Scholarship.²¹⁶ Anderson junior returned to have a brief but significant Australian career as a

²⁰⁹ "GRAND CONCERT", *The Courier* (28 July 1852), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2958694>.

²¹⁰ "THE HEBREW CONGREGATION: INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF THE NEW RABBI", *The Courier* (9 June 1853), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2247364>: "[...] At the commencement of the ceremony, a voluntary, adapted to the occasion was performed by Mr. J. H. Anderson on the seraphine, who was assisted by an efficient choir [...]" account has further specific information on music sung.

²¹¹ See I. Porush, "Rev. Herman Hoelzel, the first qualified Jewish Minister in Australia", *Journal and Proceedings of the Australian Jewish Historical Society* 2/4 (1945), 172-200.

²¹² *The Lecture on the History and Use of Music: delivered in the hall of the School of Arts, on the 25th August, 1857* (Sydney: J. R. Clarke, 1857); copy at SL-VIC: <http://www.slv.vic.gov.au/vicpamphlets/inter/223995.shtml>.

²¹³ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (17 December 1853), 9: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12960312>; in 1854, he—described as "Mr. or Monsieur John [sic] Henry Anderson professor of music" and his wife Rachael (née Solomon), were in court over a matter of disputed wages owed to a servant, see "THE POLICE REGISTER: MUSIC HATH CHARMS", *Bell's Life in Sydney* (23 December 1854), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article59759589>.

²¹⁴ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (14 September 1859), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13030751>.

²¹⁵ "DEDICATION OF THE NEW JEWISH SYNAGOGUE" [From the *Sydney Empire*, 26 September], *The Hobart Town Daily Mercury* (5 October 1859), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3258182>; "THE OPENING OF THE NEW SYNAGOGUE", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (26 September 1859), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13031208>; see also "OPENING OF THE NEW SYNAGOGUE, MACQUARIE-STREET", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (13 October 1859), 11: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13031875>: "[...] The consecration service was performed by their minister, the Rev. Solomon Phillips [...] assisted by a numerous and well-selected choir, Mr. J.H. Anderson presiding at the harmonium, and directing the musical department. The opening symphony, by Mozart, was played in the most effective style by the conductor. The service was performed in the ancient style of the Hebrew faith [...]" includes further specific information on music sung.

²¹⁶ "ALFRED ANDERSON, THE YOUNG AUSTRALIAN MUSICIAN", *Empire* (18 August 1859), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article60399721>.

composer and pianist,²¹⁷ until his early death in 1876, aged 28.²¹⁸ Anderson senior was still associated with Macquarie Street Synagogue in 1868,²¹⁹ but during the 1870s moved to Melbourne. His dates of birth and death are yet to be unequivocally established, but he is probably the J. H. Anderson who died in Melbourne in 1879, aged 56.²²⁰

[4.5] *George Frederick Duly and the first Tasmanian opera*

Bandmaster A. P. Duly arrived in Hobart in 1839, with his band of the 51st Regiment, and was joined by his wife, Mary Jane (b.1793), and a son, and daughter. For the next ten years, Duly senior (who sang, and played piano, violin, and clarinet) contributed to concert, theatrical, and oratorio performances in Hobart, he and his band performing regularly with Reichenberg, Russell, the Howson brothers, the Gautrots, and Charles Packer. In addition, Duly and his band played a ceremonial role in the colony. At a *levee* held by the governor, John Franklin, in October 1839:²²¹

[...] the visitors and spectators, of which a considerable number were collected, were gratified by the exquisite performance of several beautiful pieces of music by the regimental band, so well practised by Mr. Duly. The precision with which the band of the 51st performs the most difficult pieces, has been frequently admired by the lovers of harmony.

When the 51st left the colony in 1846, however, Duly took a discharge, and stayed on in Hobart.²²²

His son, **George Frederick Duly (Ireland? 1825-1847) {1839-47}** was only 16 when he first advertised as a teacher of piano and flute in July 1841.²²³ On his appearance with the theatre orchestra, and members of his father's band, at a concert put on by Eliza Bushelle and John Deane during their 1843 Tasmanian visit, the local press reported:²²⁴

²¹⁷ [Advertisement] "A CARD. MR. ALFRED ANDERSON", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (7 July 1869), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13180506>: "[...] is expected to arrive in the course of a few days, and will be prepared to give LESSONS on the Pianoforte and Composition, in the most modern style."

²¹⁸ "Death has put an end to the career of Mr. Alfred Anderson [...]", *The Argus* (23 March 1876), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7435256>; "THE LATE MR. ANDERSON", *The Argus* (25 March 1876), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7435415>.

²¹⁹ "HEBREW", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (29 April 1868), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13165367>: "At the Synagogue, Macquarie-street [...] Mr. Anderson, sen., presided at the harmonium."

²²⁰ Levi has the death of "John Henry Anderson" on 19 February 1892, aged 65, but his birth year as 1823; whereas, "DEATHS", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (9 May 1879), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13434295>: "ANDERSON. May 1, Melbourne, J. H. Anderson, 56", also born in 1823.

²²¹ "THE COURT (!) JOURNAL" [from the *Courier*], *Colonial Times* (8 October 1839), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8750126>: "The Levee at Government House ..."; it was probably also the band of the 51st regiment, under Duly, who provided music at a function remembered by Mrs. Charles Meredith, *My Home in Tasmania: or, Nine years in Australia* (New York: Bunce and Brother, 1853), 30-31: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=QcMRAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA30&#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

²²² For a much later recollection of A. P. Duly, see "MUSICAL DAY: HISTORY OF THE HOBART BANDS: SOME INTERESTING NOTES", *The Mercury* (30 August 1917), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article1085868>.

²²³ [Advertisement]: "A CARD", *The Courier* (23 July 1841), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2955938>.

²²⁴ "HOBART TOWN EXTRACTS", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (10 March 1843), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12411470>.

With the overture to *La Gazza Ladra* began the first division of the entertainment [...] An equipoise of instruments is one of the main desiderata in this kind of music, though but too often lost sight of when reduced to practice: for instance, in those numerous passages in which the clarionet is made to follow the flute in lower thirds.

Serjeant Ravelyn completely overpowers the latter instrument by his unblended strength of tone, whilst Mr. Duly, junior, in each flute solo which falls to his share, exhibits his impression that the more the speed the greater the effect, at times almost transforming an intended *andante* into an *allegro*, notwithstanding the numerous checks which we have observed him to receive at the hands of the leader.

Two years later, however, Duly junior was a reliable enough player to be programmed as obligatist with Madame Gautrot in an:²²⁵

Air Français—*Grande Scene, imitation d'un Oiseau, Concertant avec la Flute*—
Madame Gautrot and G. Duly.

The Gautrots then included in their November 1844 Hobart concert a ballad, ***What care I, tho' fortune frowns***, “the Music composed by Mr. [G].F. Duly”.²²⁶

Duly junior was closely involved with music at the Royal Victoria Theatre throughout the mid-1840s. At a benefit on 15 February 1844, he “selected and arranged” the music for a ballet interlude between the plays:²²⁷

[...] To be followed by an entirely new **COMIC SCOTCH BALLE**T, (produced under the direction of Mr. YOUNG, the Music selected and arranged for the Orchestra by Mr. G. F. DULY,) entitled THE MAID OF PERTH, or The Rival Lovers.

But rather than directing his score, the multi-talented youngster appeared on stage as one of the ballet principals:²²⁸

Miss Young and Mr. G. Duly, the happy pair, were also extremely good, and danced very gracefully. The ballet is exceedingly well got up—very humorous and full of fun, and reflects great credit on the management. We hope to see it shortly repeated.

In March 1844, when Frank Howson senior arranged the music for the musical afterpiece *Kate Kearney*, during the ballet there was “introduced an entirely New” ***Pas de Trois***, “Music arranged by Mr. G.F. Duly”.²²⁹ A year later, in May 1845, credit for arranging the music for the same play, *Kate Kearney*, passed to young Duly, while Gautrot and Henry

²²⁵ [Advertisement], *Colonial Times* (21 June 1845), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8756883>.

²²⁶ [Advertisement], *Colonial Times* (16 November 1844), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8755645>.

²²⁷ [Advertisement] *Colonial Times* (13 February 1844), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8754537>.

²²⁸ “THEATRE”, *The Courier* (16 February 1844), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2951445>.

²²⁹ [Advertisement], *The Courier* (15 March 1844), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2951315>.

Howson led the orchestra, and the young local singer, Maria Carandini (pupil and latterly wife of Gerome Carandini) made her stage debut in the title role:²³⁰

The musical afterpiece of *Kate Kearney*, went off with much melody and éclat. We may mention that the music was arranged with great care and skill by Mr. G. F. Duly, and was well sang and performed.

A substantial original theatre work from Duly—a 2-act opera, no less—followed in 1846, premiered on 27 July:²³¹

On Monday, it will be seen, Mrs. Clarke takes her Benefit, with a novel attraction here, namely, a new Opera, founded on the *Corsair* of Lord Byron, the music of which is entirely composed by Mr. G. F. Duly; he has grappled with an arduous task, and we shall see how he has performed it; as far as report goes, we hear a most promising account of the music. The band of the 51st Regiment will attend, “for the last time previous to their departure for India” [...].

According to the advertisement in the same issue:²³²

The Evening’s Entertainments will commence with (for the first time in the Colony) the celebrated Opera, entitled **CONRAD THE CORSAIR, or THE PACHA’S BRIDE** (The whole of the Music composed by Mr. G. F. Duly) [...].

Anne Clarke herself was to sing the role Conrad, opposite Mrs. Rogers as Gulnare, the Pascha’s slave, apparently the only two singing principal roles, while “The Chorusses [sic] will be supported by several Amateurs, who have kindly proffered their assistance”. Moreover, “During the piece, a new Greek Dance” and an “Interlude” consisting of “A Polish Dance (Arranged from Julliens’ *Bohemian Polka*)” were to be danced by Miss Clarke.²³³

Duly’s source text was the libretto of “a New grand opera”, *The Pacha’s Bridal*, first produced at the English Opera in London on 8 September 1836, by Mark Lemon (from 1841 also editor of *Punch*), originally with music by the actor-composer Frank Romer (whose daughter later sang in Wallace’s *Maritana*). In review, *The New Monthly* singled out “as a specimen of its general merits” a lyric that was also set by Duly:²³⁴

*There’s a spell that doth bind thee
So close to my heart,
That thy spirit seems near me*

²³⁰ “THE THEATRE”, *Colonial Times* (17 May 1845), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8756787>; also [Advertisement], *Colonial Times* (13 May 1845), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8756757>.

²³¹ “THE THEATRE”, *Colonial Times* (24 July 1846), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8758987>.

²³² [Advertisement], *Colonial Times* (24 July 1846), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8758992>; also, [Advertisement], *The Courier* (25 July 1846), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2945166>.

²³³ Jullien’s piano arrangement of Offenbach’s *Bohemian Polka* was published in Sydney by G. Hudson, see: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-an6162556>, but not until 1847, [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (23 August 1847), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12894505>.

²³⁴ “ENGLISH OPERA”, *The New Monthly belle assemblée: a magazine of literature and fashion* 5 (London, 1836), 213, 214: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=y90PAAAAMAAJ&pg=PA213#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

*Wherever thou art;
Like the song of the loved one,
Whose charm doth remain
When the minstrel's departed
That waken'd the strain [...].*

But whereas the London original featured songs for Conrad's wife Medora ("*There is a lone Retama*" reportedly "proved the greatest favourite"), and several other characters, Duly was—as we have seen—limited to just two principal singers.

A review of the separate publication of Romer's *Songs, Duets &c., in the grand Opera of The Pacha's Bridal*, supplies the likely opening words of Romer's, and presumably also Duly's barcarole ("Merrily, brothers, pass the cup"), and duet ("Let me, ere I do depart"),²³⁵ as included in the full list of the sung contents on Duly's opera in the Hobart advertisement:

ACT I

Opening Solo and Chorus—"Come drain the bowl" (Epaminondas and Pirates)

Song and Chorus—"Up, up my sturdy men" (CONRAD, &c.)

Air—"Oh! Greece, beloved Greece!" (CONRAD)

Song—"There's a spell that doth bind thee" (CONRAD)

Finale and Chorus to the First Act.

ACT II

Song—"My childhood's happy home" (GULNARE)

Air—"I've watch'd with thee" (GULNARE)

Duet. (GULNARE and CONRAD)

Finale and Chorus to the Second Act.

ACT III

Barcarole (CONRAD)

Song—"Come hither my young Gazelle" (CONRAD)

Finale (GULNARE)

According to the review in the *Colonial Times*:²³⁶

As we hoped and anticipated, the public liberally responded to Mrs. Clarke's announcement, and favoured her with a bumper house last night; we have not, for a considerable period, witnessed so genteel an audience, comprising, as it did, the most respectable of our citizens and their families. Of Benefit performances it is not customary, nor perhaps is it meet to speak critically; but with all reasonable allowances for the first performance of a new Opera, with original Music, the *Corsair* was successful. Of this music, the composition, and a very short notice, of Mr. Duly, jun., it can only for the present be said, that it exhibits considerable talent, taste, and elaboration, highly creditable to so young an author, and giving promise of better things to come; Mr. Duly, very judiciously, has not attempted an Overture, perhaps, because he had not time to compose one; be this as it may, he has acted wisely in the omission. As the *Corsair* will doubtless be again produced, we shall reserve any detailed remarks upon both the music and the acting until the next representation [...].

²³⁵ "La revue Musicale", *The New Monthly belle assemblée: a magazine of literature and fashion* 5 (London, 1836/37), 327: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=y9oPAAAAAAJ&pg=PA327#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

²³⁶ "THE THEATRE", *Colonial Times* (28 July 1846), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8759010>.

Clearly, Mrs. Clarke had hoped to present Romer's original music, but a copy had not arrived from England in time. The very existence of Duly's opera, then, was contingent on the colony's distance from London, and for once, rather than contributing to a ten-year lag behind London, distance placed Hobart—creatively—ahead. One number from Duly's *Corsair*, "My childhood's happy home" was repeated the following week.²³⁷ But a fuller revival was anyway unlikely, since a significant portion of the orchestra left with the band of the 51st when it sailed for India on 8 August.

The year 1847 did not start well for Duly; his mother died on 29 January, aged 54.²³⁸ The sad event may well have influenced the display of solidarity that the "Messrs. A. P. Duly & Son" put on in advertising a concert a month later, on 5 March.²³⁹ Young Duly contributed the orchestrations:

The opening overture, *La Preciosa*, Weber, arranged for the occasion by Mr. G. F. Duly, was performed in a masterly manner; but the preponderance of brass instruments somewhat deteriorated from the effect the overture might have produced had another clarionet been added to the strength, or another flute usurped the place of a horn.

There was also one other original Duly composition:

[...] a pretty ballad, **I've watched with thee**, sung by Mrs. Rogers, and composed by Mr. G. Duly, gives good promise of excellence in that department of the musical art.

This promise was not to be further developed, however. Six months later, the *Colonial Times* reported:²⁴⁰

George Frederick Duly, died aged 22 years, on 6 September 1847, only son of Mr. A. P. Duly, late bandmaster of the 51st regiment, much regretted by all who knew him.

Two years later still, ex-bandmaster A. P. Duly sailed from Hobart "for the South Seas".²⁴¹

[4.6] The Howson Family

Introducing his printed *Lectures* in 1846, Isaac Nathan noted Sydney's recent good fortune to have added to its musical ranks such fine voices of "quality, intonation, and flexibility" as those "of Messrs. F. and J. Howson (the talented brothers of Madame

²³⁷ "THE ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE: MR. LEE'S BENEFIT", *The Courier* (1 August 1846), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2945129>.

²³⁸ "DIED", *Colonial Times* (5 February 1847), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8760017>.

²³⁹ "THE CONCERT", *The Courier* (10 March 1847), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2972471>; Duly's sister also made her first appearance.

²⁴⁰ "DIED", *Colonial Times* (7 September 1847), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8761298>.

²⁴¹ "SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE", *Colonial Times* (9 April 1852), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8771190>.

Albertazzi)”.²⁴² Frank and John Howson have rightly been credited with an important foundational role in professional opera performances in Hobart and Sydney in the 1840s, carried on by Frank’s several singer children in Australia, and later also in the United States.²⁴³ Frank—with his wife, Emma, and a child, also Frank (later the famous American songwriter-composer Frank A. Howson)—and his brother John, arrived from London at Hobart on the ship *Sydney* on 28 January 1842, along with another brother, Henry,²⁴⁴ having been recruited in London for the Hobart theatre by Anne Clarke. Though they left behind their celebrated sister, the contralto singer, Emma Albertazzi, and at least one other sister, also a professional singer,²⁴⁵ they were later joined in Australia by their father, Francis senior, and possibly one further brother, Frederick.

According to the report of Emma Albertazzi’s death in 1848, she was the “daughter of Mr. Howson, of Launceston”, a “music master”,²⁴⁶ **Francis Howson senior (England 1794-1863) {1844-63}**. His wife Sarah, who died in 1839 before the family came to Australia,²⁴⁷ had earlier attracted public attention by writing to the British press from the family home in Chelsea to ascertain the fate of her husband and two sons, then serving as bandsmen in the British Auxiliary Legion in the Carlist wars in Spain.²⁴⁸ Howson senior arrived in Hobart early in 1844, and in March at the Victoria Theatre it was reported that Anne Clarke had “secured the services of Mr. Francis Howson, Senior, who will preside at the Grand Pianoforte as Director of the Music, &c.”²⁴⁹ Howson was possibly an occasional composer, certainly an arranger. On 15 March 1844, the last night of the season at Hobart’s

²⁴² Nathan, *Lectures* [unpaginated]: <http://www.nla.gov.au/apps/cdview?pi=nla.mus-an6426940-s6-v>.

²⁴³ Genealogical chart, Frank Howson: <http://www.jimjar.net/HOWSON/grpf31.html>; see also, “The Howson Family”, *The Mercury* (27 June 1864), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8827010>; and on Frank’s children, Emma and John, Charles E. Pascoe, *Our Actors and Actresses: The Dramatic List* (1880; rep. 1969), 188-90: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=sQzpJnqj6mkC&pg=PA188#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

²⁴⁴ “SHIP NEWS”, *Colonial Times* (1 February 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8752388>. “SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE”, *Courier* (28 January 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2954943> (as “Howser”).

²⁴⁵ On Albertazzi when Miss Emma Howson, see “MUSICAL WORLD-TREBLES AND TROUBLES”, *The Idler, and Breakfast-Table Companion* 38-39 (6 January 1838), 8: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=8D8FAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA8#v=onepage&q&f=false>; also *The Musical World* 16 (1841), 28: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=OhAtAAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA28#v=onepage&q&f=false>; on Albertazzi’s father, Francis Howson, of Croydon, professor of music, see “SUPERIOR COURTS”, *The Legal Observer* 15 (1838), 474: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=IqQvAAAAIAAJ&pg=PA474#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

²⁴⁶ “ENGLISH NEWS”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (26 January 1848), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12897576>: “Madame Albertazzi died on the 25th, at St. John’s Wood, aged 35 [...] She was sister to the Messrs. Howson, of Sydney and Hobart Town, and daughter of Mr. Howson, of Launceston”.

²⁴⁷ See Francis Howson, in Howson family homepage: <http://www.jimjar.net/HOWSON/grpf27.html>.

²⁴⁸ See entry on “Howson, Frank” in Frederic Boase, *Modern English biography: containing many thousand concise memoirs of persons who have died between the years 1851-1900, with an index of the most interesting matter* (London: Netherton and Worth, For the author, 1921); also Edward M. Brett, *The British Auxiliary Legion in the First Carlist in Spain War, 1835-1838* (London: 2005), 190.

²⁴⁹ [Advertisement] *The Courier* (22 March 1844), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2951291>; see also McGuire, *The Australian Theatre: an abstract and brief chronicle* (1948), 72; Gyger, 33.

Victoria Theatre, Gerome Carandini took his benefit, and respectfully informed the public that:²⁵⁰

The Evening's Entertainments will commence with (for the first time in this Colony) the very beautiful Opera, with New Scenery, Dresses, and Decorations, entitled **KATE KEARNEY; Or, THE FAIRY OF THE LAKES OF KILLARNEY**, The whole of the Music arranged by Mr. Francis Howson, Senior.

Howson settled in Launceston early in 1845, and appears to have remained there until at least the early 1850s.²⁵¹ In May 1848, at the behest of the composer, F. H. Henslowe, he directed the music for the Campbell Town Ball, for which:²⁵²

[...] the arrangements were superintended by Mr. Henslowe, the police magistrate
[...] The band was under the directorship of Mr. Howson, senior, and was of a first rate character; we are glad to find that Mr. Howson's services are appreciated in the interior, as well as in the town, and he had best wishes from numerous friends.

A violinist, that same month he played with the composer in a Hobart performance of Charles Packer's *Duo Concertante*,²⁵³ and in September was leader of the orchestra at Radford's Royal Amphitheatre.²⁵⁴ Having followed his sons to Sydney, Howson died at Parramatta NSW, in 1863; reportedly, "death had been caused by exposure, while under the depressing influence of liquor".²⁵⁵

When Anne Clarke returned to Hobart in 1842 from her talent scouting trip to England, she brought with her a formidable batch of young talent, fresh from the Drury Lane Theatre in London—in addition to the Howson brothers, the singer/dancers Gerome Carandini and Emma Young, and the soprano Theodosia Stirling (by later marriages Guerin and Stewart, and mother of Nellie Stewart).²⁵⁶ The Howsons showed themselves in short order to be artists of the most flexible kind, singing in Italian opera, concert, oratorio, ballads, ballet, theatre,

²⁵⁰ [Advertisement], *The Courier* (15 March 1844), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2951315>; the production was based on the script of William Collier's *Kate Kearney, or, The Fairy of the Lakes, A Musical Romance in Two Acts* (London: Samuel French, 1836), with Alexander Lee's original music; Gyger, 42, calls it "a bit of a puzzle"; but, for the musical contents see of a production a year earlier, see [Advertisement], *Colonial Times* (13 May 1845), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8756757>.

²⁵¹ [Advertisement]: "TO THE GENTRY OF LAUNCESTON", *Launceston Examiner* (8 January 1845), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36238884>; for a later recollection of Howson's years in Launceston, see "REMINISCENCES", *Launceston Examiner* (12 November 1892), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article39477627>.

²⁵² "CAMPBELL TOWN BALL [from *Cornwall Chronicle*, May 20]", *Colonial Times* (23 May 1848), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8762868>.

²⁵³ "THE CONCERTS", *Colonial Times* (2 May 1848), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8762761>.

²⁵⁴ In 1849, Howson advertised that he was "leaving the colony", "MUSICAL", *Launceston Examiner* (6 January 1849), 6: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36256424>, but then "relinquished the intention", only to end up in the insolvency court later in the year; "INSOLVENCY COURT", *Launceston Examiner* (24 October 1849), 6: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36258745>.

²⁵⁵ "PARRAMATTA", *The Maitland Mercury* (16 April 1863), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article18694906>; "INQUEST", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (15 April 1863), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13077074>.

²⁵⁶ In a case similar to that of Maria Hinckesman in Sydney (see Kassler), Alison Gyger, 33-34, showed that Anne Clarke invented fictitious non-musical occupations for the party to obtain assisted passage for them; Clarke's husband, Michael, was a former military bandsman who had previously played in Sydney theatre, see Gyger, 40.

acting, and dancing (Frank's wife Emma also danced with Carandini), playing the piano, as well as teaching, among much else, "thorough Bass", the precursor of composition.²⁵⁷

John Howson (England c.1819-1871) {1842-71} also regularly varied theatre and concert programs with trombone solos, some probably his own compositions, or semi-extemporised variations on well-known airs, as for example on Balfe's ballad *The Light of Other Days*, performed at the family's Hobart debut, in February 1842, at Anne Clarke's concert:²⁵⁸

On Friday evening last Mrs. Clarke's Concert [...] was one of the very best entertainments ever bestowed upon the inhabitants of Van Diemen's Land [...] the Messrs. Howson shewed themselves complete masters of music both vocal and instrumental; Mr. J. Howson's solo on the trombone, *The Light of Other Days*, particularly, was indeed a rich treat, and well worth paying for a ticket to hear.

[...] Mr. J. Howson performed a solo on the trombone, with piano accompaniment. The motif was *The Light of Other Days*, with a finale, which showed to advantage the richness of tone possessed by the player; as to execution we cannot speak, since the style of the air exhibits rather taste than difficulty.

At Mrs. Clarke's "Theatrical Olio and Musical Melange" at the Theatre on 1 March 1842, John sang one of his own compositions, the song **When I was in that happy place**.²⁵⁹ At the Theatre on 29 August 1842, between the plays Gerome Carandini danced **A New Pas Seul** "the Music composed by Mr. J. Howson",²⁶⁰ and in December **A New Characteristic Venetian Furlana**, "The Music composed by Mr. J. Howson".²⁶¹ **Frank Howson (England 1817-USA 1869) {1842-66}** was first credited as a composer in July 1843, when his wife Emma, and Gerome Carandini danced a **Pas de Deux**, "The Music selected and part composed by Mr. F. Howson".²⁶²

The first of John's surviving publications, the **Tasmanian Waltzes**—a set of five movements plus introduction and coda—appeared in mid July, "printed for the author by J. A. Thomson", who was evidently a musical friend, and a fellow Catholic.²⁶³ This was followed, in mid-November, by the **Tasmanian Waltzes, Second Series**, again a set of five, with introduction and a substantial—almost orchestral—coda.²⁶⁴ They were dedicated to Lieutenant George Bagot, at the time the governor's acting aide-de-camp, and they were possibly first played (arranged for band) at a governor's levee Bagot organised in late

²⁵⁷ [Advertisement], *the Courier* (4 March 1842), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2954728>.

²⁵⁸ "THE CONCERT", *Colonial Times* (15 February 1842), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8752423>; "MRS. CLARKE'S CONCERT", *The Courier* (18 February 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2954836>.

²⁵⁹ [Advertisement], *Colonial Times* (1 March 1842), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8752471>.

²⁶⁰ [Advertisement], *The Courier* (26 August 1842), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2953843>.

²⁶¹ [Advertisement], *The Courier* (16 December 1842), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2953432>.

²⁶² [Advertisement], *Colonial Times* (11 July 1843), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8753736>.

²⁶³ [Advertisement], *Colonial Times* (18 July 1843), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8753754>; John Howson directed a St. Cecilia's Day Oratorio at the Catholic church in Macquarie-street, and Joseph Reichenberg and J. A. Thomson, an architect and surveyor, served on the organising committee, see [Advertisement], *Colonial Times* (15 November 1842), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8753098>.

²⁶⁴ [Advertisement], *Colonial Times* (21 November 1843), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8754245>.

August.²⁶⁵ At the Theatre in February 1845, during “(for the first time in this Colony) a very celebrated Domestic Drama, of the most intense interest, entitled *Blanche of Jersey*”, John Howson, as Desvaux, sang another of his own compositions, the song **In one of Jersey’s peaceful vales**.²⁶⁶

But, on 4 March, after three years in Hobart, the *Courier* noted that John and Frank had advertised:²⁶⁷

[...] a Farewell Concert [...] Messrs. Howsons, with one or two others, are about to visit Launceston and Sydney, being at leisure, now that their engagement with the lessee of the Theatre has finally terminated.

Dating from two years into their time at Sydney theatre, John Howson’s next surviving composition is the ballad [The Bride’s Farewell to Her Mother](#). It was billed to be sung by Maria Carandini,²⁶⁸ at the Royal Victoria in October and December 1847.²⁶⁹ Supposedly “at the request of a number of ladies”, it was published by James Grocott, one of only a few Australian compositions so far on his lists, on New Year’s Day 1848.²⁷⁰

John Howson was also responsible for the music of at least two full-length colonial operas, one a pastichio, the other entirely original. The pastichio was based on a libretto by Charles Selby, adapted in turn from Auber’s opera *Lac de Fées*, which had opened in London in 1839.²⁷¹ In Hobart in 1843, Howson turned Selby’s shell into a “New Grand Romantic Opera, in Three Acts”, **The Fairy Lake or the Magic Veil**, by adapting music not only by Auber, but also Hérold, Boildieu, Marschner, and Rossini. Apparently, little or none of Auber’s original *Lac de Fées* music was then readily available in Hobart, for Howson’s score opened with Auber’s *Masaniello* overture, “Gautrot’s violin, and the bass horns of the bandsmen, adding much to the attraction of the music”.²⁷² *The Fairy Lake* was revived several times, both in Hobart, and later in Sydney in May and June (twice) 1845, and again in 1846. The first performance, on 17 July 1843, was for Howson’s benefit,²⁷³ and a supportive

²⁶⁵ Probably also [Advertisement], *Colonial Times* (6 February 1844), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8754507>: “Set of favourite Waltzes, composed and executed by Mr. J. Howson”.

²⁶⁶ [Advertisement], *Colonial Times* (15 February 1845), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8756163>.

²⁶⁷ “CONCERT”, *The Courier* (4 March 1845), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2949409>.

²⁶⁸ Gerome Carandini married Mary Burgess in Hobart on 11 May 1843; see “MARRIED”, *The Courier* (17 March 1843), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2953031>; later in Sydney, she is said to have studied with Isaac Nathan, Eliza Bushelle, Sara Flower, and Lewis Lavenu; see Gyger, 40.

²⁶⁹ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (15 October 1847), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12901590>; [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (30 December 1847), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12889363>.

²⁷⁰ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (30 December 1847), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12889363>.

²⁷¹ Charles Selby, *The Fairy Lake; or, The magic veil: a romantic musical burletta, in three acts* (London: Duncombe, 1839), based on Auber’s opera *Lac de Fées*, opened at Drury Lane in May 1839; see [Editorial], *The Musical World* (16 May 1839), 33: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=IQkVAAAAQAAJ&pg=RA1-PA33&v=onepage&q&f=false>.

²⁷² “VICTORIA THEATRE”, *Colonial Times* (18 February 1845), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8756181>.

²⁷³ [Advertisement]: “ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE [...] MR. J. HOWSON’S BENEFIT”, *The Courier* (14 July 1843), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2952444>.

preview in the *Courier* left no doubt that the popular and deserving Howson's labours on the adaptation were almost on a par with original composition:²⁷⁴

With good judgment and a considerable share of painstaking, this young man has succeeded, by the completion of original scores to the melodies attainable in this place [...] The trouble thus bestowed, away from the public gaze, may not meet with general appreciation; and it is with that impression that we urge for consideration merits, at all events of intention, which might, otherwise, escape notice. For Monday evening next Mr. J. Howson has "got up" the interesting Opera entitled *The Fairy Lake*, on the musical partitions of which he has laboured for several months past. Amid other scenery will appear a moonlight view of the Romantic Pass in the Hartz Mountains, painted expressly for the occasion. Those who are acquainted with the names of Rossini, Auber, Herold, Boildieu, and Marschner, may justly imagine the music to be of no mean order, and, in itself, an attraction hardly to be withstood [...].

While the score is lost, it is not entirely implausible that some of the ballet music from Howson's *Fairy Lake* survived in his *Tasmanian Waltzes*, the first set of which was first advertised on the morning after the premiere.

His entirely original full-length opera (though also lacking its own overture; that to Herold's *Zampa* reportedly sufficed) was performed at least twice, first in Sydney on 4 December 1848, and again in January 1849.²⁷⁵ **The Corsair (or Conrad and Medora)**, "the whole of the music composed by Mr. J. Howson", was on the same subject as—but on a larger scale than—G. F. Duly's 1846 *Corsair* in Hobart.²⁷⁶ As with Duly's opera, it was probably also occasioned by the original music by Frank Romer not arriving in Sydney on time. John Howson himself was Conrad, Theodosia Guerin sang Medora, Frank Howson was the Pacha Seyd, and Maria Carandini played Gulnare. No list of numbers appears to survive, although something approximating it can probably be surmised from the original book and Duly's numbers list from Hobart. Additionally, during "the course of the opera, a new grand *Turkish Pas de Trois*" was danced by the Misses Griffiths and Signor Carandini, possibly also to Howson's music.

On a humbler scale, John composed a ballad, **Angry Words** for Sara Flower, sung by her in June 1850.²⁷⁷ His last printed composition was advertised by Woolcott and Clarke at Christmas 1852;²⁷⁸ **The Christmas Present Polka**, though incomplete at the end in the

²⁷⁴ "MR. JOHN HOWSON'S BENEFIT", *The Courier* (14 July 1843), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2952448>.

²⁷⁵ [Advertisement]: "ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (4 December 1848), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12908287>; "ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (4 January 1849), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12903334>; also Brisbane, *Entertaining Australia*, 44.

²⁷⁶ Not to be confused with Adam's ballet; Carandini and the Howsons had put on "a Scene from the favourite Ballet of THE CORSAIR, as performed at Her Majesty's Theatre, London" in Hobart, [Advertisement], *The Courier* (7 July 1843), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2952481>.

²⁷⁷ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (25 June 1850), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12919016>.

²⁷⁸ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (22 December 1852), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12942456>.

NLA copy, is rather more than the run-of-the-mill dance music, taking off from the third page into a surprisingly flashy and idiomatic piano piece.

Like both the Marsh brothers, Frank Howson moved on from Australia, and died in America, in 1869 aged 52.²⁷⁹ John, after some years living in Melbourne, in obscurity and—like his father “addicted to habits of intemperance”—died in 1871:²⁸⁰

Our readers will remember the brothers Frank and John Howson, who, in the early days of opera in this colony, sustained the baritone and tenor characters [...] we now learn from the Melbourne journals that John Howson was knocked down by a spring-cart, in Queensberry-street, Melbourne, on the 4th instant, on received such injuries that he died shortly after.

A third brother, **Henry Howson (England 1822-1893) {1842-93}** was still in Hobart in December 1845, when he advertised as a teacher of violin and guitar and his availability for “Quadrille parties”.²⁸¹ Earlier, however, at the Victoria Theatre on 3 February 1845, for his brother Frank’s benefit, it was advertised that:²⁸²

The Evening’s Entertainments will commence with (for the first time in these Colonies) the very celebrated Opera, in three Acts, by Auber’s *MASANIELLO* [...] The whole of the Music arranged by Mr. Henry Howson.

Henry was also later in Sydney, working with his brothers at the Royal Victoria. Notably, at a benefit for John in June 1850:²⁸³

Production of the **Operetta of the *Two Figaros***, the Music selected from the Operas of *The Barber of Seville*, and *The Marriage of Figaro*, arranged for the Orchestra by Mr. Henry Howson.

²⁷⁹ “DEATH OF MR. F. HOWSON”, *The Brisbane Courier* (1 January 1870), 6: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article1305720>: “[...] About three years ago he sailed with his family for California [...] While in San Francisco he was attacked by illness, and was proceeding by easy stages across the continent to New York, in order to obtain the best medical advice, when he received the ‘fell arrest’ of death.”

²⁸⁰ “MR. JOHN HOWSON”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (18 September 1871), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13245089>; “INQUESTS”, *The Argus* (7 September 1871), 7: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5854645>, estimated to be “about 50 years of age”; see also a case resting on paternity, “LAW REPORT [...] HOWSON V. ROBINSON”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (6 March 1889), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13716455>: “[...] It appeared that Howson and his wife for some time before he left for Melbourne lived very unhappily. They were both addicted to habits of intemperance, and they used when under the influence of drink to quarrel with one another. John Howson, towards the end of the year 1863 or beginning of 1864, went down to Melbourne [...] And in the month of June, 1864, he got permanent employment in the establishment of Kilner and Co., piano manufacturers, as tuner, and he occupied that position permanently from that time until the time of his death in the year 1870 or 1871 [...] The evidence relative to John Howson going down to Melbourne was that he was leaving his wife [...]”.

²⁸¹ [Advertisement], *Colonial Times* (9 December 1845), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8757810>; [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (4 May 1850), 1s: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12917655>: “MR. HENRY HOWSON, Teacher of the Violin and Guitar [...]”.

²⁸² [Advertisement], “ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE”, *Colonial Times* (1 February 1845), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8756069>.

²⁸³ “ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (3 June 1850), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12918392>.

In 1853, Henry was back at the Hobart Victoria, engaged to lead the orchestra for the season.²⁸⁴ Thereafter, he was the first of our subjects to succumb, personally, to the lure of the gold fields, working on the Forest Creek diggings in Victoria. He later opened a music repository at Castlemaine where he died in 1893.²⁸⁵

[4.7] *Charles Packer*

I beg to ask if there is not one musical composer in this colony? one who own feel the influence of poetry, and give, as it were, life and expression to the thoughts and feelings of others? Nathan, the celebrated composer at Sydney, has taken the lead in that line, and his having done so, it cannot be denied, is another step gained in the march of colonial mental refinement [...] I hope the time is not far distant when, even here, music will form part of our system of public education, as it is at present in the mother country.

Letter to the *Colonial Times* [Hobart] (6 December 1842).²⁸⁶

ACCORDING to his obituary in 1883, **Charles Packer (England 1810-1883) {1840-83}** was “one of the most accomplished musicians Australia has known”, his teachers at London’s Royal Academy of Music having included “for composition, Dr. Crotch [...], Mozart’s pupil Attwood, Bochsa, the great orchestral master, and Weber, the celebrated composer”.²⁸⁷ But he arrived in Australia under very different circumstances, and throughout his Antipodean career, would teeter from professional success, to deep personal embarrassment.

Packer was listed among the 20 girls and boys at the Academy in 1823—which was then served by 40 staff—studying piano and harp.²⁸⁸ By 1830, he was one of the student sub-professors (and Ernesto Spagnoletti a completing student),²⁸⁹ and appeared as Taddeo in a student production of Rossini’s *Italiana in Algeri*, the *Harmonicon* reporting that the role was “good naturedly undertaken at very short notice by Mr. Packer, the ingenious

²⁸⁴ “VICTORIA THEATRE”, *Colonial Times* (22 February 1853), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8773042>.

²⁸⁵ “CASTLEMAINE”, *The Argus* (20 April 1893), 6: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8540233>: “WEDNESDAY EVENING. Death has removed another of the early pioneers of Castlemaine in the person of Mr. H. Howson [...] After working on the Forest Creek Gold Fields in their prosperous days deceased started a music repository here, and for many years was conductor of an orchestra, Mr. Howson having been an efficient violinist.”

²⁸⁶ <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8753149>.

²⁸⁷ “THE LATE C. S. PACKER”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (16 July 1883), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13539280>; Packer was one of the first intake of students at the Academy; see “THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF MUSIC”, *The Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* 6 (1824), 77-86:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=aLcPAAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA77#v=onepage&q&f=false>; Packer and Phipps played a piano duo by Dussek (80), “in a clear and spirited manner [...] two promising boys” (81); and see also William W. Cazalet, *The History of the Royal Academy of Music* (London: T. Bosworth, 1865);

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=XBAHAAAAQAAJ>; from the same year survives the MS of an Academy exercise, Canon 3 in 1, 8’ve above [in E major] (18 Nov 1824) in Royal Academy of Music, MS 203, pp.41-42.

²⁸⁸ “ROYAL ACADEMY OF MUSIC”, *The Musical World* 32/15 (15 April 1854) [sic], 255:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=9JkPAAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA255#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

²⁸⁹ “ROYAL ACADEMY OF MUSIC”, *The Harmonicon* 8 (1830), 322:

<http://books.google.com/books?id=HugqAAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA322#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

composer”.²⁹⁰ In 1831, *The London Literary Gazette* reviewed a concert by Packer, “a young musician who has already accomplished much, and bids fair to do more”.²⁹¹ Having, according to the author herself, “finely set” a short scena to words by Mary Russell Mitford, the young Packer then undertook to set a full libretto by her, again according to Mitford, a “great and arduous attempt of a real English opera on the model of the Italian, or, perhaps, more properly of the German school”.²⁹² When it appeared in 1834, however, “Figaro in London” panned *Sadak and Kalasrade, or The Waters of Oblivion*, as:²⁹³

[...] a dreadfully dull affair, the mingled production of vanity and stupidity [...]
Every composer has his style [...] Mr. Packer, likewise, had *his* style, the distinctive characteristics of which are *squeaking and hooting*; the fiddles and the females had a struggle which could squeak the loudest and the longest, while the bassoon, the serpent, the trombone, the big drum and the chorus of devils contested the palm in the deep, deep, bathos of bombastic bass. The laughing chorus in the last Act, had a double accompaniment from the pit and orchestra—and the “Waters of Oblivion” must roll over the music of *Sadak and Kalasrade* before Mr. Packer’s merits as a composer can again be put forward to punish the afflicted ears of the public.

But not only the opera, the composer, too, soon sank into a farther oblivion.²⁹⁴ In December 1838, “Charles Sandys Packer, music master” was charged “with forging and uttering four bills of exchange, one for £400, another for £380, a third for £800, and the fourth for £700”,²⁹⁵ in an attempt to embezzle Broadwood, the piano manufacturer.²⁹⁶ He

²⁹⁰ “THE DRAMA: KING’S THEATRE”, *The Harmonicon* 8 (1830), 43:

<http://books.google.com/books?id=HugqAAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA43#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

²⁹¹ *The London Literary Gazette and Journal of belles lettres, arts, sciences, etc* (1831), 412:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=HYdHAAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA412#v=onepage&q&f=false>; Packer had already published the *Scena Recitativo, Basta basta, ed aria Del fallo m’avvedo* (words: Metastasio *La Morte d’Abelle*) (London: Chappell, 1828), copy at British Library, Music Collections H.2832.f.(6.) [004565778]; review in *The Athenaeum* 2/34 (18 June 1828), 539:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=ppsTAAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA539#v=onepage&q&f=false>: “A very correct, clever, and well-imagined production, certainly exhibiting excellent promise about the incipient production of so young a writer [...]”; and *Di luna al raggio pallido*: Terzettino (London, [1830?]), Music Collections H.2826.c.(26.) [004565779]; for a later Australian performance of *Basta, Basta*, which was also mentioned in Packer’s obituary, see [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (25 December 1875), 2:

<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13362438>.

²⁹² Mary Russell Mitford, *Our Village: Sketches of Rural Character and Scenery Volume V* (London: Whittaker, Treacher, & Co., 1832), footnote to her “Mary, Queen of Scots, Farewell to France”, 298-99:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=B8MQAAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA298#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

²⁹³ “THEATRICALS”, *Figaro in London* 3/125 (26 April 1834), 69:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=jnVIAAAAAAYAAJ&q=Sadak#v=snippet&q=Sadak&f=false>; also *The Musical Library: Monthly Supplement* 4 (July 1834), 48:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=SuMPAAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA48#v=onepage&q=Sadak&f=false>; see also *The Literary Gazette* 953 (25 April 1835), 269:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=WVoZAAAAMAAJ&pg=PA269#v=onepage&q&f=false>; the book (London: Fairbrother, 1835) was reviewed in the next issue, 280; see Mary Russel Mitford, *Sadak And Kalasrade; Or, The Waters of Oblivion: A Romantic Opera, In Two Acts* (London: [1836]), online edition at the University of Virginia Library: http://xtf.lib.virginia.edu/xtf/view?docId=chadwyck_evd/uvaGenText/tei/chevd_V3.0062.xml.

²⁹⁴ Parts of the original performance material of *Sadak and Kalasrade* are extant at British Library, Additional MSS 33810-33814; MS 33810 includes part of piano score, and soprano and alto chorus parts, 33813 includes horns, bassoons, and strings parts.

²⁹⁵ “POLICE INTELLIGENCE”, *The Morning Chronicle* (28 December 1838).

was found guilty and sentenced to be “transported for life”.²⁹⁷ Delivered there by the *Mangles* in 1840, his first Australian home was the prison colony at Norfolk Island.²⁹⁸

Packer’s rehabilitation began with his arrival in Hobart, on the *Lady Franklin*, on 27 September 1844,²⁹⁹ and was effectively completed when he was granted a conditional pardon in September 1849.³⁰⁰ He was given his first musical break in 1845 when William Russell invited him to appear in a series of musical “entertainments” adapted:³⁰¹

[...] more particularly to the taste and understanding of the younger portion of the audience, and those who are still contending with the difficulties which attend the learner upon his entrance into the mysteries and graces of this interesting science.

Despite his own “scientific” background, Russell had become something of popular entrepreneur, with an imaginative and innovative approach to entertainment.³⁰² He ran into the usual trouble—insolvency—in April,³⁰³ but persevered with his populist agenda, presenting a “Soiree Musicale” in July, that reportedly succeeded in attracting a new (and largely untotored) audience to witness Packer’s local debut:³⁰⁴

“This is the only Concert I have attended in the colony”—such was the almost general exclamation during and after this entertainment [...] And here it is our duty to notice the debut of Mr. Packer, of whom we were led to expect something of a high order, and which was amply verified. His songs throughout the evening were of the most pleasing description, not only as regards the feeling manner in which they were sung, but in the skill and judgment everywhere discernible. Of his instrumental performance (the pianoforte) we may safely say that the public have not witnessed the like for many, many a day—his *I Puritani* was delightful, the whole audience at the conclusion of the piece welcoming him with three rounds of applause. Mr. Packer also played an extemporaneous piece on the pianoforte, which was also received in a similar manner. We had nearly forgotten to mention the trio, *Sadak and Kalasrade*, by Madame Gautrot, Mrs. Hill, and Mr. Packer; it

²⁹⁶ “POLICE: CENTRAL CRIMINAL COURT”, *The Musical World* 153/59 (14 February 1839), 105: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=IQkVAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA105#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

²⁹⁷ *Central Criminal Court Session Papers* (London: George Hebert, 1838), 495:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=jq4DAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA495#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

²⁹⁸ Tasmania, Archives office, Hobart arrival record: Database Number 54313; Convict record: CON33/1/55, p14120.

²⁹⁹ When *Sadak and Kalasrade, or the Waters of Oblivion*, was performed at the Royal Victoria Theatre in Sydney in June 1842, none of Packer’s music, which anyway was never published, can have been used; see [Advertisement]: “ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE”, *The Sydney Gazette* (11 June 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2556729>.

³⁰⁰ “CONVICT DEPARTMENT”, *Launceston Examiner* (29 September 1849), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36258522>.

³⁰¹ “CONCERTS”, *The Courier* (30 August 1845), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2947574>; and compare the notice for “THE CHORAL SOCIETY” above it.

³⁰² His “Camera Obscura” panoramic exhibitions in January that year, modelled on those at Vauxhall in London, addressed the interests of the young, and were judged by the *Courier* to be a “most pleasing, instructive, and rational exhibition, to our colonial youth especially”, to which it added the usual tag, “ever presented to the public in Van Diemen’s Land”, “CAMERA OBSCURA”, *The Courier* (18 January 1845), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2949900>.

³⁰³ [Insolvents], *The Courier* (26 April 1845), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2948779>.

³⁰⁴ “SOIREE MUSICALE”, *The Courier* (2 August 1845), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2947804>.

was admirably sung, and met its due share of approbation [...].

In a later concert, contrasting with Madame Gautrot's more exotic "classical" contributions, "Mr. Packer's ballads were given in a style of simplicity, tenderness, and genuine English feeling that excited a response in every bosom".³⁰⁵ At Russell's third concert in early October, Packer introduced several of his own compositions—**Variations on the March from I Puritani**, the **Overture to Sadak and Kalasrade**, and a **Duo concertante** for violin and piano that "received particular attention".³⁰⁶ The *Duo* and overture he repeated many times more, both for Russell,³⁰⁷ and finally in his own concert series in 1848, but a **Pastoral Ballad May Day** at his May Day concert in 1848 was probably the first of his newly composed Australian works.³⁰⁸ It was later published in Sydney by W. J. Johnson.³⁰⁹ Packer's concerts were humble affairs, instrumentally:³¹⁰

The opening overture to *Zadak and Kalasrade*, composed by Mr. Packer, and set as a trio for the piano and two violins, was performed with spirit: Mr. Packer appears to be a disciple of the present German school, and the overture is a favourable specimen of his talent as a composer, while, we need scarcely say, he is unrivalled in this colony as a pianist.

To make up for the lack of an orchestra, he next performed the overture with "the assistance of the splendid Eolophon", a seraphine-like instrument capable of imitating "every wind instrument [...] with the utmost fidelity [...] supplying the deficiency of a wind instrument orchestra".³¹¹ Packer also extemporised a set of **National Recollections** on the instrument, "listened to with marked attention".³¹²

Having re-established himself as a teacher, despite being a transportee (one of his pupils was the young pianist and composer, Alfred Anderson, son of J. H. Anderson),³¹³

³⁰⁵ "MR. RUSSELL'S CHAMBER CONCERTS", *The Courier* (4 October 1845), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2947269>.

³⁰⁶ "CHAMBER CONCERT", *The Courier* (18 October 1845), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2947156>.

³⁰⁷ [Advertisement], *The Courier* (25 July 1846), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2945166>.

³⁰⁸ [Advertisement], *The Courier* (29 April 1848), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2969239>.

³⁰⁹ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (24 January 1854), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12951589>.

³¹⁰ "MR. PACKER'S CONCERT", *Colonial Times* (21 March 1848), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8762502>.

³¹¹ "MUSICAL TREAT—THE EOLOPHON". *Colonial Times* (28 January 1848), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8762179>; and "MR. PACKER'S CONCERT", *Colonial Times* (8 February 1848), 3:

<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8762240>: "His Overture to *Sadak and Kalasrade*, in which the assistance of the splendid Eolophon was most striking, is a highly effective composition."

³¹² [Advertisement], *Colonial Times* (5 January 1849), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8764194>; "PACKER'S CONCERT", *The Courier* (10 January 1848), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2967082>; a ballad he sang often in Hobart, *The Forbidden Door*, was not his, but by Crouch; together with Herz's *Grand Fantasia for Pianoforte*, and the Overture and trio "O'er the far mountain" from *Sadak*, it formed his rather small performing repertory at this time.

³¹³ "ALFRED ANDERSON, THE YOUNG AUSTRALIAN MUSICIAN", *Empire* (18 August 1859), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article60399721>; also on convict music teachers in Hobart c.1850, see Godfrey Charles Mundy, *Our Antipodes, or, Residence and Rambles in the Australasian Colonies* (London: Richard Bentley, 1852), vol.1, 483: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=yIgPAAAYAAJ&pg=PA483&#v=onepage&q&f=false>: "What would an English mother think of admitting to her drawing-room or school-room, and entrusting the education of her

Packer began to widen his horizons, with a concert in Melbourne on 28 January 1851.³¹⁴ Back in Hobart in June 1852, he and Russell announced they had taken the Royal Victoria Theatre. Packer was listed as “Composer and Director of the Music” for a performance there on 28 June of “**A new Ballet of Action**” and a “**Favourite Overture**”.³¹⁵ In July 1852, Packer was joined in Hobart by his brother and nephew, Frederick Packer senior and junior,³¹⁶ in time, perhaps, to be present at his fateful marriage (of which more below) to Mary Frances Moore on 21 September 1852.³¹⁷ Frederick junior went on to become one of Tasmania’s most prolific composers to date (he and his father are discussed more fully in Chapter 6), while toward the end of the following year Charles moved to Sydney.

At a concert there on 15 December, assisted by Flora Harris and John Howson, he presented the trio from *Sadak*,³¹⁸ his *Grand Duo Concertante*, and his “prize ballad” *May Day*. He also had three possibly new works of his own, “MS Song, **My heart is full of Bitterness** (*Uncle Tom’s Cabin*)”, “MS arietta, **When Lovers are Sighing**” (*Lovers’ Freaks*)”, and the “MS Ballad **Little Nell** (*Old Curiosity Shop*)”.³¹⁹ In review, the *Herald* greeted the Trio “O’er the far Mountain” from *Sadak* as “decidedly [...] the gem of the evening”.³²⁰ When Packer again sang *Little Nell* at Miska Hauser’s concert in Maitland on 3 January 1855, it was still in manuscript,³²¹ and it was still being described as the “NEW BALLAD [...] the poetry by Charlotte Young”, when Packer’s fellow former Academician, Anna Bishop sang it, suitably enough, at a charity benefit for destitute children in Sydney on 27 August 1857.³²² W. J. Johnson capitalised on Bishop’s patronage by issuing it finally in print, as **Little Nell: A Ballad**, “sung with enthusiastic applause by Madame Anna Bishop, to whom it is dedicated by her friend and fellow student by the composer, Charles S. Packer”.³²³ Singing it again for the Sydney Philharmonic Society, Bishop was “rapturously

daughter in music, dancing, or painting, to men who are or have been felons? Yet at present this is almost a necessity in Van Diemen’s Land. Few or no accomplished freemen are likely to come to a penal colony in the hope of making a livelihood by imparting the more elegant branches of education.”

³¹⁴ [Advertisement], *The Argus* (23 January 1851), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4775764>.

³¹⁵ [Advertisement], *The Courier* (26 June 1852), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2958837>.

³¹⁶ [Advertisement], *Colonial Times* (27 July 1852), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8771818>: “Mr. FREDERICK A. PACKER, Associate of the Royal Academy of Music [...] BEGS to inform the inhabitants of Hobart Town [...] that [...] he intends giving instruction on the Harp, Pianoforte, and in English and Italian Singing.”

³¹⁷ “MARRIED”, *Colonial Times* (7 September 1852), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8772024>

³¹⁸ A play, *Sadak and Kalasrade* had been performed previously in Sydney, though not with Packer’s music, which was unpublished, see “ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE”, *The Sydney Gazette* (9 June 1842), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2556702>.

³¹⁹ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (15 December 1853), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12954327>.

³²⁰ “CONCERT”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (16 December 1853), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12955950>.

³²¹ [Advertisement], *The Maitland Mercury* (3 January 1855), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article696532>.

³²² [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (27 August 1857), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12999828>.

³²³ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (1 September 1857), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13000056>; in October, Packer himself sang it during a lecture he gave on “BALLAD LITERATURE”, *Empire* (6 October 1857), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article60265972>.

applauded”.³²⁴

Meanwhile, Woolcott and Clarke had published Packer’s [The City of Sydney Polka](#), dedicated to the native statesman William Charles Wentworth, in their *Australian Presentation Album for 1854*.³²⁵ An **Etude en forme de valse** was also reportedly published in W. J. Johnson’s serial *The Sydney Harmonicon* in 1855 or 1856.³²⁶ Packer conducted at least one performance of his solo and chorus, **The Names of Christ**,³²⁷ with the Sydney Choral Society, on 9 April 1856,³²⁸ and it too was published by Johnson. Not on the same text as Nathan’s *Names* (which Johnson had also published), Packer found his librettist in the eccentric religious enthusiast Samuel Elyard, better known as a talented amateur painter (former pupil of Marsh’s brother-in-law, Skinner Prout).³²⁹ At a concert by the Sydney Choral Society, on 19 June 1856, Packer introduced his **Australian National Anthem: Australia, Hail**,³³⁰ which Anna Bishop programmed again on 29 August 1856.³³¹ It also received civic recognition, being sung at a Grand National Banquet in Sydney in July to celebrate the “Establishment of Responsible Government”.³³²

Packer’s later career in Sydney juxtaposed extreme highs and lows. On 9 April 1863 he premiered, for charity, an early, incomplete version of his oratorio, *The Crown of Thorns*:³³³

The New Oratorio [...] is one of undoubted merit, indeed, the recitative, “The ninth hour comes”, and the concluding chorus, “Prophet, Saviour, Priest, and King”, prove the author to be a musician of great talent. But it is impossible to do justice to the oratorio in a review until we see of what it is capable [...].

³²⁴ “SYDNEY PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (15 September 1857), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13000557>; in 1873, possibly in competition with his uncle’s setting, Frederick Packer arranged George Linley’s *Little Nell* for the Carandinis; see “THE CARANDINI COMPANY”, *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle* (29 March 1873), 2: <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&cl=search&d=NENZC18730329.2.11&>; and *The Mercury* (21 April 1873), 2: <http://newspapers.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/8919048>.

³²⁵ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (5 April 1854), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12956116>.

³²⁶ “THE SYDNEY HARMONICON”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (26 February 1856), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12973904>.

³²⁷ Copy at SL-NSW: <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/7577334>.

³²⁸ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (9 April 1856), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12974485>.

³²⁹ M. J. Saclier, “Elyard, Samuel (1817-1910)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 4 (1972), 139-140: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A040580b.htm>; Jonathan Watkins, “Samuel Elyard”, DAAO: <http://www.daa0.org.au/main/read/2422>; Elyard was especially committed to the conversion of Jews to Christianity, a cause perhaps also espoused by the publisher William Johnson, see [Advertisement]: “PRAYER for the conversion of the Jews [...] set to music by an eminednt composer”, *Empire* (4 March 1854), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article60149838>.

³³⁰ Copy at SL-NSW: <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/31998266>.

³³¹ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (19 June 1856), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12981005>; [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (29 August 1856), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12986517>.

³³² “THE NATIONAL BANQUET AT SYDNEY”, *The Courier* (28 July 1856), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2504979>.

³³³ “THE NEW ORATORIO”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (10 April 1863), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13076828>.

A second performance of the completed work was given on 15 October 1863, with Flora Harris and Sara Flower as soloists, and Packer himself accompanying on the organ.³³⁴ An edition of [The Crown of Thorns](#) was finally published in London by Novello, and in Sydney by Packer's friends August and Charles Huenerbein. It was performed in Melbourne in 1872, and in Sydney as part of the Garden Palace summer season (with a chorus and orchestra of 500) on 14 February 1880, the latter occasion previewed in *The Musical Times* in London, quaintly in its "Brief Summary of Country News" (Sydney listed between Bath and Worcester), and misleadingly described as a "'first performance' in the Australian colonies".³³⁵ Nevertheless, a congratulatory review the *Herald* also remarked that "[...] to by far the greater portion of the audience, it is a new work".³³⁶

Why that should have been so is probably explained by Packer's return to the wrong side of the law, not so much his fairly unremarkable appearance before the insolvency court in April 1857,³³⁷ but by his conviction for bigamy in 1864 (he had first married Eleanor Grogan in England in 1836),³³⁸ a case that created great interest, and won him deep opprobrium:³³⁹

Charles Sandys Packer, the musician, and composer of the oratorio of the *Crown of Thorns*, which I have heard musical critics speak very highly of, has been convicted of bigamy, and sentenced to five years' hard labor on the roads. Taking the case in the abstract, it might be considered a hard one, for Packer had not communicated with his first wife for very many years, and the legal evidence of his first marriage seems very slight. But there are surrounding circumstances which quite forbid sympathy [...] There are some things connected with this man's life which are very far from entitling him to any pity.

But, having meanwhile directed the music in the chapel of Darlinghurst Gaol, Packer was again eventually rehabilitated into a position of prominence in the musical community. Packer continued to compose and publish right up until his death on 13 July 1883. According to his lengthy and affecting *Herald* obituary:³⁴⁰

³³⁴ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (15 October 1863), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13090308>.

³³⁵ "Brief Summary of Country News: SYDNEY", *The Musical Times* 20/439 (September 1879), 493.

³³⁶ "ORATORIO AT THE GARDEN PALACE", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (16 February 1880), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13440310>.

³³⁷ "INSOLVENT COURT", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (7 April 1857), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12993872>.

³³⁸ Packer had the ill-luck that the NSW governor, John Young, had employed the first Mrs. Packer back in England; Young even offered to appear before the court as a witness; see *Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Court of New South Wales*, Vol. 3 (Sydney: J. Moore, 1865), 40-50: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=uhA3AAAAIAAJ&pg=PA40#v=onepage&q&f=false>; see also "SUPREME COURT [...] THE QUEEN V. PACKER", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (11 March 1864), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13094807>.

³³⁹ "NEWS AND NOTES BY A SYDNEY MAN", *The Courier* (28 December 1863), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3167689>.

³⁴⁰ "THE LATE C. S. PACKER", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (16 July 1883), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13539280>.

THE LATE C. S. PACKER [...] was buried yesterday afternoon at Waverley Cemetery, his grave being situated on a slope overlooking the Pacific [...] Throughout his long life —he was 73 when he died—Mr. Packer was a prolific composer, although the number of his published works is comparatively small [...] Mr. August Huenerbein has the scores of *David*, a grand oratorio, and of many other compositions, which will yet be published, and which will long preserve Charles Packer's name from oblivion. His life was a chequered one, and from Tasmania, where unhappy circumstances had brought him some years before, he in 1852 came to Sydney, where he remained ever since [...]

[...] for some years there has not been such an imposing procession as that which accompanied Charles Packer's body to the grave. First marched 25 members of the City Band [...] then followed 12 members of Thompson's Premier Band, several members of Herr Küster's Band, and of the Headquarters Band, many of our best vocalists, and members of the different city choirs [...] The footpaths on the line of route were thronged with people, and as the procession moved along, the bands constantly relieving one another in playing the "Dead March in *Saul*" the train swelled and lengthened, until at the cemetery there must have been 6000 people present [...] The coffin was covered with wreaths and garlands of exquisite beauty, and as soon as it was lowered the choir sang *The Song of the Angels*, composed by Mr. Packer last Christmas time, and scored by Herr Raymond Pechofsch for the bands only a few hours before the funeral ceremony took place [...] after the ceremony was over the trams from Waverley to Sydney were overloaded, and many hundreds of people had to walk back to the city.

[4.8] *Francis Hartwell Henslowe*

Henslowe has the makings of one of the more interestingly varied early colonial biographies, having been a fine and quite prolific amateur composer, and a leading civil servant, a clerk of Tasmania's Legislative Council from 1851 and of the elected Assembly from 1858. He also has a very interesting lineage. **Francis Hartwell Henslowe (England 1811-1878) {1839-64}** was born in London,³⁴¹ three years after the death of his celebrated composer grandfather, François Hippolyte Barthélemon, Haydn's London friend and host. His mother, presumably also his music teacher, Celia Maria Barthélemon-Henslowe (1767–1859), was also a concert pianist and published composer before her marriage in 1797.³⁴² She, in turn, received lessons from her family's house-guest, Haydn. Her published works include the cantata *The Capture of the Cape of Good Hope* (1795), and three piano sonatas, the third, Op 3 (1794), dedicated to Haydn. She, and perhaps Francis too, believed that an ancestor, Anthony Young, had composed the tune of *God Save the King*.

In July 1839, Henslowe and his wife arrived in Sydney, where her father Robert Allwood was a leading Episcopalian clergyman, intending to open a school. But they moved on to Hobart in 1841, where Henslowe was appointed private secretary to governor Franklin. When Franklin left in 1842, he appointed Henslowe police magistrate of Campbell Town.

³⁴¹ G.T. Stilwell, "Henslowe, Francis Hartwell (1811-1878)", *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 1 (1966), 530-531: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A010492b.htm>.

³⁴² Susan Wollenberg, "Barthélemon, Cecilia Maria (1767–1859)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, May 2006.

There in April 1847, Henslowe chaired a meeting of “leading colonists in that neighbourhood” which, the Hobart *Courier* reported, came to the opinion “that transportation should cease altogether and at once”.³⁴³ His main musical activity during the 1840s appears to have been the organisation of the Campbell Town Ball, for which, in 1848, he hired Francis Howson senior to direct the band.

Henslowe’s first published compositions were the four separately issued **Songs of Zion**, simple strophic settings, with independent keyboard symphonies, of (imported) psalm versifications by James Montgomery. Their contrasting moods and keys (A flat, A minor, F, A flat) suggest that Henslowe may have envisaged performance as a continuous, and surprisingly substantial sequence. The *Courier* later reported, with evident colonial pride, that they had rated a mention in the *Illustrated London News*, which “class[e]d the Clerk of the Van Diemen’s Land Council’s productions [...] among some of the best compositions of the day”³⁴⁴—or at least, bundled them for review with the leading London hymnodist, H. J. Gauntlett’s *The Songs of the Soul*—and found “a truly devotional feeling pervading [Henslowe’s] sacred melodies [...]”. Gauntlett called the individual numbers of his settings “canzonets”, in the tradition of Sterndale Bennett’s 1838 *In radiant loveliness*, and ultimately, too, of Haydn’s English canzonets; and Henslowe’s songs—though sacred and strophic—also fit, not too modestly, into the pre-Mendelssohn English Romantic tradition, without sounding unduly dated.

[Songs of Zion No 1, Psalm XIX, Thy Glory, Lord, the Heavens Declare](#), was issued in Hobart by the printer and lithographer Thomas Browne,³⁴⁵ and in June 1849 the *Courier* welcomed it:³⁴⁶

[...] as an acquisition to our musical store, more especially as the composer has happily carried out the conception of the poet, and is a denizen of our isle. The lithographic execution of Mr. Browne reflects credit upon him as an artist, the work being beautifully printed.

It was followed in August by **[Songs of Zion No 2, Psalm 39, Lord, let me know mine end](#)**,³⁴⁷ while the remaining two numbers, **[Songs of Zion No 3, Psalm 43, Judge me Lord in righteousness](#)** and **[Songs of Zion No 4, Psalm 130, Out of the depths of woe](#)** were probably among three Henslowe pieces received by the *Colonial Times* in August 1849, though they were not discussed separately:³⁴⁸

³⁴³ “TRANSPORTATION QUESTION”, *The Courier* (28 April 1847), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2972013>.

³⁴⁴ “LOCAL: MUSIC”, *The Courier* (3 July 1852), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2958805>.

³⁴⁵ “Thomas Browne” (1816-1870), *Dictionary of Australian Artists Online*: <http://www.daao.org.au/main/read/1156>.

³⁴⁶ “NEW MUSIC”, *The Courier* (23 June 1849), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2965672>.

³⁴⁷ “NEW MUSIC”, *The Courier* (8 August 1849), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2965319>.

³⁴⁸ “DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE: MUSIC”, *Colonial Times* (7 August 1849), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8765440>.

We have to acknowledge the receipt three pieces of Music composed by Mr. Henslowe, *Where is thy Home*, we consider the best piece, and the most melodious. The style in which they are got up deserves great praise, the music being clearly and neatly printed. The work is highly creditable to the colony, and we think will be duly appreciated by the lovers of the art.

The Courier also reviewed the sacred chorus in four parts, [Where is thy home?](#), with words from English devotional text, *The Rectory of Valehead*, by Robert Wilson Evans:³⁴⁹

The appearance of another piece of music, the composition of F. H. Henslowe [...] *Where is thy Home*, has been duly announced; we may therefore expect it will receive the attention of our musical friends. We believe it is the intention of Mr. Henslowe, if the encouragement of the public be equal to a fair proportion of the expense incurred by him in his desire to promote the development of musical taste in this colony, to publish others.

Henslowe's [The Campbell-Town Waltzes](#) appeared late in 1849, as noted in the *Courier*, "dedicated to the ladies of the district", and with a title-page "embellished by a view of Campbell Town".³⁵⁰ It was a mixed set of six items, named after localities rather than individuals, including four waltzes and two polkas. The waltzes rank among the best and most individual colonial dance pieces, rhythmically interesting, with some notable chromatic effects in No 3, Egleston. The *Colonial Times* found it "a highly creditable composition" and "unhesitatingly recommend[ed it] to the lovers of harmony".³⁵¹

Probably in 1855,³⁵² the lithographer R. V. Hood published separately Henslowe's [The Charlie Parker Polka](#), named after a champion racehorse, as No 3 of the "Midland Grand Steeplechase Waltzes". Another pair of pieces, [The Amethyst Polka and The Iris Waltz](#), was named after two ocean yachts in Hobart for the 1859 New Year Regatta. They were "composed by F. H. H., Hobart Town, Tasmania, 15th January 1859", and published in London, more obviously than usual a piano reduction of a band original, that probably featured a lead violin *a la Strauss* senior.³⁵³ The highly adept [The Northdown Bridal Polka](#), "presented to C. M. Thomas on her marriage to Mr. J. Grant", was published in Hobart by Huxtable and Deakin, probably in 1854.³⁵⁴

In Hobart in July 1854, Lewis Lavenu advertised that one of his concerts would "embrace entire novelties, among which a **Vocal Trio**, composed by F. H. Henslowe, Esq."³⁵⁵

³⁴⁹ "MUSIC", *The Courier* (4 August 1849), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2965362>.

³⁵⁰ "NEW MUSIC", *The Courier* (5 January 1850), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2963942>.

³⁵¹ "NEW MUSIC", *Colonial Times* (8 January 1850), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8766377>.

³⁵² [Advertisement], "THE SECOND ANNUAL MIDLAND GRAND STEEPLCHASE", *The Courier* (21 July 1855), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2487365>.

³⁵³ Strauss's dance music was well represented in Australia from the early 1840s; see [Advertisement], "ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE", *The Courier* (22 March 1844), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2951291>.

³⁵⁴ Certainly by 1855, see "TASMANIAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO PARIS, 1855", *The Courier* (27 September 1855), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2491196>.

³⁵⁵ [Advertisement], *Colonial Times* (27 July 1854), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8776709>.

Also dated to 1854 is the genuinely “artistic” setting, [The Song of the Fair Emigrant](#), of words by John Abbott. Henslowe set a second Abbott song in more conventional military vein at the height of Crimean campaign; [The Soldier’s Dying Legacy: A Song of the War](#) was advertised by Huxtable and Deakin on 1 May 1855, the proceeds to go to the “Patriotic War Fund”.³⁵⁶ The words were also reprinted in the Sydney press, as “a fair specimen of Tasmanian talent”.³⁵⁷

Late in 1854, along with several other Tasmanian composers, Henslowe had some of his existing works included among the Tasmanian entries for the Paris Exhibition of 1855.³⁵⁸ His newly composed [The Louis Napoleon Polka](#) specifically celebrated the event;³⁵⁹ a single concert polka, with introduction and coda, it was probably as worthy to be exhibited at the event as anything from Europe, except perhaps Berlioz’s commissioned cantata *L’Imperial*, which he told Liszt also contained “a Polka which makes you want to dance”.³⁶⁰ Henslowe’s son, Francis, an amateur lithographer, designed the covers *Napoleon Polka* and a vocal duet **L’Esperance**, as well as the vignette that appeared on the cover of Henry Butler Stoney’s series *The Tasmanian Lyre*, also intended for display in Paris.³⁶¹ As first advertised on 8 March 1855, Henslowe’s effectively sentimental (Irish) emigrant song, [The Wanderer’s Farewell](#), also appeared in *The Tasmanian Lyre*, with words by the collection’s editor, Stoney.³⁶² Henslowe left Australia for India in the mid-1860s, and died in England in 1878.³⁶³ The English author and song composer Fanny Henslowe was his sister.

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³⁵⁶ [Advertisement], *The Courier* (1 May 1855), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2483185>.

³⁵⁷ “TASMANIA”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (7 June 1855), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12970135>.

³⁵⁸ “TASMANIAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE PARIS EXHIBITION, NO III”, *The Courier* (25 November 1854), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2241803>.

³⁵⁹ “LOCAL INTELLIGENCE”, *Colonial Times* (8 December 1854), 2:

<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8778334>: “MR. F.H. HENSLOWE has added another item to the list of obligations under which he has laid the musical public, by the recent production of the *Napoleon Polka*. The piece is intended, and was written for the Paris Exhibition. The frontispiece, printed in colors, is very clever. We should not have noticed this but that it really is creditable to our colony. Of the merits of the music we need not speak, for Mr. Henslowe is already very favorably known as an accomplished amateur.”

³⁶⁰ Tom S. Wooton, *Hector Berlioz* (London: Oxford University Press, 1935), 103:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=1YDMrdaY384C&pg=PA103#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

³⁶¹ “Francis Boyle Henslowe”, *Dictionary of Australian Artists Online* (1992):

<http://www.daao.org.au/main/read/3202>.

³⁶² [Advertisement], *Colonial Times* (8 March 1855), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8779456>.

³⁶³ “THE LATE MR. F. H. HENSLOWE”, *The Mercury* (11 July 1878), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8965263>.

Chapter 5

“The Galop for Gold”: *Composers active from the 1850s*

THIS COLONY IS a remarkable colony. The ancient gentleman [...] who turned everything he touched to gold, must have called here on his way to Hades. Gold, gold, nothing but gold. Let us calmly review what Australia has done since Christmas 1851. Although she has separated from the mother country, it was not in anger, but only as a rich child’s establishment is naturally apart from that of poor parents. [...] We did not neglect old England; we paid off her national debt [...]. We bought up all the opera singers in the world at their own price (the largest drain our exchequer has known), and we founded the Australian Opera. Meyerbeer received £100,000 for his opening work, *La Kangaroo*, and the “Hopping Chorus” is worth the money [...]

“The Golden Age Coming (from the
Sydney Morning Herald, 25 December 1861”,
The Sydney Morning Herald (3 April 1852).¹

[5.1] *The return of Stephen Marsh*

WAS IT a foregone conclusion that Marsh would return to Australia? That he brought with him not only his wife, but his brother Henry and his wife and two children, suggests that he was prepared to risk more than just his personal happiness on the venture. He must have been confident of its success, and, fortunately, timed his second coming better than the first, on the brink of the 1842 depression. By 1848, Australia had redeemed itself in the eyes of British investors, sufficiently for Marsh to give Sydney a second try. He also persuaded another musical friend to emigrate, the English contralto Sara Flower (trained in Milan, and in London an operatic co-principal of Albertazzi and Madame Lablache). Good prospects in Australia were probably only half the story. We know almost nothing yet of Marsh’s few years away from Australia, but nothing either to suggest his return to England met with great professional success. As we have seen, publication of his and John Rae’s “Australian anthem” by Boosey’s in London earned Australian music its first slighting British review. Because of the subject matter, the likelihood of homeland British performances was anyway slim. Marsh probably intended to sell off most of the London print run of the anthem later in Australia, as indeed seems to have been the case.

The Marsh contingent disembarked from the *Walter Morrice*, from Plymouth, in Sydney on 12 February 1849,² and the two brothers went immediately into business together, advertising on 2 March that, from premises in Jamieson-street, they would offer a “splendid

¹ <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12935671>.

² “SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE (from the Sydney Morning Herald)”, *The Maitland Mercury* (17 February 1849), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article705426>.

assortment of music”³ and pianos, as well as taking pupils.⁴ Stephen also returned with an extra-musical cause, actively promoting in the press “a scheme [...] for uniting colonisation with the formation of a railway between Melbourne and Sydney”.⁵ Otherwise, his only documented artistic activity during his first year back was to exhibit a Wainwright drawing he owned in the second Fine Arts exhibition in May 1849 (in which Rodius’s Gautrot portrait was also shown).⁶

On 2 May 1850, the brothers gave their first joint concert, presenting their fellow arrival, singer Sara Flower “for the first time in this colony”. Notwithstanding a single song from Wallace’s *Maritana*, local composition was represented only by a revival of Stephen’s own Australian anthem, *Hail to Victoria*.⁷ Though there is no hint of any lingering disagreement, the Marsh’s dissolved their business partnership “by mutual consent” in September 1850.⁸ Stephen continued alone in business in Jamieson-street, and early in 1851 released, through Woolcott and Clarke’s George-street Music Warehouse, the first new composition published since his return. [The Ferrolana Polka](#), which appeared sometime between its first advertisement in April and July, was “composed as a *Souvenir de Sydney*, for Brigadier Quesada and the Officers of Her Spanish Majesty’s frigate”, *Ferrolana*, continuing Stephen’s fascination with technology in general,⁹ and ships in particular, begun on his first arrival with his *Paget Quadrilles*.¹⁰

For the same reason, it is no surprise that Stephen Marsh was the first colonial composer to cash in on reports of Edward Hargraves’s discovery of gold near Bathurst, new first broken in the *Sydney Herald* on 15 May 1851:¹¹

Mr. Hargraves, who has spent nearly two years at the California diggins [sic], returned to this, colony in January last [...] he has established a company of nine working miners, who are now actively employed, digging [...] about fifty miles from Bathurst, and thirty from Guyong [...] Mr. Stutchbury, the Government geologist,

³ As well as the English editions of his Australian Anthem and Leichhardt song, this may have included another new English imprint, his *The Princess Louisa’s Schottische* (London, [1849]), copy at British Library, Music Collections h.948.(16.) [004509970], probably composed to celebrate the birth of Louisa, sixth child of queen Victoria, in 1848.

⁴ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (2 March 1849), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12914431>.

⁵ [News], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (6 March 1849), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12902370>; also, “SYDNEY”, *The Courier* (6 June 1849), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2965809>; “Copies of Extracts of Correspondence respecting the Construction of Railways in New South Wales”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (11 May 1849), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12905395>.

⁶ “SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF THE FINE ARTS IN AUSTRALIA: SECOND EXHIBITION”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (29 May 1849), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12905148>.

⁷ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (3 May 1850), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12917615>.

⁸ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (27 September 1850), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12921363>.

⁹ For instance, a patent apparatus for milling wheat for which he was Australian agent, “ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (4 October 1851), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12930956>.

¹⁰ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (28 April 1851), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12926639>; [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (21 July 1851), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12928775>.

¹¹ “DISCOVERY OF AN EXTENSIVE GOLD FIELD (From the *Bathurst Free Press*)”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (15 May 1851), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12927091>.

[...] we are informed, will accompany him to the diggings. The matter will therefore be quickly placed beyond the reach of suspicion or incredulity.

In what turned out not to be a misplaced hope, Hargraves called his diggings Ophir, after a famous Californian mine. By May's end, the *Herald* had a regular new column, "Mining Intelligence", and in June, a poem sent in from Goulburn, called *The Lay of the Last Man*, told the fate of small settlements already losing their population to the diggings:¹²

*Since young and old of all degrees
Are off to Summer Hill!*

When more gold was discovered in Ballarat, Victoria, that same year, the Australian colonies were in for a radical transformation.

Woolcott and Clarke were already selling maps to the Ophir fields¹³—advertised among cabinet pianos and vocal scores of Balfe's operas—when, on 23 August 1851 they announced that Stephen Marsh's [The Ophir Schottische](#) was being prepared for publication by the composer.¹⁴ When finally released on 22 October,¹⁵ it was dedicated to "Miss Barney", appropriately enough, daughter of chief commissioner for Crown Lands, George Barney, who had access to the diggings in his gift.¹⁶ It was probably first publicly performed—dance, and music—at the Royal Victoria Theatre, at Miss Hart's Benefit, on 17 November, billed as a "New Grand Dance, the *Ophir Schottische*, by the Misses Griffiths, Miss Hart, and Signor Carandini".¹⁷

Marsh's simple and elegant setting of verses by the surveyor-general, Thomas Mitchell, **The Spell that Beams in Woman's Eye**, has been dated by Mitchell's biographer to early 1852 at the latest, the result of "an arrangement [...] whereby Mitchell was to supply the words for a melody composed by Marsh".¹⁸ It was engraved freehand, probably by an amateur rather than a professional,¹⁹ and the similar format suggests that it might have been issued as a pair with Nathan's Mitchell setting (discussed in Chapter 3). In June 1852, Marsh advertised for sale several English prints of his works, notably his previously mentioned song *Queen of Merry England*, and the more potentially interesting, but sadly yet to be recovered,

¹² "SELECT POETRY", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (19 June 1851), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4778626>.

¹³ And shortly also artist George Angas's *Six View of the Gold Fields at Ophir*; from this collection, see: <http://www.slv.vic.gov.au/platebk/gid/slv-pic-aaco4888>.

¹⁴ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (23 August 1851), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12929705>.

¹⁵ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (22 October 1851), <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12931421>.

¹⁶ "Barney, George (1792-1862)", *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 1 (1966), 60-61: <http://adonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A010058b.htm>.

¹⁷ "ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (15 November 1851), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12932065>.

¹⁸ William C. Foster, *Sir Thomas Livingston Mitchell and his World 1792-1855: Surveyor General of New South Wales 1828-1855* (Sydney: The Institute of Surveyors, 1985), 447; copy of the Marsh print at SL-NSW, Papers of Sir Thomas Mitchell, A295-2/vii, 253-54.

¹⁹ Simple errors of pitch in the Marsh print suggest someone with an incomplete grasp of notation.

Kathleen O'More with Variations for the Harp.²⁰ Then, on 27 November 1852, having begun to print music locally, Stephen's brother Henry became his regular publisher. Henry Marsh announced the publication of both **The Great Britain Quadrilles**, "composed for the Pianoforte by S. H. Marsh", and **The Great Britain Polka** by Jonah Daniell, in neither case nostalgic exercises for "home", but maritime homages, celebrating the visiting steamship of the same name.²¹ As previously discussed in Chapter 4, Woolcott and Clarke had, a day earlier, announced Frederick Ellard's **The Great Britain Polka**.²²

After having nothing new at all on record during 1853, Stephen produced another mining piece, **The Bathurst March**, published by Henry in February 1854,²³ and "dedicated to the Misses Want", daughters of Randolph Want, who in the 1850s was a member of such bodies as the Australian Philosophical Society and the Australian Museum,²⁴ but also chairman of the Bathurst Copper Mining Company.²⁵ In August 1853, it was reported that "stream tin mixed with gold had been found to exist in large quantities in the alluvium" at the company's Summer Hill site.²⁶

Possibly the sort of song urbanised colonists imagined a bush stockman singing, Marsh's "Australian Ballad", **By Murray's Banks** is the simplest type of unadorned, unvaried strophic setting, of some sentimental love verses by local poet Alexander John Evelyn. It was "new" in print when Henry Marsh announced it on 29 July 1854,²⁷ and was sung by Ernesto Spagnoletti at a patriotic concert Henry conducted on 3 March 1855,²⁸ at the height of the Crimean campaign. The concert opened with an import, Glover's **Our National Defences**, which Henry was republishing to raise money for the Patriotic Fund, and finished, yet again, with Stephen's "Australia's National Anthem". Marsh's *Ballad* is the only recorded setting of verses by Evelyn.²⁹ In October 1856, the poet was charged with assaulting the Colonial Secretary, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment. Though freed on petition, he

²⁰ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (7 June 1852), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12937376>.

²¹ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (27 November 1852), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12941904>; see also advertisement for the *Great Britain* itself on the same page.

²² [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (26 November 1852), 3: <http://newspapers.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12941869>.

²³ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (21 February 1854), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12958606>.

²⁴ Richard Want, "Want, Randolph John (1811-1869)", *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 6 (1976), 349-350: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/AO60375b.htm>.

²⁵ "THE BATHURST COPPER MINING COMPANY", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (29 January 1853), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12943250>; see "SYDNEY CLEVERNESS", *The Moreton Bay Courier* (26 March 1853), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3715660>.

²⁶ "BATHURST COPPER MINING COMPANY", *The Maitland Mercury* (10 August 1853), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article671081>; see also "THE WESTERN COPPER MINES", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (10 January 1854), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12958953>.

²⁷ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (29 July 1854), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12951676>: "NEW SONGS. *By Murray's Banks*, and [Franz Abt's] *When the Swallows*. Just published. H. MARSH and CO."

²⁸ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (2 March 1855), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12966316>; see Neidorf, "The Composing and Publishing Ventures of the Marsh Brothers", 45.

²⁹ Having previously published a poem in five cantos *The English Alice*, he arrived in the colony in the early 1850s, and was editor of the *Illustrated Sydney News* until mid-1855.

died shortly afterward.³⁰ His “national song”, *Eden Land* was published posthumously,³¹ and in 1864 William Walker numbered him among the colony’s significant poets, “author of some beautiful snatches of song and lyrics”.³²

Late in 1854, Marsh demonstrated his interest in making a showing of colonial arts and industries at the Paris Exhibition of 1855—as previously discussed, an international “coming out” for the Australian colonies, beyond the borders of the British empire. The jurors for the NSW exhibits awarded Stephen a bronze medal for his entry of some “printed music”, acknowledged between a Mrs. Foster’s “models of wax flowers indigenous to the country”, and Messrs. Palmer and Vial’s “specimens of dog carts”.³³

In 1855, he also contributed to his brother Henry’s “Australian Cadeau”, three numbers that together constitute a piano work of considerable proportions, dedicated to an old friend. The *Souvenir of Catherine Hayes* consisted of [Introduction \(“Catherine Hayes”\) & Brilliant Fantasia \(on “Ciascun lo dice” from La Figlia del Reggimento\)](#), issued as part 10 of the “Cadeau”, on 4 August 1855;³⁴ [“Comin’ through the Rye” & “Savourneen Deelish”](#) (the latter the slow movement when performed together in sequence), as No 11 issued on 11 August 1855;³⁵ and another Donizetti treatment, [Brilliant Fantasia \(on an air from Don Pasquale\)](#), issued No 12 on 18 August 1855. Marsh played the entire set together in Melbourne in February 1857, when the *Argus* noted that it was a “pleasing, and an appropriate souvenir of the fair cantatrice it professes to recall”.³⁶

Stephen Marsh brought his second Sydney sojourn to its end in May 1855, advertising for sale his “beautiful and complete gentlemanly residence”, Wansted House, Cook’s River.³⁷ It was possibly well into 1856 or 1857 before he was permanently settled in Melbourne, however. During 16 years there, he appears to have been especially active in Prahran, in musical events at the Prahran Town Hall (where in 1864 George Tolhurst would premiere his oratorio *Ruth*), and the Mechanics’ Institute. At the latter in July 1857, he gave a lecture

³⁰ ‘CENTRAL POLICE COURT’, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (15 October 1856), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12987889>; ‘YESTERDAY’S SYDNEY PAPERS’, *The Maitland Mercury* (4 December 1856), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article18645072>; ‘DEATHS’, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (20 February 1857), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12992333>; ‘DEATH OF MR. EVELYN’, *The Argus* (25 February 1857), 6: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7145187>; his obituary in the *Empire* reprinted in “NEW SOUTH WALES”, *Colonial Times* (3 March 1857), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8788041/678150>.

³¹ ‘REVIEW: THE MONTH’, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (6 July 1857), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12997712>; and Burton, *Literature in New South Wales*, 84: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=3KclAAAAMAAJ&pg=PA84&#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

³² ‘LECTURE ON AUSTRALIAN LITERATURE’, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (25 July 1864), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13099001>; Vernon Crew, “Walker, William (1828-1908)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 6 (1976), 344: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A060368b.htm>.

³³ ‘THE NEW SOUTH WALES BRANCH OF THE PARIS EXHIBITION’, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (22 December 1854), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12963605>.

³⁴ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (4 August 1855), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12972491>.

³⁵ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (10 August 1855), 6: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12972732>.

³⁶ ‘MR. MARSH’S SOIREE MUSICALE’, *The Argus* (17 February 1857), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7144768>.

³⁷ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (12 May 1855), 6: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12969189>.

recital on harp and piano, in which the *Argus* noted both that, “Most of the pieces were composed by the performer”, and that “The local pieces given were exceedingly well received [...]”.³⁸ Marsh also entered “Six pieces of music, composed by the exhibitor” in the Victorian Exhibition in 1861.³⁹ In 1868, he was “musical director and composer” at the Duke of Edinburgh Theatre, producing light Italian and French operas, often merely with piano accompaniment, and the occasional new *morceau* such as **The Victoria Grand Quadrilles**, advertised as “arranged and produced” under his direction.⁴⁰ In 1869, due to the indisposition of her accompanist, Marsh stepped in to assist at his old friend Anna Bishop’s final Melbourne concerts, the occasion of two performances of what is possibly his last recorded Australian work, “the much admired sacred cantata”, **In thee O Lord have I put my Trust**,⁴¹ which the *Argus* found:

[...] an exceedingly artistic and graceful composition [...] sung by Madame Bishop with an effect which must have been highly gratifying to the composer. It is not every day that a musician has his ideas of perfection in the performance of his music so completely realised as Mr. Marsh’s must have been in this instance.

By contrast, his earlier **The Stockman’s Last Bed: An Australian Song** is a simple strophic setting (he is credited as “arranger”, suggesting it was a pre-existing tune), printed as a supplement to the *Illustrated Melbourne Post* on 25 August 1865. The diarist, Annabella Boswell,⁴² claimed to know that the words (variously misattributed to Adam Lindsay and Banjo Patterson) were concocted for some children she knew to a pre-existing tune, *The Last Whistle*,⁴³ during the 1840s.⁴⁴ The Melbourne 1865 text differs only very slightly from Boswell’s, which anyway appeared in print only much later. Russel Ward described the lyric

³⁸ “PRAHRAN”, *The Argus* (6 July 1857), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7134829>.

³⁹ “VICTORIAN EXHIBITION”, *The Argus* (10 September 1861), 7: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5703990>.

⁴⁰ [Advertisement], *The Argus* (19 October 1868), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5830156>.

⁴¹ [News], *The Argus* (8 April 1869), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5816781>; “MADAME BISHOP’S FAREWELL CONCERT”, *The Argus* (13 April 1869), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5825790>: “[Marsh’s] clever cantata, on words from the 71st Psalm, was again sung by Madame Bishop with the same effect as on a former occasion”.

⁴² Ngaire M. Souter, “Boswell, Annabella Alexandrina Campbell (1826-1914)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* Supplementary Volume (2005), 42: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/AS10052b.htm>.

⁴³ “The [Sailor’s or Bosun’s] Last Whistle”, a tune by William Shield, see: <http://levysheetmusic.mse.jhu.edu/levy-cgi/condisp.cgi?id=038.109>.

⁴⁴ A. Boswell, *Some Recollections of My Early Days: written at different periods* (Place, publisher and date unknown, c.1900): copies in SL-NSW: due to be included in <http://freeread.com.au>: “Their education had been [...] assisted by an accomplished and eccentric gentleman, who for some time employed himself as tutor to their brothers. Bessy wrote some pretty poems, not without merit, and together they composed a parody on what was then a very favourite song, *The Last Whistle* — which they called *The Stockman’s Last Bed*. I here give a copy of it.

THE STOCKMAN’S LAST BED TUNE THE LAST WHISTLE

*Whether stockman or not, for a moment give ear,
 Poor Jack’s breathed his last, and no more shall we hear
 The crack of his whip or his steed’s lively trot,
 His clear go-ahead and his jingling quart-pot.
 He rests where the wattles their sweet fragrance shed,
 And tall gum-trees shadow the stockman’s last bed [...].*

as “one of the most continually popular bush ballads of the century”.⁴⁵ But documentation of the cross-over of such casually transmitted bush lyrics into “art song” seems to have been very slight. Two other advertised songs on bush themes were, in Melbourne in 1854, an **Australian Song: *The Song of the Bush*** (music by “Rimmer”, words by “Velocipede”, a name probably borrowed from a famous racehorse),⁴⁶ and, in Sydney 1868, former Christy’s minstrel bass, C. W. Rayner’s **The Australian Stockman’s Song** (words by F. S. Wilson), reviewed mordantly in the Sydney *Herald*:⁴⁷

The melody is suitable to the subject, which in the words is dealt creditably with, albeit the Australian stockman is not a subject for much lyric display.

Stephen Marsh left Australia for a second time in 1872, as the *Argus* reported:⁴⁸

We hear that Mr. S. H. Marsh, who for the last 16 years has occupied a prominent position in musical art in this country, will take his final departure from hence in about a week’s time [...] en route for England, via the United States.

According to Catherine Mackerras, he spent two years in Japan before settling in America. This may account for the title of one of his four surviving American works now in the Library of Congress, [The Japan Waltz](#). They also include an American reprint of his earlier Sydney issue, [Far o’er the sea](#), a [Bridal Schottische](#), and another song, [Gentle Words](#). They were all printed in San Francisco, where Marsh died in 1888,⁴⁹ and where in 1906, again according to Mackerras, most of his manuscripts were destroyed in the great earthquake and fire.

Backtracking to 1861, a review of the Melbourne premiere of *The Gentleman in Black* was introduced with another recognisable colonial “trope”:⁵⁰

There was only one thing wanting to make the success of Mr. Marsh more complete, and that was, that he should have called himself Signor Maraschino, have attached his music to an Italian libretto, and disclaimed all connexion with the colony, for the latter circumstance is no doubt a drawback, and if another Weber, or another Rossini, were to present himself as Jones or Brown, of Ballarat or Ballan, and were to produce another *Euryanthe*, or *Moise in Egitto*, it would be pooh poohed by a good many persons as “only colonial”, and therefore barely tolerable. Fortunately for Mr. Marsh, who has produced an original work of great merit, his composition was presented last night to a discriminating and kindly audience [...].

⁴⁵ (1978: 336).

⁴⁶ [Advertisement], *The Argus* (22 December 1854), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4802130>.

⁴⁷ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (14 August 1868), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13171100>.

⁴⁸ [News], *The Argus* (21 October 1872), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5840909>; [Summary for Europe], *The Argus* (7 November 1872), 3s: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5841994/233502>.

⁴⁹ [News], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (3 April 1888), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13673359>.

⁵⁰ “THEATRE ROYAL: THE GENTLEMAN IN BLACK”, *The Argus* (25 July 1861), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5702350>.

An edited version of the *Argus* review was also reprinted in England, without further comment.⁵¹ But according to the Victorian correspondent of the *Brisbane Courier*, the Melbourne *Herald's* opinion:⁵²

[...] was exactly opposite [...] and declared Mr. Marsh to be a mere compiler of other men's ideas.

The same paper, in its critique on the second performance [...] referred by name to various musical compositions as the originals of Mr. Marsh's *soi disant* inventions [...] and, although vigorously puffed by *The Argus*, and supported in the theatre by partizans of Mr. Marsh, and a "paper" audience, was lustily hissed the second night.

The following year Marsh submitted a "portion" of the manuscript score as a Victorian colonial exhibit in the International Exhibition at the Crystal Palace, London,⁵³ and at a charity concert in 1871 he played a **Fantasia on the waltz in *The Gentleman in Black*** on the harp.⁵⁴ In 1882, when *The Sydney Mail* was contemplating the forthcoming performance of another new locally produced opera, *Populaire*, by Hector McLean, it invoked a double legend, albeit judiciously worded and completely forgetting Nathan's *Merry Freaks* and *Don John* (let alone John Howson's *Corsair*):⁵⁵

Years ago Mr. Stephen Marsh wrote *The Gentleman in Black*, and before that Vincent Wallace had composed his *Maritana*, so that we shall shortly have a trio of opera which have been composed by musicians residing in or near Sydney.

[5.2] Composing for amateurs: philharmonic choirs and volunteer bands

As we have seen, Marsh's *Australian Anthem* earned colonial Australian composition its first ever, albeit unflatteringly, British notice in 1849; and in 1857 the British journal of musical record, *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* (established in 1844) made its earliest mention of an Australian composed work, sung at a Melbourne Philharmonic Society concert on 1 September 1857—"a well-written vocal quartet", **And I saw that Great City**, by **George O. Rutter (England 1819-?) {1856-69}**.⁵⁶ Locally, the *Argus* also noted that the "new recitative and quartett, composed expressly for the concert", had "elicited a very emphatic expression of public favour".⁵⁷ It was, in fact, the second new Rutter work

⁵¹ "MELBOURNE", *The Musical World* 39 (5 October 1861), 546:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=eY4PAAAYAAJ&pg=PA546#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

⁵² "VICTORIA", *The Courier* (12 August 1861), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4600421>; *The Age* also noted two encores, of *I sing not of beauty*, and *Bright Things can Never Die* ("certain to be a favourite").

⁵³ *Official Catalogue of the Industrial Department* (London: Truscott, Son, & Simmons, 1862), "Victoria", 146: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=z7MpAAAAYAAJ&>; "384: MARSH. S. D. [sic] Melbourne.—Portion of MS. opera, *The Gentleman in Black*."

⁵⁴ [News], *The Argus* (11 August 1871), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5853094>.

⁵⁵ "MUSIC AND DRAMA", *The Sydney Mail* (30 September 1882), 19.

⁵⁶ "MELBOURNE", *The Musical Times* 8/179 (1 January 1858), 175.

⁵⁷ "AMUSEMENTS", *The Argus* (16 September 1857), 6: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7138784>.

programmed that year by the amateur Philharmonic choir; on 28 April, they gave his partsong **The sea hath its pearls**, “especially composed” for the chorus;⁵⁸ and on 3 November there was a third, **Ye meads and groves**.⁵⁹ Rutter, a solicitor, had arrived from Manchester, heartland of the British amateur choral-society movement, the previous year.⁶⁰ Probably inspired by another early Philharmonic repertoire piece, Spohr’s *The Last Judgment*, in 1859 he composed a “New Cantata for the Society”, entitled **The Second Advent**, first performed in September.⁶¹ According to a later historian of the choir, Rutter was:

[...] a warm admirer, and in some cases a successful imitator of Spohr [...] some of his passages found their way into the *Second Advent* without due acknowledgment, but the work, in addition to this, had considerable merit; an unaccompanied quartet, “And there shall be no more death”, became at once a favourite, and it has often been selected for a part of musical funeral services.

Rutter’s **Beauty, Sweet Beauty Bright**,⁶² was sung at the Philharmonic’s second concert for 1858.⁶³ On 10 May 1859, his solo and chorus **The Curfew** was “performed by desire”. In 10 June 1862, the society programmed two local works, Rutter’s partsong, **Stars of the Summer Night** (words by Longfellow),⁶⁴ and George Loder’s **The Matin Call**, the latter sung by his wife, Emma Neville. Rutter’s major surviving Australian work is his **Mass in D (with orchestra)**, first performed in 1864, and published by local subscribers, who paid for it to be printed in England in 1866.⁶⁵ Rutter left Melbourne to return to England in May 1869.⁶⁶

Though the well-funded Melbourne Philharmonic had a record of introducing locally composed choral music—even, as in the case of Rutter’s *Mass*, with professional orchestral

⁵⁸ “THE MELBOURNE PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY: I,” *The Argus* (25 December 1878), 6: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5926050>.

⁵⁹ “THE MELBOURNE PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY: II”, *The Argus* (13 January 1879), 6: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5928151>.

⁶⁰ “SUPREME COURT”, *The Argus* (10 July 1856), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7132857>; [Advertisement], *The Argus* (15 August 1856), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7134922>; Public Record Office, Victoria, index of unassisted arrivals: Geo. Rutter, aged 37, arrived *Zoboah*, September 1856.

⁶¹ [Advertisement], *The Argus* (8 September 1859), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5687693>; For plans to publish it by subscription, see [Advertisement], *The Argus* (22 June 1860), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5684802>; for a performance of an “anthem”, *And there shall be no more death*, probably from it, in 1869, by which time Rutter was described as “late of Melbourne”, see: “FUNERAL OF THE LATE HON. J. P. FAWKNER”, *The Argus* (9 September 1869), 6: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5835648>.

⁶² Copy SL-QLD, see: <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/8767310>; this print must date from the 1860s; on it publisher, Wilkie, see Chapter 6.

⁶³ “THE MELBOURNE PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY: II”, *The Argus* (13 January 1879), 6: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5928151>.

⁶⁴ Later published in London by Novello (*The Choir*, No 178), copy at British Library, Music Collections P.P.1945.hc. [004630131].

⁶⁵ [Advertisement], *The Argus* (25 February 1864), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5744696>; “GOOD FRIDAY CONCERT”, *The Argus* (26 March 1864), 6: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5746264>; [Advertisement]: “MR. RUTTER’S MASS”, *The Argus* (19 October 1867), 7: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5781159>; Joseph Wilkie had earlier advertised a subscription for its publication, [Advertisement], *The Argus* (10 September 1863), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article6488878>.

⁶⁶ “CLEARED OUT-MAY 6”, *The Argus* (7 May 1869), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5811574>.

accompaniment—the amateur choral societies and church choirs that began to proliferate in smaller and regional cities during the 1850s were mostly well content if they could manage a few Handel and Haydn choruses. Reaching even that standard was a challenge. In London in 1858, the *Musical Times* reported for the first time on Launceston, Tasmania, where **John Adams (England 1803-1861) {1853-61}**, who had been obliged to leave England on account of his health, settled five years earlier. In March 1853, describing himself as “late of Her Majesty’s Chapel Royal, Windsor”, Adams first advertised in the Launceston *Examiner* as a retailer of “superior pianofortes”,⁶⁷ and by July the following year was also practising as a music professor, “prepared to [...] give instruction in singing, pianoforte, or organ playing, harmony, and the elements of musical composition”.⁶⁸

According to the *Musical Times*, on arrival in Launceston Adams “found that choral music was quite unknown and unpractised”. He duly set up a choral society, but could not get music, and so, as the *Times* explained:⁶⁹

It was necessary under these circumstance that he should compose [...] He seems to have written as many as 150 lessons for beginners before he could obtain any printed music from home.

Backing up this assertion, in June 1854 the *Examiner* reported that Adams had given a public lecture on church music,⁷⁰ and that in 1855 he had set up a Launceston Philharmonic Society, for which he indeed composed—if not perhaps 150—then at least several “lessons” for its use. In October 1855:⁷¹

This Society, under the directorship of Mr. Adams, closed its first quarter on Friday evening, by recapitulating the exercises on which it has been engaged [...] since its commencement. The first exercises, although rather dry, were generally speaking creditably performed, but the more advanced exercises met with repeated applause from the audience. After the exercises, a dirge was sung to the words, [by Alexander Smith]:

*The world is old, oh! very old,
The wild winds weep and rave
The world is old, and grey and cold
Let it drop into its grave.*

The music was beautifully suited to the words, and the piece was highly applauded. This entertainment was concluded with the *National Anthem* in eight parts, during which the whole of the audience stood up.

⁶⁷ [Advertisement]: “PIANOFORTES” *Launceston Examiner* (29 March 1853), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36268632>.

⁶⁸ [Advertisement], *Launceston Examiner* (13 July 1854), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36289519>.

⁶⁹ “LAUNCESTON, TASMANIA”, *The Musical Times* 8/189 (1 November 1858), 339.

⁷⁰ “LECTURE ON MUSIC”, *Launceston Examiner* (1 June 1854), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36289153>.

⁷¹ “LAUNCESTON PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY”, *Launceston Examiner* (13 October 1855), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36294605>.

And again, in February 1856:⁷²

On Tuesday evening the second quarterly rehearsal of the above society took place in the Cornwall Assembly rooms. [...] To spare Mr. Adams, who was evidently suffering from ill health, Mr. Marriott explained to the company that that the excises which were about to be sung, were of an elementary character [...] one or two pieces were sung during the evening consisting of duet and chorus. [...] The first duet sung was taken from an old pastoral, much admired by Charles Lamb, who recommended it to Vincent Novello as a suitable subject on which to exercise his musical genius. It represented a dialogue held by Paris and Oenone on Mount Ida. The duet was opened by Mrs. Fereday with much taste, the second part being well taken up by Mrs. Hamilton, and the chorus effectively sustained by the society. It was much applauded, and when Mr. Marriott announced that the music to which they had listened was not Novello's composition, but was written by their conductor, Mr. Adams, renewed plaudits testified the company's appreciation of Mr. Adam[s]'s musical talents [...].

One might assume that the moral of this story, as retold in the *Musical Times*, was that Adams, high-mindedly, ceased composing his **Lessons for Beginners** once sufficient music of the old-masters arrived.⁷³ But, though the *Musical Times* thereafter lost interest in him, Adams continued composing, and published at least three songs, two of them souvenirs of Tasmania for the inspirational touring Irish soprano, Catherine Hayes, on her visit to the island in 1856. Numerous local poets were at the ready to praise Hayes,⁷⁴ but Adams selected his texts from the widely-published work of the English versifier Gerald Massey.⁷⁵ The first, **No jewelled beauty is my love**, was sung by Hayes in her Launceston concert in March 1856,⁷⁶ and published in Sydney in May by Woolcott and Clarke.⁷⁷ The second, **A Night Song (I'm thinking o'er the short sweet hour)**, was already then in the press.⁷⁸ Hayes is not on record as having sung the *Night Song*, though Adams programmed it during the Launceston Philharmonic's 1857 season, along with two other compositions of his own, and

⁷² "LAUNCESTON PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY", *Launceston Examiner* (28 February 1856), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36296537>.

⁷³ Meanwhile, *The Musical Times* article was reprinted in *Examiner*; see "THE PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY", *Launceston Examiner* (22 February 1859), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38995116>, the claim that Adams had, on arrival, "found that choral music was quite unknown and unpractised" in Launceston caused some consternation, and correspondence ensued; see "TO THE EDITOR [...] THE PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY", *Launceston Examiner* (24 February 1859), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38995140>; and "MUSICAL SOCIETIES, To the Editor [...]", *Launceston Examiner* (13 August 1859), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38996946>.

⁷⁴ See "ORIGINAL POERTY", *The Courier* (1 February 1856), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2498150>.

⁷⁵ W. J. Johnson published another colonial setting of Massey's *No Jewelled Beauty* with music by C.E. Robinson in 1861, see copy at NLA: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-an6304278>; on Robinson see also "COMMEMORATION ODE", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (11 June 1863), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13079888>.

⁷⁶ "CATHERINE HAYES'S CONCERT FOR THE BENEVOLENT SOCIETY AND CORNWALL HOSPITAL", *Launceston Examiner* (8 March 1856), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36296661>.

⁷⁷ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (31 May 1856), 10: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12981722>; [News], *Colonial Times* (2 June 1856), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8786663>; the text was also separately printed: "NO JEWELL'D BEAUTY IS MY LOVE", *Launceston Examiner* (24 May 1856), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36297603>.

⁷⁸ "I'M THINKING O'ER THE SHORT SWEET HOUR", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (25 June 1856), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12984057>.

respectable showing of European choral classics, Mendelssohn included. Adams's works were a **Tasmanian Anthem** (with words by the local Presbyterian minister, the Rev'd R. K. Ewing), and what was described as a "Chorale (Antient Hymn)", **Lo! The desert depths are stired**.⁷⁹ In January 1861, Adams also published a setting of Tennyson's 1852 campaign verses, **Riflemen form!**, "composed and dedicated to the Officers and Volunteers of Tasmania", as "Sung amidst enthusiastic applause [...] Glee Club Concert".⁸⁰ Later that year, Adams must have finally succumbed to the illness that brought him to Australia in the first place;⁸¹ a report of another Launceston performance of his *Tasmanian Anthem* in November 1862, referred to it as being "by the late Mr. John Adams".⁸²

With at least three resident Launceston composers before him—Anderson, Imberg, and Howson—Adams might reasonably be expected to be the last before 1860. But, no; **Robert Sharpe (England ?-?) {1859-63}** arrived from England via Melbourne on 1 August 1859 to set up a music repository and teaching practice,⁸³ and at his second concert in August 1860, included two works of his own on the program, a ballad **Fare thee well**, and the second, yet another **Volunteer Song**, "a stirring composition with a cornet obligato; the words by Carpenter".⁸⁴ One listener thought that the air of the latter bore too striking a resemblance to that of *Oh give me back my Arab Steed* to rate as entirely original, and wrote accordingly to the *Examiner*, which in turn printed another letter in Sharpe's defence.⁸⁵ Sharpe's *Volunteer Song* is one of the very rare Australian compositions of the entire early colonial period on record as having been performed in Britain, at a concert by the band of the 1st Battalion of Derbyshire Volunteers, at Belper in February 1862, when it was considered an "attractive feature in the programme".⁸⁶ Unfortunately, Sharpe himself would soon follow his

⁷⁹ "LAUNCESTON PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY", *Launceston Examiner* (16 May 1857), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36301377>; "PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY", *Launceston Examiner* (1 August 1857), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36301936>.

⁸⁰ [Advertisement], *The Mercury* (18 January 1861), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8795742>; "VOLUNTEER SONG", *The Mercury* (26 January 1861), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8795933>; for another setting of Tennyson's texts, see that by "R. G. Esq.", published in July 1860 in No 3 of Peck's *Australian Musical Bouquet*: copy at NLA: <http://www.nla.gov.au/apps/cdview?pi=nla.mus-an6053163-s5-v>; and yet another song of the same title, but with new local verses by T. C. Cooper and music by C. F. W. Gollmick, published in Melbourne in 1864, see: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-an6341810>.

⁸¹ I have assumed he was the same John Adams reported in "DEATHS", *The Mercury* (22 August 1861), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8800600>.

⁸² "ST. ANDREW'S YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION", *Launceston Examiner* (1 November 1862), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article41456791>; for other posthumous mentions of Adams, see "MUSIC: [Letter] To the Editor", *Launceston Examiner* (29 September 1863), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article41463207>; "LONGFORD", *Launceston Examiner* (27 September 1866), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36638439>; and "REMINISCENCES", *Launceston Examiner* (12 November 1892), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article39477627>.

⁸³ "Shipping Intelligence: ENTERED INWARDS", *Launceston Examiner* (2 August 1859), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38996815>; "MUSICAL", *Launceston Examiner* (18 August 1859), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38997027>.

⁸⁴ "CONCERT IN AID OF THE ORGAN FUND", *Launceston Examiner* (30 August 1860), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article39001851>.

⁸⁵ "NEW VOLUNTEER'S SONG. [To the] EDITOR", *Launceston Examiner* (6 September 1860), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article39001930>; "THE NEW VOLUNTEER SONG: [To the] EDITOR", *Launceston Examiner* (8 September 1860), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article39002002>.

⁸⁶ "VOLUNTEER SONG", *Launceston Examiner* (29 April 1862), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article41452954>; this later gave rise to yet another dispute, see "VOLUNTEER SONG", *Launceston Examiner* (26 May 1864), 5:

music “home”; having been in the insolvent court in July 1862, he left to return to England late the following year.⁸⁷ Probably a relative was **Thomas Sharpe {fl.1848-62}**, who was already in Launceston when Robert arrived. Organist of St. John’s Church, Thomas is also on record as having composed “some fine chants”, sung during the choral services at St. John’s on 24 August 1862.⁸⁸

The first volunteer militias had formed in Australian cities in the very early 1850s, and sprung up in greater profusion during the Crimean War in 1854-56. Revived again in response to a threatened French invasion of England in 1859, by the early 1860s the Volunteers were endemic in towns and suburbs. By 1854, the First NSW Volunteer Rifles had especially employed a band of its own, the cost of whose maintenance (pay, uniforms, and instruments) was borne by subscription by the whole force.⁸⁹ The French consul and occasional composer, *le comte Lionel de Chabrilan (France 1818-1858) {1852-58}* called on the band of the Melbourne Volunteers to help with the entertainment at the French Ball in 1855.⁹⁰ Local records of Chabrilan’s compositions are scarce, though according to his wife, he played “some polkas” of his own composition at a *soiree* on board the *Croesus* on the voyage out to Australia in 1852.⁹¹

The first non-military bands had been formed in the mid-1830s. In Sydney, a town band was proposed by former military bandmaster, George Sippe, in 1835.⁹² It played at a Masonic funeral in 1837,⁹³ and was led by former military bandmaster and publican Thomas Leggatt at an “English fete” in April 1842.⁹⁴ Presumably Leggatt directed the band when it played for the first Sydney Civic Dinner on 10 November 1842, and when the *Herald* gave a detailed list of the airs played, including *Currency Lasses*, and the *Australian March* (possibly Stubbs’s).⁹⁵

<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38652806>; “VOLUNTEER SONG: To the Editor”, *Launceston Examiner* (28 May 1864), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38652848>.

⁸⁷ “INSOLVENT COURT”, *Launceston Examiner* (10 July 1862), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article41454335>; “COMPLIMENTARY CONCERT TO MR. R. SHARPE”, *Launceston Examiner* (22 October 1863), 6:

<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article41463653>; see also “MR. ROBERT SHARPE”, *Launceston Examiner* (2 August 1880), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38260997>; “REMINISCENCES”, *Launceston Examiner* (12 November 1892), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article39477627>.

⁸⁸ “RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE: CHURCH OF ENGLAND”, *Launceston Examiner* (23 September 1862), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article41455897>.

⁸⁹ “TO THE EDITORS”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (5 December 1854), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12963071>.

⁹⁰ “THE FRENCH BALL (From the *Argus*, 19th August)”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (22 August 1855), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12973218>.

⁹¹ Celebrating the same ship, see Henry Marsh’s *Croesus Polka* of 1854; Patricia Clancy and Jeanne Allen, *The French Consul’s Wife: Memoirs of Celeste de Chabrilan in Goldrush Australia* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1998, 2003), 43; see also a report on Chabrilan’s death, noting “he possessed no mean ability as a composer, and has left several published compositions behind him”; [News], *The South Australian Advertiser* (10 January 1859), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article787492>.

⁹² [News], *The Sydney Gazette* (11 June 1835), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2108575>.

⁹³ [News], *The Sydney Gazette* (29 June 1837), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2211661>.

⁹⁴ “SMITHFIELD MARKET”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (28 April 1842), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2556349>.

⁹⁵ “THE CIVIC DINNER”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (12 November 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12412936>.

There were town bands in Melbourne,⁹⁶ and Hobart,⁹⁷ in 1841; and Parramatta in 1846.⁹⁸ Amateur bands also began to form round this time. In 1843, the Sydney music retailer Thomas Rolfe offered to supply the instrumental needs of both military ensembles and “Teetotal, and other Bands”.⁹⁹ In Sydney in June 1845, the Mayor held a concert during a Grand Teetotal Festival, the music conducted by J. P. Deane, with George Worgan, pianist, assisted by the newly arrived Howsons and Carandinis, with “the Bands of Sydney and St. Patrick’s Total Abstinence Societies”.¹⁰⁰ In Hobart, for the first anniversary of the Independent Order of Rechabites in 1845, a band “composed entirely of teetotallers [...] played lively and appropriate airs in response to the several toasts”.¹⁰¹ The Melbourne *Argus* in 1847 described the formation of the band of Australia Felix Total Abstinence Society, and mentioned one local piece, the **Melbourne Quickstep**.¹⁰²

Notwithstanding rare instances like this, and Rutter’s and Adams’s compositions for amateur choristers, the rising tide of amateur music making did comparatively little at first to encourage or validate the production of local composers. When a Hobart Town Choral Society was forming in 1843, it was reportedly established specifically:¹⁰³

[...] for the purpose of cultivating good musical taste, and producing occasionally to the public the classical works of Handel, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Pergolesi [...].

Earlier, a convict, Daniel Williams, had advertised classes at his home in Hobart in 1839, trusting “from his experience in Oratorio Singing and Psalmody, that he is competent to instruct Pupils in the delightful science of Sacred Music”.¹⁰⁴ Both Nathan and Marsh established singing classes for amateurs in Sydney, Marsh offering instruction along the progressive lines proposed by John Hullah in England.¹⁰⁵ A country wit, from Seymour, north

⁹⁶ “PORT PHILLIP: THE GOVERNOR’S DINNER”, *The Sydney Gazette* (4 November 1841), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2554910>.

⁹⁷ “PUBLIC DINNER”, *Colonial Times* (18 May 1841), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8751721>.

⁹⁸ “PARRAMATTA”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (15 August 1846), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12895865>.

⁹⁹ [Advertisement], *The Weekly Register* 1/3 (12 August 1843), 38:

<http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18430812/00010003/13-16.pdf>.

¹⁰⁰ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (20 June 1845), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12880387>; also Godfrey Charles Mundy, *Our Antipodes, or, Residence and Rambles in the Australasian Colonies, with a Glimpse of the Goldfields* (London: Richard Bentley, 1852), vol. 1, 43: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=TxsXAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA43&#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

¹⁰¹ “THE INDEPENDENT ORDER OF RECCABITES” [sic], *Colonial Times* (25 November 1845), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8757752>; also “MUSWELL BROOK”, *The Maitland Mercury* (25 March 1846), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article680157>.

¹⁰² “THE TEETOTAL BAND”, *The Melbourne Argus* (23 March 1847), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4761212>.

¹⁰³ “ON THE STUDY OF MUSIC”, *The South Briton, or Tasmanian Literary Journal* 1 / 2 (May 1843), 127-128: <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/13295608/18430500/00010002/51-60.pdf>.

¹⁰⁴ [Advertisement], *Colonial Times* (31 December 1839), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8750388>; Williams received his ticket of leave in November 1840, “GOVERNMENT NOTICE NO 276”, *The Courier* (3 November 1840), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2957801>.

¹⁰⁵ “Australian Musical Academy: Mr. Nathan’s Singing Class [...]”, *The Weekly Register* 1/1 (29 July 1843), 11: <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18430729/00010001/9-12.pdf>.

of Melbourne, even observed similar practises among the local natives:¹⁰⁶

I observe a peculiarity, to obtain in the Goulbourn tribe of Aborigines [...] I allude to their having amongst them, a professor of music, whose life appears to be one of not intolerable hardship, eating, drinking, smoking, sleeping, and giving instruction in the “divine art” being its severities. On a fine evening during the full moon, his dusky pupils squat themselves in a semicircular form, the centre of the cord being filled with the august person of the professional, whose style of tuition resembles that of Hullah, of singing for the million notoriety; the truthfulness with which the scholars go through the phases of the aboriginal gamut, and keep time with their instructor’s genuflections prove that they are apt in their studies [...]

“White man’s corroborrees”, the British regimental bands, also continued to be stationed in Australia. Among those bandmaster composers of the 1850s, **Douglas Callen (Ireland c.1814-1879) {1854-79}** had perhaps the most interesting and varied career and output. Callen arrived in Australia with the 12th regiment at Melbourne in 1854, and in November advertised a large quantity of his existing band music for sale in piano arrangements,¹⁰⁷ compositions which also appeared in band’s weekly performances in the Botanic Gardens. While in December, 70 rank-and-file of the 12th were sent to Ballarat to the Eureka stockade, Callen and his bandsmen seem to have had ample opportunity to pursue other professional engagements. That month, Callen advertised he would “receive Pupils for Instruction on the Guitar, Pianoforte, Violin, and in Harmony and Composition [...]”.¹⁰⁸ In June 1855 at the Theatre Royal, Callen, who was conducting the orchestra there, took a benefit at which the theatre and regimental bands combined to play “a new **Overture**, entitled **Le Theatre Royal**” (though the *Argus* found it “difficult to understand why it could not have been called *The Theatre Royal*”).¹⁰⁹ Another **Overture**, **Lara** was performed at a spring garden show in Hobart in 1857.¹¹⁰ The band repeated it in Sydney in 1860, at a Sydney Philharmonic Society concert, when the review, rightly or wrongly, described it as:¹¹¹

[...] the overture to the opera of *Lara*, by Mr. Callen, an easy and pleasing piece of music, and better adapted for performance by the orchestra of the Society than works of greater instrumental difficulty.

Unfortunately, neither overture, let along the putative opera, survive; leaving Callen represented today only by a few shorter, published works.

¹⁰⁶ “COUNTRY NEWS”, *The Melbourne Argus* (1 June 1847), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4761651>.

¹⁰⁷ [Advertisement], *The Argus* (11 November 1854), 7: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4800169>.

¹⁰⁸ [Advertisement], *The Argus* (25 November 1854), 6: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4800795>

¹⁰⁹ “THEATRE ROYAL”, *The Argus* (8 June 1855), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4809257>.

¹¹⁰ “GARDENERS’ AND AMATEURS’ HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY”, *The Courier* (30 October 1857), 1s: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2461014>.

¹¹¹ “SYDNEY PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (1 August 1860), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13043776>; note also Marsh’s *Waltz Fair Australia*, “BOTANIC GARDEN”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (27 March 1860), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13038366>.

In Lewis Lavenu's obituary, on 2 August 1859, the *Sydney Herald* was:¹¹²

[...] requested to state that, in consequence of the lamented and sudden death of Mr. Lavenu, the Band of the 12th Regiment will not perform in the Botanic Gardens this afternoon.

The 12th had special reason to honour Lavenu, his hugely popular song *Molly Asthore* having supplied it with its own independently popular hit, Callen's *Molly Asthore Waltz*. The regiment had only arrived in Sydney from Hobart in April 1858, and the *Waltz* was composed especially for, and first performed by them at, the Queen's Birthday Ball in May 1858, and was also played shortly afterward in the band's concerts in the Botanic Gardens.¹¹³ Various referred to the [Molly Asthore Valse](#), Callen's homage was published by J. R. Clarke in August 1858.¹¹⁴ In July 1859, two more Callen pieces were already, or shortly to be, available in print, the **Il Trovatore Galop**, and **The Rosalind Schottische**.¹¹⁵ Callen cut his last ties with the 12th late in 1862. Having been dismissed after failing to turn up for an official engagement, Callen sued the commanding officer for wages still owing; the court heard that, despite a warning, he had gone to a Philharmonic Society concert instead.¹¹⁶ Callen remained in Sydney, where he was promoted to Lieutenant in the volunteer forces, and where he died in 1879.¹¹⁷ British regimental bandmasters not quite yet redundant in newly free Australia, Callen had at least one such notable successor in the late 1860s, in Ginanni Gassner, of the 50th, also a composer (see Chapter 7).

Even in their publication guise as piano pieces, something close to Callen's original band scorings—by the late 1850s, predominantly brass—can be reconstructed for his handful of surviving Australian compositions. On 4 May 1863, the *Herald* published Callen's [Sydney Herald Polka](#) as part of its daily issue, with what appears to have originally been a flashy cornet solo in the trio, and later that month his [Manly Beach Galop](#) appeared with the dedication, “for the 1st Sydney Volunteer Rifles”.¹¹⁸

¹¹² “DEATH OF LEWIS HENRY LAVENU”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (2 August 1859), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13028665>.

¹¹³ “THE BOTANIC GARDENS”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (1 June 1858), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13016187>.

¹¹⁴ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (21 August 1858), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13010974>.

¹¹⁵ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (25 July 1859), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13028239>.

¹¹⁶ “METROPOLITAN DISTRICT COURT: CALLEN V. HAMILTON”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (21 November 1862), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13237449>.

¹¹⁷ “DEATHS”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (8 May 1879), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13434164>: “CALLEN. May 6, at his residence at 548, Bourke-street, Lieutenant George Douglas Callen, late bandmaster of her Majesty's 12th Regiment, and the highly esteemed director of the Headquarters Band, and the highly esteemed conductor of the Civil Service Musical Society”.

¹¹⁸ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (23 May 1863), 7: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13078935>; on Callen's later activities, see “LAW”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (29 October 1868), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13174931>.

[5.3] *Imported fads, fashions, and technologies*

Music, “laid on”, like gas, is a striking suggestion in the Builder. “At the Polytechnic, a band playing in a distant apartment is unheard: but connect the different instruments by means of thin rods of wood each, with the sounding board of a harp in the lecture theatre, and the music is audible to all, as if it were present. The experiments prove, what we have often speculated on, that music might be laid on to the houses of a town, from a central source, like power, gas, or the water. A facetious gentleman, at the private view, proposed the establishment of a “band-ditty” company on the spot.

**“Latest Intelligence [By Magnetic Telegraph]”,
*The Courier [Hobart] (11 April 1855).*¹¹⁹**

Back in 1842, the *Herald* had inveighed against the wastage of printing European music locally. Nevertheless, imported music remained influential on local tastes, and also on locally produced compositions. In 1845, the polka was still new and unfamiliar enough to the public for the press to have to run explanatory articles, and Gerome Carandini, recently arrived from Hobart, offered instruction to Sydneysiders “desirous of acquiring that very celebrated and fashionable Dance *La Polka*”.¹²⁰ Around 1850, George Hudson became Sydney’s main local printer of imported polkas, most of them compositions of Louis Antoine Jullien, previously source of ample consignments of quadrilles. Jullien’s [Railroad Gallop](#) also caught Sydney’s imagination in 1846, by which time it was so regularly performed “with such enthusiastic applause by H. M. 99th Band” in the Domain and elsewhere,¹²¹ that Eliza Bushelle invited the band to perform it as the finale of her farewell concert.¹²² According to the *Atlas*:¹²³

[...] the finale, descriptive of the start, progress, and arrival of a railway train, was the *beau ideal* of descriptive music. We have never heard, nor can we conceive of anything more perfect of the kind. Those of the audience who have travelled by railway conveyance, seemed to be inspired with the emotions of persons really preparing for such transit.

For those Sydneysiders who had never seen a train, Francis Ellard printed an illustration on

¹¹⁹ <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2482251>.

¹²⁰ [Advertisement], *The Weekly Register* 4 / 101 (28 June 1845), 310: <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18450628/00040101/9-10.pdf>; for one of many satirical responses to the dance, see “Report of a Meeting of Old Women and Others Opposed to the Introduction of the Polka into Genteel Society”, *The Atlas* (16 January 1847), 26:

<http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/1440365x/18470116/00030112/1-2.pdf>.

¹²¹ “THE GOVERNMENT HOUSE BALL”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (30 May 1846), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article681375>: “[...] considerable amusement was excited by a new *Railroad Gallop*, in which the instruments are made to convey a tolerable notion of the sound emitted from a railway train at full speed”.

¹²² [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (16 June 1846), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12887849>.

¹²³ “MUSIC AND MUSICIANS: MRS. BUSHELLE’S CONCERT”, *The Atlas* 2/82 (20 June 1846), 294, <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/1440365x/18460620/00020082/5-6.pdf>.

the cover of his edition, probably issued at the same time,¹²⁴ the first of several local editions. The discovery of gold hastened the arrival of actual railways in Australia. They came to Sydney in 1855, and were first celebrated in music by local successors of Jullien's galop, a [Sydney Railway Polka](#), and another work by recent Dutch arrival, **William Henry Paling** (*Holland 1825-1895*) {1855-95}.¹²⁵ Paling's [Sydney Railway Waltz](#) was dedicated to William Randle, one of the contractors responsible for the opening of the Sydney Railway on 26 September, and performed at the first Sydney Railway Ball.¹²⁶ After issuing a second song, now lost, **Thoughts of Home** (to words by local poet Henry Halloran),¹²⁷ Paling's compositional activities were soon to be eclipsed, however, by his business interests, as an importer of Erard pianos, and later as a publisher.¹²⁸

All around, there was an upsurge of interest in science and technology on the one hand, and carpetbagger and chicanery on the other. In January 1853, a young mesmerist called Daly arrived, per the *Sarah Sands*, to present a series of lecture soirees at the School of Arts. According to the *Herald*, Daly took:¹²⁹

[...] Sydney by storm. Public curiosity has been excited to the highest pitch by the truly astonishing experiments which the young magician had made before crowded audiences in illustration of the new science of Electro-Biology.

Daly even excited the curiosity of the governor, and so, too, of several young musical friends of the music publisher W. J. Johnson. They lampooned Daly's act in two speedily-concocted "tributes" issued in February 1853, [The Electro-Biological Schottische](#), "dedicated to Mr. Daly", by **Edward Deane** (another son of the late John Philip Deane), and [The Biological Polka](#) by **W. C. Harwood** {fl. 1853-55}.¹³⁰ As advertised on 14 February, Deane's piece came already with its own amusing, speedily-concocted *critiques*.¹³¹

¹²⁴ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (25 August 1846), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12895443>.

¹²⁵ Paling gave his first Sydney concert in 1855, including one other composition by him, **Variations on The Last Rose of Summer**, see "GRAND EVENING CONCERT", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (28 September 1855), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12983983>; [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (1 May 1856), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12976005>; "SYDNEY (from our own correspondent)", *The Argus* (4 October 1855), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4820011>; "GRAND CONCERT", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (22 September 1855), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12978365>; presumably, then, Andrew D. McCredie's date of arrival of 1853 is incorrect, see "Paling, William Henry (1825-1895)", *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 5 (1974), 389-390: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A050444b.htm>.

¹²⁶ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (4 October 1855), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12980756>; see also "SYDNEY RAILWAY BALL", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (4 October 1855), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12980757>.

¹²⁷ [Advertisement: "NEW SONG, in course of publication", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (15 December 1855), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28638144>.

¹²⁸ His early attempt to found an amateur chamber music society, "Eruditio Musica", appears to have been largely stillborn, however; see *The Sydney Morning Herald* (17 December 1855), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12983204>.

¹²⁹ "ELECTRO-BIOLOGY", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (17 January 1853), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12942931>.

¹³⁰ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (5 February 1853), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28643732>; the "R.A." after Harwood's name on the titlepage is spelt out later in an advertisement for St.

Hudson, the polka publisher, also issued at least two locally-composed examples, among his otherwise small list of Australian works, both of them by **George Strong (Australia 1824-1878)**. Strong was “a native of the colony” and a violinist, occasional soloist in Gibbs’s orchestra at the Royal Victoria as early as 1847,¹³² later leader of the orchestra at Howson’s Prince of Wales Theatre already “for some time” in 1855,¹³³ and probably before that at the Royal Victoria; his *The Gold Escort Polka* was included in the program there in January 1853.¹³⁴ This is probably the same work published by Hudson as **The Escort Polka**. Neither this print nor a second Strong work, **The Catodon Polka** can be dated with certainty, though the dedication of the latter, “to William Sheridan Wall, Esq. curator, Australian Museum”, is a clue. Wall published a book on sperm whales (*catodona*) in 1851,¹³⁵ and the massive skeleton of a *Catodon Australis* on show in the Australian Museum was one of its most popular exhibits.¹³⁶ A list of donations to the Museum printed in the *Herald* in January 1854, included:¹³⁷

Hermit crabs, and specimens of phos, triton, murex, &c., &c., from Middle Harbour. Presented by Mr. George Strong.

When the leader of the Victoria orchestra, John Gibbs, took his benefit on 23 January 1854, the program included Strong’s *The Catodon Polka*, performed by a “considerably augmented” band.¹³⁸ Sadly, apart from the print’s striking cover (an engraving of the great whale), it is an unremarkable piece, except for being unremittingly diatonic, without a single leavening modulation or functional chromaticism. Even in the well-stocked, but relatively stunted field of Australian polkas for piano, the otherwise worthy Strong’s polkas stand out because of their especial banality. “George Strong, of St. Leonard’s, musician” was listed as insolvent in 1861.¹³⁹ He died in October 1878, aged 54.¹⁴⁰

Mark’s Collegiate School in Alexandria in June 1857, where “Mr. Harwood, Royal Academy of Music” was listed as music master; he was probably the same person elsewhere referred to as C. W. Harwood.

¹³¹ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (14 February 1853), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12943639>.

¹³² [Advertisement]: “ROYAL VICTORIAN THEATRE”, *The Australian* (26 June 1847), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37130017>.

¹³³ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (14 December 1855), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12977679>; “PRINCE OF WALES THEATRE”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (14 December 1855), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12977655>.

¹³⁴ “ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (7 January 1853), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12942722>.

¹³⁵ “REVIEWS”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (26 April 1851), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12926596>.

¹³⁶ “WHALES”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (6 March 1852), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12934877>.

¹³⁷ “DONATIONS TO THE AUSTRALIAN MUSEUM DURING THE MONTH OF JANUARY, 1854” *The Sydney Morning Herald* (10 February 1854), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12953294>.

¹³⁸ “ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (23 January 1854), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12954265>.

¹³⁹ “LIST OF ESTATES SURRENDERED”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (20 April 1861), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13056355>.

¹⁴⁰ “DEATHS”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (30 October 1878), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13411576>.

[5.4] *John Gibbs and the Gold Anniversary Cantata*

Whatever play or opera was put on around that time at the Victoria—with music by Adam or Auber or Weber—it was usually billed as being “with the whole of the original music arranged by Mr. Gibbs”. **John Gibbs (England ?- 1875) {1843-75}** also occasionally produced his own original music, such as that for Madame Turning’s benefit, on 3 June 1847, when the program concluded “with the Comic Ballet of Action”, **Le Pont Neuf; Or, Mad as a March Hare**, “The music by Mr. Gibbs. The ballet by Mr. Turning”;¹⁴¹ or for Mrs. Willis’s benefit on 9 May 1850, when, during a performance of *Romeo and Juliet*, Mrs. Guerin and Frank Howson sang the “**Comic Duet, The Wandering Savoyards** [...] (Music composed by Mr. Gibbs)”;¹⁴² or again on 10 February 1851, when the Mr. Griffiths’s benefit included a **Grand New Mexican Dance**, “the Misses Griffiths, arranged by Mrs. Gibbs, the music composed and arranged by Mr. Gibbs”.¹⁴³ Theatrical music in Sydney having proved mostly ephemeral, nothing attributed to him has survived, and it is anyone’s guess as to what Gibbs’s music was like. Possibly it was as good as John Howson’s, better probably anyway than that of his orchestra member, George Strong.

Gibbs and his actress wife, Louisa, arrived in Sydney early in 1843, and on 27 March 1843, took “their first benefit in this colony”, the program commencing with “(for the first time at this theatre) the Comic Opera (by General Burgoyne), entitled, **The Lord of the Manor**, The whole of the music arranged, partly composed, and produced under the immediate direction of Mr. Gibbs”. Gibbs was specifically listed as composer of the Duet, **Hark! Hark! the merry peal**, and a song, **Our sex is capricious**; and during the interlude:¹⁴⁴

[...] the Band (which will be considerably augmented on this occasion) will perform [...] an **entirely new set of Irish Quadrilles**, composed by Mr. Gibbs for this occasion, introducing the celebrated airs of *Captain Casey*, *St. Patrick was a Gentleman*, *Morgiana in Ireland*, &c. &c.

For their benefit on 3 November 1845, Gibbs and his wife, respectively, wrote the music and the scenario for an original “Ballet Divertisement”, **The Rose of Cashmere; Or, Ebe Bacar, The Diamond Merchant**.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴¹ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (2 June 1847), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12897449>.

¹⁴² [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (9 May 1850), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12917774>; a later Gibbs benefit included a “Bravura, *The Soldier Tired* [Arne], Madame Carandini (arranged expressly for her by Mr. Gibbs)” and again the “Comic Duet, *The Wandering Savoyards*, Mrs. Guerin and Mr. F. Howson (composed by Mr. Gibbs)”; “ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (25 April 1853), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12945337>.

¹⁴³ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (10 February 1851), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12924691>.

¹⁴⁴ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (24 March 1843), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12421450>.

¹⁴⁵ [Advertisement], *The Australian* (1 November 1845), 2; cited by James Hall, *The Canon* (February 1953), 267.

Gibb's major recorded composition was **A Cantata, appropriate to the first Anniversary of the Gold Discovery in New South Wales**,¹⁴⁶ inserted between the plays at the Royal Victoria on 12 May 1852:¹⁴⁷

Perhaps the only exception from the general failure which attended the awkward attempt at general holiday-making on Monday last, was the performance of a Cantata by the *corps vocale* of the Royal Victoria Theatre, the words and music in honour of the occasion, written by Mr. Griffiths, manager; and composed by Mr. Gibbs, director of the music at this establishment. This cantata is a composition in four parts, which were severally rendered by Mesdames Sara Flower and Carandini, and Messrs. F. and J. Howson. It is peculiarly a dramatic composition, written in a dashing *allegro* style, and does great credit to Mr. Gibbs, whose acknowledged tact in making available all the artistical resources at his command, was fully displayed on this occasion. The solo parts were effectively relieved and sustained by a chorus of twenty voices; and an enthusiastic encore from a house crowded to the ceiling made a warm response, not only to the musical arrangement, but to the main sentiment which the music illustrated; namely, the succession of "an age of gold", to "an age of iron".

A theatre is not legitimately the arena for the expression of political opinions; but the manner in which this allusion to the "transportation question" was received on Monday evening by a house crowded with persons of the most varied opinions on almost all other questions, must have satisfied Earl Grey, had his Lordship formed one of the audience who, *con amore*, joined in the chorus, "Advance Australia", that the repulsive question which he, it appears, desires still to re-open, is for-ever settled, in so far as New South Wales is concerned.

It was only out of consideration for the vocalists that a second encore was restrained.

[5.5-5.7] *More British arrivals*

[5.5] Andrew Moore

Just ahead of the impending wave of gold-rush arrivals, **Andrew Moore (UK ?-1876) {1850-76}** left Britain seeking a "renovation of health" in the Southern Hemisphere.¹⁴⁸ He entered the colonies through South Australia, where he made his first appearance as a solo violinist in an Adelaide Choral Society concert. Having received a "very kind reception", he advertised his intention of staying on in Adelaide to "give lessons in Duet and Concertante playing on the violin and piano".¹⁴⁹ Probably young, and—apart from advertising himself "Late of Her Majesty's Theatre"—without much British reputation as a performer, Moore was, however, already a published composer.¹⁵⁰ He quickly learned to cater

¹⁴⁶ "ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (12 May 1852), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12936709>.

¹⁴⁷ "MUSIC", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (12 May 1852), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12936703>.

¹⁴⁸ "THE CONCERT", *South Australian Register* (15 August 1850), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38434378>.

¹⁴⁹ [Advertisement], *South Australian Register* (16 August 1850), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38435775>.

¹⁵⁰ A pre-Australian publication by Moore was his *Valse brillante on Barnaby Rudge's Dream for the Piano Forte*, etc. (London: Duff & Hodgson, [1849]), copy at British Library Music Collections h.60.bb.(13.) [004534138].

to Adelaide's undernourished musical sensibilities by introducing expressly composed and locally titled new works into his new series of "Promenade Concerts". In October, he programmed his **South Australian Polka** ("Dedicated to Osmond Gillies, Esq."), and a Schottische inventively entitled *The Bushman's Cooley*, as well as a song, **Sentimentality versus Reality**, sung by, and possibly composed for the first lady of the Adelaide theatre, Rachel Lazar.¹⁵¹ The *Register* regretted it was unable to speak eulogistically of Moore's original contributions, "though *The Bushman's Cooley* was favourably received".¹⁵² In November, however, Moore's **Australian Air**, probably variations for violin on a local tune, "was well received and certainly deserved applause".¹⁵³

Toward the end of the year, Moore married Miss Lazar, and thus into the family of John Lazar, co-proprietor with George Coppin of the Adelaide theatre.¹⁵⁴ There, with help from local professionals Spencer Wallace and August Huenerbein, Moore added several new musical pieces to the 1851 season, starting with ("especially for this theatre") the "operetta", or "musical petite drama", **Jeanette and Jeannot, Or, The Conscript and His Bride**. With "overture, and new music, composed and arranged by Mr. Moore", it was performed six times, starting on 30 January 1851.¹⁵⁵ Moore may also have composed some new music (and must have arranged and scored a great many of the original numbers) for subsequent productions, including the operetta *The Spirit of the Rhine* in February,¹⁵⁶ and the pantomime *Harlequin Fat and Harlequin Bat* in June ("The music composed and arranged by Mr. Moore").¹⁵⁷

Moore and his wife left for Sydney during the winter, and, without their leading lady and house composer (the latter probably the lesser loss), Lazar and Coppin were forced by October to announce the theatre's closure. In Sydney, Moore made a respectable concert debut in November 1851, attended by the Governor-General, in which he included his **Australian Air Varie** for solo violin ("a variation, by himself, on an Australian air").¹⁵⁸ Having entered into a music-retail partnership with Henry Marsh, Marsh's grand annual

¹⁵¹ [Advertisement], *South Australian Register* (15 October 1850), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38447962>.

¹⁵² [News], *South Australian Register* (16 October 1850), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38451299>.

¹⁵³ "MR. MOORE'S CONCERT", *South Australian Register* (13 November 1850), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38445076>.

¹⁵⁴ "MARRIED", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (26 November 1850), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12922832>; see G. L. Fischer, "Lazar, John (1801-1879)", *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 2 (1967), 98-99: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/AO20084b.htm>.

¹⁵⁵ [Advertisement]: "Royal Victoria Theatre", *South Australian Register* (28 January 1851), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38445242>.

¹⁵⁶ [Advertisement]: "ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE", *South Australian Register* (11 February 1851), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38448120>; see Robyn Holmes (ed.), *Through the Opera Glass: A Chronological Register of Opera Performed in South Australia 1836 to 1988* (Adelaide: Friends of The State Opera of South Australia, 1991), 25; Lazar had previously produced it in Sydney in 1838, when it was described as "the first attempt in the colony to produce a really musical drama", "The Theatre", *The Sydney Gazette* (28 April 1838), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2550636>.

¹⁵⁷ [Advertisement]: "Royal Victoria Theatre", *South Australian Register* (9 June 1851), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38441916>.

¹⁵⁸ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (24 November 1851), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12932316>; "MR. A. MOORE'S SOIREE MUSICALE", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (27 November 1851), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12932389>.

concert on 18 December 1851 was a showcase of Moore's work. Sara Flower, who had come to Australia in 1850 at the suggestion of Stephen Marsh,¹⁵⁹ sang Moore's song **Falling Leaves**, "dedicated to Mrs. Henry Marsh", and it was soon after published under the new imprint of "Marsh and Moore". Moore played two for his own violin solos, **La Coquette** and **Capriccio Arpeggio**, and contributed an arrangement involving the crème of Sydney music, a:¹⁶⁰

Grand Gallop, 12 pianofortes arranged for this occasion by Mr. Andrew Moore.
Performers : Miss Sara Flower, Mrs. St. John Adcock, and Messrs. Stanley, Frank Howson, John Howson, Sigmont, Emanuel, W. Johnson, Weber, Bók, A. Moore, and H. Marsh.

A British visitor, John Shaw, witnessed the performance, and later described it in his travel book, *A Tramp to the Diggings*:¹⁶¹

I attended a concert, which was very well got up: there was very fair singing, a good solo on the flute, a very good executionist on the violin, and twelve pianos played at the same time; this latter I thought a very great treat to the lovers of noise!

The program also included Moore's new and topical *buffo* song, **These odious diggings**, which the *Herald* liked enough ("this trifle made a hit") to describe it at length and reproduce the full text.¹⁶² By the time it was repeated at the Gautrots's second last concert, it had also been published,¹⁶³ and later in 1852 it was revived by John Howson at the Royal Victoria Theatre.¹⁶⁴ Sadly, no copy has been identified.

Though the *Herald* noted that "as a violinist and composer [he] has been received, since his arrival here with considerable favour by our *cogniscenti*",¹⁶⁵ Moore announced his final Sydney concert on 24 March 1852, "previous to his departure from the colony", at which he reportedly introduced another composition, the song **King David's Lamentation on the Death of His Son Absolom**.¹⁶⁶ In fact, the Moores stayed on through the winter at the Royal Victoria, taking their benefit on the final night of the season, during which Andrew

¹⁵⁹ Alison Gyger, "Flower, Sara Elizabeth (c.1823-1865)", *Australian Dictionary of Biography Supplementary Volume* (2005), 128-129: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/AS10161b.htm>.

¹⁶⁰ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (16 December 1851), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12932864>.

¹⁶¹ John Shaw, *A Tramp to the Diggings: Being notes of a ramble in Australia and New Zealand in 1852* (London: Richard Bentley, 1852), 202: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=rcMNAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA202#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

¹⁶² "Mr. HENRY MARSH'S CONCERT", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (22 December 1851), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12933035>.

¹⁶³ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (30 January 1852), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12933996>.

¹⁶⁴ "ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE", *Bell's Life in Sydney* (21 August 1852), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article59775188>: "Those Odious Diggings, Mr. J. Howson, written and composed by Mr. Moore".

¹⁶⁵ "SOIREE MUSICALE", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (23 March 1852), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12935312>.

¹⁶⁶ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (23 March 1852), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12935330>.

made “his first appearance” as an actor in one of the plays.

Perhaps continued ill health accounts for Moore’s low professional profile thereafter. He seems to have lost interest (or heart) in pursuing a colonial concert and composing career, though he reappears in the theatre bills in Adelaide in the 1860s. He later returned to Sydney, where at the Christmas Burlesque at the Royal Victoria in 1870, the music was “arranged by and performed under the Leadership of Mr. Andrew Moore”.¹⁶⁷ Moore died in Sydney, sometime before mid-1876.¹⁶⁸

[5.6] *John Winterbottom*

Andrew Moore’s modest post-gold rush career contrasts markedly with that of **John Winterbottom (England 1817-1897) {1853-61}**. Winterbottom was a business man, as much as a musician. He made an instant impact with newly cashed-up Sydney and Melbourne audiences, entrepreneuring not one-off concerts, but month-long seasons of nightly “Grand Promenade Concerts A La Jullien”, advertising himself as “the sole projector of these popular concerts in the Australian colonies”.¹⁶⁹ For these and his later trademark “Monster Concerts”, new prosperity delivered not only large mixed audiences, but also allowed him to fill his orchestra with other hopeful recent arrivals; as he claimed:¹⁷⁰

[...] the vast influx of population has enabled him to form a band, selected from the finest orchestras in the world, artistes as well capable of interpreting the sublime compositions of Handel, Beethoven, or Mendelssohn, as to delineate music of a lighter character.

His rather unexpected transformation from a London instrumentalist into a colonial entrepreneur was newsworthy even back in Britain, earning “AUSTRALIA” one of its earliest notices in the *The Musical Times*:¹⁷¹

Mr. Winterbottom, the performer on the bassoon, is catering for the mixed public of Melbourne by giving promenade concerts, in close imitation of M. Jullien, to vast audiences, and with corresponding profit to himself.

Winterbottom also started selling himself as a composer. For a “monster concert”, with “100 performers”, in Sydney on 26 May 1853, he announced his “intention of presenting each Lady in the Reserved Stalls” with a **New Polka**, “beautifully illustrated by Walter Mason” (who,

¹⁶⁷ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (24 December 1870), 9: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13215081>.

¹⁶⁸ [Advertisement]: “IN THE ESTATE OF MR. ANDREW MOORE”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (22 July 1876), 14: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13376954>.

¹⁶⁹ For one of Winterbottom’s appearances for Jullien in London, and the style of presentation that he was introducing to Australia, see “M. JULLIEN’S CONCERTS”, *The Musical World* 25/50 (14 December 1850), 800: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=IZMPAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA800#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

¹⁷⁰ [Advertisement]: “GRAND PROMENADE CONCERTS”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (28 April 1853), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28644481>.

¹⁷¹ “AUSTRALIA”, *The Musical Times* 5/111 (1 August 1853), 235: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=FmwPAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA235#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

also part of the recent “vast influx”, had come from England in 1852). The program also included his song, **Vale of my Childhood**, “composed expressly” for one of his singers, John Gregg.¹⁷² Winterbottom was not the only composer in his troupe; in Launceston in November 1853, the *Examiner* reported:¹⁷³

M. Salamon was especially applauded for his pianoforte solo, composed by himself. All were encored more than once, and at the conclusion of the concert, M. Salamon was honoured by a request from Mr. Dry’s party to perform another piece on the pianoforte [...].

Probably in response to market forces, Winterbottom’s programs increasingly rationed the “sublime compositions” of the masters, though what *The Musical Times* called his “mixed public” seems to have welcomed his virtuoso bassoon solos as a Classical curiosity. In Melbourne at an “Irish Music Festival” at Rowe’s Circus in August-September 1854, he introduced another **New Polka**, and a **New solo on the bassoon**, both billed as “composed expressly for this Festival”;¹⁷⁴ and, in the same series, on 2 September, **The Octavia Polka**:¹⁷⁵

For the lovers of Dance Music [...] composed, expressly for the Concert [...] Dedicated, by permission, to MISS OCTAVIA HAMILTON. Introducing the most admired songs of that favorite artiste, *Home, Sweet Home; The Bloom is on the Rye; I’m leaving thee in sorrow, Annie*.

From being an opportunistic outsider at first, within two years of arrival, Winterbottom was part of the theatrical establishment. At the Royal Victoria Theatre in Sydney on 22 August 1855, he composed music for “a new Electro-Biological Burlesque Operatic Extravaganza”, **Alonzo the Brave, Or, The Fair Imogene** (to a libretto by Sidney Nelson’s son-in-law, H. T. Craven).¹⁷⁶ And on 26 August 1856, at the Lyceum Theatre, the evening’s performance commenced with “the new Dramatic story”, **Eva, Or Leaves from Uncle Tom’s Cabin**:¹⁷⁷

[...] (second time) [...] The overture and entire music composed and arranged by M. Winterbottom [...] the nigger dances and serenades by the Ethiopian Minstrels engaged expressly to give effect to the delineation of slave life!

¹⁷² [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (6 May 1853), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12946140>; John Gregg had been a student in Vienna, and sang in a grand serenade for the bass Staudigl on his return from England, with a band directed by Johann Strauss senior; see “HERR STAUDIGL”, *The Musical World* 20 (9 October 1845), 491: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=dfksAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA491#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

¹⁷³ “WINTERBOTTOM’S LAST CONCERT”, *The Courier* (10 November 1853), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2238725>.

¹⁷⁴ [Advertisement], *The Argus* (18 August 1854), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4796537>.

¹⁷⁵ [Advertisement], *The Argus* (1 September 1854), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4797098>.

¹⁷⁶ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (22 August 1855), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12973221>.

¹⁷⁷ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (26 August 1856), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12986360>.

Billed usually as the Victoria's "musical conductor", he even made his local stage debut, as Dr. Dulcamara, in Donizetti's *L'Elisir D'Amore*.¹⁷⁸

In Hobart, when the new Theatre Royal opened in summer 1857, Winterbottom directed the music and composed an **Overture Theatre Royal**, which the *Mercury* described as "a spirited composition [...] extremely well performed by the Orchestra". He was also credited with having "composed the Music of the drama", billed as **Cinderella**.¹⁷⁹ Winterbottom later also directed the music at the Prince of Wales Theatre in Sydney, where in November 1858 he introduced a new "Grand Musical Burlesque", **The Yellow Dwarf, or The King of the Goldmines**, "Music by Winterbottom".¹⁸⁰

Recently published in Sydney in March 1857 were his **Hermione Waltzes**.¹⁸¹ Apart from these, only two more Australian printed compositions survive, both issued close to the end of his Australian stay, the **Lady Don Valse**, and the **Zoe Galop**. The first was introduced at the Royal Victoria in Sydney in June 1861, to celebrate the last night of the season there by the visiting British burlesque artiste William Don, and his wife Emily in Sheridan's *The Rivals*.¹⁸² Four days later, Winterbottom took his first Sydney "farewell", at the Masonic Hall with the Howsons and bandmaster Douglas Callen as his co-conductor,¹⁸³ only to turn up again at the Lyceum in July with a performance of the *Zoe Galop* "dedicated to the owner of that celebrated race-horse, Mr. John Tait".¹⁸⁴ Winterbottom and his wife took their final Melbourne benefit on 26 November, "on the eve of departing for Europe".¹⁸⁵ Eight years' stay was enough for the *Argus* to remember Winterbottom as an old colonist, and to take some pride in news his doings in New York in 1869:¹⁸⁶

Playgoers are beginning to be alive to the sterling qualities of Australian *artistes*. John Winterbottom, another old colonial favourite, has charge of the orchestra at the Olympic.

¹⁷⁸ "THE DRAMA. ROYAL VICTORIA", *Bell's Life in Sydney* (1 December 1855), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article59761147>.

¹⁷⁹ "THEATRE ROYAL", *The Hobart Town Mercury* (11 March 1857), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3243199>.

¹⁸⁰ [Advertisement]: "PRINCE OF WALES THEATRE", *Bell's Life in Sydney* (13 November 1858), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article59869566>.

¹⁸¹ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (10 April 1858), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13008552>; copy at SL-NSW: <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/13188170>.

¹⁸² [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (22 June 1861), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13065821>; [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (22 June 1861), 7: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13065807>.

¹⁸³ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (26 June 1861), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13062571>.

¹⁸⁴ "OPENING OF THE LYCEUM THEATRE", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (10 July 1861), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13066952>.

¹⁸⁵ [News], *The Argus* (26 November 1861), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5706345>.

¹⁸⁶ [News], *The Argus* (23 December 1969), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5809246/224675>;

Winterbottom's later career in England was largely in the military, from 1870 until his retirement directing the Royal Marine Artillery Band, see Lyndesay Graham Langwill, *The Bassoon and Contrabassoon* (London: E. Benn, 1965), 180.

[5.7] *Ernesto Spagnoletti*

The future prosperity of his large family was probably the main object of an opportunist arrival of a more modest sort, the former London music master, **Ernesto (Diano) Spagnoletti, senior (Italy? c.1804-1862) {1853-62}**. Spagnoletti, his wife Charlotte and six children, arrived in Sydney in August 1853. He was a son of the violinist Paolo Spagnoletti, under whom Vincent Wallace had played at the opera in Dublin and a highly respected professor at the Royal Academy of Music in London.¹⁸⁷ Ernesto himself became a student at the Academy in 1825, and studied under Henry Bishop and Nicholas Bochsa; Anna Bishop was a fellow student. He had a small established British record as a composer, and at least a couple of his works had previously been published in Australia. A [New Waltz](#), and a quadrille [La Dorset](#), for the first of the Lancer's Quadrilles made popular at Almack's in London, were both issued locally by Francis Ellard in 1839.¹⁸⁸ In London in 1851, Spagnoletti defended his authorship of the latter piece in a case of musical copyright.¹⁸⁹

Spagnoletti first appeared in public in Sydney, with John Howson and Flora Harris, at the farewell concert of English tourist, pianist Coleman Jacobs, on 25 October 1853,¹⁹⁰ and the next morning W. J. Johnson advertised the publication of "A new canzonet, for a soprano voice", **Tho' for awhile**, "by Erneste Spagnoletti".¹⁹¹ In ensuing years, Spagnoletti appeared in concerts for Hauser and Anna Bishop, and with locals Charles Packer and Frank Howson. His serenade [Awake, My Love](#) was published by Henry Marsh as No 4 of his "Australian Cadeau" in June 1855.¹⁹²

In January 1857, W. J. Johnson announced two more compositions in print, **The Nina Waltz, Brillante**, "dedicated to Lady Denison", and **The Simla Polka**, "respectfully dedicated to Captain Cooper and the officers, by Spagnoletti" (Boulanger having composed a *Simla Galop* for Clarke).¹⁹³ At the end of the same month, **The Balmain Polka** was

¹⁸⁷ Paolo was mentioned in the Sydney press, along with other leading violinists, including Mori (partner of Lewis Lavenue's father), in a poem to Paganini, "SELECT POETRY", *The Sydney Gazette* (26 January 1832), 4:

<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2204644>.

¹⁸⁸ "NEW MUSIC", *Australasian Chronicle* (16 August 1839), 1s: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31726229>; "MUSIC", *The Sydney Gazette* (17 August 1839), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2545492>; Spagnoletti's English print, *Le printemps: Second Set of Quadrilles* also exists in a contemporary Australian copy at SL-NSW: <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/15573977> (a collection bound by Kern & Mader, Sydney, c.1850s).

¹⁸⁹ *The Jurist* 14/2 (2 November 1850), 428:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=jkgwAAAAIAAJ&pg=PA428&#v=onepage&q&f=false>; incorrectly described there as a "Professor of Surgery"; and *Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Court of Queen's Bench*, volume 2 (London: S. Sweet, 1854), 577-78:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=6SIwAAAAIAAJ&pg=PA578&#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

¹⁹⁰ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (24 October 1853), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12949803>.

¹⁹¹ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (26 October 1853), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12949893>.

¹⁹² [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (22 June 1855), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12970783>.

¹⁹³ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (16 January 1857), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12991388>.

announced,¹⁹⁴ possibly a marketing exercise; on 6 February, the Signor begged “to acquaint the Ladles of Balmain” that he intended “to open a class for Singing and Piano, at his residence, Balmain, every TUESDAY and FRIDAY mornings. Terms, moderate”.¹⁹⁵ In April 1859, **The Cornstalk Galop**,¹⁹⁶ named after the ship, was issued by the otherwise little-known publisher David Buist,¹⁹⁷ shortly followed by **The Cornstalk Polka** “as played every night at the Prince of Wales Theatre by Winterbottom’s celebrated band” (but not to be confused with Lord Mayor Thornton’s **Cornstalk Polka**).¹⁹⁸

On 30 May 1859 at the Balmain School of Arts, Spagnoletti and his pupils introduced his romance **Agile**, and song **Our Village Home**.¹⁹⁹ In September 1859, at Clarke’s Woolloomooloo Assembly Rooms, his daughter Nina Spagnoletti sang Stephen Foster’s *Willie we have missed you*, and Ernesto’s own new song, “answer to *Willie*, written for the occasion”, **Your Willie Has Returned, Dear**,²⁰⁰ to words by “Desda” (pseudonym of a Mrs. Davies), which Henry Marsh printed the following month.²⁰¹ In 1860, Sara Flower introduced his **Cooey! An Australian Song**, setting “words by an Australian lady” (Louisa Atkinson);²⁰² and in April 1861, his **The Captured Lady** was a “reply” to the popular favourite, *Ever of thee I’m fondly dreaming*, with lyrics by Australian poet N. L. Kentish.²⁰³ Spagnoletti songs are typical of an early nineteenth-century operatic style that was, perhaps unexpectedly, destined to be copied by composers for the rest of century. Not as hackneyed as they might therefore seem to today’s ears, they must have sounded relatively modern at the time; good enough for Sara Flower, they would probably not have seemed out of place in Anna Bishop’s program either. Notably, Bishop appeared for her old classmate (singing *Home Sweet Home*) in his morning concert in March 1856, on which occasion the *Herald* reminded its readers of Spagnoletti’s well-attested claim to “the patronage of lovers of classical music”.²⁰⁴ Spagnoletti died in Sydney on 28 September 1862, aged 58,²⁰⁵ one of the

¹⁹⁴ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (31 January 1857), 8:

<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12991751>.

¹⁹⁵ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (6 February 1857), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12991918>.

¹⁹⁶ Copy at SL-NSW: <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/36580128>.

¹⁹⁷ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (4 April 1859), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13023254>.

¹⁹⁸ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (13 April 1859), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13023648>.

¹⁹⁹ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (28 May 1859), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13025502>.

²⁰⁰ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (17 September 1859), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13030898>.

²⁰¹ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (22 October 1859), 10: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13032081>; uniquely, the song also survives in a contemporary manuscript collection, thought to be in the hand of Marianne Glennie of Gosford, c.1859, University of Newcastle, Auchmuty Library, see: <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/35695684>.

²⁰² [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (30 July 1860), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13043712>.

²⁰³ The cover of the song has, incorrectly, “N.C.” Kentish; [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (6 April 1861), 12: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13059380>.

²⁰⁴ “SIGNOR SPAGNOLETTI’S GRAND MORNING CONCERT”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (1 March 1856), 6: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28639339>.

²⁰⁵ “DEATHS”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (29 September 1862), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13234823>; “MR. ERNEST SPAGNOLETTI”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (11 October 1862), 5:

last of a passing generation of classically-trained English professionals content to leave a compositional legacy of nothing more profound than some pretty theatre songs and dance pieces, modestly aimed at a mixed audience.

His son, **Ernesto Spagnoletti, junior (England ?-?) {1853-after 1864}**, also became a “professor of music”. Father and son are both mentioned in a review of W. J. Johnson’s serial, *Sydney Harmonicon*, in 1856, Ernesto junior as having also “published some compositions bearing the impress of much talent”.²⁰⁶ It is likely, though not absolutely certain, that his printed compositions (“by Ernesto Spagnoletti”) can be distinguished from his father’s (“E. Spagnoletti”, or “Spagnoletti, R.A”).²⁰⁷ Attributed to “Ernesto” were, in July 1858, the **Woolloomooloo Schottische**, whereas “the Companion”, **Woolloomooloo Polka** was attributed to “Spagnoletti, R.A.”;²⁰⁸ the **Madelena Schottische** (“for his friend Frederick Ellard”); **The Sydney Schottische**, published in May 1860;²⁰⁹ and the **St. Leonard’s Schottische**, in Clarke’s *Australian Musical Album for 1863*. In January 1861, **The Volunteer’s Polka** was greeted in the *Herald*:²¹⁰

The auspicious assembling in Sydney, of the Volunteers of the city, suburbs, and chief country towns, has been agreeably welcomed, in sparkling dance music, by M. Ernesto Spagnoletti, who has composed, in their honour, a graceful polka, which promises to become a standard favourite in metropolitan as well as country ballrooms or quiet evening parties. It is one of those light, effervescent *morceaux* which, from its appropriate character and timely publication, must become popular with the votaries of Terpsichore, and will, we have no doubt, receive the cordial patronage of the gallant companies of volunteers to whom it is dedicated.

These were followed, after the death of Spagnoletti senior, by the **Marion Schottische** in May 1863,²¹¹ **Our Australian Christmas** published for Christmas 1863,²¹² and—after Ernesto junior was charged with assault in July, and declared insolvent in August—**The Garibaldi Polka** in December 1864.²¹³ Thereafter, unaccountably, he disappears from the musical record completely.

<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13235380>; “THE LATE ERNESTO SPAGNOLETTI”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (7 October 1862), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13235148>.

²⁰⁶ “THE SYDNEY HARMONICON”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (26 February 1856), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12973904>.

²⁰⁷ For instance, at a concert in 1864, also including “the now well-known and popular song *Cooey*”, two other works were described as “the glees *Our Australian Christmas*, and *We are Merry Laughing Girls* (Spagnoletti R.A.)” [sic]; see “ST. MARY’S YOUNG MEN’S SOCIETY”, *The Maitland Mercury* (22 September 1864), 2:

<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article18709425>.

²⁰⁸ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (17 July 1858), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13014612>.

²⁰⁹ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (24 May 1860), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13040936>.

²¹⁰ *The Sydney Morning Herald* (23 January 1861), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13051755>.

²¹¹ [Advertisement]: “WILKIE, ELVY, and CO.”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (23 May 1863), 7:

<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13078935>.

²¹² [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (10 November 1863), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13095801>.

²¹³ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (17 December 1864), 12: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13102439>.

[5.8] *Sidney Nelson*

The English songwriter **Sidney Nelson (England 1800-1862) {1853-61}** also arrived with his family; but, rather than just settling like the Spagnolettis, the Nelson Family presented themselves to the colonies from the first as a professional touring act. For the previous two decades, Nelson himself had been extremely prolific as a published composer, and no less prolific as a London publisher of his own and other composer's song and popular piano pieces.²¹⁴ He appears to have lost his Bond Street business after a bankruptcy in 1848,²¹⁵ but continued composing and publishing his own music under other London imprints. The steady flow of new Nelson printed works does not seem to have been slowed at all by his move to Australia, though whether some or any of these were actually composed here is unclear. Perhaps, just as likely, they were leftovers from earlier in his career. In Sydney in the 1830s, Francis Ellard had published Nelson's ballad *Oh! Why Has He Forgotten?*,²¹⁶ as well as his arrangement of the Irish ballad **Savourneen Deelish**. In London early in 1853, Nelson published what became a trademark song of his Australian programs, after the 53-year old and his family company arrived mid-year; Henry Marsh in Sydney released the first Australian edition of **Madoline** in July 1853, advertising it already "As sung by Mr. John Gregg, at Mr. Winterbottom's Concerts".²¹⁷

The Nelson family had taken to the boards in London only after the family publishing business went under. Nelson's daughter Eliza was acting professionally at Drury Lane by 1850, where she met her future husband, the actor H. T. Craven. Early in 1851, she starred in a new burletta *The Village Nightingale*, with music by her father to a libretto by Craven.²¹⁸ Craven may also have been responsible for fostering the talents of two more Nelsons, the sisters Carry and Sarah, who were later well-known performers in Edinburgh.²¹⁹ Carry, Sarah, a son Alfred, and the Nelson's senior made up the original party for Australia, later to be joined by the Cravens who toured Australia from September 1854 to April 1857. Like so many other newly-arrived artists, Nelson saw value in tailor-making new work to local conditions. His "entirely new and original music farce", **Quite Colonial**, to words by the

²¹⁴ "Nelson, Sydney" [sic], in Sidney Lee (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography, 1885-1900* 40 (New York: Macmillan and Co.; London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1894), 212-213; 215;

[http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Nelson,_Sydney_\(DNB00\)](http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Nelson,_Sydney_(DNB00));
<http://www.archive.org/details/dictionaryofnati40stepuoft>; James Duff Brown and Stephen S. Stratton, *British Musical Biography* (Birmingham: S. S. Stratton, 1897), 295; <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/2046467>;
http://openlibrary.org/books/OL13503830M/British_musical_biography.

²¹⁵ "CERTIFICATES", *The Jurist* 11/2 (1848), 304:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=YUgwAAAAIAAJ&pg=PA304#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

²¹⁶ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Herald* (1 April 1833), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12846532>.

²¹⁷ [Advertisement]: "NEW MUSICAL PUBLICATIONS [...] In the Press", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (19 July 1853), supplement 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12947424>.

²¹⁸ "DRURY LANE", *The Musical World* 29 (1 February 1851), 71:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=JMPAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA71#v=onepage&q&f=false>; H. T. Craven, *The Village Nightingale: a burletta in one act, the music composed by S. Nelson* London: Samuel French, 1851).

²¹⁹ James C. Dibden, *Annals of the Edinburgh Stage* (Edinburgh: Richard Cameron, 1888), 431-33;

<http://www.archive.org/details/annalsofedinburgoodibdrich>.

Adelaide “amateur” William Mower Akhurst, was “performed for several nights with immense success in Adelaide” as the after-piece of their program, later in Melbourne in September 1853, and in Sydney in 1855.²²⁰ The family also toured it to Tasmania, the *Courier* describing it as “a pleasing little farce [...] which our readers must see and hear for themselves to thoroughly appreciate”.²²¹ Nelson’s son, Alfred, the company’s leading man, also wrote an after-piece, **Don Leander, or Woman’s Wit** (probably also to his father’s music), which the *Colonial Times* judged “a vast improvement on *Quite Colonial*, for it combines plot with sparkling dialogue”.²²²

In Melbourne in 1853-54, Akhurst and Nelson produced several more musical plays, including the “New petite Comedy”, **Romance and Reality; or, The Digger in London;**²²³ **Love and Experience** (“an entirely new musical vaudeville, founded on the French of. Balzac”);²²⁴ the “new farce”, **The Ladies’ Prerogative;**²²⁵ and the “burletta” **The Rights of Women.**²²⁶ Probably their most significant collaboration was also their last, an “operetta”, **Jeanette’s Wedding** in Melbourne in October 1858:²²⁷

The whole of the music is understood to be original, and to Mr. S. Nelson is due the credit of its composition and arrangement. This gentleman will deservedly acquire a very considerable addition to his reputation by this work. The melody is throughout most pleasing, and its descriptive character is well preserved. The airs have an agreeable softness, and the part pieces are skilfully adjusted. The song, *Among so many swains*, is especially deserving of mention; and the duett, *The peril is o’er*, is worthy of express commendation. It is most gratifying to know that the colony includes local talent equal to furnishing musical illustrations to a whole operetta such as this.

At least one song from it, **Lone and neglected in my Sorrow**, was also published the same month.²²⁸ Later, in the 1860s, Akhurst also published several musical works under his own name (see Appendix 2: Part 2).

Akhurst also appears to have been involved in another Nelson musical, the “versified local catastrophe”, **The Russians in Melbourne** (or “The Battle of Melbourne”) in June 1854,²²⁹ though a young writer, F. M. Soutten, was credited with the libretto.²³⁰ Previously,

²²⁰ [Advertisement], *The Argus* (7 September 1853), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4796723>.

²²¹ *The Courier* (9 November 1853), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2239898>.

²²² “THE NELSON FAMILY”, *Colonial Times* (12 November 1853), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8774838>.

²²³ [Advertisement]: *The Argus* (15 September 1853), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4797039>.

²²⁴ [Advertisement], *The Argus* (18 January 1853), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4789010>.

²²⁵ [Advertisement]: “NEW FARCE”, *The Argus* (11 January 1853), 7: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4788837>; [Advertisement], *The Argus* (20 January 1853), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4789100>.

²²⁶ “THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN”, *The Argus* (24 July 1854), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4795465>.

²²⁷ “THE THEATRES”, *The Argus* (12 October 1858), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7302659>.

²²⁸ [Advertisement], *The Argus* (22 October 1858), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7303205>: “S. NELSON’S beautiful BALLAD, *Lone and neglected in my Sorrow*, as sung in the operetta of *Jeanette’s Wedding*, on SALE at 15 Collins-street east”.

²²⁹ [Advertisement], *The Argus* (29 June 1854), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4794470>.

²³⁰ On Soutten, see “DEATH BY DROWNING”, *The Argus* (18 January 1856), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4828553>.

Soutten and Nelson collaborated on **A Turk in Distress** (“A Comic Situation”) in May,²³¹ and later on **A Midnight Mystery** in August.²³² To Soutten’s lyrics, Nelson also produced his first Australian patriotic song, an **Australian Anthem**, published by Joseph Wilkie in 1854. It was performed at Rowe’s Circus in Melbourne in September 1854,²³³ and again billed as the “New Australian Anthem [...] accompanied by the Band” in October.²³⁴

A second patriotic song, **Advance Australia**, to words by Eliza Postle, was published in Melbourne in 1859.²³⁵ In June 1857, a Sydney advertisement had mentioned a song called *Advance Australia*,²³⁶ though a review of a Melbourne performance of Nelson’s *Advance Australia* in April 1859 again suggests that it was “new”:²³⁷

A more interesting circumstance [...] was the first performance of a national song—it cannot be called either a hymn or an anthem—composed by Mr. S. Nelson, the words by Mrs. Postle, a lady new to colonial fame. This work, though for various reasons scarcely fulfilling the purpose of musical representative of a people, has yet very much merit of an intrinsic kind. It is not, as many such pieces are, a modification of an old theme, nor a combination of selections, but it seems to occupy an independent position of its own, and to have strong claims to the merit of originality.

On first performance in July 1859, and again on publication in March 1860, the words (by W. W. Wardell) and music of Nelson’s third patriotic song, a **National Hymn for Victoria** (“O God protect Victoria”), were the subject of long notices in *The Argus*, the latter describing Nelson as “a successful composer, now resident [...] whose taste in lyrical music is pure and thoroughly English”.²³⁸ Both *Advance Australia*, and more surprisingly, the *Victorian Hymn*, went on to be disseminated well beyond the Victorian border, the former reaching Launceston and Sydney, the latter adapted at a concert in rural East Maitland, New South Wales, as “O God Protect our Colony”.²³⁹

²³¹ [Advertisement]: “A TURK IN DISTRESS”, *The Argus* (31 May 1854), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4808527>.

²³² [Advertisement], *The Argus* (10 August 1854), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4796172>.

²³³ “THE NELSON FAMILY”, *The Argus* (30 September 1854), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4798312>: “The new anthem composed by Mr. S. Nelson is highly spoken of. It has been arranged for four voices, with full orchestral accompaniments [...]”.

²³⁴ [Advertisement], *The Argus* (14 October 1854), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4798981>; see also “ENTERTAINMENT BY THE NELSON FAMILY”, *South Australian Register* (2 October 1854), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49204029>.

²³⁵ “ADVANCE AUSTRALIA”, *Launceston Examiner* (7 May 1859), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38995988>.

²³⁶ See Clarke’s music list, [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (20 June 1857), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12997354>; see also “THE NELSON FAMILY”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (8 October 1855), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12974623>.

²³⁷ “THEATRE ROYAL”, *The Argus* (14 April 1859), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5679501>; see also [Advertisement]: “NEW SONG”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (10 May 1859), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28629739>.

²³⁸ “THE THEATRES”, *The Argus* (2 July 1859), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5683805>; [News], *The Argus* (20 March 1860), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5679197>.

²³⁹ [Advertisement]: “A GRAND SOIREE”, *The Maitland Mercury* (8 November 1864), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article18707104>.

In 1856 Catherine Hayes appears to have been responsible for bringing out, locally, one of Nelson's best known songs, [Mary of Argyle](#), a "Scots ballad" that remained in the repertoire into the twentieth-century.²⁴⁰ Nelson's "new song" **The World within and the World**, to words by James Simmonds, was published in 1857,²⁴¹ and another ballad, [The Light from the Mountain](#), to words "by an Australian Lady", in September 1859.²⁴²

Another interesting local work was first noticed in *The Argus* in May 1856:²⁴³

Mr. Nelson, the composer of *Madoline*, *The Rose of Allandale*, *The Pilot*, and numerous other popular songs and ballads, has recently written a *Benedictus* for contralto and bass, of which musical connoisseurs speak in the highest terms. The accompaniments have been scored for a full orchestra, and in all probability the composition will be submitted to public criticism at the next concert of the Philharmonic Society. Mr. Nelson also intends establishing himself in Melbourne as a teacher of music, and as he is eminently qualified for such a position we have no doubt of his success.

It was duly brought at a performance of Rossini's *Stabat mater* in July 1856, jointly presented by George Coppin and the Philharmonic Society, in which Anna Bishop, Theodosia Guerin, Harriett Fiddes, and Messers Coulon and Laglaise all sang. As advertised, the first half of program included "for the first time" a **Benedictus**, for "Quartette and Chorus" by Nelson, "composed and arranged in the colony", and featuring as soloists Mrs. Testar, Frank Howson, and Nelson's daughter Carry.²⁴⁴ Nelson also directed the music when Melbourne Synagogue was finally consecrated on 2 September 1858; according to *The Argus*: "Great praise is due to Mr. S. Nelson, who conducted, and who had previously disciplined, the choir [...]"²⁴⁵ After eight years in Australia, Nelson left Melbourne for England in 1861, and died there in 1862.²⁴⁶

²⁴⁰ "ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE", *The Courier* (24 January 1856), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2497671>; [Advertisement]: "JUST PUBLISHED", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (22 February 1858), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13006561>; see also (earlier?) UK edition: (London, Harry May, before 1859), Oxford, Bodleian Library, Offsite Storage Mus. 5 c.87 (22).

²⁴¹ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (22 July 1857), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12998351>.

²⁴² [Advertisement], *The Argus* (3 September 1859), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5687415>.

²⁴³ "THEATRICAL AND MUSICAL", *The Argus* (19 May 1856), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4838199>.

²⁴⁴ "PUBLIC AMUSEMENTS", *The Argus* (9 July 1856), 6: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7132799>; [Advertisement], *The Argus* (11 July 1856), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7132939>; ; for two reviews, see "THEATRE ROYAL", *The Argus* (12 July 1856), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7133013>; and Henry Butler Stoney, *Victoria: With a description of its principal cities, Melbourne and Geelong* (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1856), 206: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=4c0NAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA207#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

²⁴⁵ "THE CONSECRATION OF THE MELBOURNE SYNAGOGUE", *The Argus* (3 September 1858), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7300436>.

²⁴⁶ "DEATH OF MR. NELSON THE COMPOSER [from the *Argus*]", *The Mercury* (21 June 1862), 3: <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/8807898>.

[5.9-5.12] On the Pacific Circuit

[5.9] *Lewis Lavenu*

The dual blessings of gold, and improved travel and communication, also brought the Australian colonies to the attention the press in the United States. As the editor of *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* in New York noted in January 1853:²⁴⁷

Within the twelve month past, a new nation has sprung to life in Australia; and the emigrés of the mother isle are rivalling with their gold-pits, and city lots, and Lynch-law the elder-born nationality of California. Steamers and clippers, and lightning-wires are binding more and more of the world together; and from our office-chair, with its detachments of Parisian, and Australian, and Californian newspapers, is such a kingly post of observation as, ten years gone, the proudest monarch in the world might have envied.

In 1856, a detailed economic analysis read before the British Association for the Advancement of Science reported “On the growth and progress of the *two Pacific States* of California and Australia”, and on Australia’s exponential growth in population and revenue over the preceding decade.²⁴⁸ By the mid-1850s, collateral benefits were accruing to the performing arts; and Australia had become part of a “pacific circuit” that the American scholar Matthew W. Wittmann has recently described as an “Empire of Culture”.²⁴⁹ It not only delivered to Australia American artists like the minstrel company, the New York Serenaders and their “Ethiopian Concert” tours in 1851 and 1853, and the singer-composer Stephen Massett in 1856-58, but also British and European artists and composers who might otherwise not have considered coming.

American influence on local musicians and programming, and ultimately also on composition, was marked, perhaps having the greatest impact away from the colonial hubs of Sydney and Melbourne. At Josiah Hand’s new “Melophonic Concert Room”, at the Waterman’s Arms in Liverpool-Street, Hobart, in May 1853, a bumper three-part program offered the “Classical” overtures to *Tancredi*, *Figaro*, *La Dame Blanche* and *Lodoiska*, all played by a band of 2 violins, 2 banjos, pianoforte, tamborine and bones; part 3 was a “grand nigger concert” of Ethiopian melodies; and Mr. Turner, the “Musical Director and first violin”, contributed a **Medley** “composed for the occasion, comprising several popular melodies”.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁷ “Editor’s Easy Chair”, *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine* 6/32 (January 1853), 271:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=g4gCAAAIAAJ&pg=PA271#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

²⁴⁸ P. L. Simmonds, “On the growth and progress of the two Pacific States of California and Australia”, *Report of the Twenty-Fifth Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science [1855]* (London: J. Murray, 1856), 188-91: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=Oh9LAAAYAAJ&pg=PA188#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

²⁴⁹ Matthew W. Wittmann, *Empire of Culture: U.S. Entertainers and the Making of the Pacific Circuit* (Ph.D dissertation, University of Michigan, 2010);

²⁵⁰ [Advertisement]: “MELOPHONIC CONCERT ROOM”, *The Courier* (7 May 1853), 3:

<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2240831>.

Australia first came to the attention of the American musical press when two popular European touring artists, Miska Hauser and Catherine Hayes, announced plans of continuing on to Australia after their Californian seasons. In both cases, their Australian tours seem to have relied on preparatory work done on their behalf by the cellist, conductor and composer, **Lewis Henry Lavenu (England 1818-1859) {1853-59}**. Lavenu arrived in Sydney aboard the *Abyssinia* from California in May 1853,²⁵¹ having spent much of the past two years conducting for Hayes, and recently touring with Hauser. From San Francisco on 4 May 1853, Hauser wrote:²⁵²

The pianist Lavenu, my recent agent, companion and secretary, left for Australia, which I regret very much. He was an upright man with good habits. During his stay in San Francisco he had saved enough to realize his dream to open a music shop in Australia.

But if becoming a music retailer again was indeed Lavenu's modest dream (he had briefly succeeded to his family's music business, Mori, Lavenu, & Co., in London, but sold it in 1844), he never found the time to realise it.

Lavenu's first Australian composition, **The Hellespont Polka**, "composed and dedicated to Captain Watts and the officers of the screw steamship Hellespont", was advertised as shortly to be published out of Henry Marsh's music shop at the end of May 1853.²⁵³ Lavenu spent much of his first Australian year in Hobart, collaborating with Maria Carandini, Camille del Sarte, Frank Howson, and violinist Joseph Megson in a series of concerts. But he was probably only biding his time until Catherine Hayes arrived in September 1854, when he took over again as music director for her Australian tour. When in October Henry Marsh advertised Lavenu's **Cleopatra Polka** (also named after a steamship) in October, he clearly indicated the composer had been "Musical director to Miss Catharine Hayes, in her tour through the United States" (though, for some unexplained reason, he also indicated that the polka would be "issued to a limited extent only").²⁵⁴

Lavenu followed Hayes briefly to Calcutta,²⁵⁵ Singapore and Batavia in early 1855, but they both returned to Sydney, Hayes eventually travelling back to Britain late in 1856, while Lavenu (perhaps with the interests of his large family in mind; he had six children) opted to

²⁵¹ Some thirty published songs and piano pieces by Lavenu, mostly pre-Australian, are listed in the British Library online catalogue; see "NEW SOUTH WALES", *South Australian Register* (30 May 1853), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38461079>.

²⁵² Hauser, *Aus dem Wanderbuche*, vol. 1, 44:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=tMlCAAAAcAAJ&pg=PA44#v=onepage&q&f=false>; Miska Hauser, *The Letters of Miska Hauser, 1853*: [from *Aus dem Wanderbuche*, 1859] translated from the German by Eric Benson, Donald Peet Cobb and Horatio F. Stoll, Jr. (San Francisco: Works Progress Administration, Northern California, 1939); http://openlibrary.org/books/OL6401132M/The_letters_of_Miska_Hauser_1853.

²⁵³ [Advertisement], "NEW MUSICAL PUBLICATIONS", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (31 May 1853), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12946298>.

²⁵⁴ [Advertisement]: "CLEOPATRA POLKA", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (20 August 1853), 6: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12948212>.

²⁵⁵ "SHIPPING: PASSENGERS ARRIVED", *Allen's Indian Mail and Register* 13/262 (14 February 1855), 68: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=p7cOAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA68#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

stay behind in Australia to settle. He died in Sydney in mid-1859, only shortly after directing a hugely acclaimed five-day musical festival at the University of Sydney, the program including Handel's *Messiah* and Haydn's *Creation*, and the soloists, orchestra and organizing committee drawing together almost every available Sydney professional musician, including many composers—Packer, Winterbottom, Cordner (later active as a composer), W. J. Johnson, Winterbottom, John and Edward Deane, Charles Eigenschenck (who had come to Australia as Lola Montez's musical director), Frederick Ellard, Ernesto Spagnoletti, James Waller, and Frank Howson.²⁵⁶

Lavenu trained at the Royal Academy of Music, where he studied under Bochs and Cipriani Potter, and was tutored by senior student Charles Packer.²⁵⁷ One of his early entrepreneurial projects was to present Franz Liszt on a 50-concert British tour in 1840-41.²⁵⁸ As a composer, in 1846, Lavenu's British career reached its peak with his opera *Loretta*, at Drury Lane, starring Anna Bishop. It received mixed reviews,²⁵⁹ though thanks to Bishop one number, the ballad *On the banks of the Guadalquiver*, became popular.²⁶⁰ Nevertheless, London's last recollection of Lavenu, according to the first edition of Grove's *Dictionary* was that "Dissatisfied with his position, Lavenu emigrated to Australia", thus entirely overlooking his several successful intervening years in the United States, and again suggesting that Australia was a destination of last resort.²⁶¹

Lavenu's Australian productions include a song **A Tribute to Australia**, "written expressly for this occasion by F. H. Dicker, and music composed by M. Lavenu", in Sydney in October 1854,²⁶² and an arrangement of Wallace's **Happy birdling of the forest**,

²⁵⁶ [Advertisement]: "SYDNEY UNIVERSITY MUSICAL FESTIVAL", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (2 July 1859), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13027075>; "SYDNEY UNIVERSITY MUSICAL FESTIVAL", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (18 July 1859), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13027905>.

²⁵⁷ "DEATH OF LEWIS HENRY LAVENU", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (2 August 1859), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13028665>: "[...] Mr. C. S. Packer, who three years ago followed to the tomb the remains of his own master in the orchestral branch of his studies at the Royal Academy of Music—the celebrated Bochs—will to-day perform the same sad duty to one who was one of his own earliest pupils in the same institution [...]"; see also "DEATH OF MR. L. H. LAVENU: SUPPLEMENTARY NOTICE", *Empire* (15 August 1859), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article60401848>.

²⁵⁸ See, for instance, "WOLVERHAMPTON", *The Musical World* 14 (10 December 1840), 376: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=25EPAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA376#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

²⁵⁹ "MUSIC: DRURY LANE", *The Fine Arts' Journal* 1/2 (14 November 1846), 26-27: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=XDEFAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA26#v=onepage&q&f=false>: "Of the music of Mr. Lavenu, we have very little to say; it is throughout very heavy. We trace plagiarism everywhere, the attempt at appropriation not even being concealed. We have not carried away a single ballad, nor do we think any likely to be popular. We will not, however, judge too harshly [...] He writes very well for the orchestra [...] We feel sure that the libretto must have acted as an incubus upon him, which he was not able to throw off".

²⁶⁰ For two American editions, both at Library of Congress: (Philadelphia: A. Fiot, 1847), <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.music/sm1847.430760>; (New York: Atwill, 1847) <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.music/sm1847.421350>; see also George Augustus Sala, *From Waterloo to the Peninsula: Four months' hard labour in Belgium, Holland, Germany, and Spain* (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1867), Vol. 2, 246: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=ipZHA AAAIAAJ&pg=PA246#v=onepage&q&f=false>; and "THEATRE ROYAL", *The Courier* (5 February 1857), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2457765>.

²⁶¹ George Grove, *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. 2 (London: Macmillan and Co., 1880; reprint: London, 1900), 106: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=1mbcmfhP3nkC&pg=Pa106#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

²⁶² [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (17 October 1854), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12957789>; Frederick Hamilton Dicker was a tenor singer who toured with Flora Harris, and participated in

published immediately after its first hearing by Henry Marsh.²⁶³ The program at Hayes's Melbourne concert on 2 November 1854 also included an instrumental **Serenade**:²⁶⁴

[...] introducing some of the most popular ballads sung by Miss Catherine Hayes, performed by the gentlemen of the Orchestra, on her arrival in this colony, and expressly arranged by M. Lavenu.

Lavenu also composed for other singers in the Hayes entourage, including, in September, a new ballad, **It reminds me of thee**, “composed expressly for Madame Sara Flower”, and first sung by her at Hayes's concert on 28 September 1854.²⁶⁵ When Henry Marsh published it, Lavenu dedicated it to “Mrs. Stephen H. Marsh”.²⁶⁶ Maria Carandini introduced **I cannot sing tonight**, to words by Haynes Bayley, at the Herwyns's Hobart concert on 17 October 1854.²⁶⁷ When she sang it again at a Sydney Philharmonic Society concert in May 1857, it was captioned “composed expressly for her by L. Lavenu”.²⁶⁸ According to the *Herald*, Carandini sang it “so pleasingly, that she narrowly escaped a second encore”.²⁶⁹ Clarke published the song the next week, with a portrait of Carandini on the cover.²⁷⁰ It was later noted that:²⁷¹

For five years [Lavenu] had been the unwearied and unwearied instructor of Madame Carandini, to whose great improvement the city of Sydney can bear testimony.

The same source (his obituary), described the genesis of Lavenu's best-known song:

[...] *Molly Asthore*, a favourite with composer and public, was written for Miss Catharine [sic] Hayes. Whilst walking through the streets with his friend, Signor Carandini, the latter remarked that poor Lavenu constantly whistled the same melody. On asking him what it was, Lavenu told him that it was something that had just occurred to him; and on going home the lamented artist scored down the very popular *Molly Asthore*.

what was later counted as the first professional concert in Brisbane; see *The Brisbane Courier* (17 September 1929), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article21489706>; see also [Letter]: “To the editor”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (22 January 1859), 6: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13020180>; and [Letter]: “To the editor”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (25 January 1859), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13011165>.

²⁶³ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (29 September 1854), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12957031>.

²⁶⁴ [Advertisement], *The Argus* (1 November 1854), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4799682>.

²⁶⁵ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (27 September 1854), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12959415>.

²⁶⁶ According to Neidorf, “Marsh Brothers”, 44, the second Mrs. Marsh was a singer.

²⁶⁷ [Advertisement], *Colonial Times* (14 October 1854), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8777701>.

²⁶⁸ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (12 May 1857), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12995400>.

²⁶⁹ “THE PHILHARMONIC”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (16 May 1857), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12995682>.

²⁷⁰ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (23 May 1857), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12996016>.

²⁷¹ Reprinted in “Louis Henry Lavenu”, *New York Weekly* 10 (26 November 1859), 376:

http://books.google.com.au/books?id=T_xWAAAAMAAJ&pg=PA376&#v=onepage&q&f=false.

The first mention of this Irish ballad, originally called *I'm Molly Asthore*, and “composed expressly for Miss Hayes”, was at her Melbourne concert on 14 July 1855,²⁷² whereafter the earliest edition, as [My Molly Asthore](#) (though described there as “new version”) was published by Henry Marsh as No 17 of his Australian Cadeau on 22 September.²⁷³ It was undoubtedly Lavenu’s most popular song, evidenced by a review of Hayes’s Bendigo “farewell” in January 1856:²⁷⁴

When we entered the Princess Theatre, Miss Hayes was breathing forth that tender, simple ballad, *Molly Asthore*. A few notes convinced us she was in splendid voice. We were glad to see that, comprehending the genius of the composer, she adhered strictly to the text, wisely eschewing the introduction of any ornament. The audience were enchanted, the singer displayed such excellent taste. So softly at one time did she musically whisper; with such thrilling effect at another time use the crescendo, that they insisted upon an encore [...].

A fifth edition, with Lavenu’s portrait on the cover, was published posthumously, reviewed in the *Empire* on 26 August 1859:²⁷⁵

MOLLY ASTHORE. There is scarcely a child in Sydney that does not know this most popular and most pleasing ballad of the late lamented composer, L.H. Lavenu. Composed in Australia expressly for Catherine Hayes, since adopted and sung by Madame Carandini, warbled at almost every concert, played by every itinerant street band, the theme for a graceful waltz, *Molly Asthore* has endeared itself to every memory [...].

[5.10] *Miska Hauser*

Miska Hauser (Hungary 1822-1887) {1854-58} arrived in Sydney on 30 October 1854, having come from California, via Valparaiso, for an Australian tour that lasted almost four years. Hauser’s father had been a friend of Beethoven, and Hauser himself studied in Vienna under Bohm and Mayseder. In America, he appeared in New York with Jenny Lind. Yet despite a “world-wide reputation [...] proclaimed for him in the Press”, his first Australian concert in Sydney on 16 November, was, according to the *Herald*, “not made a very prominent feature of the day” and was “little more than half filled”. There was, however:²⁷⁶

[...] little fear that this will be the case again [...] His performances are truly

²⁷² [Advertisement], *The Argus* (12 July 1855), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4811777/512191>.

²⁷³ Another edition from the same plates followed, from Woolcott and Clarke, [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (20 October 1855), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12982640>.

²⁷⁴ MISS HAYES’S FAREWELL CONCERT, BENDIGO”, *The Argus* (15 January 1856), 6: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4828333/188316>.

²⁷⁵ Copy at NLA: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-an9405248>; [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (27 August 1859), 7: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13029969>.

²⁷⁶ “MISKA HAUSER’S CONCERT”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (17 November 1854), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12962408>.

wonderful, and so true to nature, so appreciative of the taste and feelings of society [...] The plaintive sweetness and solemnity “of the mother’s prayer and angel’s song” was equalled only by the brilliant “Caprice” of the accomplished violinist in his imitations of the *Bird on the Tree*.

His December concert in Parramatta (with locals Packer and Spagnoletti as co-artists) included his **Grand Fantasia on Lucretia Borgia** (“Allegro and Maestoso, Thema, and Variations, Andante, and Finale”), the **Carnival of Venice** “with the Introduction of Ernst, and new Variations”, and again, ***The Bird on the Tree (Capriccio Burlesque)***:²⁷⁷

[...] Explanation of the above—A bird is supposed to have escaped from its cage, and flies into an adjacent tree, where it warbles the different airs played by its mistress on the pianoforte.

At his second Sydney concert, Hauser introduced an **Andante et Rondo di concerto, Esmeralda**:²⁷⁸

[...] composed by himself, and proving, that, in addition to his surpassing skill as a violinist, he is an able and classical composer, fully initiated in the science of accompaniment and modern instrumentation.

The Governor-General, visiting from Melbourne, attended Hauser’s third Sydney concert on 25 November, when he played a **Siciliano, Grand Fantasia**, “an original composition of his own, of which those who have heard it in private speak in the highest terms”; an **Echo di Australia** “composed expressly in honour of his Excellency’s visit”; the *Bird on the Tree*

²⁷⁷ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (6 December 1854), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12963124>; but for a very different retrospective view, see “MISKA HAUSER”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (24 June 1859), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13026755>: “The receipt of the *Vienna Gazette* of the 27th February (says one of our correspondents), one of the most respectable and reliable papers of Germany, and known for its impartial criticism about all concerning music, enables us to show our colonial readers the light in which the “would-be Australian Paganini”, Miska Hauser, is viewed by an audience of connoisseurs. The said paper, after a lengthy comment on the virtuosi literal production of “Memoirs of a Virtuoso”, with its atrocious falsehoods through-out, and with its most unlucky attempts to make Australia and her capitals (especially Sydney), appear a second Sodom or Gomorrah—speaks in the following terms of Miska Hauser’s concert: “Notwithstanding the 1200 concerts he has given (and it here suits us to believe his saying), Miska Hauser’s play is the same as before his departure. An European critic would denounce M. Hauser’s tone as thin, his execution as very very moderate, his fluency not quite faultless, but his double notes out of time, and his musical production flat and without taste. Most undoubtedly Miska Hauser, in giving a concert in Vienna, never intended to show his proficiency, he merely meant to show us the entirely different taste of the countries in which he gained his (self-appreciated) laurels. As an illustration of his memoirs he only meant to give us a specimen of music, with which he enraptured the hairdressers and Chinese of San Francisco, or the mulattoes and créoles of Santiago, or through what style of music only he was enabled to soften and enamour even the heart of Queen Pomare. Was Miska Hauser, however, in giving us this concert guided by other motives—did he but for one moment think to let us judge between himself and a Vieuxtemps, Ole Bull, Joachim, Wieniawski or others of their stamp—we can then not withhold our astonishment at M. Hauser’s impertinence to treat a Vienna audience to so miserable a hash of ditties as *the bird on the tree*”.

²⁷⁸ “MISKA HAUSER’S SECOND CONCERT”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (22 November 1854), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12962601>.

again; as well as “several Irish and Scotch airs arranged by himself for the occasion”.²⁷⁹ But, as described in the *Herald*, the *Echo of Australia* may have been fainter than the title suggests, being built rather on two American ballads, and a Scots one on repeat:²⁸⁰

After an introductory movement, two favourite ballad-melodies, *Ben Bolt*, and *Katie Darling*, form the theme; and they being played, passage by passage, an echo obligato accompaniment (if we may coin the term) is given. The effect was electrical; and loud and long plaudits really drowned the crescendo. The substitution of the beautiful Scotch melody, *Auld Robin Gray*, when the encore was demanded, did not satisfy the enthusiastic audience [...]

Hauser had some competition from a French violinist-composer, **Henri Herwyn (France ?-after 1858) {1854-55}**, who was also touring at the time. Herwyn’s “Bird on the tree” was his “**Grand Fantasia**” on themes from Donizetti’s opera *La Favorite*.²⁸¹ He also played a **Hommage à Paganini**, always described as consisting of “Variations burlesques for Violin”, but on moveable themes, one on occasion “Millbrook”, on another:

[...] on the air of *Marlborough*, Staccato, Pizzicato, octaves. Cry of the different animals, &c., and one variation with the famous trill harmonic (imitation of the birds). Composed and executed by Henri Herwyn [...].

Though Herwyn seems not to have “expressly” concocted a work with an Australian title, his **Grand Fantasia for Violin**, “with variations and finale for one string only, in which the favorite airs of *God save the Queen*, *Ye Banks and Braes*, and *Patrick’s Day*, will be introduced”, at least went further toward addressing Australians’ patriotic British roots than did Hauser’s not so aptly titled *Echo di Australia*.²⁸² Hauser did, however, redeem himself at

²⁷⁹ “MISKA HAUSER’S THIRD CONCERT”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (25 November 1854), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12962737>; [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (24 November 1854), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12962685>.

²⁸⁰ “MISKA HAUSER’S THIRD CONCERT”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (27 November 1854), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12962762>; this evidently had at least one theme in common with Hauser’s *Souvenir de America*, also played later in the tour, “comprising Ten American Themes with Variations” (a “Grand American Fantasia, with variations on the Themes *Ben Bolt*, *Old Folks at Home*, *Susanna don’t you cry*, &c.”); [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (19 April 1855), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12968299>; on a local reaction to Hauser’s introduction of American themes, see Letter, from Moreton Bay, 2 April 1855, Hauser, *Aus dem Wanderbuch*, vol. 2, 50:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=JMZAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q=brother&f=false>; translation, 36: “Unfortunately, toward the conclusion there was a considerable demonstration against me [...] more of a political than a musical character [...] but as I was playing the last bit of my *Little Bird*, the devil [...] plagued me into working in *Brother Jonathan* [*Yankee Doodle*]. This hated ditty aroused John Bull in a flash [...] ‘Nothing about Yankee’s [...]’, and uproar broke out.”

²⁸¹ Herwyn was still playing this work in France in 1858; see “Auditions Musicales”, *Gazette musicale de Paris* 25 (2 May 1858), 146: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=2e4sAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA146#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

²⁸² [Advertisement], *The Courier* (13 October 1854), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2240897>; [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (8 May 1854), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12953112>; [Advertisement], *Colonial Times* (5 October 1854), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8777556>; “MONSIEUR AND MADAME HERWYN’S CONCERT”, *The Courier* (8 November 1854), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2238890>; [Advertisement], *The Argus* (12 December 1854), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4801634>; “[...] **Hommage a Paganini**, Variations, burlesques on the air of *Marlborough*, Staccato, Pizzicato, octaves. Cry of

Sydney's Victoria Theatre on 2 December 1854, with his new **Australian National Song, Hail, Australia**, sung by Frank Howson.²⁸³

Hauser's early impressions of Australia are recorded in a series of "letters" written during the first year of his tour, later published in Germany.²⁸⁴ While his general observations are mostly unremarkable, those on the local musical culture, largely unsympathetic, are of some interest.²⁸⁵ Identifying as a German, he bemoaned the musical sway of English composers like Bishop and Linley, both in North America and Australia:²⁸⁶

The British have [...] in music, produced so little of importance [...] Nothing can be said of the modern English composers, who [...] drag through these half-cultured countries to misdirect and ruin public taste.

He discovered quickly that his own more serious compositions were less likely to be successful with local audiences than "my Little bird"; whereas, "my andante [...] is accompanied by the uniform yawning of the ladies and gentlemen".²⁸⁷ Writing from Moreton Bay in April 1855, he recorded that he had been composing:²⁸⁸

I've finished a concert piece, as well as composing a rondo, six studies, three melodies (to Heine) and an impromptu [...] At present I am at work on my fantasy with orchestra on a Beethoven theme [...] I have gone so far as to harmonise it, but only for Europe, for here such music would send people to sleep.

However, later in his tour, and perhaps with the encouragement of locals like Frederick Ellard and the publisher J. R. Clarke, Hauser did release a good deal of his more characteristic music here, including at least one of his Heine songs.

the different animals, &c., and one variation with the famous trill harmonic (imitation of the birds) [...] Grand Fantasia for Violin, with variations and finale for one string only, in which the favorite airs of *God save the Queen*, *Ye Banks and Braes*, and *Patrick's Day*, will be introduced".

²⁸³ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (1 December 1854), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12962944>.

²⁸⁴ Miska Hauser, *Aus dem Wanderbuche eines österreichischen Virtuosen: Briefe aus Californien, Südamerika und Australien* (Leipzig: Grunow, 1860):

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=JMZAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>; translation by Colin Roderick and Hugh Anderson, see Bibliography; for Hauser's earlier letters from America, see translated extracts in Judith Tick with Paul Beaudoin (eds), *Music in the USA: A Documentary Companion* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 190-94:

http://books.google.com.au/books?id=GzGQSt2L_osc&pg=PA190#v=onepage&q&f=false.

²⁸⁵ Hauser's Australian activities were noted in the *American Press*, see *Arthur's Illustrated Home Magazine* 5 (Philadelphia: August 1855), 111, foot of column 1:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=C7okAQAAIAAJ&pg=RA1-PA111#v=onepage&q&f=false>; and "VALUE OF AN EDITOR'S TIME", *Ballou's Monthly Magazine* 3-4 (1856), 180:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=Wa1MAAAAMAAJ&pg=PA180#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

²⁸⁶ Letter, from Melbourne, 4 August 1855; *Aus dem Wanderbuche*, vol. 2, 96:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=JMZAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=snippet&q=englischen%20komponisten&f=false>; translation, 54.

²⁸⁷ Letter, from Melbourne, 4 August 1855; Hauser, *Aus dem Wanderbuche*, vol. 2, 97:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=JMZAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=snippet&q=%22wie%20mein%20andante%22&f=false>; translation, 55.

²⁸⁸ Letter, from Moreton Bay, 2 April 1855; Hauser, *Aus dem Wanderbuche*, vol. 2, 51:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=JMZAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=snippet&q=nach%20heine&f=false>, translation, p.36.

The first of Hauser's Australian compositions to appear in print was [Raindrops in Australia](#), an "impromptu" for piano, dedicated "a son ami Frederic Ellard", in Woolcott and Clarke's *Australian Presentation Album* for 1855. The following year, a piano arrangement of [The Bird Upon the Tree](#), and the "impromptu" [Australian Flowers](#) were "composed specially" for Clarke's *Australian Musical Album* for 1857.²⁸⁹ Frederick Ellard first sang one of Hauser's Heine songs, said to be especially composed for him, in Sydney in April 1855.²⁹⁰ It was probably the same song that Hauser included in his Sydney "farewell" concert in October 1856.²⁹¹ Ellard later arranged for its printing, as [The Fisher Maiden: Barcarolle](#), "transcrit par Frederic Ellard; composé par Miska Hauser", by Clarke in April 1859.²⁹² Meanwhile, the [Ballad](#) ("*Thou'rt like unto a flower*"), was sung in Melbourne in February 1856.²⁹³ W. J. Johnson's *The Sydney Harmonicon* reportedly also included a **Chanson d'Amour** by Hauser.²⁹⁴

Perhaps the most tantalising of his Australian works was the **Adagio from the New Concerto** advertisement for a concert in December 1857,²⁹⁵ perhaps the first ever concertomovement composed in Australia. Hauser left to return to Europe in June 1858.²⁹⁶ Having already been performed at his final Adelaide concert in 1857,²⁹⁷ at his last Sydney concert Sara Flower sang his song, **Farewell to Australia**. The words survive, but are unspecific enough to raise a suspicion that the song may have been recycled from his American tour:²⁹⁸

*Farewell! dear land of hill and vale,
Of forest and of stream,
A stranger to thy shores I came,
But now a son I seem [...].*

[5.11] *Edward Boulanger*

The French pianist and composer **Edward (Edouard Desirée) Boulanger (France 1829-1863) {1854-63}** also came to Australia via several years spent successfully

²⁸⁹ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (24 December 1856), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12990430>.

²⁹⁰ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (13 April 1855), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12968006>.

²⁹¹ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (23 October 1856), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12988185>.

²⁹² [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (9 April 1859), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13023492>.

²⁹³ "MISS EMILIE SMITH'S CONCERT", *The Argus* (8 February 1856), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4830187>.

²⁹⁴ "THE SYDNEY HARMONICON", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (26 February 1856), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12973904>.

²⁹⁵ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (16 December 1857), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13004029>.

²⁹⁶ "VICTORIA", *The Courier* (18 June 1858), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2462729>; "Miska Hauser sailed for Europe in the *Australasian*."

²⁹⁷ [Advertisement]: "MISKA HAUSER'S FAREWELL CONCERT", *South Australian Register* (29 January 1857), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49762868> [prints words]; "MISKA HAUSER'S FAREWELL CONCERT", *South Australian Register* (30 January 1857), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49768367>.

²⁹⁸ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (1 May 1858), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13009524>.

working in America.²⁹⁹ In Sydney in December, notwithstanding some Chopin on his program, it was reportedly “his own Nocturne in B flat [...] in which [...] Boulanger appeared to outshine himself”.³⁰⁰ As was the case with Hauser, several of Boulanger’s works were published here early in his stay under the rubric of “colonial compositions”. At his Sydney concert in May 1855, at which the widow Gautrot assisted, Boulanger was represented by his **Nocturne de Concert** and some transcriptions.³⁰¹ The *Nocturne* was one a major collection (dedicated to leading ladies of Sydney society) that Mader had in the press late in 1855, a last minute addition to that year’s run of colonial musical anthologies (discussed in Chapter 6). This one was different, however; under the title *Boulanger’s Musical Keepsake for 1856*, it was the first single-composer collection of piano music produced in Australia. It was also full of unusually difficult music, in a thoroughly up-to-date European idiom, including a **Serenade to Don Pasquale**, a **Caprice sur Norma**, a **Concert Waltz**, and a **Caprice Nocturne**.³⁰² The *Keepsake* was twice noticed in the *Herald*, once, without undue exaggeration musically, as “beyond all question the most admirable publication to which our country has given birth”. Elsewhere, signally under the heading “AUSTRALIAN MUSIC” (apparently not considered a premature claim), the *Herald* predicted that Boulanger’s set would “throw all other colonial musical publications into the shade, nothing of so high a classical character having before been presented to an Australian public”. Perhaps curiously, then, not a single surviving copy has been identified of the book, nor of later editions of most of the contents by J. R. Clarke.

Fortunately, there are several other Boulanger survivals. **The Last Rose of Summer (Caprice for the Piano)**, “composed and dedicated to his friend M. Hauser”, was commissioned by J. R. Clarke for his *Australian Musical Album* of 1857.³⁰³ It was followed by a string of separate issues early in 1857, first **The Cricket Match Schottische**, and four works inspired by Sydney’s great fascination at the time—steam ships, **The Oneida Polka**, and **The Simla Galop**, announced by Clarke on 15 January,³⁰⁴ and **The European**

²⁹⁹ For a recent biography (from “Information kindly supplied by Sian Macpherson January 2010”), see <http://www.printsandprintmaking.gov.au/catalogues/artist/8551/edouard-desiree-boulanger.aspx>.

³⁰⁰ “SYDNEY PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (5 December 1855), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12978663>.

³⁰¹ “MR. EDWARD BOULANGER’S CONCERT”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (3 May 1855), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12968910>; see [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (3 May 1855), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12968874>; a broadside for his next concert, on 11 June, also survives, see copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16652060>.

³⁰² “AUSTRALIAN MUSIC”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (3 December 1855), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28638097>; [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (11 February 1856), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12979208>; “REVIEW”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (11 February 1856), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12979227>; J. R. Clarke also issued some of the same pieces under the collective title “The Works of E. D. Boulanger”: 1. Oneida Polka; 2. European March; 3. Simla Galop; 4. Cricket Match Schottische; 5. Last Rose of Summer; 6. Caprice sur Norma; 7. Concert Waltz; 8. Nocturne de Concert; 9. Caprice Nocturne.

³⁰³ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (24 December 1856), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12990430>.

³⁰⁴ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (15 January 1857), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12991322>.

March, “dedicated to Captain Parfitt and the officers of the [...] *S.S. European*”, according to the *Herald* in “[Boulanger’s] best style of composition”.³⁰⁵ **The Columbian Mazurka** was published in April, named after the “English and Australian Royal Mail Company’s *S.S. Columbian*”. The *Herald* found it “a sparkling and graceful composition [...] characterised by those qualities in musical art which have gained so wide a reputation for M. Boulanger”.³⁰⁶

Boulanger introduced his **Fantasia on Airs from the Daughter of the Regiment** at Miska Hauser’s final “farewell” concert in Sydney in May 1858, and on the same program his **Impromptu Polka**.³⁰⁷ Clarke had first announced the polka as being in the press in February 1862, but was forced to explain in *March* that, because of “the elaborate character of the music the engraving thereof is somewhat delayed”.³⁰⁸ His “very brilliant” **Caprice de salon on airs from Lurline** (dedicated, probably with an eye to his Sydney admirers, to Wallace himself) was issued in 1862:³⁰⁹

[...] the principal [air] being the plaintive aria, “Flow on, gentle Rhine”. The variations display the great resources of the composer in that quality of music, and surround the theme with the most sparkling and liquid passages. As a study for the amateur, or a piece for the accomplished musician, it will be found extremely interesting. The publisher is Mr. J. R. Clarke, of George-street, who, in the “Caprice” maintains the reputation he has gained for correct notation and clear printing.

Boulanger was before the insolvency court in March 1863.³¹⁰ He left the colony with the violinist Signor Rubio on the steamer *Urara* on 8 May, and died in a cholera epidemic in Shanghai in September.³¹¹

[5.12] Composers in Anna Bishop’s touring party

Former teacher of Stephen Marsh and Charles Packer, the London-based French harpist-composer **Nicholas Bochsa (France 1889-1856) {1855-56}** also arrived in Australia via the Pacific route, with his lover, the singer Anna Bishop, late in 1855. Their Sydney programs included one recent American work, **A characteristic Fantasia for the orchestra** based on Bochsa’s own “Mexican” song, *La Pasadita*.³¹² Another recent work, and possibly a first performance, was “Bochsa’s new Whimsical Overture for full Orchestra”,

³⁰⁵ “New Music”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (7 March 1857), 7: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12992939>.

³⁰⁶ “NEW MUSIC”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (16 April 1857), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12994263>.

³⁰⁷ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (1 May 1858), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13009524>.

³⁰⁸ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (8 March 1862), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13225499>.

³⁰⁹ “NEW MUSIC”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (3 June 1862), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13229621>; also “MUSIC”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (3 September 1862), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13233733>.

³¹⁰ “INSOLVENCY COURT”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (10 March 1863), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13075427>.

³¹¹ “TELEGRAPHIC DESPACHES”, *The Mercury* (21 September 1863), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8820812>.

³¹² American edition: Philadelphia: A. Fiot, [1850]; <https://jscholarship.library.jhu.edu/handle/1774.2/15634>.

entitled **The Past and the Present**.³¹³ But Bochsa fell ill and died in Sydney shortly afterward. He was buried in the churchyard at St. Stephen's, Camperdown (now Newtown).³¹⁴ One item of his funeral music was arranged from a tune that he had reportedly written on his deathbed. According to the press report of his obsequies:³¹⁵

Madame Bishop, [...] struck with the solemnity and appropriateness of the air, [...] requested that words might be arranged to it, and sung over his last resting place. Accordingly, the Latin *Requiem* from Catholic ritual was adapted by Mr. Frank Howson, and harmonised in four parts by Mr. Paling, was most effectively rendered.

“This dying chant” was shortly to have been published, to a specially-written English text, as **Rest, great Musician, rest!** But, if so, it does not survive. After Bochsa's death, Bishop continued to perform his music in Australia, notably the Mexican “castanet” song **La Bajadere**, also printed locally in W. J. Johnson's *Sydney Harmonicon*.³¹⁶

After Bochsa's death, **George Loder (England 1816-1868) {1856-57; 1862-68}** took over as musical director in October 1856 for the remainder of Bishop's tour, joined by flautist **Julius Siede (Germany 1825-1903) {1856-1903}** as associate artist. Again, both came to Australia direct from working in the United States.³¹⁷ Loder was already known in Australia as a composer; in 1851, Sara Flower and John Howson had sung his duet **Peace to the Dead** in Sydney³¹⁸

At the end of her concert at the Hobart Theatre Royal in January 1857 Anna Bishop, as “the pupil”, and Loder as “the music-master”, performed his comedy **The Celebrated Singing Lesson**.³¹⁹ In December 1856 in Adelaide, and again in February 1857, Bishop introduced a “new song, for the Voice and Flute”, **The Sea Nymph**, composed expressly for her by Loder.³²⁰ In Sydney in August 1857, Loder had two new works of vastly contrasted natures; at the Royal Victoria he arranged the music for a “new local extravaganza”, entitled

³¹³ [Advertisement]: “MADAME ANNA BISHOP”, *Bell's Life in Sydney* (29 December 1855), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article59761264>; “PRINCE OF WALES THEATRE”, *Empire* (3 January 1856), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article60171928>.

³¹⁴ E. J. Lea-Scarlett, “Bochsa, Robert Nicholas Charles (1789-1856)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 3 (1969), 187-188: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A030179b.htm>.

³¹⁵ “DEATH AND OBSEQUIES OF THE LATE M. BOCHSA”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (9 January 1856), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12981597>; see also the belated “THE LATE CHEVALIER BOCHSA”, *South Australian Register* (11 November 1856), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49758994>, which reprints a biographical article from the *The Musical World*, as well as repeating the Sydney report.

³¹⁶ “THE SYDNEY HARMONICON”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (26 February 1856), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12973904>; this edition is lost, but see the earlier US edition of 1848: <https://jscholarship.library.jhu.edu/handle/1774.2/31492>.

³¹⁷ The American musical press noted Loder's arrival in Australia with interest; “MISKA HAUSER”, *Dwight's Journal of Music* (24 January 1857), 135: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=D2QPAAAAYAAJ&pg=RA1-PA135#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

³¹⁸ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (16 December 1851), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12932864>.

³¹⁹ [Advertisement], *The Courier* (29 January 1857), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2457664>

³²⁰ [Advertisement], *The Hobart Town Mercury* (4 February 1857), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3242820>; later advertised in Sydney as a “LYRIC ARIA for voice and two flutes obligato”, [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (24 August 1857), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28632674>.

The Lady Killer, or The Devil in Sydney, by James Simmonds (including excerpts from *Ernani* and *Lucretia Borgia*); while at a grand oratorio at St. Mary's, Bishop and company performed a "Motette (In Canone), composed for this occasion" by Loder, **Regina Apostolorum**.³²¹ The oratorio program also included a **Grand Aria für Flute**, composed and performed by Julius Siede. According to the *Herald*:³²²

The festival was under the direction of Mr. George Loder, an artiste whose composition *Regina Apostolorum* (exquisitely rendered by Madame Anna Bishop, Madame Sara Flower, Monsieur Laglaise, and Mr. Farquhason) evinces genius of an elevated and refined order [...] We cannot conclude [...] without expressing a hope that Mr. Loder may find sufficient encouragement to remain amongst us, in order to supply a great requirement—a head to the musical profession of our metropolis—a position he appears so eminently qualified to occupy.

Though Loder did not find "sufficient encouragement" immediately, he returned to Australia in 1862, with his wife, soprano Emma Neville, to tour another of his semi-dramatised pieces, "the inimitable Drawing-Room Operatic Entertainment", **The Old House at Home**.³²³ The *Argus* found it "a very vapid production".³²⁴ The Loders also toured to Brisbane and Adelaide, both as a duo, and later with Lyster's Opera Company. Australia, however, did not live up to its Loder's expectations, as his obituary in July 1868 related:³²⁵

The telegraph announces the death, yesterday, at Adelaide, of Mr. George Loder, the well-known composer of music, and at one time the conductor of the Lyster opera troupe here. Mr. Loder had an excellent reputation in London, and arrived in Australia some years ago in company with Mrs. Loder [...] to give musical and dramatic entertainments. In these they were less successful than, perhaps, they had a right to expect. Their last engagement was played in Adelaide, where Mrs. Loder died some time ago; and for months past Mr. Loder has lingered in gradually declining health, a victim of broken hopes and spirits.

Loder's only certainly Australian work is the **Prince Alfred Waltz**, issued for the prince's visit to Adelaide in 1867, though his song **Oh! Boyhood's Days** ("as sung by T.H. Rainford", of the Weston and Hussey's Minstrels) was also printed in Melbourne, probably after his death. At Loder's funeral, a **Dirge** by the also recently-deceased Adelaide

³²¹ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (8 August 1857), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12999075>; also [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (18 August 1857), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12999556>.

³²² "GRAND ORATORIO", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (20 August 1857), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12999638>; on "The Devil in Sydney", see "ROYAL VICTORIA", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (29 August 1857), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12999952>; "THE DRAMA. THE ROYAL VICTORIA", *Bell's Life in Sydney* (29 August 1857), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article59867212>.

³²³ [Advertisement], *The Courier* (14 August 1863), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3165053>; Songs from it had been published in London in August 1861, see [Advertisement], *The Musical World* (24 August 1861), 544; in Melbourne, *Words of the songs and description of the personations, in the new and original entertainment, The Old House at Home: written and composed by Frank Ibberson Jervis and George Loder* (Melbourne : W.H. Williams, Printer, [1862?]), copy at SL-VIC: <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/28177429>.

³²⁴ [News], *The Argus* (3 February 1862), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5709393/204350>.

³²⁵ [News], *The Argus* (16 July 1868), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5821701>.

clarinettist-composer, **Theodor Heydecke (Germany ?-1867) {1859-67}**, was played by a quintet from Schrader's Band.³²⁶ In 1866, Loder had printed a piano arrangement of Heydecke's **Finnigan's Wake Polka**.³²⁷

Julius Siede, meanwhile, stayed on in Melbourne, and lived until 1903, contributing over almost four decades toward the professionalisation of musical life of Melbourne (his son, August, was also an occasional composer).³²⁸ In 1859, at a performance of "Verdi's new and most popular opera *La Traviata*", he introduced yet another "new National Song", **Advance Australia** ("Composed expressly for, and sung by, Mons. Emile Coulon"), and a **Grand Overture** for "a complete orchestra" (the first of several overtures he composed in Victoria).³²⁹ And each evening during that summer season, the band played his especially composed **Vestibule Polka**.³³⁰

[5.13-14] Other arrivals

[5.13] German arrivals

In addition to Theodor Heydecke, mentioned above, South Australia attracted several other German composer-musicians as settlers, rather than as tourists. The most famous, Carl Linger (discussed in Chapter 7) arrived to farm in 1849, and only after failing in that rural venture returned to urban life teaching music (and composing occasionally) in Adelaide in the 1850s. Another occasional composer, Wilhelm Ferdinand Draeger (also mentioned in Chapter 7) had arrived in 1848, and settled in the rural community of Tanunda, where he was joined in 1854, by his brother, Carl Wilhelm Draeger, also later active as a composer in the 1860s (see Appendix 2: Part 2).³³¹ **August Huenerbein (Germany 1823-1882) {fl.1850-82}** composed several works performed in Adelaide in 1850-51, but appears to have moved on to Melbourne thereafter. Huenerbein died in Sydney, where his two sons August and Charles (the latter also a composer) ran a music publishing business; one of the August Huenerbeins was, as already noted, a close friend (and the younger probably musical executor) of Charles Packer. **Oscar Reyher {1854-71; 1873-1904}** was another long standing German settler, who made a couple of brief appearances as a composer. Publication

³²⁶ "SOUTH AUSTRALIA: FUNERAL OF THE LATE MR. G. LODER", *The Mercury* (28 July 1868), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8853638>.

³²⁷ See "FUNERAL OF THE LATE HERR HEYDECKE", *The South Australian Advertiser* (13 February 1867), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28795135>.

³²⁸ Maureen Thérèse Radic, "Siede, Julius (1825-1903)", *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 6 (1976), 124-125: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A060140b.htm>.

³²⁹ [Advertisement], *The Argus* (13 April 1859), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5679449>; for his other overtures, search "Siede" in **Appendix 2 Checklist**.

³³⁰ [Advertisement], *The Argus* (24 December 1859), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5694206>; Doggett, "And for harmony most ardently we long": *Musical life in Ballarat, 1851-1871* (Ph.D thesis, University of Ballarat, 2006), vol. 2, lists several Siede works composed for and/or played by Ballarat bands in the mid-1860s, notably **Our Motto (grand march)**, "composed expressly for the [Ballarat] Volunteer Rangers", *The Ballarat Star* (23 November 1866).

³³¹ On the Draegers, see Meike Tiemeyer-Schütte, *Das Deutsche Sangerwesen in Sudastralien vor Ausbruch des Ersten Weltkrieges zwischen Bewahrung von Deutschtum und Anglikanisierung* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2000); 46, 130, 200-201; <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=L2HXewmnOfQC>.

of his **Kangaroo Polka** was first advertised in June 1858 as a “Polka de Concert, pour le Piano, dédiée a Madame Bentham Neales, par O. F. V. Reyher”.³³² It and a companion **Emu Polka** were said “to be had by all Book and Music sellers in Adelaide” in July.³³³

[5.14] *French arrivals*

Camille Del Sarte (France c.1817-1877) {1851-77} came from Paris, like the Gautrots fifteen years earlier, via Java. Son of Francois Del Sarte and brother of Antonio,³³⁴ and himself “of the Conservatoire Royale de Musique, and of the Opera National, of Paris”, Del Sarte gave his first Australian concert in Adelaide in April 1851, during which he sang his own song **Le Chant Beni des Oiseaux**.³³⁵ Evidently intending to settle, he applied for a liquor license for his Café Parisien in June, and made several more concert appearances, but by the end of the year seems to have determined to move on to Melbourne, and did so early in 1852.³³⁶ There, in March he advertised as a “Professor of Singing and Teacher of the Piano”, and “his intention to remain in Port Phillip”. In the same advertisement he announced both his “first Australian composition”, the **Juvenile Ball Quadrilles**, and his “first composition in Port Phillip”, **The Faded Rose**, written for the singer Mrs. Testar.³³⁷ But in January 1853, he moved on again to Hobart. There in June 1854 he introduced his ballad, **Farewell**, sung by himself, and “dedicated to F. H. Henslowe, Esq.”, the local composer, according to the *Courier*, “plaintive and pleasing [...] likely to become a favourite”.³³⁸ His **Un rêve (Romance musique)** was among the Tasmanian Exhibits at the Paris Exhibition in 1855.³³⁹

Del Sarte’s ballad, **My Tears for Thee**, was apparently popular, going into a “fifth edition” in 1868 in Sydney, where he was then living and teaching, issued by the publisher Elvy. According to the *Herald*:³⁴⁰

The words are by George Linley, being an English version of a French romanza. Some of our readers, too, will be aware that this romanza has been set to music by Clapisson. M. Del-Sarte, however, takes a different key, that of F, with one flat and three-four time, changing into two-four, and returning. The sentiment is pleasantly

³³² [Advertisement]: “KANGAROO POLKA”, *South Australian Register* (15 June 1858), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49774882>.

³³³ [Advertisement], *The South Australian Advertiser* (26 July 1858), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article781549>.

³³⁴ “ANTONIO DEL SARTE”, *The Hobart Town Daily Mercury* (23 August 1858), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3250064>.

³³⁵ [Advertisement]: “GRAND EVENING CONCERT”, *South Australian Register* (7 April 1851), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38450697>.

³³⁶ [Advertisement], *The Argus* (26 February 1852), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4783425>.

³³⁷ [Advertisement], *The Argus* (22 March 1852), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4783922>.

³³⁸ [Advertisement], *The Courier* (10 June 1854), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2246187>; “CONCERT”, *The Courier* (7 June 1854), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2240628>; “GRAND CONCERT”, *The Courier* (16 June 1854), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2246021>.

³³⁹ “TASMANIAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO PARIS, 1855, NO XIV”, *The Courier* (27 September 1855), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2491196>.

³⁴⁰ “NEW MUSIC”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (11 July 1868), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13169282>.

treated, and the music correctly written, but it would, perhaps, have been improved if the double pedal had been continued throughout. It is a sweet little ballad, simple and easy, and, therefore, likely to become popular.

Del Sarte also advertised for sale his **Marceau Galop**, probably in its original Paris edition.³⁴¹ Del Sarte returned to Hobart, and died there in 1877, aged “about 60”. According to his obituary:³⁴²

Among the music-loving public of Tasmania, and more especially that of the metropolis, no name was more familiar in, years gone by than that of Camille Del Sarte [...] He had not been long in Hobart Town before his name as a practical and theoretical teacher of music became a household word in Tasmania [...] At the time of the volunteer movement, Mons. Del Sarte held the position of bandmaster in the Artillery corps [...] the deceased left Hobart Town and took up his abode in Sydney [...] Unfortunately, however, he was induced to enter into mining speculations, and these turning out unremunerative, Mons. Del Sarte lost a considerable sum of money. He remained in Sydney about seven years, and only returned to Hobart Town between two and three years ago. His long absence from the colony, however, had almost completely broken the connection which he had formerly made; and although his reputation as a master in his profession was as great as ever, he was not able to regain the high position which he had occupied before he left the colony [...].

Ali-Ben Sou-Alle (France 1820-after 1865) {1853-56}, the self-styled “turkophone” (saxophone) virtuoso, and convert to Islam who habitually performed in his adopted Turkish “national costume” (his original name probably Augustin Edmond Soualle),³⁴³ toured the world during the 1850s, later publishing musical souvenirs of Natal, Shanghai, Java, and Mauritius, among others.³⁴⁴ Sou-Alle had performed in London for Jullien during the Great Exhibition of 1851, and probably lured on by reports of the healthy new market for entertainers in the far east, eventually arrived in Australia, touring extensively over three years, and composing while he was here. At the official opening of the Geelong Railway in September 1853, it was reported that:³⁴⁵

During the déjeuner, an anthem [...] set to music by the celebrated Ali Ben Sou Alle, was sung by Mr. Hancock, and received with rapturous applause.

³⁴¹ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (12 September 1868), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13172734>; copy at SL-NSW: <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19751912>.

³⁴² “DEATH OF MONS. DEL SARTE”, *The Mercury* (3 July 1877), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8954267>.

³⁴³ “ORDONNANCES”, *Recueil des Lois L’Île Maurice et de ses Dépendances* 9 (1862-65), 198: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=lsRBAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA198#v=onepage&q&f=false>; Sou-Alle was sometimes rumoured to be Irish, though he claimed to have been born in Arras.

³⁴⁴ “Musique pour piano”, *Journal général de l’imprimerie et de la librairie* 5/1 (1861), 574: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=QRcDAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA574#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

³⁴⁵ “THE INAUGURATION FETE OF THE GEELONG RAILWAY (Abridged from the *Geelong Advertiser*)”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (7 October 1853), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12949346>.

The lyricist was the English poet Martin Farquhar Tupper, the words possibly identical with his **Advance Australia**, “*A National Ballad for the Times 1853*”, published by Woolcott and Clarke in Sydney.³⁴⁶

At the Mechanics’ Institute in Melbourne on 5 August 1853, Sou-Alle introduced a **Valse L’Australienne**, “(first time), composed expressly for this concert”, and **Cheerily, men**, “the sailor’s song, by desire, a piece of descriptive music”, also expressly composed, and described in a detailed program note in the advertisement.³⁴⁷ It was probably the same piece reviewed earlier in the *Argus*:³⁴⁸

[...] we perceive that Mr. Sou-Alle is a composer of considerable merit. A piece composed by him, representing a storm at sea, and containing an adaptation of the well-known sailors’ song, was very well received at the last concert, and is to be repeated to-night.

At a concert in Hobart on 2 November, Sou-Alle dedicated to the governor William Denison his **Tasmanian Polka**.³⁴⁹ He arrived in Sydney, just as Miska Hauser was moving on, in December 1854, and presented a concert supported by Charles Packer and Flora Harris.³⁵⁰ Again in Melbourne, at the Saturday “fashionable promenade” given by the Band of the 40th Regiment in Queen’s Arcade on 7 June 1856, his **Polka The Diggers** was played (along with a **Galop L’Australienne** by Mildmay).³⁵¹ At least one of his compositions was printed locally, **The Goulburn Waltz**, dedicated “*a mes amis de Goulburn*”, where he gave two concerts in January 1855. Both his and Hauser’s Goulburn concerts created a minor sensation, when a local music-lover was charged, in effect, with *lèse-majesté* for, on each occasion, sitting with his hat on during the *God Save the Queen*.³⁵²

* * *

³⁴⁶ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (10 September 1853), 7: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12948758>; also [Advertisement], *The Maitland Mercury* (16 December 1854), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article695995>; Tupper’s **True Love Never Dies** was later set by Frederick Packer.

³⁴⁷ [Advertisement], *The Argus* (4 August 1853), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4795329>.

³⁴⁸ “CONCERT”, *The Argus* (25 July 1853), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4794897>.

³⁴⁹ [Advertisement], *The Courier* (2 November 1854), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2245759>; “PUBLIC AMUSEMENTS”, *The Courier* (4 November 1854), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2246230>.

³⁵⁰ “MUSIC”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (22 December 1854), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12963605>.

³⁵¹ [Advertisement], *The Argus* (6 June 1856), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4839609>.

³⁵² “CENTRAL POLICE COURT”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (6 August 1855), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12972572>; “CENTRAL POLICE COURT”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (17 August 1855), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12973021>; the charge was brought by the singer Frederick Dicker, who, along with Flora Harris, was later himself charged with perjury over the incident, see [Letter]: “To the editor”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (22 January 1859), 6: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13020180>; and [Letter]: “To the editor”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (25 January 1859), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13011165>.

Chapter 6

Colonial Productions: *Composers, publishers, anthologies*

[6.1] *Still at the frontiers: Brisbane and Perth*

MORETON BAY Colony, or Queensland, was not proclaimed until 1859, and until then was part of New South Wales. Plans to give a public concert there in aid of Brisbane Hospital were stymied as late as 1851 by “a paucity of instrumental performers”. But concert life in Brisbane and regional Ipswich received a boost when Flora Harris and Miska Hauser toured there in 1854-55. Possibly the earliest (pre-separation) Queensland song on record is by the Brisbane auctioneer, **Thomas Alford (England? 1817-1864) {c.1850-64}**, later a pioneer of the Toowoomba region. Whether Alford’s **Fair Land of Australia** consisted of both original words and original music, or words alone, is unclear. But, as “dedicated to and sung by Miss Catherine Hayes at her last concert in Sydney”, it was advertised for sale at John Cooling’s Musical Repository in North Brisbane in October 1854.¹ It may well have been the first ever music printed in Queensland.

In 1855—as also in Sydney—Brisbane had both a “German Band”, and a “Hungarian Band”;² and when Miska Hauser, Flora Harris, and Charles Packer visited and gave concerts together, Packer notably included on the program a **Grand Extemporaneous Performance on the Harmonium**.³ Their collaborator on this occasion was a recently arrived local, **Silvester Diggles (England 1817-1880) {1853-80}**, a “professor of music”, and one of Brisbane’s earliest resident composers. Having founded the Brisbane Choral Society early in 1859, Diggles’s vocal quartette **Child of the Sun** was included on the program of its first concert in May.⁴ In October, *The Morton Bay Courier* printed some new lyrics to be sung to the tune of Henry Bishop’s *Home Sweet Home*, described as a “new version composed for the Brisbane Choral Society”, and which was sung in public in November.⁵ Exceptionally, at least some of the music of this arrangement (and possibly much

¹ [Advertisement], *The Moreton Bay Courier* (28 October 1854), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3708923>; Lavenu was credited with having “wedded to [...] appropriate music” a “*Tribute to Australia* composed [i.e. the words] for the occasion”, but the words were by F.H. Dicker, “MISS HAYES’ CHARITY FAREWELL CONCERT”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (18 October 1854), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12955861>;

² Even provincial Launceston had a permanent German Band from 1854 onward.

³ [Advertisement], *The Moreton Bay Courier* (17 March 1855), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3711555>.

⁴ [Advertisement], *The Moreton Bay Courier* (4 May 1859), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3716879>.

⁵ “Poetry. HOME, SWEET HOME. A NEW VERSION. (Composed for the Brisbane Choral Society)”, *The Moreton Bay Courier* (15 October 1859), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3721657>; [Advertisement]: “Brisbane Choral Society”, *The Moreton Bay Courier* (30 November 1859), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3726315>.

other music besides) survives in a lithographed partbook, now in a private collection, the setting harmonised by Diggles, and the words by Theophilus Pugh:⁶

[...] *Home, home, Sweet, sweet home;*
We love thee dear Queensland our new southern home.

On the opposite side of the continent, in the Swan River Colony, Western Australia, in 1851, an informal fife-and-drum band was all that could be mustered to accompany a party of would-be goldminers sailing off from Fremantle to the diggings in the East.⁷ Concerts were still a rarity in June 1852, when one was proposed in aid of the Mechanics' Institute, but it was still an amateur and charitable event, rather than professional. "Rumours" that reached *The Perth Gazette* nevertheless suggested that "both departments of music", instrumental and vocal, would be "ably represented by amateurs of our society, and they certainly could not have a better cause wherein to exert themselves".⁸ In December 1852, at King George's Sound, the arrival of the ships *Chusan* and *Formosa* was the occasion for a ball, with "dancing and music [...] until cock-crow".⁹

Possibly the earliest recognised composer in the colony was the Spanish Benedictine priest, **Rosendo Salvado (1814-1900) {1846-1900}**, who in May 1846 presented an "Academia di Piano-forte" at Perth Court House, to raise money for his "Mission to the Aborigines" at New Norcia. According to the *Gazette*, his "principal selections were from the modern school", in which he produced "sounds [...] which could not be anticipated out of any instrument".¹⁰ The NLA holds facsimiles of three manuscript piano works by Salvado, claimed to have been played on this occasion, **Pequeño entretenimiento con aire de marcha**,¹¹ a **Fantasia, variaciones y final**,¹² and a **Gran waltz fantastic**.¹³ Again in September 1853, when he preached at a religious profession ceremony in Perth, the music under the direction of (now) bishop Salvado himself, "who had the kindness and condescension to preside in the orchestra, was such as was never before heard in this

⁶ For an image from the book, see Rod Fisher, *Boosting Brisbane: Imprinting the Colonial Capital of Queensland* (Brisbane: Boolarong Press and Brisbane History Group, 2009), 167:

http://books.google.com.au/books?id=SHUE5nTp_UwC&pg=PA167#v=onepage&q&f=false; and source citation 287: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=SHUE5nTp_UwC&pg=PA287#v=onepage&q&f=false.

⁷ On music in the colony, see A. H. Kornweibel, *Apollo and the Pioneers: The story of the first hundred years of music in Western Australia* (Perth: Music Council of WA, 1973); Trove Bookmark: <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/12451167>.

⁸ "DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE", *The Perth Gazette* (4 June 1852), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3173477>.

⁹ "DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE", *The Perth Gazette* (10 December 1852), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3174057>.

¹⁰ [News], *The Perth Gazette* (23 May 1846), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article646732>; "WESTERN AUSTRALIA", *South Australian Register* (1 August 1846), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article27453410>; also copied to *Colonial Times*, *The Moreton Bay Courier*, and *The Sydney Morning Herald*.

¹¹ "Compuesto y dedicado a la virtuosa senõrita Paquita Patrelli por Rosendo Salvado"; MS, facsimile in NLA: <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19396992>.

¹² "Compuestas y dedicadas a la excelentisima señora Condesa Lebzenltern por Rosendo Salvado; MS, facsimile at NLA: <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19396977>.

¹³ "Compuesto y dedicado a la senora Marquesa Santasilia por D. Rosendo Salvado", MS, facsimile at NLA: <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19396999>.

colony.”¹⁴ On this visit, Salvado also presented another “musical entertainment”, giving the company “a great treat by playing, in a manner seldom to be heard, several beautiful pieces of music upon the Harmonium and Pianoforte”.¹⁵

In his *Memorias historicas sobre la Australia*, published in Spain in 1853, Salvado made a few observations on Indigenous songmaking, music, and dance:¹⁶

Some of their verses are improvised in response to a happy or sad event; other verses are transmitted with a type of traditional veneration, and others have come from distant regions, in such a way that not infrequently the original words of the song, either through the passage of time, or because of the remoteness of the place from which they come, are completely unknown and substituted for another, with the result that all that remains of the song is the musical motive. When an Aboriginal is going to visit some friend who lives in a distant country, he will return from the visit carrying, among other new acquisitions, some of the songs that he has learned in the country of his guests. If the song is to his liking, he will sing it with great expressivity, even teaching it to the others, but if the song is ugly and he doesn't like it, he will perfectly distort its lyrics and its melody, making of it a joke with such exaggerated gesticulations as would excite laughter [...].

He characterised [Indigenous] “Australian music” as “graceful and beautiful (like the Phoenician) and [...] serious and grave character (like the Dorian)”, a war song arousing in the singers:

[...] a frenetic energy that propels them furiously to the fight; whereas, on the contrary, their sad songs move them to such an extent that, especially among the women, you can see the tearful effect in their physiognomy.

Salvado also printed one example of a “dance-song of the West Australians”, **Maquiolo: Cancion de caile de los Australianos Occidentales** (music on unnumbered page after 314), a fairly straightforward transcription of an Indigenous melody, but in a highly characteristic piano “reduction”, of what the New Norcia natives called, in his transliteration, *Maquieló, Maquielé*, “one of their most common and most favourite dancing songs”.¹⁷

¹⁴ “To the Editor”, *The Perth Gazette* (23 September 1853), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3174694>; see Dom William, “Salvado, Rosendo (1814-1900)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 2 (1967), 416-417: <http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/AO20371b.htm>.

¹⁵ “DOMESTIC SAYINGS AND DOINGS”, *The Perth Gazette* (30 September 1853), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3174708>.

¹⁶ Rosendo Salvado, *Memorias historicas sobre la Australia: y particularmente acerca la mision Benedictina de Nueva Nursia y los usos y costumbres de los salvajes* (Barcelona: Impr. de los Herederos de la V. Pla, 1853), 314-16: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=z_YaZIk1YLOQ&pg=PA314#v=onepage&q&f=false; my thanks to Michael Noone for these translations.

¹⁷ As a missionary educator, Salvado, it must be recorded here, also stands accused of regularly “removing” Aboriginal children without permission from their parents’ custody; Salvado sent five young Aboriginal children (the youngest aged seven) to Europe to be educated in church institutions there, with the tragic result that all died there, the last in 1855; see Stephen Hills, “The Grand Experiment of the Civilisation of the Aborigines’: A Missionary Endeavour in Western Australia”, in *Evangelists of Empire?: Missionaries in Colonial History*, ed. Amanda Barry, Joanna Cruickshank, Andrew Brown-May and Patricia Grimshaw (Melbourne: University of Melbourne eScholarship Research Centre, 2008): <http://www.msp.unimelb.edu.au/eoe/index.php/missions/article/viewFile/12/14>; for another case in Brisbane,

Over Christmas and New Year 1857, at St. George's Episcopal Church in Perth, the *Gazette* reported that “the **Venite** and **Gloria** and **chaunts** sung the last two or three Sundays [...] are the composition of the organist, Mr. Curtis”.¹⁸ There again, on Easter Sunday 1857, the music was to include “a new **Te Deum** by Mr. Curtis, the Organist, which is highly spoken of”.¹⁹ Curtis's obituary in 1902 also recalled his activities as an arranger: “In those days it was not so easy as it is now to obtain the full orchestral scores of all the pieces played, and frequently Mr. Curtis himself supplied what was wanting”.²⁰ **Alfred Perkins Curtis (England 1830-1902) {1852-1902}** was also later an amateur member of Walter Howson's “Minstrels of the West”, formed in the late 1860s, a group that “contributed so largely to the musical tastes of the community”. The minstrels may well have adapted their name from the title of the first, and apparently shortlived Western Australian musical journal, *The Minstrelsy of the West*, published in Fremantle in 1864. Possibly the earliest music of any sort published in the colony, its first issue (of only three documented) consisted of a song **Success to the West!** Though the reviews of the issue omitted to name the composer, it may well be that the song was the work of the young publisher himself, the lithographer and music-seller **George Barrow (England 1833-?) {1863-70}**, a convicted forger, who had been transported to the colony only the previous year.²¹ *The West Australian Times*, however, at least explained why his efforts would fail, for the time being, to win success:²²

The music and words are both original, and do credit to the author and composer. The little work displays much taste in the style in which it is brought out. We are truly glad on all occasions to hail and applaud those who, under circumstances of difficulty and depression, strive to make their talents contribute to their support by honest and legitimate means. It is difficult for all to win subsistence in times like

but with a slightly happier musical outcome, see “A Travelled Aboriginal”, *The Moreton Bay Courier* (31 July 1852), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3708629>; Shirleene Robinson, “The Unregulated Employment of Aboriginal Children in Queensland, 1842-1902”, *Labour History* 82 (May 2002); <http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/lab/82/robinson.html>.

¹⁸ “DOMESTIC SAYINGS AND DOINGS”, *The Perth Gazette* (9 January 1857), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2929704>.

¹⁹ “DOMESTIC SAYINGS AND DOINGS”, *The Perth Gazette* (10 April 1857), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2929924>.

²⁰ “DEATH OF MR. A. P. CURTIS”, *The West Australian* (27 February 1902), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article24739413>; “DEATHS”, *The West Australian* (1 March 1902), 6: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article24739584>; Curtis arrived, in dramatic circumstances, from Britain on the *Eglinton* in 1852; the ship was wrecked off Fremantle, but he and most of the passengers survived, see “WRECK OF THE EGLINTON”, *The Perth Gazette* (10 September 1852), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3173781>.

²¹ See “George Barrow”, *DAAO* (2007): <http://www.daao.org.au/main/read/521>; he later published the first 113 issues of Western Australia's first daily newspaper, *The Express*, before leaving the colony for Mauritius in mid-1870; see microfilm copy at SL-WA; Permalink: <http://henrietta.slwa.wa.gov.au/record=b2815811~S2>.

²² “THE MINSTRELSY OF THE WEST”, *The West Australian Times* (7 July 1864), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3366935>; see also “GENERAL INTELLIGENCE”, *The Perth Gazette* (22 July 1864), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2935188>; of a second issue, with the song *Wake me early* by W. J. Robson, see “GENERAL INTELLIGENCE”, *The Perth Gazette* (22 July 1864), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2935237>, and [News], *The West Australian Times* (25 August 1864), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3367064>; a third, and possibly last, issue may not have contained any music, “GENERAL INTELLIGENCE”, *The Perth Gazette* (16 September 1864), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2935275>.

the present. How much harder for those who, unused to mere manual labour, have to wage an uphill fight with the world, in an unfruitful field—who have character, trust, and position to regain, whilst struggling for the mere necessities of life! In the condition of our colony, such a spectacle is far from uncommon. Unfortunately the public are not in circumstances to give much substantial encouragement to literary labourers, but we will hope that success may attend the steps of this infant periodical [...].

[6.2] *The Tasmanian Lyre*

Nor are the inhabitants of the good city [Hobart] without professors and masters in the elegant accomplishment of music; for there are several of no mean repute, and whose talents, judging from the multiplicity of their engagements, their frequent concerts and musical *soirees*, are not unappreciated by the Tasmanians. A glee club has been organized under the direction of Mr. Tapfield, organist of Trinity Church, which has met with considerable success, and is patronised by some of the principal families: the meetings of the club [...] are of a very *recherché* and pleasing character. M. Del Sarte has also contributed much to the improvement of musical taste, and his concerts are always crowded. The Mechanics' Institute, under the tuition of Messrs. Salier and Russell, have formed a class for music at a very reduced rate for its members [...]. Besides these gentlemen, there are others of no less taste and talents; and in the person of Mr. Packer, a fine vocalist and skilful pianist, the city possesses an unrivalled artist.

Henry Butler Stoney, *A Residence in Tasmania* (1856).²³

THE ARRIVAL of the Frederick Packers, senior and junior, in Hobart in July 1852 marked a watershed in the life of composed music in the colony. Both were composers, and—as with their very close contemporaries, the Ernesto Spagnolettis senior and junior—there has been some confusion between them. As of 2010, the British Library catalogue, for instance, lists published works by both Fredericks all under the father's name, while Australian libraries, contrarily, list all their holdings under the son's name; and it remains unclear which of the two Stoney was referring to in the passage above.

The elder Frederick was Charles Packer's brother, **Frederick Alexander Packer (England 1814-1862) {1852-62}**, still in the "prime of life" at his death in Hobart, aged only 48.²⁴ According to his obituary, Frederick had, like his brother, been a student at the Royal Academy of Music, where his teachers included Crotch, John Goss (for harmony and composition), Cipriani Potter, and Bochsa and Alvers on his chief instrument, the harp. For the next fifteen years, he was organist of St. Mary's Church, Reading, the town where all the Packer siblings were born. He went on to become:

²³ (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1856), 132-33:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=OmFvMAaGrMC&pg=PA132&#v=onepage&q&f=false>; reprint of the 1855 Hobart edition, *A Year in Tasmania*.

²⁴ "THE ORATORIO OF THE MESSIAH", *The Mercury* (2 September 1862), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8810253>.

[...] a great favorite of the late Duke of Wellington; and on one occasion at Windsor Castle, was surprised by the Queen whilst playing one of his own songs, *Maureen*, who paid him the compliment of requesting a copy of it.

Nevertheless, Packer was “induced with a view of providing for his increasing family”—he and his wife arrived in Hobart on 10 July with 8 children, and a ninth was born a week later²⁵—“to seek a more extended field in Australia”. In his first press advertisements, he advertised that, in addition to giving instruction on “Harp, Pianoforte, and in English and Italian Singing”, he would also “be happy to give lessons [...] in the theory of music and composition”.²⁶ His obituarist observed:

His style as a composer was distinguished for its scientific counterpoint and striking modulations and transitions [...]. We believe he has lost numerous MSS. in the hands of his family, which were composed during the last few years. He has given few works however to the public since he left England. There he was constantly engaged on new publications, and several the leading London publishers were purchasers of his copyrights [sic]. The beautiful hymn *Nearer to Thee*, composed about two years ago, was his latest contribution to our sacred music, and bears signs of being the production of a master mind.

Since late 1852, Frederick senior had been organist of St. David’s Cathedral,²⁷ and toward the end of 1853, Charles Packer helpfully left Hobart for Sydney, thus leaving the field—so far as the Packer musical name was concerned—in the dual possession of his brother and nephew. In October 1855, having earlier that year had to correct rumours that he, too, was leaving the colony,²⁸ **The Queen of the Polkas** became the first of only three of Frederick senior’s compositions to be published in Australia. The *Colonial Times* judged it:²⁹

A little disfigured by repetition, or sameness, it is, nevertheless, without doubt, the best piece of the kind we have yet seen produced in this island.

Perhaps for the reasons hinted at in his obituary, there are few other records of Packer senior’s compositions. At St. David’s Cathedral on Christmas Day 1859, a **Psalm Chant** by him was sung at morning prayer, and in the evening a canticle setting **Deus Misereatur** by

²⁵ “SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE”, *The Courier* (14 July 1852), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2958763>.

²⁶ [Advertisement]: “MR. FREDERICK A. PACKER”, *Colonial Times* (20 July 1852), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8771802>.

²⁷ “SUMMARY OF NEWS”, *The Mercury* (23 July 1862), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8808965>.

²⁸ [Advertisement]: “MR. FREDERICK PACKER”, *The Courier* (20 March 1855), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2481106>; for documents concerning Packer’s published music, see Tasmanian State Archives: <http://search.archives.tas.gov.au/default.aspx?detail=1&type=S&id=NS2866>.

²⁹ “A NEW POLKA”, *Colonial Times* (12 October 1855), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8787953>; see also “ROYAL SOCIETY OF VAN DIEMEN’S LAND”, *The Courier* (16 November 1855), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2494047>.

“Packer jun.”.³⁰ Until now, the hymn setting *Nearer to thee*, possibly his last surviving Australian composition, has also usually been assumed to be the work of Frederick junior. But it and a **Mazurka** for piano both belong, certainly, to Frederick senior. They were first published in May 1861, not in Hobart, but in Melbourne, where the *Argus* greeted them as “decidedly as original and talented as any colonial musical productions we have heard”, and congratulated itself “on having in Australia so talented a composer as Mr. Packer”.³¹ *Nearer to Thee* was reportedly sung, under Packer senior’s direction, at an ordination service at St. David’s, Hobart, in July 1861.³² The print went into a second edition by the end of the year,³³ and in January 1862 it was sung at a concert by the Opheonist Society in Sydney (possibly programmed by Charles Packer).³⁴ Though a copy of the original 1861 edition has not been identified, an 1866 reprint [Nearer to Thee \(Hymn CIX\)](#) is extant. Meanwhile, no copy of the 1861 print of the *Mazurka* has been identified either; however, it may have been identical with Packer’s earlier [Mazurka](#), published in London.³⁵

Well before his father’s death in 1862, young **Frederick Augustus Packer (England 1839-1902) {1852-1902}** was already a prominent Hobart citizen.³⁶ He had made his Australian debut as a composer-in-print in 1854, at the age of only 15, and a year before his father, with a ballad [There is love for you and me](#), and [The Garrison Polka](#), “dedicated to the officers of H. M. 99th Regiment”, whose captain, Henry Butler Stoney, quoted above, was himself an occasional composer. The *Colonial Times* reviewed it in October 1854:³⁷

There are objections, we think, which may be very justly raised to all polka music. But we have not observed any in this piece that may not be reduced to the same category. As music, intended especially for the dance we should think it a very fair piece; one to which Terpsichorean feet could move as nimbly and as gracefully as to any other we remember. Several passages remind us a good deal of the *Hippopotamus Polka*, but this is no defect. Altogether the composition does Mr. Packer and the publishers some credit.

As did his uncle’s later works, Frederick Packer junior’s music belonged to the 1850s, the high Victorian age, his church music in particular (he succeeded his father as organist of

³⁰ “THE ORGAN AT ST. DAVID’S CATHEDRAL”, *The Hobart Town Daily Mercury* (28 December 1859), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3260078>.

³¹ [News]: “We have received [...]”, *The Argus* (21 May 1861), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5700377>; also “AMUSEMENTS, FINE ARTS, &c.”, *The Mercury* (22 August 1861), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8800609>.

³² “ORDINATION”, *The Mercury* (26 July 1861), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8800023>.

³³ [Advertisement], *The Mercury* (19 December 1861), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8803058>.

³⁴ “SECOND CONCERT OF THE ORPHEONIST SOCIETY”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (7 January 1862), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13068560>.

³⁵ Another pre-Australian publication by Frederick Alexander was *The Eglantine Polka* (London, [1851]); copy at British Library, Music Collections h.967.(32.) [004565780].

³⁶ “DEATH OF MR. F. G. PACKER”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (4 August 1902), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article14481885>; see also R. L. Wettenhall, “Packer, Frederick Augustus Gow (1839-1902)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 5 (1974), 387-388: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/AO50442b.htm>.

³⁷ “NEW MUSIC”, *Colonial Times* (19 October 1854), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8777766>.

at St. David's Cathedral) showing the melodic influence of Mendelssohn, and the liturgical stamp of the Tractarians. Though he was, without doubt, the most prominent Tasmanian composer of the latter half of the century, from 1858 he earned his living as a public servant, and it his first position as a telegraph operator that brought him most often into the news. As such, his career was not dissimilar to that of another English-born composer who arrived in the same year, 1852, though under different conditions. **John Charles Tapp (England 1824/5-1875) {1852-75}**, later Postmaster at Port Arthur,³⁸ was one of the last convict arrivals in the colony (transportation ceased the following year).³⁹ His one musical publication, **Tasmanian Sacred Melodies**,⁴⁰ an example of an earlier Georgian style of church music, was issued in September 1855. Published for the Wesleyan Sunday School in Hobart, it was reviewed in the *Mercury*:⁴¹

We have received a copy of *Tasmanian Sacred Melodies*, composed and arranged by J. C. Tapp, organist, of this city. They appear to be well suited to the purpose for which they are intended; and their being published by the teachers of the Campbell-street Sunday School shows they are appreciated, and worthy of a more extended circulation. There are nine tunes, besides chants and miscellan[ie]s, and the price is 3s. 6d. We have heard Mr. Tapp spoken of as having ability of a very high order, when applied to sacred music.

Tapp's collection, of newly-composed hymn tunes with local titles,⁴² is a unique Australian survival of a style of eighteenth-century "primitive" church music that was largely lost in the ecclesiological reforms inspired by the Cecilians and Tractarians, and which ultimately transformed even Wesleyan music.⁴³

Tasmania owes the existence of its first two multi-composer anthologies to the foresight of the aforementioned **Henry Butler Stoney (Ireland 1816-1894) {c.1850-55}**, captain of the 99th Regiment, and originally from Cork, Ireland. Stoney was based in

³⁸ "GOVERNMENT GAZETTE", *The Hobart Town Daily Mercury* (7 June 1859), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3255556>.

³⁹ John Charles Tapp (c.1824/5-1875) [headstone dates: 1825-75]; another (?) J.C. Tapp, 21, born Stoke Lane, Somerset, single, miller, was recorded as being a prisoner on the hulk *The Warrior* in the 1851 English Census; Archives Office of Tasmania, Convict No 69127: Tapp embarked on the *Aboukir* from London on 7 December 1851 and arrived Hobart on 20 March 1852; see <http://portal.archives.tas.gov.au/menu.aspx?detail=1&type=C&id=69127>; a local response to the arrival of the *Aboukir*, with 279 convicts on board, see "PROTEST AGAINST THE PRISONERS PER *ABOUKIR*", *Colonial Times* (2 April 1852), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8771137>; only 14 further shipments followed, and transportations ended after the arrival of the last, 13 months later, on 26 May 1853; "DEATHS", *The Mercury* (1 September 1875), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8939559>.

⁴⁰ [Advertisement], *The Hobart Mercury* (3 September 1855), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3336412>.

⁴¹ "SACRED MELODIES", *The Hobart Mercury* (3 September 1855), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3336418>.

⁴² One other attribution to J. C. Tapp, an arrangement, appears in a mid-19th-century organbook (a collection of hymn tunes and chants), British Library, Add. MS. 59873; see *British Library Journal* 4 (1978), 197.

⁴³ Music very similar may be seen in a setting of the Christmas hymn, *Hark, the Herald Angels Sing*, by "Miss Burney", as sung at Christ Church, Sydney, published both by Johnson (see copy at NLA: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-vn1127333>) and later in in Cobley's *Australian Musical Bouquet* for January 1861; copy at NLA: <http://www.nla.gov.au/apps/cdview?pi=nla.mus-an21657197-s5-v>.

Tasmania between 1852 and late 1855, and he compiled his two anthology series in mid-1854, apparently with the dual intention of servicing local demand exclusively with locally-composed music, and sending the various numbers as Tasmanian exhibits to the Paris Exhibition of 1855. The full contents of both series were advertised in November 1854, when the first, *The Delacourt Bouquet* (named after the wife of the colonel of Stoney's regiment), was "now ready for sale", and the second, *The Tasmanian Lyre*, to follow.⁴⁴ One promised work, a **Song**, "words by W. A. Gardiner, Esq., music by Mrs. Fereday" [*recte* Fereday], either never appeared, or is now lost. **Susan Fereday (England 1818-1878) {1846-78}** was a noted amateur artist,⁴⁵ and her husband the Rev'd John Fereday made early photographs of Tasmanian Indigenous people. In Launceston in 1856, she sang in John Adams's Philharmonic Society. In 1851, her lyricist Gardiner had sponsored twelve young women to come out to Tasmania with him from Manchester ("as a donation to the colony"), in a gesture reminiscent of that of Charles and Mary Logan in the 1830s.⁴⁶

The surviving contents of Stoney's two series, issued both as separate items and in bound sets, was as follows:

THE DELACOURT BOUQUET:

[Elvina Polka](#) by Arthur Hill (bandsman 99th Regiment);

[The Wanderer Polka](#) by H. B. Stoney (captain 99th Regiment);

[The Wanderer's Return Polka](#) by H. B. Stoney;

[The Chaunt Quadrilles](#) (5 quadrilles and a "chaunt" for vocal quartet and piano) by Robert Martin (bandmaster 99th Regiment);

[Geelong Schottisch](#) arranged by Arthur S. Hill (99th Regiment);

[The Isabelle Waltzes](#) composed by W. J. MacDougall ("a native Tasmanian");

[There is Love for You and Me](#) words by Thos. Hood; music by Fredk. A. Packer, Junr.

THE TASMANIAN LYRE:

[The Lanarkshire Polka](#) composed by Josephine Villeneuve Smith;

[La Speranza Waltz](#) (with 3 more items) composed by H. B. Stoney;

[The Louisa Schottische](#) composed by Miss Fraser;

[The Wivenhoe Quadrilles](#) (introduction and set of five) composed by Arthur S. Hill;

[The F.D.C. Waltz](#) composed by "Norna" [name of a mail steamer];

[The Sylvandale Schottische](#) "Anonymous" ["Lucy Tempriere"?)

[The Wanderer's Farewell](#) words by Stoney, music by Francis Hartwell Henslowe.

⁴⁴ [Advertisement], *The Courier* (13 November 1854), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2242514>; [Advertisement], *The Courier* (15 November 1854), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2241968>.

⁴⁵ See, for instance, NLA: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.pic-an6091200-1>.

⁴⁶ "FEMALE EMIGRATION", *Colonial Times* (14 March 1851), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8768898>; see also "THE LATE W. A. GARDINER", *Colonial Times* (27 June 1855), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8781469>.

The *Courier* noted receipt of the *Bouquet* (“dedicated, by permission, to Lady Denison and the Ladies of the Sweet Island of, the South; and published by Messrs. Huxtable and Deakin of Murray-street”) on 14 November, noting merely:⁴⁷

We have to acknowledge the receipt of a collection of local music [...] The score is clearly printed, and the sheets are embellished by small views of Launceston, Fern Tree Valley, and Hobart Town. We have no doubt tho *Bouquet* will be extensively distributed in the colony.

In the event, the *Lyre* was in not ready until the following March.⁴⁸ But the *Bouquet* was, by 25 November 1854, already among the Tasmanian exhibits about to be sent to the Paris Exhibition, of which the *Courier* judged “the musical publications [...] pretty strong”.⁴⁹ Also exhibited in Paris were Frederick Packer junior’s *Garrison Polka*, Camille del Sarte’s *Un rêve*, Henslowe’s *Northdown Bridal Polka*, *The Fair Emigrant*, *Campbell Town Waltzes*, the four *Songs of Zion*, the *Louis Napoleon Polka*, and *L’Espérance: Duet for two tenors* (these last two “lithographed and printed in colours by Mr. Henslowe, junior”).⁵⁰

Not surprisingly for a soldier, band music features prominently in Stoney’s selections, with two members of the band of the 99th, Martin and Hill, represented. More surprising, perhaps, is that, for a bandmaster so long esteemed as **Robert Martin {fl.1842-56}**, the *Chaunt Quadrilles* should be his first recorded work.⁵¹ The set had, no doubt, several public outings at a farewell regatta for governor Denison, in January 1855, as reported in *The Mercury*:⁵²

Off Sandy Bay a boat gaily decorated with flags, and loaded with gentlemen, came near the steamers, and gave them three hearty cheers, which were responded to by his Excellency bowing, and Lady Denison waving her handkerchief. At one time the *Monarch* was so close alongside the *Tasmania* that there was no difficulty in inter-changing remarks, and the band thereupon played the Chant Quadrilles, composed by Martin, the band-master, and great favourites with Lady Denison. The passengers then joined in chorus, and the effect was singularly beautiful.

⁴⁷ “THE DELACOURT BOUQUET”, *The Courier* (14 November 1854), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2243917>.

⁴⁸ [Advertisement], *Colonial Times* (9 March 1855), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8779478>.

⁴⁹ “TASMANIAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE PARIS EXHIBITION. NO III”, *The Courier* (25 November 1854), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2241803>.

⁵⁰ “TASMANIAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO PARIS, 1855, NO XIV”, *The Courier* (27 September 1855), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2491196>; “TASMANIAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE PARIS EXHIBITION (SECOND NOTICE)”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (15 October 1855), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12983369>: “music composed in Tasmania by Messrs. Packer, Smith, Abbott, and Henslowe.”

⁵¹ On Martin, a decade earlier in Sydney, see, “MUSIC AND MUSICIANS”, *The Atlas* 1/ 4 (21 December, 1844), 44: <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/1440365x/18441221/00010004/7-8.pdf>.

⁵² “DEPARTURE OF HIS EXCELLENCY, SIR W. T. DENISON”, *The Hobart Mercury* (15 January 1855), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3334711>

[6.3] *Separation Melbourne*

[...] let us next observe what gold has done for Australia [...] The imports and exports of Melbourne are only exceeded in value by the two great ports of England—Liverpool and London [...] To summarize the progress of the colony, we may state that [from 1850 to 1854] the population [has risen] from 75,000 to about 280,000; and the revenue from £261,321 to £3,015,683 in the same period.

P. L. Simmonds, “On the growth and progress of the two Pacific States of California and Australia” (1855).⁵³

MELBOURNE, where gold would later have the most far-reaching positive effects on the musical economy, leading to the city’s effective takeover as colonial musical capital during the 1860s, had still, in the early 1850s, little to show by way of composers or compositions. A copy of a song print, ***The Shadow of the Heart***, the music by “Adela A. Hammond, Melbourne”, may well be, as a pencilled inscription on the cover claims, “the first song & music published in Melbourne prior to 1845”;⁵⁴ though if this claim is true, the music had also been printed previously in England, when Hammond was 16 years old, in 1837, at which time settlement at Melbourne was barely begun.⁵⁵

Nevertheless, even before gold, political independence was credited with having “brought out” at least two new, distinctly Victorian colonial musical works.⁵⁶ Visiting Melbourne in 1851, Godfrey Mundy found:⁵⁷

The good folks of Melbourne are all mad just now about separation from New South Wales. Their rejoicings, processions, banquets, and *feux de joie* have been somewhat premature; for they were all fired off together at the mere news that, some day or other, they were to have an independent revenue and legislature. It is like eating the wedding-cake before the wedding. I saw to-day the words, “Separation Inn,” chalked up over the door of a low shebeen-house, whose former sign had been erased; and one of the *five* newspapers of this little town contains an advertisement for the sale, at a music-shop, of a new air, “the Separation Polka,” — inapplicable title for a dance of which personal proximity in the dancers is a leading

⁵³ P. L. Simmonds, “On the growth and progress of the two Pacific States of California and Australia”, *Report of the Twenty-Fifth Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science* (London: J. Murray, 1856), 188–91: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=Oh9LAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA188#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

⁵⁴ Copy at SL-VIC, MSS 12831, McCrae Family Papers; Trove Bookmark: <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/21614686>.

⁵⁵ [Review], *The Musical World* 6/69 (7 July 1837), 61; same page, review of “*Sleeping in Lily Bells*, by Miss Adela Hammond (Dale & Co. [London?])”; “NEW PUBLICATIONS”, *The Literary Gazette and Journal of the Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences, &c.* (8 July 1837), 437:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=9r9LAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA437&lpg=PA437#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

⁵⁶ See also N. L. Kentish’s anthem *Separation* “to be sung by every man, woman, and child in Victoria, in celebration of the joyful event” (to the air of *The Coronation*); see N.L. Kentish, *The Question of Questions* [...] (Melbourne: J. J. Blundell & Co., 1855), 53:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=CnsBAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA53#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

⁵⁷ Charles Mundy, *Our Antipodes, or, Residence and Rambles in the Australasian Colonies, with a Glimpse of the Goldfields* (London: Richard Bentley, 1852), 548:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=vI9PAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA548#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

feature.

Credited as a composition by a new arrival, the music retailer **Joseph Wilkie (England ?-1875) {1850-1872}** (late of Broadwood's, London),⁵⁸ **The Separation Polka** was first performed at the "Separation Ball" in November 1850, and "spoken of as possessing considerable merit und the true sprightliness peculiar to a good polka".⁵⁹ Since "Separation" was also credited with having "brought out" **The Song of Victoria**, by another recent arrival, **Thomas Reed (England 1795-1871) {1850-71}**, "late of the Haymarket Theatre, London", and who was also turned music retailer, the parallel publications were also possibly inspired by healthy competition.⁶⁰ Reed went on in 1851 to organise a concert series at the Mechanics' Institution in which two recent England new arrivals made their local debuts, the singer Mrs. Testar (for the next half-decade Melbourne's *prima donna*), and the young pianist-composer **Henry F. Hemy (UK? 1818-1888) {1851}**.⁶¹ Best known as composer of a tune commonly used for Faber's hymn *Faith of our Fathers*, Hemy also produced one local work during his short stay in the colonies, **The Victoria Quadrilles** ("composed and dedicated to His Excellency Sir Charles Joseph La Trobe [...] by Henry F. Hemy").⁶² But whereas their Separation pieces seem to have been a sole foray into composition for both Reed and Wilkie, and into publishing local works for Reed, Wilkie did continue to issue local works by other composers.⁶³

In October 1854, he contributed two new printed items to the quest for potential Victorian exhibits to the Paris Exhibition of 1855, **The Victoria Polka**, "composed in honor of the Paris Exhibition", by **H. St. Mordel Williams**, and **The Rose Upon the Balcony**, by **C. J. Dawson (England ?-1870) {before 1854-70}**, "a barrister of the supreme court of this province".⁶⁴ Wilkie was Henry Marsh's Melbourne agent, and later he and Stephen Marsh went into partnership for a while in the 1860s. Stephen Marsh also arranged for piano

⁵⁸ [Advertisement], *The Argus* (7 February 1850), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4769848>.

⁵⁹ "PORT PHILLIP", *Colonial Times* (24 December 1850), 3:

<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8768442>: "The Separation Polka, by Mr. Wilkie [...]"; [Advertisement], *The Argus* (9 January 1851), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4775521>.

⁶⁰ [Advertisement], *The Argus* (20 November 1850), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4767785>;

[Advertisement]: JUST PUBLISHED", *The Argus* (25 December 1850), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4768578>; "HAM'S ILLUSTRATED AUSTRALIAN MAGAZINE", *The Courier* (11 February 1851), 3:

<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2961347>: "Music too, is recorded here, separation having brought out *The Song of Victoria* and *The Separation Polka*"; see "DEATHS", *The Argus* (20 June 1871), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5849935>.

⁶¹ [Advertisement]: "MECHANICS' INSTITUTION", *The Argus* (20 February 1851), 3:

<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4776286>.

⁶² "MECHANICS' INSTITUTION MUSIC CLASS", *The Argus* (12 June 1851), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4778465>; Hemy's famous hymn tune, usually known as *St. Catherine*, first appeared in his collection, *Crown of Jesus* (London & Dublin, 1864).

⁶³ Wilkie reportedly died insane; twice!, in England in 1872, see "MELBOURNE", *The Maitland Mercury* (26 November 1875), 5: <http://newspapers.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/18768825>; and in 1875: "DEATHS", *The Argus* (16 December 1875), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7427425>.

⁶⁴ "THE GALLERIES", *The Argus* (18 October 1854), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4799106>; [Advertisement], *The Argus* (19 February 1855), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4803288>.

another Dawson composition, [Le Bon Voyage Waltz](#), issued by Wilkie in 1862.⁶⁵

In 1857-58, Wilkie issued two works by the recently-arrived English composer, **W. B. Wray {1857-58}**, “Late organist of Liverpool’s Blind Asylum and Sacred Harmonic Society, and conductor of the Torquay Choral Society”.⁶⁶ Composed on the voyage out, and named after the ship, Wray’s [The Morning Light Polka](#) appeared in November.⁶⁷ Another maritime inspiration, [The Champion of the Seas Polka](#), “Composed expressly for & respectfully dedicated to the owners of that magnificent vessel” must have been composed before Wray brought his Melbourne sojourn to a premature close, and returned to England in April 1858.⁶⁸ Wilkie chose a composer of rather more staying power in the Polish emigrant, **George M. Weinritter {fl.1856-84}**.⁶⁹ Wilkie in Melbourne and Clarke in Sydney jointly issued Weinritter’s [Kangaroo Hunt Polka](#) in February 1857,⁷⁰ and Wilkie alone his [The Pic-Nic Point Schottische](#) and [The Yarra-Yarra Waltzes](#) in May.⁷¹ Reflecting the composer’s origins, Wilkie also issued Weinritter’s undated [The Melbourne Varsoviene](#). For Julius Siede and the Victorian Liedertafel in September 1859, Weinritter composed **An Original Hymn**, “in Honour of the 99th Anniversary of the birth of Humboldt” (words by Dr. Theodore Migeod).⁷²

Together with **Walter Bonwick (England 1824-1883) {?1855-83}**, Weinritter also composed some of the earliest Australian music written especially for educational purposes. “Five original melodies composed by Mr. Weinritter for the use of the pupils in the various national schools” were advertised in July 1857,⁷³ part of an ongoing series of easy and progressive songs that resulted in their jointly authored **Thirty-three easy songs**, “in two or more parts (principally original): compiled for the use of the Australian youth”, published by W.H. Williams in 1858.

During 1857, Williams had typeset and printed several pieces of colonial music to be supplements to a George Slater’s monthly, *The Illustrated Journal of Australasia*. Late in 1858, Williams reissued most of them in the first Melbourne anthology, [Williams’s Musical Annual and Australian Sketchbook for 1858](#) with, in addition to a couple of songs by the

⁶⁵ [News], *The Argus* (27 January 1862), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5709082>.

⁶⁶ [Advertisement]: “MR. WRAY”, *The Argus* (3 December 1857), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7142928>.

⁶⁷ [Advertisement], *The Argus* (9 November 1857), 6: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7141714>.

⁶⁸ “MELBOURNE: DEPARTURES”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (23 April 1858), 7: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13009172>.

⁶⁹ Weinritter was advertising as a music teacher in April 1856. [Advertisement], *The Argus* (2 April 1856), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4834496>; see Mark Biega, Wanda Horkey, Anna Skurowska, Teresa Wojkowska, Materials in the National Library of Australia on Poles in Australia, NLA PANDORA: <http://pandora.nla.gov.au/pan/32080/20021210-0000/www.polonica.org.au/phila/index.html>.

⁷⁰ [Advertisement], *The Argus* (21 February 1857), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7145013>; also [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (7 February 1857), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12991970>.

⁷¹ “NEW MUSIC”, *The Argus* (1 May 1857), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7148912>; [Advertisement], *The Argus* (4 May 1857), 7: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7149024>.

⁷² “VICTORIA”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (19 September 1859), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13030976>.

⁷³ MR. WALTER BONWICK’S EASY AND PROGRESSIVE SONGS”, *The Argus* (11 July 1857), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7135138>.

visiting American entertainer, Stephen C. Massett, a healthy representation of local Melbourne composers:

[**The Heart That's True**](#) (words: Eliza Cook) by William Henry Tolhurst;
[**I Remember**](#) (words: Thomas Hood) by George Tolhurst;
[**The Watchword**](#) by Sidney Nelson;
[**In Memory of Thee**](#) (words: Mrs. Alex. Newton) by Walter Bonwick;
[**God Preserve our Sovereign's Viceroy**](#) (Anonymous);
[**O, Call it by Some Better Name**](#) (words: Thomas Moore) by George Tolhurst.

The anonymous *God Preserve Our Sovereign's Viceroy*, a hymn for the Victorian governor, was later re-advertised as “The Australian National Anthem”.⁷⁴

Outside Melbourne, meanwhile, the Victorian goldfields not only inspired urban composers, but also produced its own music, and its own songwriter, in **Charles Thatcher (1831-1878) {1852-78}**,⁷⁵ as *The Argus* reported in 1854:⁷⁶

LITERATURE AT THE GOLD-FIELDS: ONE of the chief attractions at the theatre here has been the songs composed and sung by Mr. Charles Thatcher, a digger, who has been engaged a member of the orchestra. These songs have been extremely popular, and by their point and general merit, caught the notice of Mr. M'Donogh, when on a professional visit to Bendigo. This gentleman had copies of some dozen of the best printed in Melbourne, and they have since been circulated here. They bear the test of critical reading, much better than could have been expected, seeing that they were written merely for the passing moment. They are all humorous, abounding in local allusions, as a matter of course; and if circulated in England, would give a much better idea of life on the gold-fields than most of the, elaborately written works upon them do.

The first edition of Thatcher's **Victoria Songster** appeared in 1855, followed by [**Thatcher's Colonial Songster**](#) (1857), *Thatcher's Colonial Minstrel* (1859), and a new edition of [**The Victoria Songster**](#) in 1860. Though almost all of Thatcher's “new and original” songs were written to be sung to existing tunes, at least one—**A Cheerful Glass**—claimed to have both “original” words *and* an “original” tune. Nor was Thatcher a lone voice; among several other “songsters” around the goldfields were William Coxon and James Mulholland, both active in Ballarat in the later 1850s.⁷⁷ Like Thatcher, they were principally

⁷⁴ “THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL ANTHEM”, *The Argus* (21 April 1859), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5679929>; meanwhile, in the separate colony, South Australia, the Gawler Society was running a competition for a new Australian anthem, that, out of 23 entries, finally produced Carl Linger's *Song of Australia* as winner; see details in **Appendix 2 Checklist**.

⁷⁵ Hugh Anderson, “Thatcher, Charles Robert (1831-1878)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 6 (1976), 259-260: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A060278b.htm>.

⁷⁶ “LITERATURE AT THE GOLD-FIELDS”, *The Argus* (7 April 1854), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4805534>; several of Thatcher's ballads were also printed in *The Victorian Songster*; see second edition, 1860, copy at NLA: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.aus-vn4668778>.

⁷⁷ Mulholland's “Australian Humbugs” also appeared with songs by Thatcher in the 1860 edition of *The Victoria Songster*; for an early songster from north of the Victorian border, see *The Queenslanders' new colonial camp fire song book, containing popular songs of the day, and new songs “never before printed” by an old explorer* (or any

singers and wordsmiths, who sourced their tunes from elsewhere. [Coxon's Comic Songster](#), actually published in Ballarat in 1859, relies wholly on pre-existing tunes;⁷⁸ whereas, also in Ballarat in August 1857, the musician **Alfred Oakey {1853-66 or later}** provided a new tune for Mulholland's **Song for the Bush**.⁷⁹

Oakey probably arrived Victoria in 1853, not long behind gold itself, possibly in John Winterbottom's entourage, for they worked together at Rowe's Circus in Melbourne that year. It may also have been gold that, indirectly, lured one of Melbourne's next published women composers. The opera singer **Harriett Fiddes {fl.1853-56}**, well known in London under her maiden name Cawse, came via successful seasons in the United States, and gave concerts in Melbourne, Sydney, and Maitland in 1853, where the local press attributed her presence in no uncertain terms to economics:⁸⁰

Our readers will see with pleasure that we are to have the opportunity of hearing another of the celebrated English singers attracted to these colonies by the changing circumstances brought about by the gold diggings.

Having worked with her previously in San Francisco, Fiddes toured Australia with Lola Montez in 1855. She settled in Melbourne, where in April 1856 her **Australian Schottische** was brought out by the band at Coppin's Olympic Theatre. According to the *Argus*, it:⁸¹

[...] was performed by the band subsequent to the tragedy [Macbeth] and was pronounced a success, by those who heard it. The melody is striking and rather Beethovenish, but the noise in the house and general restlessness of the audience prevented its reaching the ears of many.

In November 1856 the *Argus*, again, reported the publication of two songs from Fiddes's

other person) (Sydney: F. Cunninghame, 1865); 1st number (25 November 1865); copy at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/17555064>.

⁷⁸ [William W. Coxon] *Coxon's Comic Songster: full of ungent parodies, quaint quizzicalities, odd oddities, local hits, colonial sayings and doings*, (Ballarat [sic]: W. B. Brown, 1859); <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/28516162>; online at SL-VIC: <http://www.slv.vic.gov.au/auspoetry/inter/228196.shtml>.

⁷⁹ Sung by Mrs. Oakey at the Star Concert Hall for Mulholland's benefit, see *The Ballarat Times* (30 August 1856); cited in Anne Doggett, *"And for harmony most ardently we long": Musical life in Ballarat, 1851-1871* (Ph.D thesis, University of Ballarat, 2006), vol. 2, 47.

⁸⁰ "MRS. FIDDES' CONCERT", *The Maitland Mercury* (21 May 1853), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article667256>; Cawse had made her musical debut singing Thomas Attwood's songs in the play *The Hebrew Family*, noticed then as "an exceedingly promising little girl"; see "THE HEBREW FAMILY", *The Harmonicon* 30 (June 1825), 107: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=wLAPAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA107#v=onepage&q&f=false>; she was the page in Donizetti's *Anna Bolena* at the king's Theatre with Pasta in 1833; three of her songs were reviewed in *The New Monthly Belle Assemblée* (October 1846), 251:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=ZoUFAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA251#v=onepage&q&f=false>, and there are three others in the British Library catalogue; she and her actress daughter came to Australia via San Francisco, where she had worked with Montez and Charles Eigenschenck, and Honolulu. she spent some of where (1853-54); see "MUSICAL AND THEATRICAL", *The Pionerr: or California Monthly Magazine* 1 (1854), 309:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=DojOAAAAMAAJ&pg=RA1-PA309#v=onepage&q&f=false>; and David W. Forbes, *Hawaiian National Bibliography, 1780-1900, Volume 3, 1851-1880* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), 88-89; http://books.google.com.au/books?id=IB_F9CffeN8C&pg=PA88#v=onepage&q&f=false.

⁸¹ "COPPIN'S OLYMPIC", *The Argus* (22 April 1856), 7: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4836092>.

series **The Souvenir**.⁸² In Sydney in 1853, Fiddes had briefly advertised as a teacher of “harmony and composition”.⁸³ Likewise in Melbourne in 1857, a Mrs. Baxter and Miss Matilda Baxter, “late of the Royal Academy of Music in London”, were offering to teach musical composition at their residence in St. Kilda.⁸⁴

But the mid-1850s—though few, if any, European colonists realised it at the time—there was early evidence on the goldfields of a different stream in the future of Australian music. On the Victorian goldfields in September 1856, a Confucian holiday was observed by the Chinese community with fireworks in the evening “after which a continuous performance of Chinese music was kept up until past 12 o’clock, greatly resembling a concert on graduated tin pots”.⁸⁵ At a “Chinese concert” in Ballarat the following year, six musicians, led by O-Wai and A-Fou, played to an audience of 2000, including many fellow “Celestials”; but according to the (European-Australian) report, the music:⁸⁶

[...] reminded us of certainly nothing Terrestrial which we ever heard before. The novelty of the entertainment drew a large company together, but the music was far too peculiar to be generally appreciated.

[6.4] *The Sydney Harmonicon and The Australian Cadeau:*

The population of New South Wales in 1846, exclusive of the Port Phillip district (now the colony of Victoria) [...] was 154,534 souls [...] The census of New South Wales, taken March 1, 1851, just before the gold discovery at Ophir by Mr. Hargreaves, gave the population at 197,168. It has since increased to about 232,000. We find, then, that while the value of the imports into New South Wales in 1851 was but £1,568,913, it had risen in 1853 to £6,342,757. The exports of Sydney and Melbourne together are over 20 millions sterling, and their imports nearly as much [...] The entire colonial trade of Australia is now very considerable, and a fine fleet of steamers is employed in communicating between the ports of Adelaide, Melbourne, and Geelong, Launceston and Hobart Town, Port Jackson, and the New Zealand settlements.

P. L. Simmonds, “On the growth and progress of the two Pacific States of California and Australia” (1855).⁸⁷

⁸² “NEW MUSIC”, *The Argus* (25 November 1856), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7140611>.

⁸³ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (28 April 1853), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28644481>.

⁸⁴ [Advertisement], *The Argus* (7 May 1857), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7131215>.

⁸⁵ “CHINESE RIOT”, *The Argus* (18 September 1856), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7136625>.

⁸⁶ “A CHINESE CONCERT ON BALLARAT”, *The Perth Gazette* (16 January 1857), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2929721>; see also “VICTORIA”, *The Mercury* (16 October 1863), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8821584>; “EXPORTATION OF THE REMAINS OF DEAD CHINESE [from the Sydney Empire]”, *The Maitland Mercury* (5 May 1864), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article18706240>; see also Anne Doggett, “Strains from a Flowery Land: Responses to Chinese musical activity in mid-nineteenth-century Ballarat”, *Context: Journal of Music Research* 33 (2008), 107-120.

⁸⁷ P. L. Simmonds, “On the growth and progress of the two Pacific States of California and Australia” (1855), *Report of the Twenty-Fifth Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science [1855]* (London: J. Murray, 1856), 188-91:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=Oh9LAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA188#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

AN ARRIVAL of the 1830s, **William Stanley (England 1820-1902) {c.1837-1902}** first appeared in a Sydney concert—with the Deanes and Wallaces, Sippe and Worgan—in October 1838 playing a “concerto” by Herz.⁸⁸ By 1842, he was a “professor of music” in Parramatta, and gave occasional concerts there,⁸⁹ but he seems to have had little presence in Sydney itself again until May 1849 when he was pianist for the Howsons in what was billed as the “Australian Drapers Assistants’ Association [...] First Annual Concert”.⁹⁰ His earliest local notices as a composer were at concerts in Sydney and Parramatta in June, July, and August 1850, when he played a **Grand March** for piano, composed back in England “when only twelve years of age” (he had been a chorister in the “chapel royal” at Windsor),⁹¹ and Sara Flower “raised the admiration of the audience” with his song **Tell him I love him yet**,⁹² published in the meantime by James Grocott.⁹³

Stanley’s **The Sydney Polka** “respectfully dedicated to the Ladies of Sydney” was published in May 1851 also by Grocott.⁹⁴ When his **Eugenie Schottische** was commissioned for Woolcott and Clarke’s 1855 *Australian Presentation Album*, the *Herald* predicted, “A composition of a sterling pianist of our own, Mr. W. Stanley [...] will be recognised by all lovers of classical pianoforte compositions.”⁹⁵ Later, **The Rose Bay Quadrilles** appeared in Clarke’s *The Australian Album for 1857*, followed by a separate issue, **The Heliotrope Mazurka**, in March 1857.⁹⁶ His **N.S.W. Volunteer Rifles Quick March** was announced for publication late in November 1860.⁹⁷ As an organist, Stanley also composed several works of church music, including in 1873 a **Te Deum and Jubilate** for Christ Church, Sydney. His **Bay View Gavotte** was published in 1890s by W.H. Paling.⁹⁸ When he died in Sydney in 1902 aged 83, “home papers” were, almost 70 years after his

⁸⁸ According to his obituary, see below, Stanley arrived in Sydney “about 1837”; [Advertisement], *The Sydney Gazette* (15 October 1838), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12858012>; a “Mrs. Stanley” advertised as a “professor of the Harp and Piano-forte”; see [Advertisement], *The Sydney Gazette* (6 February 1840), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2547687>.

⁸⁹ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (13 January 1843), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12410324>.

⁹⁰ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (2 May 1849), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12907926>.

⁹¹ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (5 August 1850), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12920019>; according to a later recollection of Stanley, he had been a chorister at St. George’s Chapel, Windsor, see “TO THE EDITOR”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (25 March 1887), 11: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13630088>.

⁹² [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (5 June 1850), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12918442>; “PARRAMATTA: THE CONCERT”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (8 July 1850), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12919276>.

⁹³ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (28 June 1850), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12919100>.

⁹⁴ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (22 May 1851), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12927294>; see also Packer’s *City of Sydney Polka*; and a *Farewell to Sydney Polka*, “the composition of the talented bandmaster, Cavallini”, of the band of the 77th regiment, see “PROFESSOR PARKER’S ENTERTAINMENT”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (19 April 1858), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13008970>.

⁹⁵ “AUSTRALIAN PRESENTATION ALBUM”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (10 January 1855), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12964158>.

⁹⁶ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (7 March 1857), 10: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12992930>.

⁹⁷ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (28 November 1860), 10: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13049477>; second edition, with “with illustrative title-page, printed in colours”, see [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (22 June 1861), 7: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13065807>.

⁹⁸ [News], *The Brisbane Courier* (28 June 1893), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3562000>.

departure from England, still asked to copy.⁹⁹

Stanley's regular concert partner around 1850, **James Waller (England 1819-1871) {1826-71}**,¹⁰⁰ arrived in Sydney from his native Manchester as a child in the mid-1820s. He was mainly noted as a bass singer; in 1845—as mentioned previously—he gave the first Australian public performance of Schubert's *Erl King*, and what was possibly the first performance of Nathan's *Leichhardt's Grave*. Waller was the composer and wordsmith of a patriotic song, **Australia**. Almost exactly contemporary with Linger's *Song of Australia*, it was (like Stanley's *March*) dedicated to the Volunteer Forces of Australia; it still exists both in [print](#) copy and autograph manuscript (one of the earliest Australian composer autographs), and the text was also separately published in the *Herald* on 30 December 1859:¹⁰¹

*Australia! Australia! Thy star is shining now,
A glorious wreath Fate's hand hath twined around thy youthful brow.
Thy golden treasures, long entombed, thou yield'st to bless the toil
Of those who come to pitch their tents on thy beloved soil [...]*

*Yes! germ of mighty nation, [God] will demand of thee
That, as his gifts are numberless, so shall thy virtues be.
Then let thy people's bold resolve, and this their watchword be
If honest worth can make her so, Australia sjall be free!*

Stanley and Waller also supported the work of other colonial composers. In November 1850, Nathan's *Merry Freaks* was one local among of 14 otherwise imported operas from which they promised to choose one piece each to give their audience “an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the characteristic peculiarities of each Composer”.¹⁰² Their most conspicuous support for local composers was concert on 11 December 1850, at which the first part of which consisted “entirely of productions by colonial Composers”:¹⁰³

Grand March—Pianoforte, Stanley
Song—**I drink to thee** (published in London and just received), S.H.A. Marsh
Tasmanian Waltzes—Pianoforte, J. Howson
Song—**Love, thy timid whispering tongue**, Nathan
Song—**The Queen of Merry England** (published in London and just received),
S. H. A. Marsh

⁹⁹ “DEATHS”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (11 September 1902), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article14523755>; and obituary: “THE OLDEST PIANIST IN AUSTRALIA”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (18 September 1902), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article14510138>.

¹⁰⁰ “DEATH OF MR. JAMES WALLER”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (8 February 1871), 7: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13219592>.

¹⁰¹ “AUSTRALIA: A PATRIOTIC SONG BY MR. JAMES WALLER”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (30 December 1859), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13035135>.

¹⁰² [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (7 November 1850), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12922366>.

¹⁰³ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (11 December 1850), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12923231>.

Song—[Tell her I love her yet](#), Stanley
Overture—[Don John of Austria](#), Nathan
Song—**Britain**, Waller

But it was publishers who contributed most significantly to the “colonial production” of music. Between them in the late-1840s and 1850s, James Grocott, and his printer brother Alonzo, issued colonial works already mentioned by Stanley, John Howson, J. H. Anderson, and Ernesto Spagnoletti, as well as Harwood’s [Thinkest thou of me](#) (dedicated to Nina Spagnoletti) and, as late as 1873, Emilie E. North’s [The Native Rose Waltz](#) (both printed by Alonzo).¹⁰⁴ James Grocott, who came to Van Diemen’s Land as a convict,¹⁰⁵ traded on in his Sydney business despite at least four insolvencies,¹⁰⁶ showing a remarkable capacity to adapt to new conditions, claiming in 1850 to be “publishing a new song or polka once a week”.¹⁰⁷ He was one of the first entertainment entrepreneurs on the new goldfields in mid-1851, with his “Grocott’s Dissolving Views”, as a *Herald* correspondent on ““A Trip to the Diggings” reported:¹⁰⁸

A spring van! Why, surely the diggings are not yet sufficiently civilized to admit of the harmonious sounds of the pianoforte? Well! well! who could have thought it, the van is truly enough a pianoforte van; but not loaded with music exactly; and that strange looking being at the wheel, in the red nightcap, varigated woollen shirt, and beard of enormous length, is no less than the polite and natty Mr. Grocott, of George-street, who was wending his weary way to the land of Ophir. He recognized us long before we did him, and when asked if his views were now dissolving, he replied it was not likely to prove so profitable, or be so easily earned.

As published in the *Herald* in August 1850, Grocott’s “Catalogue of Music” on sale at his music saloon ran to 444 items, a fascinating document including at least a smattering of local compositions.¹⁰⁹

Much more conspicuously supportive of local composers was the firm of Woolcott and Clarke, who ran a Music Warehouse and Fine Arts Repository at 555 George-street, in

¹⁰⁴ “THE NATIVE ROSE WALTZ”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (14 June 1873), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13313580>; also composer of *The Annie Louise Waltzes*, see “MUSIC”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (22 July 1876), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13376947>.

¹⁰⁵ Certificate of freedom in 1836, “GOVERNMENT NOTICE NO. 67”, *The Hobart Town Courier* (8 April 1836), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4177047>.

¹⁰⁶ “MEETINGS OF CREDITORS: INSOLVENTS”, *The Sydney Herald* (18 March 1842), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12874278>; “James Turner Grocott, of Elizabeth-street, writing clerk”; first of 4 insolvencies, later as stationer (1848), storekeeper (1855), hotelkeeper (1860).

¹⁰⁷ [Advertisement], *The Maitland Mercury* (20 July 1850), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article691746>.

¹⁰⁸ “A TRIP TO THE DIGGINGS”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (27 June 1851), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12928226>; for a similar view, see Godfrey Charles Mundy, *Our Antipodes, or, Residence and Rambles in the Australasian Colonies, with a Glimpse of the Goldfields* (London: Richard Bentley, 1852), vol. 1, 586: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=yIqPAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA586#v=onepage&q&f=false>: “At present, here [Ophir, 1851] are merchants and cabmen, magistrates and convicts [...] doctors of physic and music, aldermen [...] a real live lord on his travels — all levelled by community of pursuit and of costume. The serge shirt, leathern belt, Californian hat, and woollen comforter, with the general absence of ablution and abrasion, leave the stranger continually in doubt as to which of the above classes he may be addressing himself.”

¹⁰⁹ “CATALOGUE OF MUSIC AT GROCCOTT’S, 486, GEORGE-STREET”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (31 August 1850), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12920685>.

addition to trading in real estate. In April 1854, they compiled from separate prints and bound under one cover *The Australian Presentation Album for 1854*,¹¹⁰ the earliest local anthology to contain, among half-a-dozen imports, two local works, Frederick Ellard's [The Australian Bird Waltz](#), and Charles Packer's [The City of Sydney Polka](#);¹¹¹ a promising-sounding third work, the *Ladies of Sydney Waltzes*, was merely a local retitling of popular imported pieces. The *Herald* welcomed the album as:¹¹²

[...] most creditably got up, and the printing does great honour to the colony. In the art of printing music very considerable progress has been made in Sydney, and the Album before us will bear favorable comparison with many similar works at home.

Their second number, [The Australian Presentation Album for 1855](#), which appeared at New Year,¹¹³ was more substantially local. Counting Wallace as a colonial by adoption, and D'Albert's "composed expressly" *Regatta* waltzes as colonial by intention, there was only one imported song (by Stephen Glover):

[The Regatta Waltzes](#) ("composed expressly") by Charles D'Albert;
[Why do I weep for thee](#) by William Vincent Wallace;
[La Hayes' Quadrilles](#) by Frederick Ellard;
[Eugenie Schottische](#) by William Stanley;
[Rain Drops in Australia](#) by Miska Hauser;
[The Volunteer's March, Polka, and Galop](#) by Frederick Ellard.

The *Herald* reviewed at length:¹¹⁴

[...] this acceptable addition to the repertoires of our fair musical friends. It has been got up with much taste and care by Messrs. Woolcott and Clarke. It includes Vincent Wallace's *Why do I weep for thee*, illustrated by a portrait of Miss Catherine Hayes, from the Crayon of Mr. G. F. Angas; a graceful set of Australian Regatta Valses, by Charles D'Albert, are set in excellent accompaniment, with several spirited vignettes by Mr. Charles H. Woolcott, illustrative of bush and harbour scenes in and about the magnificent harbour of Port Jackson, on the occasion of the anniversary of the colony—the 26th of January; *La Hayes' Quadrilles* are also illustrated with much felicity [...] A composition of a sterling pianist of our own, Mr. W. Stanley, *Eugenie Schottische*, will be recognised by all lovers of classical pianoforte compositions. We next have to invite especial attention to a piece entitled *Hail Drops in Australia* [sic], composed by Miska Hauser, in which are combined all those resources of his art, both of taste and technicality for which he is so rapidly achieving for himself the highest reputation

¹¹⁰ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (5 April 1854), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12956116>; copy at SL-NSW: <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/32022218>.

¹¹¹ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (3 April 1854), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12958527>.

¹¹² "THE AUSTRALIAN PRESENTATION ALBUM", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (3 April 1854), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12958504>.

¹¹³ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (4 January 1855), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12964011>.

¹¹⁴ "AUSTRALIAN PRESENTATION ALBUM", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (10 January 1855), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12964158>.

[...].

In November 1856, Charles Woolcott relinquished his interest in the business in anticipation of taking up the post of Town Clerk of Sydney (first held by Marsh's erstwhile wordsmith, John Rae).¹¹⁵ This left Jacob Clarke, anyway the more musical of the pair,¹¹⁶ to issue alone, with a slight name change, his [Australian Album 1857](#). Ready in December 1856, it contained again only a single import (*The Singing Polka* by Alary, its presence justified by having been sung locally by Catherine Hayes):¹¹⁷

[The Last Rose of Summer \(Caprice\)](#) by Edward Boulanger;
[Australian Flowers \(Impromptu\)](#) by Miska Hauser;
[Far O'er the Sea \(Ballad\)](#) by Stephen Marsh;
[The Bird on the Tree \(arranged for piano\)](#) by Miska Hauser;
[The Pic Nic Polka](#) by Henry Marsh;
[Morceau de Salon sur Lucrece \(Lucretia Borgia\)](#) by Frederic Ellard;
[The Rose Bay Quadrilles](#) by William Stanley.

The *Herald* not only thought it “the best drawing room annual ever published in the colony”, the more so:¹¹⁸

[...] as in every instance but one, we believe, the music has been written in, and expressly for the colony. They are all, too, well known to every concert-goer, and, form some of the chief gems of that instrumentation that has so often held an audience enthralled [...] we have certainly a collection of musical bijouterie that to the lover of sweet sounds must be beyond all price.

Further than this, *The Australian Album* may stand forth as the representative of colonial artistic skill in other than in the lyric branches, the illustrations being worthy—from finish and execution—of the sweet notes that they so truly embellish [...].

The work altogether has been got up in first-rate style, the music being of first quality, and, what is a great recommendation, well and carefully revised, and all the accompaniments of illustrations, letter-press, binding, &c, quite up to the high standard the publisher raised by the selection of morceaux. It has only been by a very great out-lay that a work so creditable to the colony has been brought out in its present complete form; and it is to be hoped that the true Australian spirit will be shewn in behalf of the publisher, and that his undertaking may prove a remunerative one [...].

¹¹⁵ Having acted in the role, Woolcott (1821-1905) was elected Town clerk of Sydney in succession to John Rea in April 1857. See “Charles Henry Woolcott”, *DAAO*: <http://www.daa0.org.au/main/read/6749>.

¹¹⁶ *Death of an Old Citizen: Mr. Jacob Richard Clarke* ([Sydney: ?, 1893]; <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/21082041>; E. J. Lea-Scarlett, “Clarke, Jacob Richard (1822-1893)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 3 (1969), 414-415: <http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A030390b.htm>.

¹¹⁷ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (24 December 1856), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12990430>: “AN ELEGANT CHRISTMAS PRESENT: Just Published, THE AUSTRALIAN MUSICAL ALBUM FOR 1857 [...] The music is [...] all composed specially for the publication”; [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (27 December 1856), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12990583>.

¹¹⁸ “REVIEW: THE AUSTRALIAN ALBUM, FOR 1857”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (24 December 1856), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12990464>.

Clarke must indeed have found Australian music remunerative, for he continued to trade on the heavy colonial content of his music lists,¹¹⁹ notably in his “Colonial Polkas” series, 12 reissued items sold separately, though under a new group cover, illustrated by S. T. Gill.¹²⁰ The series probably started with the most recently published item, Charles Packer’s **Royal Charlie Polka**, celebrating the arrival of the ship of that name in 1858, and included reissues, and in some cases probably reprintings of polkas, dating from as far back as 1850, by Henry Marsh, Stanley, Ellard, Winterbottom, Boulanger, and Mrs. St. John Adcock. Clarke’s last local compilation, [*The Australian Musical Album for 1863*](#), also brought together many single prints issued over several preceding years.¹²¹

Two other leading Sydney publishers of colonial music in the mid-1850s were also composers, William Johnson and Henry Marsh. According to his obituary, **William Johnson (England 1811-1866) {1836-66}** came to Sydney with his elder brother **James Johnson (England 1803-1860) {1836-60}** early in 1836, and by 1838 they were jointly organists of St. James’s Church.¹²² In 1841, James was vocal director of the Cecilian Society.¹²³ In his illustrated guide, *Sydney in 1848*, Joseph Fowles noted St. James’s “excellent choir under the direction of Mr. James Johnson, to whom the Colony is indebted for the first introduction of this branch of music”.¹²⁴ His one remaining composition, [**High let us swell our tuneful notes \(The First Hymn for Christmas-Day\)**](#), was issued posthumously, by his brother, William, in 1862.¹²⁵

The late Mr. James Johnson, for many years organist of St. James’s church, composed a hymn for Christmas Day, *High let us swell our tuneful notes*, which, however, he never published; and the approach of this “joyous time” has been taken advantage of by Messrs. W. J. Johnson and Co. to give it publicity. The hymn is arranged for four voices, with an organ or pianoforte accompaniment. The subject is set in A-sharp with a symphony in C-natural. The composition is in the

¹¹⁹ [Advertisement], “COLONIAL PUBLICATIONS.—Musical, Pictorial, Literary, &c.”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (15 June 1857), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12997008>.

¹²⁰ For the contents of the series, see series cover page, copy at NLA: <http://www.nla.gov.au/apps/cdview?pi=nla.mus-an5397172-s1-v>.

¹²¹ “THE AUSTRALIAN MUSICAL ALBUM FOR 1863”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (19 January 1863), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13072829>.

¹²² [Advertisement], *The Sydney Herald* (5 March 1838), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12864875>: “MESSRS. J. AND W. J. JOHNSON, Organists of St. James’s Church, BEG to remind the Inhabitants of Sydney that they give Lessons on the Practice and Theory of Music [the Organ, Piano-forte, Flute, Singing, &c [...]] having had much experience in Musical Tuition, both here and in England [...]”; in 1845, they were respectively organist and conductor at the Grand Oratorio at the Royal Victoria Theatre, [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (20 December 1845), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12884219>.

¹²³ “THE CECILIAN SOCIETY”, *The Sydney Herald* (15 September 1841), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12871141>.

¹²⁴ Joseph Fowles, *Sydney in 1848: Illustrated by Copper-Plate Engravings of the Principal Streets, Public Buildings, Churches, Chapels, etc. From Drawings by Joseph Fowles* (Sydney: for the author, 1848), 28-29; <http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks06/0600151h.html>.

¹²⁵ “CHRISTMAS HYMN”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (18 December 1862), 7: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13071177>; not to be confused with another William Johnson print, [*The Hymn for Christmas Day: Hark, the herald angels sing*](#), said to be composed by “Miss Burney”, and an import, but as sung at Christ Church, Sydney, in 1864; see [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (17 December 1864), 12: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13102439>.

style of the old church music, full, extremely harmonious, and well adapted for all places of worship where the congregations join in the singing. Mr. Johnson was devoted to that part of his profession pertaining to choral music, and the respect in which his memory is held will, no doubt, induce many to possess themselves of this unpretending but meritorious *Hymn for Christmas Day*.

During the early 1850s, William was the agent for Isaac Nathan's prints. He also issued works by lesser lights, such as, in August 1853, W. C. Uhr's [You Love Me Not](#), an exercise in gentlemanly masochism "dedicated to the ladies of Sydney", reviewed favourably in the *Herald*:¹²⁶

The words and music are both by Mr. W. C. Uhr, an amateur, whose taste for sweet sounds, judged of by this little performance, must be exquisite. The melody is charmingly simple, but the time is still more charmingly irregular, and there is a little *ritournella* full of abandon, which none but a musical soul could have conceived. We can cordially recommend this song to every lady's drawing-room.

John Howson sang Uhr's song in a concert later that month, along with Sidney Nelson's *Madoline*.¹²⁷ Of Johnson's own compositions, [The Chusan Polka](#) appeared in August 1852, "to be performed by the Band of Her Majesty's 11th Regiment at the Ball given in honour of the arrival of the first Mail Steam Ship from Great Britain".¹²⁸ Johnson's *Polka* was given a companion *Waltz* a couple of days later by fellow publisher-composer Henry Marsh.¹²⁹ Johnson's [Fancy Ball Polka](#) was "just published" in August 1853, as again "performed by the Band of Her Majesty's 11th Regiment at the Mayor's Fancy Dress Ball",¹³⁰ and described by its author-publisher's own advertisement as "one of the easiest and most danceable Polkas yet written".¹³¹

One of Johnson's, probably more characteristic, sacred compositions is the [Easter Anthem: Christ being raised from the dead](#), composed for use in St. Paul's College Chapel at the University of Sydney, and published by him in time for Easter 1862.¹³² Another printed anthem, [O Merciful God](#), dates from 1863. An edition of the "favourite hymn as now sung in the churches" (by the late Frederick Alexander Packer, of Hobart), issued in

¹²⁶ "YOU LOVE ME NOT", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (8 August 1853), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12947826>.

¹²⁷ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (24 August 1853), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12948319>.

¹²⁸ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (23 August 1852), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12939453>.

¹²⁹ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (25 August 1852), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12939494>.

¹³⁰ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (17 August 1853), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12948132>.

¹³¹ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (13 October 1853), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12949509>.

¹³² [Advertisement]: "TO CLERGYMEN AND CHOIRMASTERS", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (25 March 1862), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28622569>.

Sydney by J. R. Clarke in April 1864,¹³³ was followed by Johnson's own arrangement of it, [Nearer to Thee](#), for piano, published in September.¹³⁴ Johnson's last publication, a **Te Deum and Jubilate in D**, appeared in print in mid-1866.¹³⁵ He died a couple of months later, aged 56.¹³⁶

Late in 1855, in answer to his competitor Henry Marsh's *Australian Cadeau*, Johnson also briefly produced a weekly series of musical prints, *The Sydney Harmonicon*, styled and named after the influential, but long-defunct London *Harmonicon*.¹³⁷ None of the eleven issues, released between December 1855 and March 1856, seems to have survived, though some of the list of contents—which included reportage as well as music—can be reconstructed from advertisements and notices.¹³⁸ Along with early Australian issues of piano works and songs by Schubert, Weber, and Liszt, Johnson's *Harmonicon* included a **Schottische La Figlia Mia**, a **Polka Partant pour la Syrie**, and an **Etude en forme de valse** all by Charles Packer (the last “a brilliant composition [...] with its artistical combinations, and graceful embellishments”), a song **Our Village Home** by Spagnoletti, a **Chanson d'Amour** by Miska Hauser, Bochsá's **La Bajadere**,¹³⁹ and Johnson's own **Ladies' Ugly Schottische**.

Henry Marsh (England 1824-USA after 1884) {1849-74} was Sydney's other composer-publisher in the 1850s. He was born in Sidmouth, in Cornwall, and was a published composer well in advance of his arrival in Sydney,¹⁴⁰ with his much older brother, Stephen, when the latter returned from England on 12 February 1849. Henry's first local

¹³³ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (25 April 1864), 6: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13095769>.

¹³⁴ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (27 September 1864), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13105786>.

¹³⁵ [Advertisement]: “W. J. JOHNSON AND CO.”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (24 November 1866), 7: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13145711>; [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (23 August 1866), 16: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13135739>.

¹³⁶ “THE LATE MR. W. J. JOHNSON”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (5 October 1866), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13139302>.

¹³⁷ The London *Harmonicon*, which ran from 1823-33, was frequently quoted in English items reprinted in the colonial press, and copies also circulated here; see, for instance, notice placed by a concerned Hobart reader for the return of a lost or stolen copy, [Advertisement], *Colonial Times* (11 February 1834), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8647416>.

¹³⁸ [Advertisement]: “NEW PERIODICAL [...] SYDNEY HARMONICON”, *Empire* (8 December 1855), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article60170838>; “THE SYDNEY HARMONICON”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (24 December 1855), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12973915>; [Advertisement]: “SYDNEY HARMONICON”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (2 February 1856), 9: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12976856> [with complete listing of the contents of issues 1-7]; “THE SYDNEY HARMONICON”, *Empire* (11 January 1856), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article60172292>; “THE SYDNEY HARMONICON—NOS. 5 AND 6”, *Empire* (24 January 1856), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article60172816>; “THE SYDNEY HARMONICON”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (26 February 1856), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12973904>; [11th issue] [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (1 March 1856), 12: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28639317>.

¹³⁹ Which survives elsewhere, see US edition of 1848: <https://scholarship.library.jhu.edu/handle/1774.2/31492>.

¹⁴⁰ See the entry on him in George Clement Boase, William Prideaux Courtney, *Bibliotheca cornubiensis: A catalogue of the writings, both manuscript and printed, of Cornishmen, and of works relating to the county of Cornwall, with biographical memoranda and copious literary references* (Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1874), 336; http://books.google.com.au/books?id=p_U_AAAAMAAJ: “MARSH, Henry b. Sidmouth, 1824; Now resident in Sidney, Australia”; works listed there include *The Duke of Cornwall's Waltzes for the pianoforte*, “Composed and dedicated to Mrs. Pidwell Batten by Henry Marsh. Lond.; R. Cocks and Co., [1842] [...]”, copy at British Library, Music Collections h.119.(6.) [system number: 004509928]; and *The Mount's Bay Quadrilles* “for the pianoforte. Composed and dedicated to Miss Fanny Scobell”.

work was **The Australian Polka**, composed for the so-called Citizen’s Return Fancy Ball on 20 September 1850 (the return being to the Mayor, in gratitude for his fancy ball).¹⁴¹ Though it was self-published in a standard piano arrangement in early October (going thereafter into a seventh edition as **The Australian National Polka**),¹⁴² Marsh later also performed it with four pianos and “full orchestra”.¹⁴³ It was followed, early in May 1852, by an advance print of **The Birthday Polka**, composed for the forthcoming Queen’s Birthday Ball at Government House, and dedicated to the governor’s wife.¹⁴⁴ Predating even his brother’s *The Ophir Schottische* in October, Henry advertised his lost **Ophir Polka** in June.¹⁴⁵ A second work inspired by the gold rush, announced on 2 October, does survive, **The Galop for Gold**, democratically “dedicated to everybody”, with the first of several Marsh covers illustrated by George Angas.¹⁴⁶

Before that, three other pieces of “new dance music” were in the press in mid-August 1852.¹⁴⁷ **The Australian Galop** is now lost; **The Nugget Schottische** “dedicated to his friend C. W. F. Stier”, bandmaster of the 11th, was played at the Second Gold Anniversary Dinner in February 1853, when, according to the *Herald*, in answer to:¹⁴⁸

[...] the toast of the evening—the great event we are met to commemorate—“the Gold Discovery in Australia”. The toast was drunk—with with deafening cheers, and the band struck up the *Nugget Schottische*.

Again in July 1853, at the Mayor of Sydney’s Fancy Dress Ball, Charles Stier’s Band of 11th Regiment struck up “the [...] *Fitz-Roy, Australian, Dew-Drop* [...], and, best of all the *Nugget* Quadrilles, Polkas, and Galopes [...]”.¹⁴⁹ Later, in 1854, Woolcott and Clarke also released locally an imported work, **The Great Nugget Polka** by Francis de Yrigoyti,¹⁵⁰ one of two works Yrigoyti composed in London the previous year—the other, the song **Dig! Dig! Dig!**—dedicated to “our Australian friends”. Marsh’s third new piece in 1852 was **The Chusan**

¹⁴¹ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (2 September 1850), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12920733>.

¹⁴² Sixth edition: [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (2 April 1853), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12944815>.

¹⁴³ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (1 October 1850), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12921445>; [Advertisement], *The Argus* (21 April 1852), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4784508>; see also unattributed *Australian Polka*, “ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (1 April 1851), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12925954>.

¹⁴⁴ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (10 May 1851), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12926962>.

¹⁴⁵ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (21 June 1851), 1: <http://newspapers.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12928082>.

¹⁴⁶ [Advertisement]: “IN THE PRESS”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (2 October 1852), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12940441>; [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (19 October 1852), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12940874>.

¹⁴⁷ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (14 August 1853), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12939196>; [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (28 August 1852), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12939579>.

¹⁴⁸ “GOLD ANNIVERSARY DINNER”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (14 February 1853), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12943643>.

¹⁴⁹ “GRAND FANCY DRESS BALL AT SYDNEY”, *The Argus* (14 July 1853), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4794501>.

¹⁵⁰ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (12 May 1854), 6: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12952065>.

[Waltz](#), named after another ship, and Marsh's answer to his competitor, Johnson's *Chusan Polka*.

Marsh began 1853 with [The Anniversary Polka](#), "dedicated to the Committee of Management of the [65th] Anniversary Regatta", on 26 January, printed in advance with a cover by George Angas; and [The Bridal Waltz](#), "dedicated to Mrs. John Ward" (Anne Therry, daughter of the Chief Justice), and composed for her wedding in January.¹⁵¹ **The Argo Schottische** (now lost), named after the steamship *Argo*, was "in the press" in July.¹⁵² Two further prints were advertised in August 1853, [The Gazelle Waltz](#), and [The Marian Waltzes](#) (which had been first announced in June and July),¹⁵³ named after the dedicatee, Mrs. Daniel Egan (Mariane Cahnac), wife of the Mayor of Sydney, and "composed expressly" for the Mayor's Grand Fancy Dress Ball. Mrs. Egan would die tragically in 1857 when the *Dunbar* was wrecked at Sydney Heads.¹⁵⁴ (Marsh later lived at Marian Villa, Paddington.)¹⁵⁵

Only one new Marsh work was announced in 1854, [The Croesus Polka](#), another steamship dedication, published on 30 August, a week after its arrival (a year later the *Croesus* was wrecked by fire).¹⁵⁶ Thereafter, for several years, Marsh was probably too busy publishing and playing other people's music, to produce much more of his own (by the end of 1854 he was also distributing in New Zealand).¹⁵⁷ As a publisher and retailer of colonial music, Marsh was making considerably headway by 1853, answering and perhaps also creating local demand.¹⁵⁸ The promise of an improved mail service, in the first instance to country regions, but also to Great Britain, raised the patriotic expectation that those at "home" would be not only glad, but genuinely interested, to receive by post exemplars of colonial musical excellence. When the *Colonial Times* in Hobart scoured the Sydney papers

¹⁵¹ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (13 January 1853), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12942850>; "MARRIED", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (12 January 1853), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12942818>.

¹⁵² [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (23 July 1853), 5: <http://newspapers.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12947505>; "THE G.S.S.S COMPANY'S STEAMSHIP ARGO", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (8 August 1853), 4: <http://newspapers.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12947847>.

¹⁵³ [Advertisement]: "THE MARION WALTZES" [sic], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (23 June 1853), supplement 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12946864>; [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (20 August 1853), 6: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12948212>.

¹⁵⁴ G. P. Walsh, "Egan, Daniel (1803?-1870)", *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 4 (1972), 130-131: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/AO40131b.htm>.

¹⁵⁵ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (9 April 1863), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13076735>.

¹⁵⁶ "THE G.S.S.S. COMPANY'S STEAMSHIP CROESUS", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (24 August 1854), 4: <http://newspapers.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12954428>; [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (30 August 1854), 1: <http://newspapers.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12957715>; "THE LOSS, BY FIRE, OF THE STEAMSHIP CROESUS", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (3 August 1855), 5: <http://newspapers.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12972458>.

¹⁵⁷ [Advertisement: GILBERT PICKETT & CO], *New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian* 10/ 969 (15 November 1854), 3: <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&cl=search&d=NZSCSG18541115.2.7.1&>.

¹⁵⁸ For instance, see his occasional advertisements in the Hobart press: [Advertisement]: "HENRY MARSH & CO'S MUSICAL CIRCULAR", *The Courier* (7 March 1853), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2245468>; [Advertisement], "H. MARSH & CO'S MUSICAL CIRCULAR", *The Courier* (7 December 1853), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2245468>.

for news in late July 1857, they printed in close proximity, two not unassociated snippets from a recent *Herald*:¹⁵⁹

[...] The Governor-General had sent down a bill to enable the government of New South Wales to co-operate with the governments of the other Australian colonies, for the establishment of a regular and expeditious postal communication by steam with Great Britain [...].

And several lines below, the *Herald's* review of the first numbers of Henry Marsh's new venture:¹⁶⁰

Under the appropriate title of the *Australian Cadeau*, Messrs. H. Marsh and Co. have commenced the publication of a weekly musical serial, which promises to halve an extensive and permanent circulation. The design is to produce, at a very trifling cost, a succession of favourite vocal and instrumental compositions, the selections being from the best masters, and the getting-up to be in a style of elegance suitable for the music-stands of the drawing-room and boudoir. The facilities now given for the transmission of printed music through the Post-office, and the extremely low rates of postage—twopence, for example, for the Australian Cadeau—offer an acceptable boon to our fair friends in the distant rural districts, who are now enabled to supply themselves with every new publication at an exceedingly low cost. The selections for the first two numbers of the Cadeau are the *Australian Emigrant*, and a *Valse Militaire*, by Vincent Wallace, a very brilliant composition.

Begun on Saturday 2 June 1855,¹⁶¹ the *Cadeau* ran to 17 issues, before Marsh called a halt to the series in September. Including one by Wallace, nine of the items counted as colonial works. Of the remaining imported items,¹⁶² the very first issue, Stephen Glover's ballad, [The Australian Emigrant](#) also counted as local because of its subject matter, while, No 14, Paul Henrion's [Lola Montez Polka](#), released on 1 September, was locally topical, since Montez herself was then playing at the Royal Victoria Theatre. The anonymous local work, [Sydney Railway Polka](#), was also topical, composed possibly by Henry Marsh himself for the Sydney Railway Ball, also held at the Victoria on the evening of the opening day of the new Sydney Railway on 26 September, while Catherine Hayes's lost anonymous **Song of Australia** was

¹⁵⁹ "NEW SOUTH WALES", *Colonial Times* (27 June 1855), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8781475>.

¹⁶⁰ The original article, "THE AUSTRALIAN CADEAU", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (15 June 1855), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12970521>.

¹⁶¹ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (2 June 1855), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12969954>.

¹⁶² Imported works issued in *The Australian Cadeau* were: No 3 (16 June 1855), [Apollon Barret]: *La Fin du Bal Galop*, [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (16 June 1855), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12970538>; No 5 (30 June 1855), [Adrien Talexyl]: Mazurka Brillante (another edn. By W. J. Johnson); No 6 (7 July 1855), Joseph Gung'l: *Dreams on the Ocean Waltzes*; No 7 (14 July 1855), Phineas Ezekiel: The Adieu (Reverie); No 8 (21 July 1855), Stephen Glover: Gerty's "Song of the Star" (from *The Lamplighter*), [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (21 July 1855), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12971946>; No 13 (25 August 1855), [Verdi]: [Fair Shines the Moon Tonight \(Serenade\)](#), [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (23 August 1855), 6: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12973294>; No 14 (1 September 1855), Paul Henrion: [Lola Montez Polka](#); [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (1 September 1855), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12982482>.

possibly Lavenu's **Tribute to Australia**, sung by her in Sydney in October 1854. The Australian (and deemed Australian) content in the *Cadeau* series was, thus, as follows:

THE AUSTRALIAN CADEAU

No 1 (2 June 1855) ¹⁶³	Stephen Glover	<u>The Australian Emigrant</u> (Ballad)
No 2 (9 June 1855) ¹⁶⁴	Vincent Wallace	<u>Grand Valse (Militaire)</u>
No 4 (23 June 1855) ¹⁶⁵	Ernesto Spagnoletti	<u>Awake, My Love (Serenade)</u>
No 9 (28 July 1855) ¹⁶⁶	Anonymous [Lavenu ?]	<u>Miss Catherine Hayes's Song of Australia</u>
No 10 (4 August 1855) ¹⁶⁷	Stephen Marsh	<i>Souvenir of Catherine Hayes</i> Part 1: <u>Introduction ("Catherine Hayes") & Brilliant Fantasia (on "Ciascun lo dice" from La Figlia del Reggimento)</u>
No 11 (11 August 1855) ¹⁶⁸	Stephen Marsh	<i>Souvenir of Catherine Hayes</i> Part 2: <u>"Comin' through the Rye" & "Savourneen Deelish"</u>
No 12 (18 August 1855)	Stephen Marsh	<i>Souvenir of Catherine Hayes</i> Part 3: <u>Brilliant Fantasia (on an air from Don Pasquale)</u>
No 15 (8 September 1855) ¹⁶⁹	Harry Mackenzie	<u>Such is Life (Ballad)</u> (later edition: Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1857])
No 16 (15 September 1855)	Anonymous	<u>Sydney Railway Polka</u>
No 17 (22 September 1855) ¹⁷⁰	Louis Lavenu	<u>My Molly Asthore</u> ("composed expressly for Miss Hayes")

The one composer not previously mentioned, **Harry Mackenzie {1853-after 1865}**, announced his arrival in the Sydney press in November 1853, a "professor of music" who had previously enjoyed royal patronage in England, and who planned giving "a series of Entertainments, comprising readings from Shakespeare, and original vocal compositions".¹⁷¹ Mackenzie's song, *Such is life* was singled out for special mention four years later by a

¹⁶³ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (2 June 1855), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12969954>.

¹⁶⁴ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (8 June 1855), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12970171>.

¹⁶⁵ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (23 June 1855), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12970845>.

¹⁶⁶ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (31 July 1855), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12972292>.

¹⁶⁷ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (4 August 1855), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12972491>.

¹⁶⁸ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (10 August 1855), 6: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12972732>.

¹⁶⁹ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (8 September 1855), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12982553>.

¹⁷⁰ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (22 September 1855), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12978366>.

¹⁷¹ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (25 November 1853), 1: <http://newspapers.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12950636>; earlier in 1853 in London, Mackenzie had published the most recent of his several songs in print there, *Never Give Up* (copy at British Library, Music Collections H.1736.(12.) [004501830]), to words by Martin Tupper.

lecturer on music at the School of Arts in provincial Maitland, as a contribution toward an Australian national music. According to the synopsis of the lecture in the Maitland *Mercury*:¹⁷²

The possession by almost every nation of a national music was then noticed, and the influence of that music when at a distance from home, it revived home recollections and association, was illustrated by several anecdotes. Australia, the lecturer said, had as yet no national music, though, he felt the hope, expressed by the poet Campbell, that this would not continue to be the case; but one song, he remarked, had been written—the words by Mr. G. W. [sic] Allen, of Sydney, and the music by Mr. Mackenzie, also of Sydney. The youth of the colony were very patriotic, and where the love of country existed the other feeling resulting in the production of national music would follow. National music, the lecturer observed, required no language but its own, it had no need of words, it was the direct voice of passion even more than poetry itself.

Why the *Cadeau* ceased after issue 17 is not known, though in all probability Marsh had run into financial difficulties; on 13 October, he advertised that he had “resumed his instructions” in piano and singing,¹⁷³ and in November, he and W. H. Paling were jointly touting a new venture, “The New South Wales Academy of Music”.¹⁷⁴ Nevertheless, Marsh ended up before the insolvency court on 9 February 1856.¹⁷⁵

In April 1856, he was conducting a “Hungarian Band” (in national costume) before a crowd of 2000, at his competitors’, Charles Woolcott and J. R. Clarke’s “pleasure-grounds” in Cremorne Gardens, overlooking the harbour.¹⁷⁶ And in December 1856, not Marsh himself, but again J. R. Clarke, issued his [The Pic Nic Polka](#) in the *Australian Presentation Album for 1857* (the *Herald* had already called the polka “Marsh’s favourite”).¹⁷⁷ W. J. Johnson demonstrated a similar spirit of industrial camaraderie by issuing Marsh’s [Jessie: A Conversation Polka](#) in 1860.¹⁷⁸

Having “succeeded in completing arrangements for resuming” the series, Marsh revived the *Cadeau*, as a monthly, on 7 May 1859, again proposing “to offer to subscribers in addition to selections from the best English musical compositions, local contributions of a

¹⁷² “MAITLAND SCHOOL OF ARTS”, *The Maitland Mercury* (19 March 1859), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article18650784>; Mackenzie later set another Walter Allen lyric, *Good Bye*, see **Appendix 2 Checklist**.

¹⁷³ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (13 October 1855), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12981674>.

¹⁷⁴ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (2 November 1855), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12976130>.

¹⁷⁵ “INSOLVENCY: IN RE H. MARSH”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (11 February 1856), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12979201>.

¹⁷⁶ “CREMORNE GARDENS”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (8 April 1856), 10: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28639873>; after Woolcott and Clarke’s partnership terminated that year, Marsh ran Cremorne Gardens with Woolcott, who lived in the vicinity; see “CENTRAL POLICE COURT”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (20 December 1856), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12990279>.

¹⁷⁷ “REVIEW: THE AUSTRALIAN ALBUM, FOR 1857”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (24 December 1856), 5: <http://newspapers.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12990464>.

¹⁷⁸ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (17 December 1860), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13050260>.

very superior stamp”, now also with “lithographic illustrations, so as to form an elegant Colonial Works of Art”.¹⁷⁹ But although little more was heard of this hopeful venture, Marsh did also publish at the same time Charles Packer’s ballad [The Captive’s Child](#).

One of Marsh’s own later compositions was [Kathleen: Morceau de Salon, Op. 22](#), published in 1865 by Elvy and Co. of Sydney,¹⁸⁰ from whose George-street premises Marsh was by then running his piano teaching practice. Despite its opus number, it is a piece of no great profundity, though of characteristic panache, and, according to the *Herald*, readily recognisable as the work of its composer:¹⁸¹

One of the most prolific composers in Australia is Mr. Henry Marsh. For years past he has periodically written something to delight the musical people of these colonies; and on the whole with a successful result. Throughout his various compositions there is a peculiarity of pleasing melody by which the authorship may be at once recognised [...].

Following his brother, who had left in 1872, Marsh abandoned Australia in 1874 for the United States,¹⁸² as the *Herald* reported:¹⁸³

Mr. Henry Marsh, a gentleman well-known in this city for upwards of twenty-five years as a talented musical writer, performer and tutor, left with his family for San Francisco per British India in the early part of the present month. We have previously noticed the presentation of a testimonial to Mr. Marsh by the members of the choir of the Church of England, at St. Leonards, where the recipient was organist, and understand that a number of Mr. Marsh’s old pupils subscribed for another souvenir, as an evidence of their esteem. The rather unexpected early departure of the ship that conveyed Mr. Marsh to his new place of residence, prevented as formal a presentation as had been intended, and it took place somewhat hurriedly [...].

* * *

¹⁷⁹ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (7 May 1859):

<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13024644>: “THE AUSTRALIAN CADEAU. Published THIS DAY, No 1, of the new series [...]”.

¹⁸⁰ [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (14 October 1865), 9: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13120284>.

¹⁸¹ “NEW MUSIC”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (20 April 1865), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13108740>.

¹⁸² There are several US prints by “Henry Marsh”, probably his, the earliest issued under his own imprint in San Francisco in 1875, the *De Murska Waltzes*, *Palace Hotel Waltz* (see copy at Library of Congress, <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.music/sm1875.08212>) and *Fire! Fire! Grand Galop*; see also his *Knight Templar’s Grand Entree March* (“San Francisco souvenir, respectfully dedicated to M. E. Benjamin Dean, Grand Master, Knights Templar”) (San Francisco: Published under the sanction of the Music Committee of the Triennial Conclave, c1883), <http://levysheetmusic.mse.jhu.edu/levy-cgi/condisp.cgi?id=178.050>; see also his *Sharon-Hesketh Bridal Waltz* (n.d.); and Online Archive of California, Guide to the William R. and Louise Fielder Sheet Music Collection: <http://www.oac.cdlib.org/data/13030/2n/1f9870072n/files/1f9870072n.pdf>.

¹⁸³ “SOCIAL: Mr. Henry Marsh [...]”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (31 July 1874), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13346650>.

Chapter 7

Conclusion:

A coming of age?

[7.1] *A great national affair*

[...] we look upon the cultivation of the divine art, particularly in this Colony, as a *great national affair*, and an object worthy of the attention of the legislature, and of the public individually and collectively. The time we trust is not far distant when Australia will occupy a high place among the nations of the earth, and if the fine arts, and more particularly music, were found to advance the objects of the legislators of antiquity, while music was in a rude and infant state, how much more beneficial must its effects in modern times be, now that it has arrived at a degree of sublimity and perfection which it requires a constant contact with to believe to be human or possible?

For W. A. Duncan, Eliza and John Bushelle's Sydney concert in September 1839 provided yet one more example that the "cultivation of the divine art" was, more "particularly in this colony"—than (one assumes) in homeland Britain—"a *great national affair*".¹ By delivering to colonial Sydney the sublimities of Rossini, Bellini, and Mozart, artists like the Bushelles contributed not only to the "improvement of taste" locally, but also—and this was prophetic—to recognition of colonial music abroad. No less prophetic was Duncan's proposition that colonial music might, therefore, be a worthy object of legislative support.²

As we have observed, from as early as the 1820s, colonial status did not prevent early settler Australians from harbouring national aspirations. With the gradual spread of representative government in the 1840s and 1850s, former colonists were becoming citizens; colonialism created Australia, but by 1860 something more recognisable as "settler colonialism" was determining a national future. From comments quoted below, we will see

¹ "Concert", *Australasian Chronicle* (13 September 1839), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31726416>; [Advertisement]: "ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE: MRS BUSHELLE", *The Sydney Gazette* (7 September 1838), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2549036>.

² One of the earliest applications for government assistance specifically for composers was made by George Tolhurst, in 1866, seeking Victorian Government funding for lithographing his oratorio *Ruth*: "Offices, Custom House, Melbourne, 4th September, 1866. The Board appointed by the Governor in Council, on the 2nd October, 1865, to consider claims for rewards or premiums for the promotion of new manufactures and industries, in accordance with the Regulations submitted to Parliament on the 12th of the previous July, have the honor to submit the following Report in addition to that furnished on the 19th June last: [...] No. 32. G. Tolhurst, Prahlan.—Composition of the oratorio *Ruth*, and other works [...]. Lithography of music"; reproduced in "Additional Report of Board appointed to consider claims for Rewards or Premiums for New Manufactures and Industries" (Melbourne: Parliament of Victoria, 1866), reproduced in Appendix to the journals of the House of Representatives of New Zealand, , Volume 2 (Wellington, 1869), appendix 57-58: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=adZOAAAAYAAJ&pg=RA5-PA57#v=onepage&q&f=false>; earlier, the British musical press had noted the premiere of *Ruth*, see *The Musical Times* 11 (1 April 1864), 260: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=B28PAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA260#v=onepage&q&f=false>: "THE production of a new Oratorio at the antipodes is an event which must interest all who watch with pleasure the spread of music, as a humanizing influence, throughout the civilized world [...]."

that even the division into six colonial administrations may have enhanced, rather than hindered, the development of a shared—if still amorphous—sense of Australian nationality. Concurrently, what it meant to be an Australian was becoming a widely addressed (and warmly contested) question. As to the first international recognition of “Australian music”, Sydney’s acknowledged *prima donna* Eliza Bushelle, having meanwhile been tutored by Isaac Nathan (himself trained by the great singing-master Domenico Corri), toured America, and “made a great impression” in Vienna,³ before returning to Britain to make her London debut in a revival of her brother’s *Maritana* in 1848, where she reportedly “obtained a great success”.⁴ And, before the end of the century, Amy Sherwin and Melba had amply vindicated Duncan’s expectation that Australians might not only acquire European musical sublimities, but be recognised in the metropolises as improving upon them.

The gradual Europeanisation of colonial Australia’s music culture—that, for argument’s sake, began with George Sippe’s performance of Weber’s *Freischütz* Overture in the Sydney Amateur Concerts of 1826; that was given new impetus by Vincent Wallace in the 1830s; and that progressed throughout the 1840s—was viewed by connoisseurs like Duncan as essential to the improvement of both colonial public taste, and performance standards. It also had an effect on music composed locally. Frederick Ellard, who though born in Ireland counts as one of the first colonially raised and educated professional musician-composers (and the first to return to Europe for “finishing”), differed from many of his British-born and British-trained colleagues in looking to continental European models as influences on his works. Weber, as we have seen, was an early infatuation; later, following his friends Boulanger and Hauser, “Frederic”—as he styled himself in the 1850s—published some of the earliest Australian examples of idiomatic piano music showing an awareness of modern France. By comparison, more senior British émigrés—Nathan, Stephen Marsh, Henslowe, Charles Packer, Spagnoletti, Lavenue, and Henry Marsh—were, in the 1850s, still mostly addressing a broader public taste, identifiable with middle-class popular and theatrical traditions.

Sydney theatre, during the tenures of composer-performers like the Howsons and John Gibbs, remained a very mixed bag of popular and serious content, rarely more than plays with the occasional song and dance pieces, in which large-scale original colonial musical productions—of the sort briefly trialed by Nagel, Nathan and John Howson in the mid-1840s (and later by Gibbs in his lost Gold anniversary cantata)—were the exceptions, rather than the rule. But whether large or the small forms, locally composed or imported, music for Sydney theatre continued into the mid-1850s to serve a similarly mixed bag of elite and

³ “VIENNA, OCTOBER 27”, *The Musical World* (13 November 1847), 725:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=FJMPAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA725#v=onepage&q&f=false>: “Wallace’s opera of *Maritana* will be produced here in about a fortnight [...] The composer has written a new scena and chorus for the last act, of which report speaks highly. Miss Wallace, the composer’s sister, has made a great impression on the Viennese, and is expressly engaged to sing at a grand concert, on the 15th of November, before the Emperor and the court [...]”

⁴ “COVENT GARDEN”, *The Musical World* 23/42 (14 October 1848), 661:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=PksAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA661#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

popular audiences. When the travel writer Friedrich Gerstaecker visited the Royal Victoria on 7 March 1852—a night on which Frank Howson, Maria Carandini, and John Gibb’s wife acted in the plays and sang—he acknowledged:⁵

I had expected more; several plays I saw would not have been suffered even in a small German town [...] The audience was really more interesting than the play, though I afterward saw some very good pieces, very well played. I really never found in any part of the world a more motley group in a theatre than was collected here. The first gallery contained the *haute volee*—the name already showed its destination—dress circle, and it is in fact the only decent place to go to in the house. The second gallery is also visited by the good honest citizens and tradesmen of the town [...] The third gallery, the cheapest place, which we call “paradise”, is the same in all countries—the more dreadful the incidents the bill announces, the more is this part crowded; but the pit, with its wooden benches and doleful landscape paintings all round, is far more interesting. As if shaken out of a Noah’s ark, they sit and stand there crowded together, sailors and servant girls, grisettes and shopkeepers, tradesmen and water-men [...] During the play they amuse themselves with applauding, whistling, stamping, and clapping hands, all signs of the greatest satisfaction—in fact, make every noise they possibly can [...].

Throughout the study, numerous press notices have been quoted that greet colonial compositions as evidence of “national” advancement in musical taste and productivity going hand in hand. What started out as “colonial productions” (a term often used, approvingly, in the press in the 1830s and 1840s), however, had by the early 1850s come a major step closer to being “national” ones, potentially identifiable as such in the international sphere. As noted in Chapters 5 and 6, the dual blessings of gold, and improved travel and communication, brought the Australian colonies, collectively, to the attention of the wider world, not only in Paris (as with the music sent to the Paris Exhibition in 1855), but also especially in the United States. It was, paradoxically, the United States that delivered the most significant British and European touring artists to Australia in the 1850s, sailing westward direct from their American seasons—the singers Catherine Hayes and Anna Bishop, and composers Loder, Siede, Laglaise, Fiddes, Hauser, Lavenu, and Boulanger. Thus, the Pacific circuit (which beyond music also delivered significant theatrical artists) represented the first major dilution of British cultural hegemony in the Australian colonies, while giving Australian audiences evidence that their patronage now counted in a new international (and not just British) musical economy. Australian audience patronage helped build the reputations not only of actual touring artists, but also—*in absentia*—of European composers. And not just living composers, either; as an article on the late Donizetti in the American *Dwight’s Music Journal* noted in 1858: ⁶

⁵ For details of the program that night, see [Advertisement]: “ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (7 April 1852), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12935767>.

⁶ “Lucrezia Borgia” *Dwight’s Music Journal* (18 September 1858), 198:

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=f2QPAAAAYAAJ&pg=PP246#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

His name and operas are known and welcomed wherever modern music has a place. From London to *San Francisco* and *Australia*, the beautiful melodies that flowed from his facile pen have become familiar as household words [...].

It might even be reasonably argued that the theatrical and musical tourists of the mid-1850s contributed directly to the growth of nascent Australian nationalism. By virtue of intercolonial omnipresence, the tours of Hauser, Lavenu, Loder, Nelson, Bishop, and Hayes drew linking lines on the cultural map of Australia, offering audiences in the sovereign colonial capitals of Sydney, Melbourne, Hobart and Adelaide identical musical experiences that they might share as Australians. And, thanks to gold, rural Australia was now also caught up in the national musical web; as *The Argus* noted in mid-1856:⁷

Madame Carandini, Miska Häuser, and Mr. Lavenu have been giving a series of musical entertainments at Beechworth with great success.

And in March 1857 Anna Bishop, assisted by George Loder and Julius Siede, appeared for three nights in Castlemaine.⁸

Flowing from new prosperity and new national (and international) consciousness, the “cultivation of the divine art” in Australia reached new heights when Australian audiences were given their first real taste of the European musical canon, *en masse*.⁹ Anna Bishop’s touring opera company had already delivered small seasons of European opera (Bellini and Donizetti) in 1856-57, followed by Carandini’s and Lavenu’s company in 1859. Notably, the program of Lavenu’s five-day music festival at the University of Sydney in 1859 consisted entirely of imported “classics”. But William Lyster’s 1861 season was the most extensive showing of canonic repertoire to date.¹⁰ With a company of principals again recruited in the United States, and chorus and orchestra recruited locally, Lyster informed Melbourne in June 1861 that he took:¹¹

[...] great pleasure in announcing [...] that he had leased the Theatre Royal for a short season, for the purpose of giving a series of OPERAS in a style never before attempted in these colonies. The very best Orchestra and Chorus that could be procured are engaged, and no expense will be spared to give proper effect to the productions of the great masters. The repertoire will consist of selections from the works of the following composers: MOZART, BELLINI, WEBER, DONIZETTI, VERDI, WALLACE, and BALFE.

⁷ “THEATRICAL AND MUSICAL”, *The Argus* (19 May 1856), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4838199>.

⁸ “MADAME ANNA BISHOP”, *Bell’s Life in Sydney* (14 March 1857), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article59866140>.

⁹ Sally O’Neill, Maureen Thérèse Radic, “Lyster, William Saurin (1828-1880)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 5 (1974), 116-117: <http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/AO50136b.htm>.

¹⁰ Sally O’Neill, Maureen Thérèse Radic, “Lyster, William Saurin (1828-1880)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 5 (1974), 116-117: <http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/AO50136b.htm>.

¹¹ [Advertisement]: “LYSTER’S GRAND OPERA COMPANY”, *The Argus* (11 June 1861), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5700965>.

By the time Lyster and his young American musical director, Anthony Reiff junior, advertised their Sydney season, the full list of “masters” represented in the season also included Rossini, Auber, and Stephen Marsh. While not representing a complete revolution in taste—and including two *de facto* “colonial” operas, moreover aggressively marketed as such—the season considerably upped the stakes. Lyster and his audiences would not have recognised the word “canonic”; but in conjunction with reference to “the great masters”, the modish and obviously continental coinage “repertoire” (barely known in the Australian press before the 1850s) said a great deal. And though it had been convened principally for the operas, Lyster’s orchestra also had an independent impact in concert music. This letter to the Melbourne *Argus* in May 1862 speaks for itself:¹²

MUSIC IN VICTORIA [...]

Sir, It must be indeed pleasing to all lovers of really good music to watch the rapid advance which the art is making among all classes of our community. The fact was never more apparent than at the Theatre Royal last night. The Musical Union and Mr. Lyster’s opera company have reason to congratulate themselves upon the successful experiment of introducing instrumental compositions of the very first water to an Australian audience. It has been long urged that the symphonies of Beethoven, Mozart, and others, were of too classical a nature, and too tediously long, to be listened to with patience and pleasure by a Melbourne audience; but the breathless attention during the performance of Beethoven’s No. 2, and the symphonia of Mendelssohn, and the outbursts of genuine applause at the termination of each movement, must clearly prove the promulgators of such objection to be in error. It is to be hoped, now that the experiment has been tried, With result so successful, that our musical societies will often introduce such compositions into their programmes and that we shall have periodical performances after the same model as those which at the present time command so much public attention in the metropolis and provincial cities of the mother country.

These new arrivals together marked the beginning of irreversible change in the topography of musical programming in Australia, whereby the agglomeration of small forms that characterised the theatrical semi-operas and concerts of the 1840s and 1850s, had necessarily to cede some ground to larger forms. But given the long-standing popularity of mixed programs, and their appeal to audiences of widely varied tastes, such change cannot have been universally appreciated. In the major venues of the colonial capitals, programming would henceforth tend to become either more distinctly elite (“classical”), or more popular; and many professional musicians, singers especially, would during the 1860s develop

¹² [Letter]: “MUSIC IN VICTORIA. To the Editor”, *The Argus* (17 May 1862), 7: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5714956>; the complete program, on 14 May, was “Beethoven, Symphony No. 2 in D (first time in Victoria); Rossini’s *Stabat Mater*, and Mendelssohn’s *Lobgesang* (Hymn of Praise)”, see [Advertisement]: “MUSICAL UNION”, *The Argus* (15 May 1862), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5714815>; see, on the same page, an advertisement for a Melbourne Philharmonic Society concert to be conducted by Charles Horsley on 10 June, with Beethoven’s Symphony No. 8.

specialisations in one or other direction. Of necessity, there also had to be some displacement for composers. Toward the popular end of the spectrum, against a Bishop song or Bellini aria, a Jullien or Strauss polka, or an Auber or Wallace overture, local composers could, and did, compete. No local composer, however, could stand too close a comparison with Beethoven, or Mendelssohn, in full symphonic stride.

If Australian composers risked becoming marginalised by this internationalisation of taste at the elite end of the musical spectrum, a new avenue for winning popular national validation meanwhile opened up. At first, the new genuine public interest in the production of patriotic songs that began around 1850—representative of a popular yearning for greater national self-determination—must have seemed to be a positive development for local composers, and a means for them to continue to produce music of relevance to society at large. Transportation was a driving issue, especially in Tasmania, which was still receiving regular shipments of convicts from Britain (as witness the arrival of convict composer John Tapp in 1852). In New South Wales, where transportation had ceased in 1840, an attempt by the British government in 1849 to revive the system sparked the formation of highly vocal anti-transportation leagues. The Sydney press in the ensuing years printed dozens of rousing song texts of the ilk of this 1850 effort, crying out for music:¹³

*Sons of the soil! arise!
Let this your anthem be:
Shout, till it rend the skies:
“Australia shall be free!”*

Contact with America not only influenced the music economy; direct contacts between Americans and Australians in the ensuing years also firmed up (hardened might be a better word) public perceptions of desirable national traits—negative and positive—on both sides of the Pacific. As an 1855 history of San Francisco commented on American emigrations to Australia:¹⁴

After a time, most of the Californians in Australia grew sick of their new country [...] There was the moral contamination of working beside the convicts of Van Diemen’s land and New South Wales [...] The Californians were farther disgusted by the imposition of a tax of seven and a half dollars per month [...] and disputes between themselves and British subjects. On the whole, therefore, the Americans were glad to leave the country to its first inhabitants and their coming brethren from England [...].

¹³ “AUSTRALIA SHALL BE FREE”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (16 September 1850), 6: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12921110>.

¹⁴ Frank Soulé, John H. Gihon, and Jim Nisbet, *The Annals of San Francisco: Containing a summary of the history of ... California, and a complete history of ... its great city: to which are added, biographical memoirs of some prominent citizens* (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1855); 404-05: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=VMYUAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA404#v=onepage&q&f=false>; on the activities of the vigilance committees, [see the hanging of an Australian, James Stuart, in 1851, p.578-80: <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=VMYUAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA578#v=onepage&q&f=false>].

While, sadly, few settler Australians were now paying even that much lip-service to the “first inhabitants”, such American views seemed to justify the anti-transportation agenda. On the Australian side, meanwhile, there were growing reservations as to alternative sources of new population, as evidenced, for instance, in John Dunmore Lang’s consideration of “The Australian Future” in 1852:¹⁵

From the precedent afforded, so very shortly before, in the case of California, it was generally anticipated in New South Wales and Port Phillip, that the discovery of the gold fields of these colonies would lead to an immediate and extensive emigration to Australia not only from the United Kingdom and the other British possessions beyond seas, but also from the continent of Europe and the United States of America: and from the well-known character of no inconsiderable portion of the emigration to California, very serious apprehensions were entertained by the Australian colonists generally that a large proportion of the future immigration into Australia would consist in like manner of desperate adventurers, equally without character and fortune, whose influence on the actual colonial population would be exclusively evil [...].

Now, although these apprehensions were somewhat exaggerated [...] they were not altogether unreasonable as far as regarded the possibility of our losing the thoroughly British character of our population. The importance of maintaining that character cannot be over-estimated; for although I disclaim any feeling of dislike or antipathy to foreigners of any of the nations I have enumerated, and should consider it the worst possible policy to place any obstacle whatever in the way of their settlement in the Australian colonies in any capacity, I confess, my hopes in regard to the moral, social and political advancement of the Australian communities, and the high and influential position which, I conceive, they are destined to occupy, at no distant period, on the theatre of the world, are based entirely upon the supposition and condition of their having, as much as possible, a thoroughly British population.

That the type of social cohesion advocated by Lang might also be actively nurtured in song was a proposition that did not escape the German visitor, Gerstaecker, even if the song that set him thinking along this line was—unpromisingly—*God Save the Queen*. Going to the Royal Victoria late in 1851—on the night “the best performers at the theatre”, including singers Sara Flower and the Howsons, made their last Sydney appearance for a while before touring the diggings—he observed:

The play acted this evening was Balfe’s opera, *The Enchantress*, under the distinguished patronage of his Excellency the Governor-general, Sir Charles Augustus Fitzroy [...] The performance commenced with the singing of the National Anthem (all the actors and actresses being in their costumes, which looked rather singular—particularly if among the loyal singers a set of bloody pirates came forward—as in this opera). I like a people to have a national hymn—there is

¹⁵ J. D. Lang, *An Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales* (third edition; London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1852), 550-51:
<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=ImsBAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA550#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

something great, something holy in it; and if even it is a merry tune, as the *Yankee Doodle* of the Americans—it speaks the feeling of union of a whole nation ... We have no union, no liberty, and therefore have no national hymn—none at least in Germany; but if liberty can not give us a hymn, who knows but some happy thought may produce one of those powerful songs that drive the blood through your veins and kindle the fire in your eyes [...] Poor Germany! You'll have to put other strings to your instruments before you'll get in tune.

There would seem to be only a relatively small step from Gerstaecker's view in 1851 to American scholar Philip Bohlman's attempt, in an article in *Musicology Australia* in 2009, to develop what he calls a "theory" of music's role in effecting a "cultural translation" of national agendas. As he put it more directly, in such situations: "Music does not simply represent the nation; music is mustered for the making of the nation [...]".¹⁶ In the event, it seems also to have been a small step from such reflections as those quoted above, to the birth of an institution that, even 120 years later, had not yet disappeared from Australian polity or music—the national song competition.¹⁷ In the Sydney *Herald* in May 1851, the local branch of the anti-transportation Australasian League advertised:¹⁸

THE AUSTRALASIAN ANTHEM. A Medal, of the value of Ten Guineas, will be given by the Executive Board of the Australasian League for the best Australasian Anthem, capable of being set to Music. The following are the characteristics of the composition deemed desirable by the Board:-

Simplicity and conciseness. It should not contain less than four nor extend to more than six stanzas, or twenty-four lines. Each stanza should be confined to and express one sentiment, and no sentiment should run into, nor sentence be connected with the following stanza. It should contain no direct reference to crime or criminals [...].

In fact, the *Herald* published three aspirant anthems even before the advertisement appeared; and within a month, interest had spread to Melbourne, where a letter to the *Argus* inquired of its editor, while further resetting the colonial parameters to national ones:¹⁹

IS it true that the Sydney branch of the Australasian League have offered a premium of ten guineas for the best Australian Anthem? If so, how is it that we have heard nothing of it through your columns? Surely there are among our

¹⁶ Philip V. Bohlman, "Music before the Nation, Music after Nationalism", *Musicology Australia* 31 (2009), 79-100, quote 83.

¹⁷ It took Australia until 1973 to officially recognise the musical futility of such enterprises. In that year, through the Australian Council for the Arts, the Prime Minister Gough Whitlam offered prizes for lyrics and music for a new national anthem. All 1,300 music entries were rejected. This was the last open competition. In two Government-run public polls in 1974 and 1977 the relative popularity of just three pre-existing songs was tested: *Advance Australia Fair* (which won on both occasions, and was ultimately proclaimed the new Australian National Anthem), *Waltzing Matilda*, and *The Song of Australia* (on the genesis of the last in 1859, see discussion below in [7.2]).

¹⁸ [Advertisement]: "AUSTRALASIAN LEAGUE", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (22 May 1851), 1:

<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12927294>; for two early responses, see "AUSTRALASIAN ANTHEM"

¹⁹ [Letter]: "AUSTRALIAN ANTHEM. To the Editor", *The Argus* (18 June 1851), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4778586>; which, indeed, prompted [Advertisement]: "AUSTRALASIAN LEAGUE", *The Argus* (12 July 1851), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4779055>.

Victoria poets some who would be proud to contend for so honorable a prize [...] Are our northern neighbours so jealous of us as to dread competition in such a matter as this? [...] Besides, as it would be very inconvenient and unseemly to have one anthem in Sydney, another in Victoria, another in South Australia [...].

In this instance, no prize was awarded—for either verse, or music; but the concept of Australian national song had taken root. During the next few years, Isaac Nathan and Stephen Marsh repeatedly dusted off their respective “Australian anthems” from the 1840s, while new offerings included in 1853 an anonymous **Tasmanian Anthem** for the public celebrations there of the ending of transportation coinciding with the jubilee of the colony;²⁰ an anonymous **Australian Anthem** played “in magnificent style” by Charles Stier’s band of the 11th Regiment at the laying opening of the Sydney Exchange;²¹ as well as new “Australian Anthems” by the tourist Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle (1853), Sidney Nelson (one in 1853 and two in 1859), and long-time resident Charles Packer (1856). Packer, the ex-convict, wrote his own lyrics:

*Australia, Hail! fair southern land
’Neath whose bright sun and cloudless sky
A giant Nation starts to life
Who hold the Briton’s birthright Liberty ...*

[7.2] *A Song of Australia?*

Si nous n’écrivons pas un chant national, mes amis, nous aurons à l’avenir une patrie sans musique.

Unless we write an anthem, friends, the future will be a country without music.

Nicholas Hasluck, *The Country Without Music* (1990).²²

South Australia has, arguably, been somewhat neglected to this point. But, it must be remembered that in 1851, the colony was still only fifteen years old. It had developed, much as planned, without transportation, as a convict-free, minimally-militarised colony. While this made it, in the eyes of the South Australian colonists themselves, a pattern for a new free Australia, the lack of a strong military presence during the 1840s unwittingly deprived the community of military bands, and so hindered the early development of a professional musical infrastructure similar to that the government-funded bands afforded the two oldest

²⁰ “TASMANIAN ANTHEM FOR THE DEMONSTRATION”, *Launceston Examiner* (6 August 1853), 4-5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36269759>; See also Caroline W. Leakey’s “On Tasmania’s receiving the Writ of Freedom”, in her *Lyra Australia: or, Attempts to sing in a strange land* (London: Bickers and Bush, 1854), 161: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=4_MjAAAAMAAJ&pg=PA161#v=onepage&q&f=false: “Fair Virgin of the South, we call on thee; / Receive with smiling courtesy the writ / Which bids thee now from childhood’s thrall be free; / Thy mistress Self—[...].”

²¹ “CEREMONY OF THE LAYING OF THE FOUNDATION STONE OF THE SYDNEY EXCHANGE”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (26 August 1853), 2-3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12948398>.

²² (Melbourne: Penguin Books, 1990), 56.

colonies. Amateur music-making, accordingly, had a higher public profile, as perhaps better befitted a population that identified itself from the first, compared with its elder sister colonies, as uniquely self-determining.

This amateur culture, however, only flourished thanks to professional direction. In April 1839, Charles Platts, “late Organist of St. Mary’s, Aldermary, and St. Paul’s Chapel, Great Portland-street”, announced his arrival from London, and begged “to offer his services as teacher of the Piano Forte, which he has studied under the most eminent foreign and English masters”.²³ By the following February, Platts and another recent arrival, **George Bennett (UK 1817-1854) {1839-54}** were jointly advertising Adelaide’s “first professional concert”.²⁴ But it was the amateur Adelaide Choral Society, under Bennett’s direction, that went on to form the core of the city’s public musical activity during the 1840s, while Platts became the town’s leading bookseller, and later an occasional publisher of local music.²⁵ By dint of significant migrations from Germany, Adelaide and its hinterland also supported a German Brass Band, and a German Song Society. In 1850-51, as we have seen in Chapter 5, a recent British arrival, composer and violinist Andrew Moore, added some lustre—and some newly composed music—to Coppin and Lazar’s Adelaide theatre, as did another arrival composer, Camille del Sarte, along with Frederick Ellard and Spencer Wallace to the local concert scene. Yet when our German tourist, Gerstaecker, arrived in Adelaide late in 1851, he still found little to divert him:²⁶

Amusements, Adelaide has none; for you cannot call a theatre an amusement where you spend a half-crown or crown to see a company of actors the smallest town in Germany would not suffer to play out a piece. The lessees of the theatre, Mr. Koppin and Mr. Lazard [sic], are good performers. Mr. Koppin, in fact, being excellent; but they are not able to keep the thing afloat by themselves; and after I left Adelaide, I was not astonished to hear that they had been obliged to shut up.

Just like South Australian colonial society itself, musical composition seems to have developed locally much along the pattern pre-established in London, in particular by Gouger and Calvert’s song for the South Australian Colonists’ dinner in 1834. The very same song may, indeed, have been the **Old Colonists’ Song** that George Bennett reportedly “gave [...] on the piano, in his own style, and where can you find a better?” at an anniversary dinner in Adelaide in March 1851, and that was also sung at the theatre and in Bennett’s concert at nearby Gawler the following month.²⁷ For the same anniversary celebrations, Bennett himself

²³ “MUSICAL”, *South Australian Gazette* (13 April 1839), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31750525>;

²⁴ “FIRST PROFESSIONAL CONCERT IN ADELAIDE”, *South Australian Register* (15 February 1840), 6: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article27441184>.

²⁵ On Platts (1813-1871), see “OBITUARY”, *South Australian Register* (5 December 1871), 6s: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article39254655>.

²⁶ Friedrich Gerstaecker, *Narrative of a Journey Round the World*, 466: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=F_FIAAAAIJ&pg=PA466#v=onepage&q&f=false.

²⁷ “ANNIVERSARY DINNER OF THE OLD COLONISTS”, *South Australian Register* (29 March 1852), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38459726>; [Advertisement]: “ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE”, *South Australian*

concocted a **South Australian Anthem (“Let all our cares and griefs be drowned”)**, reportedly “composed expressly for the occasion [...] the intrinsic merit of the music exciting very general admiration”.²⁸

Bennett’s concert programs suggest he was a capable conductor and pianist in oratorio and middle-brow operatic numbers. He had been trained as a chorister at Chichester Cathedral by his uncle, the organist Thomas Bennett. But what little can be reconstructed of his Australian biography shows that the Adelaide to which he came as a free settler was hardly yet a sophisticated professional demesne. Press reports, by the early 1850s, mainly register his voluntary musical contributions to convivial Masonic and civic gatherings, or indeed convivial gatherings of any sort. Visiting a butcher friend who had just returned from the gold-fields in 1852, Bennett was playing a polka on the piano for the assembled company in what was, actually, probably a sly-grog shop, when a fight broke out with his host. He lost two teeth—deemed a serious blow for a professor of singing—and was awarded damages when the matter ended up in court.²⁹ Two years later, the 37-year-old professor was dead, leaving a widow and young child.³⁰

Records of other composed music by local British settlers in the mid-1850s are scant. One exception was an anthem **When the weary are at rest**, a “trio for two sopranos and bass, followed by a soprano duet, with a concluding chorus”, composed by the director of the North Adelaide Choral Society, **William Lillywhite {1852-70}**.³¹ Otherwise, as would have been unusual in the rest of Australia, the major musical figures of the decade were settlers from continental Europe. Until they were naturalised, these Europeans were considered by British South Australians to be foreigners; and, as we have observed before, too eagerly prosecuted attempts to assimilate to their new surroundings by foreigners (and even, occasionally, British émigrés considered “outsiders”, like the Jewish Nathan) were not always welcomed by old colonists. A still relatively recent German arrival, **Carl Linger (Germany 1810-1862) {1849-62}**, discovered this in March 1853, when his own new arrangement of *God Save the Queen*, “for solo quartette and chorus”, was unfavourably noticed in the *Register*:³²

Register (10 April 1851), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38436664>; “CONCERT AT GAWLEER TOWN”, *South Australian Register* (26 April 1851), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38435731>.

²⁸ “OLD COLONISTS’ FESTIVAL”, *South Australian Register* (28 March 1851), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38449615>; see also, at the celebrations of the majority of the Colony in 1857: “two original songs, to be sung by gentlemen amateurs, during the dessert in the Grand Pavilion, Glenelg, on Monday, December 28, 1857 ([Adelaide: ?, 1857]); copy at SL-SA; Trove Bookmark: <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/7891958>.

²⁹ LOCAL COURT. ADELAIDE. BENNETT V. FOREMAN”, *South Australian Register* (19 August 1852), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38454876>.

³⁰ “THE LATE MR. BENNETT”, *South Australian Register* (25 September 1854), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49201804>.

³¹ “CONCERT OF SACRED MUSIC”, *South Australian Register* (18 January 1856), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49745607>; “CONCERT OF SACRED MUSIC”, *South Australian Register* (20 May 1856), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49746743>; see also “DIED”, *South Australian Register* (16 June 1870), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28592492>.

³² “MADAME CRANZ’S CONCERT”, *South Australian Register* (15 April 1853), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38455697>.

The evening's amusements were concluded with a new version of the National Anthem, written expressly for this concert. We were not surprised to perceive that few Englishmen attempted to join in the parody. Those who have long learned to venerate the beautifully simple strains of *God Save the Queen*, could only regard as a sort of profanation any attempt to embellish so bright a gem of our national genius with adornments foreign to the melody and the harmony of that spirit-stirring anthem [...].

As is now well-known, Linger persevered in his assimilation of Australian identity, and in November 1859, out of a field of 23 entries, one of his three settings of [The Song of Australia](#) was awarded the prize of 20 guineas offered by the Gawler Institute for the best treatment of Caroline Carleton's previous prize-winning lyrics.³³ But the famous prize song, and a lost piano **Fantasia** upon it ("Fantaisie brillante on the Gawler prize *Song of Australia* for pianoforte"), were Linger's only two published Australian compositions.³⁴

Linger's 1859 prize song is a good point to mark a symbolic divide between the narrative of early colonial Australian music outlined in this study, and its continuation into the later colonial period. In that it is now the earliest widely-recognised predecessor to the current Australian national anthem *Advance Australia Fair*, Linger's "national song" might be seen as a commencement. But for this history, it may also be seen as an ending, a point after which there would be no observable change in popular expectations of patriotic "Australian music" for the rest of the colonial period, beyond Federation, and even throughout most of the twentieth-century. And, ironically, the song that won Linger this lasting Australian recognition may well have been one of his least interesting.

We know from his obituary, or can infer from other circumstantial evidence, that most of Linger's music performed in Adelaide during the 1850s was previously composed in Germany. It included excerpts from two operas, a mass, sets of German partsongs and motets, and probably also chamber pieces like the **Instrumental Quartette** played by "Messrs. [S. W.] Wallace, Osborne, Heinerbein [sic], and Mater" at a concert in January 1851. That fact that relatively little of his German music was ever published there was ascribed by his obituarist, in 1862, to:³⁵

[...] one marked peculiarity in the disposition of Herr Linger, which, however commendable as a virtue in private life, has almost entirely deprived the musical world of the fruits of his genius. We refer to his extreme modesty— a constant tendency to depreciate his own musical attainments—a virtual disclaimer of talents

³³ "THE PRIZE SONG", *The South Australian Advertiser* (5 November 1859), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article1198928>; "THE GAWLER PRIZE SONG", *The South Australian Advertiser* (7 November 1859), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article1198960>.

³⁴ "GRAND CONCERT AT THE GAWLER INSTITUTE", *The South Australian Advertiser* (14 December 1859), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article1200209>; [Advertisement], *The South Australian Advertiser* (31 December 1859), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article1200724>.

³⁵ "THE LATE HERR LINGER", *South Australian Register* (18 February 1862), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article40469572>.

which were conspicuous in his compositions, which were estimated at their true value by those of his friends who best knew how to discriminate between the productions of true genius and the abortions of the charlatan. When asked why he did not publish his compositions his almost invariable reply was in effect, “Germany has plenty of better music than mine in manuscript”. And when his friends expressed a doubt of this, he would shrug his shoulders and reply, “I know better than you”.

Linger had come to South Australia to farm, and it was only his failure at doing so that reduced him to settling in Adelaide, teaching music, and returning to composing. Not surprisingly then, only a few of his compositions can be dated to his Australian years. One particularly interesting group was performed, and presumably at least partly composed (or reworked), for an 1856 patriotic concert celebrating peace in the Crimea. Each of the two halves of the concert opened with an orchestral prelude, **Prelude No 1 “To the Memory of the Fallen Heroes”** in G minor, and **Prelude No 2 “Praise and thanks to the Lord for Victory and Peace”** in D major. These and three original choral numbers, the chorus **Sweetly rest in God’s own peace**, the “Funeral anthem” **I am the Resurrection**, and the chorus **Praise the Lord, O my Soul** were, in any case, deemed by him to be Australian, having been advertised as “expressly composed and arranged for this Concert by Herr Linger”.³⁶ But whether strictly newly composed, or “expressly arranged” for new circumstances, this lost collection must represent one of the high points of early colonial Australian music. At least, it is hard not to imagine that, even as an offering to the newly emergent Australian patriotic spirit, this lost music was more interesting musically than his *The Song of Australia* three years later.

Addressing popular public taste at the expense of his own stylistic inclinations was a dilemma also addressed by another distinguished composer and would-be South Australian settler, **Cesare Cutolo (Italy 1826-1867) {1858-67}**. A pupil of Mercadante, Cutolo had been hoping to emigrate to England or France, but having been refused a passport to either by the Neapolitan authorities, travelled eastward instead, passing through Egypt, on route to his final destination, Australia.³⁷ Cutolo also appears to have composed little new music during his shorter than expected Adelaide sojourn. A virtuoso pianist, he gave local audiences a standard lineup of etudes and pre-worked fantasies on selected operatic airs, as previously in Melbourne, and as later in Sydney. But having arrived in South Australia in November 1858, by mid-1859 he seems to have exhausted the limited performing outlets for his standard repertoire, first in the capital, and then in the major regional towns. Significantly,

³⁶ [Advertisement]: “PEACE REJOICING: A GRAND CONCERT”, *South Australian Register* (11 August 1856), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49753687>; also (18 August 1856), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49761314>; “The musical event of the season [...]”, *South Australian Register* (23 August 1856), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49756276>.

³⁷ “PUBLIC AMUSEMENTS”, *The Argus* (15 May 1858), 6: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7294590> “As the liberal and enlightened Government of Naples refused to grant a passport to Signor Cutolo to proceed either to France or England, this gentleman determined to try his fortunes in Australia”.

he then turned to patriotic composition, in what seems in retrospect to have been a mostly vain attempt to win favour with a broader, less sophisticated local audience. His **A Song of the Volunteers**, to words by a local amateur H. E. Smith, was performed at a fundraising concert for the South Australian Volunteer Regiment in November 1859, and published in January 1860.³⁸ Cutolo also entered a setting of Caroline Carleton's **The Song of Australia** in the Gawler Institute competition. Though it was the runner up, when he tried to perform it at his own public concert in early November, the Gawler committee asserted their copyright, and forced him to withdraw it from the program.³⁹ Cutolo made one further such attempt, **Hail fair Australia**, "Dedicated to the public of South Australia" in 1860.⁴⁰ Its occasionally forced word-setting might perhaps be expected from a recent Italian arrival; though another possible explanation is that he was trying to fit new verses (by another local amateur poet, Ellen Turner, who went by the pseudonym "Ellie", later a regular contributor to the *Adelaide Musical Herald*) to pre-existing music, perhaps even his discarded Gawler competition entry.⁴¹ A slow waltz song, it was at least a warmer Mediterranean-sounding alternative to the general early South Australian run of tunes by British and German émigrés. By the time this second national song was also published in Adelaide in October 1860, however, Cutolo had read the writing on the wall, and had moved on to try his fortunes in Sydney. There, again able to address a larger audience for his serious concert music, he published toward the end of 1860 perhaps his most interesting and probably most characteristic surviving composition, the nocturne for piano inspired by a stop on his recent journey to the Southern Hemisphere, **Remembrances of the Pyramids**.

As a foreigner, Cutolo was probably never going to produce the sort of national music the average patriotic Adelaide settler appreciated. This much was made clear in a letter to the Adelaide press on the subject of the Gawler songs:⁴²

SIR— I do not like these Gawler Town poems. They may be all very well for what I know, but they are not songs, far less national songs. A national song should be simple— such that every child could learn; it should be set to simple music, that

³⁸ [Advertisement], *The South Australian Advertiser* (1 November 1859), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article1198764>; "CONCERT under the PATRONAGE of the SOUTH AUSTRALIAN VOLUNTEERS [...] SIGNOR CUTOLO"; "THE VOLUNTEERS' SONG", *South Australian Register* (4 November 1859), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49828132>; "SIGNOR CUTOLO'S CONCERT", *The South Australian Advertiser* (8 November 1859), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article1198986>; [Advertisement]: "SONG OF THE VOLUNTEERS", *South Australian Register* (10 January 1860), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49896077>; "COLONIAL MUSIC", *The South Australian Advertiser* (11 January 1860), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article1201025>.

³⁹ [Advertisement]: "SIGNOR CUTOLO'S GRAND VOCAL and INSTRUMENTAL CONCERT", *The South Australian Advertiser* (7 November 1859), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article1198956>; "2: *The Song of Australia* (Carleton), Composed by Signor Cutolo. Miss Bryan"; "SIGNOR CUTOLO'S CONCERT", *South Australian Register* (9 November 1859), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49830288>

⁴⁰ "ORIGINAL MUSIC", *The South Australian Advertiser* (22 October 1860), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article825410>; [Advertisement]: "HAIL FAIR AUSTRALIA", *The South Australian Advertiser* (25 October 1860), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article825583>.

⁴¹ "ELLIE", *The South Australian Advertiser* (26 February 1870), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28589557>.

⁴² "THE PRIZE POEMS. TO THE EDITOR", *South Australian Register* (1 November 1859), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49823442>.

everybody can sing; it should be applicable to times of prosperity and adversity, to all ages, to all classes of people like *God save the Queen*, or *Rule Britannia*, or *God preserve the Emperor*. None of your long poems, with heavens of thousand dyes, and azure tints, and silvery moons, and brilliant suns, and all that sort of thing. *None of your Cutolo music*, appreciated only by a few; but simple and grand, something Handelish, something of the style of *See the Conquering Hero Comes*, or perhaps like *The Marseillaise*; and the words of the song, character like Dibdin, or Burns, or Moore, descriptive of the country, and expressing our satisfaction and joy at having it for a resting-place; perhaps praying for its prosperity. As we are not a nation, I confess I do not see how we can have a national song any more than a national flag; but if we do have one, let it be really a song, not a poem which nobody would care to read twice, and which nobody would learn [...].

Whatever Adelaide might have wanted, what it in fact got in the late 1850s and early 1860s, among the first significant layer of locally composed and published works, was yet more patriotic pieces.⁴³ **Advance Australia**, to words by Mr. Charles Barton of Tanunda, and music by his German fellow-townsmen **Wilhelm Ferdinand Draeger {1848-84}**, was welcomed by the press in 1858 as a “colonial production”:⁴⁴

[...] calculated to supply the want which will sooner or later be felt here—that of a national song. The sentiments of Mr. Barton’s song are unexceptionable and his versification is free and vigorous. The air to which the words are set is a pleasing and by no means commonplace melody, and the accompaniment is simple and effective. Viewed as a national song, however, the music is too artistic to be popular, especially that minor strain which closes the first half of the stanza. It will be popular in the drawing-room, and in the workshop where music is cultivated; but measured by such standards as *God Save the Queen* it has not enough of vigorous simplicity to make it a permanent favourite with the masses.

With this caveat, the *Register* was nevertheless:

[...] sincerely glad to find that a native musical literature is springing up in South Australia, and we trust the ventures which have been made will meet with sufficient pecuniary support to encourage repetitions of the speculations. The public must remember that they are, after all, the great patrons of art and of literature; and that if they have not the taste to buy, genius will not have the power to produce.

Other original works published in Adelaide before the end of 1860 included **The Gathering**, “A War Song of Australia”, to words by B. T. Finnis, Esq., M.P., and music by Mrs. A. J.

⁴³ According to a review of Joseph Elliott’s *The Adelaide Schottische*, by late 1861 there was a considerable list; see “COLONIAL MUSIC”, *South Australian Register* (12 December 1861), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article50081069>: “A collection of the musical pieces composed and published in the colony would form quite a volume. We remember to have seen the productions of Mrs. A. J. Murray, Signor Cutolo, Herr Linger, Miska Hauser, Mrs. H. F. Price, Messrs. Draeger, O. F. V. Reyher, E. K. Daniel, W. C. Oldham, H. Pounsett and J. Elliott”; for details of these printed works, see **Appendix 2: Checklist**.

⁴⁴ “NEW MUSIC”, *South Australian Register* (31 August 1858), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49782354>.

Murray of the Adelaide Glee Club;⁴⁵ Mrs. Henry F. Price's **The Kent Rifles Polka**; Mrs. H. W. Thirkell's **Volunteer Waltz**; and Henry Pounsett's volunteers' song **Hail to the Rifleman**. Not surprisingly, perhaps, this bellicose, but otherwise depressingly trivial, trend in Adelaide music was held up to ridicule by the English visitor, Robert Harrison, who, in his *Colonial Sketches*, published in back London in 1862, observed:⁴⁶

When the Volunteer movement reached Australia it became the fashion for one or two enterprising people [in Adelaide] to publish a little music adapted to the cause, such as the *Adelaide Drum Polka*, dedicated to Capt. Turncoat; and the *Bugle Rifle Galop*, dedicated to Capt. Crawler (by special request); and a waltz [...] copied note for note from one of Strauss' the *colonial composer*, not taking the trouble even to alter the key or change a note of the music.

[7.3] *First National Music?*

Whatever other positive effects Europeanisation and nationalisation might have had on Australian music around 1860, they potentially reduced the local composer's options. At the elite end of the spectrum, audiences with enhanced access to recent and Classical continental European repertoire, were less likely to validate the sort of locally composed music adequate to the requirements of colonial society to date. At the same time, popular expectations of what an Australian composer might most usefully deliver to society were being channelled toward more pre-determined musical expressions of an increasingly circumscribed national identity (white, British, free, law-abiding, patriotic). If, following Philip Bohlman, we see the tailor-made national songs of the late 1850s and early 1860s, as potentially "open[ing] up new spaces for the nation to occupy", other, less vigorously defended spaces previously occupied were, at the same time, being closed off.

As we have seen, when Woolcott and Clarke showcased the music of Ellard, Stanley, Hauser and Wallace in **The Australian Presentation Album for 1855** they strategically advertised it as a colonial production, made available to Paris and "home" thanks to the recent improvement in the mails:⁴⁷

This Work is intended to be forwarded to the Paris Exhibition as a specimen of colonial publications. It will form on elegant present to friends at home or in the colony.

⁴⁵ [Advertisement]: "SOUTH AUSTRALIAN INSTITUTE SOIREE", *South Australian Register* (30 May 1860), 1: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49892575>; "SOUTH AUSTRALIAN INSTITUTE", *South Australian Register* (31 May 1860), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49890836>; "REVIEW", *South Australian Register* (3 July 1860), 3: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article50026054> [prints full text]; on Finniss, see "Finniss, Boyle Travers (1807-1893)", *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 1 (1966), 377-379: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A010358b.htm>.

⁴⁶ Robert Harrison, *Colonial Sketches: or, Five years in South Australia, with hints to capitalists and emigrants* (London: Hall, Virtue, and Co., 1862), 106; <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=b88NAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA106&dq=#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

⁴⁷ [Advertisement]: "THE AUSTRALIAN PRESENTATION ALBUM", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (4 January 1855), 8: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12964011>.

Yet new international awareness (and national self-consciousness) would also, inevitably, render the adjective “colonial” (“colonial song”, “colonial composer”) problematic. As the novelist Caroline Leakey has one of her Tasmanian characters advise a new arrival in 1854:⁴⁸

Never apply the term Colonial to anything but produce [...] Whilst COLONIST is a title which makes the honest settler proud, COLONIAL is an epithet obnoxious to his hardy sons, and one over which his pretty daughters pout.

The days of the “colonial composition”—a term Nathan adopted happily enough in the 1840s—were, thus, already numbered, at least as addressed to the rapidly differentiating elite “Classical” audiences. “Colonial” did, however, continue to be not just an acceptable adjective, but the chosen one, for what Roger Covell called “traditional” music; though, in fact, much of what can be actually documented of this phenomenon from the 1850s onwards reveals that it was largely a professional confection. The archetypal colonial songster, Charles Thatcher, was a professional who played to the popular gallery, no less a showman in his own way than Winterbottom, or Hauser. Among “elite” composers, meanwhile, Stephen Marsh made a few reconciliatory gestures toward the newly differentiated “colonial” culture, in the pieces like his 1854 “Australian Ballad”, [By Murray’s banks](#), in 1857 a **Song without Words** for the harp reportedly “illustrative of the life of a digger”,⁴⁹ and, in 1865, the “Australian Song”, **The Stockman’s Last Bed**.

Nevertheless, in the rapidly changing environment of the mid-1850s, the “colonial” option was gradually closed off to elite musicians; while “popular” music was now expected to be, genuinely, popular, a quality that classical musicians were perhaps not best placed to deliver. A warning to this effect was given by the Sydney *Empire* when it first noticed W. J. Johnson’s *The Sydney Harmonicon* in January 1856:⁵⁰

Under this title, a very creditably got up weekly periodical has lately made its appearance, three numbers having been published. It professes to give criticisms on music and art in general with more discrimination than they generally receive [...] In addition to four folio pages of letter-press, the *Harmonicon* also contains four pages of engraved music. Among these pieces there are some elegant and graceful compositions, but none of them of such originality and charm that they are likely to win a permanent popularity. Indeed, it is remarkable how very few original musical compositions ever do obtain popularity [...] We fear the proprietors of this colonial publication will find that they will have a great deal of dead stock on their

⁴⁸ Oliné Keese [pseud. of Caroline W. Leakey] *Broad Arrow: Being passages from the history of Maida Gwynnham, a lifer* (in 2 vols, London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1859; 2 vols in 1, Hobart: J. Walch, 1860); <http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks06/o606881h.html>; though others would continue to use it with pride, see a review of *The Belle of the Isle Valse* by “Austral” (Launceston: Walch and Sons, 1866): [News]: *Launceston Examiner* (15 December 1866), 2: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36640490>: “it is thoroughly colonial—the composer, we believe, being a native, the printing has been executed at the *Examiner* office”.

⁴⁹ “MR. MARSH’S SOIREE MUSICALE”, *The Argus* (11 February 1857), 7: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7144469>; MR. MARSH’S SOIREE MUSICALE”, *The Argus* (17 February 1857), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7144768>.

⁵⁰ “THE SYDNEY HARMONICON, *Empire* (11 January 1856), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article60172292>.

hands at the end of a year, for music that has not a name nobody seems to care to hear.

Since few of the musical supplements to the *Harmonicon*—and especially those by local composers—were likely to match that of the most recent issue—the late Chevalier Bochsá's *Bajadere*—the *Empire* suggested that Johnson might instead:

[...] try his hand at a bold, original, Australian Anthem, to celebrate our “precipitation into a nation”. The theme is a worthy one, and would doubtless bring both honour and profit. In conclusion, we hail our contemporary's appearance in this art-desert with delight, and should, be glad to give him greater hopes of success.

Might Bohlman's dictum—“*Music does not simply represent the nation; music is mustered for the making of the nation*”—also, therefore, usefully be applied to the early colonial Australian music with which this study has been concerned? If so, what sort of nation was this music both representing, and helping to build? How good a “cultural translation” was it of the interests and expectations of the society in which its composers worked? And, if it was a good translation, might it not be an authentic expression of Australian colonial society, worthy of further examination in its own right?

In the introduction, I argued that whereas early colonial aspirations to a distinct Australian musical nationalism might seem naively premature today, their authenticity is repeatedly attested in the documentation presented in this study. The contents of Thomas Kavanagh's “first specimen of national music” in 1826 were not just official exercises in flattering local dignitaries, they were actively deployed in celebrating colonial society through their use not only as military marches, but as convivial toast airs in answer to such proposals as “home we live in” (as opposed to the “home we come from”), and in the particular case of toasting native-born settlers, the “currency lads and lasses”. Such colonial music was mustered toward a rudimentary nationalism that identified with place and circumstance. The society envisioned by the Sydney writer (quoted at the head of Chapter 2) who reviewed Vincent Wallace's first concert in 1836 was one that had to advance in the face of unique disadvantages, but also with recognised advantages, the “blue cloudless skies” and Mediterranean climate that might ultimately be the difference between the music of this new Britannic culture, and that of old Britain itself. There were even those who believed music had a unique advantage in Australia; as the British traveller R. G. Jameson observed on his visit to Sydney in the early 1840s:⁵¹

Literary reunions, soirees, &c, are seldom to be found in Sydney, yet no

⁵¹ R. G. Jameson, *New Zealand, South Australia, and New South Wales: a record of recent travels in these colonies with especial reference to emigration and the advantageous employment of labour and capital* (London: Smith, Elder, 1842), 118-119:
<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=LMMNAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA119#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

gentleman's house is destitute of a library, a piano-forte, or other instrument of music; and in the education of young ladies, French, music, and Italian, are reckoned as indispensable as in England. For what purpose these languages are taught at the antipodes is not apparent [...].

Yet:

Music is an accomplishment of another kind—it is the natural associate of a fine climate; and we will welcome, as added sources of enjoyment, every piano-forte, harp, guitar, and violin, that is landed in Australia.

Music, thus, is held up to be a trait of a nation that enjoys a fine climate; and throughout the 1840s, advances in local music assisted in mustering that sense of nation. The nation mustered a little later in the seemingly naïve dance pieces for the public balls of the 1850s was one that celebrated the advances in communication, technology, and leisure—gold, steam ships, railways, stock exchanges, balls and racehorses—by which the society measured its growing prosperity. Even the apparent failure of colonial composers in the 1850s to take Nathan's creative interest in Indigenous music any further may, sadly, only be negative confirmation of the proposition: that Australian music was mustered in the interests of a self-consciously modernising settler-colonial society, that actively turned its back on “primitive” Indigenous people and culture.

Meanwhile, such an apparent anomaly as Australians' proprietary interest in claiming William Vincent Wallace's *Maritana* as a *de facto* colonial production, was arguably a projection of colonial aspirations to international recognition in the arts. Likewise, for music-lovers like Alfred Cox, it was a declaration of a lingering, but still lively, aesthetic preference for a music culture that prized directness and simplicity above ingenuity and sophistication. By the advanced standards of the European metropolises, the music that early Australian colonial society produced for itself lacked the newly-admired “transcendence” of a Beethoven; but Australian society may not have had much need yet for music with such a quality. Perhaps Wallace's sentimental ballads answered its needs more closely. As filtered through Covell's proposition (“*What is interesting in examining the music of a transplanted culture is to observe what happens to the music when it is transplanted and in the course of this, perhaps, to gain further insight into what is durable or valuable or universally applicable in the original culture*”), Wallace might provide a more durable positive model for a colonial Australian musical aesthetic than all the continental sublimities invoked by connoisseurs like W. A. Duncan. Ultimately, perhaps this early colonial music culture was, for as long as it survived, authentically fitted to the modest aspirations, tastes, and performance and reception capacities, of the society it served.

In the introduction, I argued that a more nuanced understanding of early Australian music may yet come from the development of theorisations that take fuller account of

Australian conditions and sources. In her recent book *Southern Theory* (2007),⁵² the eminent Australian sociologist Raewyn Connell asked whether reflective academic thinking needs to be so overwhelmingly dominated by theories originating in the Northern Hemisphere. She argues that, when it appears at all, the Southern Hemisphere figures mainly as a source of supporting data for Northern self-reflection (for instance, on the origins of their own societies or cultures, or their colonial expansion), seldom as opportunity for deep reflection on Southern experience itself. Though tentative and rudimentary, some of the colonial formulations of perceived advantages and desired traits of an envisioned Australian music, as discussed above, suggest that Connell's search for "Southern Theory" might usefully be extended to Australian musicology. If so, such a search requires new respect be given to colonial Australians' own capacity for self-reflection, and a renewed attentiveness to primary source materials.

Whatever its other shortcomings, early colonial Australian musical composition is at least historically "interesting", for its relevance to the society that produced it. Nor does this observation need to be restricted only to that music that survives; some of the lost music identified here can be included among the most historically interesting. The fact that, with single exceptions in both cases, their music is lost, in no way diminishes the historical interest of, for instance, Joseph Reichenberg or Joseph Gautrot.

It needs to be admitted, however, that this was not the overwhelming judgment of the immediately ensuing generations. Caught up in their own growth and development, the newly-arrived or newly-emerging composers of the 1860s displayed so little interest in their local compositional predecessors as to forget, effectively, that most of them, and their works, ever existed. As documentary searches show, almost no Australian music published before 1860 was still being performed in public a decade after its first appearance. Nor, after 1860, is there much evidence that any of the composers active in the previous 40 years were recognised as contributing anything foundational to Australian music, with the possible largely mythic (but no less powerfully agentive) exception of Wallace. Thus, potentially major works of the 1840s and 1850s—like John Howson's opera *The Corsair* and John Gibb's *Gold Cantata*, along with orchestral overtures by Gautrot, Stier, and Winterbottom—were not only lost, but lost to collective memory.

But perhaps the price of this music's "authenticity" was that it was always destined to be ephemeral, and to become obsolete and redundant quickly, simply by being superseded. Nor was it especially unnatural that succeeding generations of new arrivals from Britain continued to assume that "Australian music" was still more or less a clean slate, waiting to be written upon. On arrival in the early 1840s, Nathan and Stephen Marsh probably knew nothing of Kavanagh, Sippe, or even Reichenberg, and may not have been interested in them

⁵² Raewyn Connell, "Extracts from *Southern Theory: The global dynamics of knowledge in social science*", *Australian Humanities Review* (March 2008): <http://www.australianhumanitiesreview.org/archive/Issue-March-2008>.

if they did. Even Nathan's exceptional historical backward glance at Lhotsky's *Song of the Women of the Menaro Tribe* from a decade's distance was intended only to show up its "deformities".

As to whether the earlier work of Isaac Nathan, Stephen and Henry Marsh, Charles Packer, Frederick Ellard, and William Stanley was seen, from the viewpoint of the 1860s, to have laid any sort of foundation for Australian music, two contemporary observers of contrary mind may usefully have the final word.

In late 1866, the composer-bandmaster Ginani Gassner arrived in Sydney with his band of the 50th Regiment, having spent the preceding three years in Auckland, New Zealand. In seeking out and arranging repertoire for his popular outdoor band recitals, Gassner fostered the talents of a new cohort of younger Sydney composers of lighter music, including the former Christy's Minstrel C. W. Rayner, Rayner's friend the pianist Alfred Anderson, and John Cash Neild.⁵³ Rayner's music was a particular interest of Gassner, who introduced band arrangements of Rayner's ballad [The Southern Cross](#), the "Cabaletta" **Southern Belles**, his Royal tour ode [Australia's Welcome to Prince Alfred](#),⁵⁴ and [The Australian Stockman's Song](#), as well as several times performing his own **Grand Potpourri on Rayner's Melodies** ("comprising the *Ode, Australian Belles, Southern Cross, 'Twill brighter be to-morrow*").⁵⁵ As a result Gassner appears to have been inundated with requests from other composers to arrange and perform their music, so much so that he was forced to write the Editor of the *Herald* in November 1867:⁵⁶

SIR—Will you have the goodness to allow me a small space for a reply to a host of professional musicians and amateurs who have and are daily favouring me with their compositions, some of which contain a certain amount of sense, while others contain nonsense, and some are concocted of the greatest pack of trash I have seen on paper.

My object in writing to you is not to give a criticism on the music received, but simply to inform my correspondents that the number of musical compositions and letters—requesting me to arrange the same for military band—is so great, that I am almost bewildered with them, and that I have no time to attend to them or answer the letters.

It will suffice, I have no doubt—and, indeed, it will cause my correspondents to be more merciful in future—when I tell them that to score the whole of the music I have received for the Military Band, it would involve a penalty of close confinement to my room at hard labour for six months at least.

GASSNER. Victoria Barracks, November 19.

⁵³ Martha Rutledge, "Neild, John Cash (1846-1911)", *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 10 (1986), 672-673: <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A100652b.htm>.

⁵⁴ [Advertisement]: "MR. C. W. RAYNER", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (12 October 1867), 4:

⁵⁵ "THE QUEEN'S OWN BAND", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (21 November 1867), 4:

<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13152937>; Rayner had made his print debut only recently, with his ballad melody [Speak Gently](#), with a piano accompaniment provided (perhaps out of necessity) by Alfred Anderson; see "SPEAK GENTLY", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (10 July 1867), 4: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28611589>.

⁵⁶ [Letter]: "To the Editor [...]", *The Sydney Morning Herald* (20 November 1867), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13161689>.

This brought an anonymous riposte in the next issue: ⁵⁷

SIR—Gassner the First has issued a ukase to the effect that he will not score any more music for the present, and inhibits further composition. The ukase, published in your issue of yesterday, is very severe on some of the unfortunate composers of the city; this musical monarch is graciously pleased to ignore Horsley, Ellard, Loder, Marsh, Stanley, &c, for the sublime works of Rayner, Anderson, and Neild [...].

At least for this writer, then, the legacy of a now senior generation of composers—Frederick Ellard, George Loder, Henry Marsh, and William Stanley, all active before 1860—were worthier objects of Gassner’s attentions than the junior:

[...] coterie whose compositions M. Gassner is continually putting before the public, to the exclusion of good music.

The opposing view comes from the one exception in the above list of senior composers, Charles Horsley, who had arrived in Australia 1861. In 1869, he tendered readers of the homeland British journal *The Musical World* a report on his eight years’ experience in the colonies. Possibly the single most important conductor of the decade in both Melbourne and Sydney, Horsley was the colleague and friend of many of Australia’s best musicians, including two long-term resident composers Charles Packer and Henry Marsh; and, though he would decide to return to Britain in 1871 (before setting off again for America), he justifiably counted himself as an “Australian”:⁵⁸

The great drawback to anything like a recognition of civilisation among us [Australians] from the mother country is the entire ignorance on the part of the English press and public of our geographical and social position [...]

In private tuition I find the young ladies of Australia quite equal to their English sisters. There are excellent schools in Melbourne and Sydney, and the finest education for both sexes and all classes can be obtained in these cities without sending the pupils to Europe, which is expensive and superfluous [...] We have some admirable instrumentalists [...] there is nothing in any branch of music that cannot be taught in Victoria and Now South Wales as well as in England or Germany. Our vocalists should not be passed over [...] In neither [Melbourne nor Sydney] do I pretend that in performances we can approach the great capitals of Europe; but, let me ask, what is an English musical gathering, such as at Birmingham, the Three Choirs, or Norwich, but a London festival, performed in a provincial town? Therefore, I hold a country not a century old in time, and not half that period in civilisation, is entitled to enormous credit for such a power in interpreting music.

⁵⁷ [Letter]: “To the Editor [...]”, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (21 November 1867), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13152924>.

⁵⁸ “Mr. C. E. Horsley [...]”, *The Argus* (29 May 1869), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5836070>.

Not, however, in composing it. Despite expressing the hope that “some day we may have a grand music school, and that latent talent may develop itself”, Horsley (who others might well have counted a contender on the strength of several major Australian works of his own) came to what now seems, with the benefit of a little more hindsight, to be a wilfully ahistorical conclusion.⁵⁹

At present I do not see any signs of an Australian composer [...].

Clearly, forty years on from a Sydney reviewer’s greeting of Kavanagh’s 1826 bravura *The Trumpet Sounds Australia’s Fame* as “the germ of an Australian School of Music”, there were still those who—guided by their own messianic expectations—would keep Australia waiting for its “first composer”, let alone a school of them, for some while yet.

* * *

⁵⁹ Horsley’s views were echoed some 80 years later in a curiously similar analysis of Music in Australia by another English long-term sojourner, Neville Cardus, who by the time he published his summary in the Boosey & Hawkes new music journal, *Tempo* 7 (Spring 1948), 10-11, had likewise been in Australia for 8 years; Cardus wrote: “On the whole I am inclined to think that at least a feeling for Music as an Art of the imagination is slowly developing in Australia [...] The Australian girl of between 20 and 30 is the cultural hope of the country. She is really rather remarkable; she has her job, or she runs a home, cooks and dresses herself smartly, asks you to dinner, serves a perfect meal, wine and liqueur, then—most likely—she will sit down at the baby ‘Grand’ and play the Preludes and Fugues of Bach—much to the boredom of the husband who would prefer beer and Bradman [...] Australia, like any other of our Dominions, is two or three decades behind the times in the things of the mind. Yet, for all the pervading rawness and Philistinism, the appetite for music increases [...] I have not referred in this review of Australian Music to Australian compositions. Here I am bound to return to the ancient saying [...] ‘*There are no snakes [in Ireland]*’ ... ‘*There are no Australian compositions*’ ...”; for a discussion of the historical significance of Cardus’s view, see my *Peter Sculthorpe: The Making of an Australian Composer* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2007), especially 3-7 and 646-647 (<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=PH6M8JqMGBUC>), where I argue that the notion that Australian musical culture was still yet to produce its first significant composers remained one of the most powerfully agentic myths of Australian music as late as the 1960s.

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Appendix 1

Texts

c.1870: Columbus Fitzpatrick, “Reminiscences of Catholicism in the Early Days of the Colony: To the Editor of the [Southern] Argus, [Goulburn]”.¹

My mother [Caroline Fitzpatrick] [...] taught us not only our catechism and church services but also how to sing our hymns and vespers so that when Father Therry came to the colony he was surprised and delighted to find a couple of boys able to serve at Mass, and a good few people who could sing the church services, for my mother and a man named McGuire used to meet at Mr. Dempsey's to teach the youth of both sexes to sing, long before the arrival of Father Therry. No man on earth loved music more than Father Therry did; he could not celebrate Mass in comfort without singing; he therefore went to great trouble to get the Catholic bandmen to come and play at Mass. Sometimes the Colonel of a regiment would be jealous of his men playing in our church when he wished them to play at the church he went to, and it was Father Therry who showed the world his ability at persuasion, and if that failed, his unflinching determination to wrest from the authorities liberty of conscience for the poor soldier. Many is the battle he fought with majore, colonels, and governore on this subject, and he has often appealed to the Secretary for the Colonies or the Commander-in-Chief and as often as he did, so often did he gain a victory over these petty despots, and in four or five years after his arrival we had the finest choir in New South Wales. In 1825 there were a great number of soldiers in this country and as it happened, the Bandmaster (Mr. Cavanagh) of the 3rd Buffs was a Catholic, as also the Bandmaster (Mr. Richenberg) of the 40th Regiment, an Italian and a great musician. Both regiments were stationed in Sydney at the time, and as Mr. Richenberg was only a hired bandmaster to the 40th Regiment he used to devote all his leasure hours to the instruction and formation of a real good choir, and I can say with truth that his exertions were crowned with success, for he had taught us to sing with his bandmen, and it was a common thing to have five or six clarinets, two bassoons, a serpent, two French horns, two flutes, a violincello, and first and tenor violin, and any amount of well-trained singers, all bursting forth in perfect harmony the beautiful music of our Church. Oh! it makes my heart thrill when I think of those happy days. I have since heard the organ of Saint Mary's; I have seen Dr. Reid, who was a great man, assisted by his sisters and Miss Lane and a great body of singers, but they could not equal the choir formed by Mr. Richenberg. I never heard anything like it except once, that was the day on which our venerated Archbishop first landed in Sydney. On that occasion Dr. Ullathorne, now Bishop of Birmingham, had made every preparation for a grand High Mass, and poor Cavendish (who was drowned with his sister off Bradley's Head in after years) had charge of the choir; he exerted himself to the utmost and secured the assistance of a great cantatrice (Mrs. Rust) who happened to be in the colony at that time. Mr. Clarke the architect was a fine singer also lent his aid, and those with the assistance of regular choristers quite astonished the Bishop. Dr. Polding was only bishop at that time and he did not expect to hear Mozart's Mass sung in Botany Bay, and well sung too: he was accompanied by several rev. gentlemen, some of whom were fine singers, among those were the Rev. Mr. Spencer, who afterwards went home, and the Rev. Mr. Sumner, who was the first priest ordained in these colonies. He could sing very sweetly at that time, but neither these nor the Rev. Mr. Watkins, who took charge of the choir, could ever equal Mr. Richenberg's choir, for he had so many bandmen, and they played with such precision that finer music could not be found out of Europe. There being as I said before, two Catholic bandmasters in Sydney at that time, there was a spirit of emulation in the bands to see who could do most for the Church, and as Mr. Cavanagh the bandmaster of the Buffs was a fine singer, he gave is the benefit of his voice in addition to playing the violincello. Such choruses I have never since heard; we used to disturb Archdeacon Scott who used to officiate at times with Parson Hill at St. James's, for our services were performed in the schoolroom in Castlereagh Street, which is quite close to St. James's, and although Archdeacon Scott and Parson Hill did all that men could do to seduce by promises of payment, by Government patronage or any other means, they never could induce one of our singers to apostatize, and although the bandmen were allowed so much extra pay per day if they played in the [establishment] church they would sooner play in the [Catholic] chapel for nothing, and I never knew of but one man who turned recreant, and even

¹ Reproduced in C. J. Duffy (ed.), *Catholic Religious and Social Life in the Macquarie Era: as portrayed in the letters of Columbus Fitzpatrick (1810-1878)* (Sydney: Catholic Press Newspaper Company, Ltd., 1966), 17-19; and Patrick O'Farrell, *Documents in Australian Catholic History: 1788-1883* (Sydney: G. Chapman, 1969), 32-33.

he got ashamed and came back after a while. I well remember how poor Pearson the organist of St. James's used to look after having his puny choir disturbed by one of our choruses, perhaps of a Christmas Day when our Gloria would be given with all the strength of our choir. Rich and poor, government officials and independent Protestants all came to hear the singing at Catholic Chapel, and often have I heard them say, "Well, such a fine choir—we can't come near them." Nor could they; [...].

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1892: F. C. Brewer, *The Drama and Music in New South Wales*, 54-65 [extract].

MUSIC: The progress of music in Sydney has kept pace with the drama. The Australians are a very musical people, and in Sydney particularly, this passion for the Divine Art is shown in many ways. Concerts are of nightly occurrence both in city and suburbs; there are a number of societies in existence for the cultivation of part-singing, more or less pretentious; in nearly every house votaries of instrumental music are to be found, and it is not inappropriate to call Sydney the "City of Pianos". Nearly every country town has its musical club. In some its Liedertafels and with the majority a creditable—it may be said under the circumstances, highly creditable—result is the outcome. The climate of parts of Australia is suited to the vocal organ, particularly in females, and from time to time, amateurs come before the public, possessed of really fine voices; some survive, but the greater number disappear after a short period, and are seldom, if ever, heard again in the concert-room. With such a wealth of material at command, from which fine vocalists might be produced in larger number than they have been, the fact seems unaccountable to many, but a little reflection will lead to the causes of this anomaly. There are two—one, the lack of perseverance and patience in the student, and the other the incompetency of teachers. The predominating object of young amateurs is to "fly before they have feathers". A short term of tuition, discarding the primary stages of musical education, and an endeavour to sing pieces altogether beyond the capacity of the voice, and for which the study has been superficial, is the course of most young ladies and gentlemen who have gone beyond the family circle to seek approbation. To one or two set they have sacrificed the essentials of good vocalisation, and this frequently under the instruction of teachers who have little, if any knowledge of the capabilities of their pupils for such a physical task, or even able to form an opinion as to the lasting quality of the voice. Made voices soon fail; and yet it is no uncommon thing for a teacher to reverse the order of nature, and destroy a good *contralto* or *mezzo-soprano*, by forcing them into the range of a high *soprano*, a baritone to a high tenor or a growling basso. The method of destroying voices is most effectual, and will to a large extent account for the comparative paucity of really good and cultured colonial vocalists; they lack that individuality which marks the properly educated average singer. The example of Garcia should always be impressed alike on the teacher and pupil—you must have other relative organs to the vocal trained, and if they are neglected, there is little chance of success. With one or two exceptions, those who have succeeded as Australians were instructed by persons who had received a sound musical training in England; others by perseverance, hard study, and a subservience of their own opinions to those front whom they could learn—a very rare quality with youth of the present day. High-class instrumentalists are more prolific than vocalists in Australia, but—and here comes the pinch—to attain their position they have sought the *conservatoires* of Europe, and had to commence by unlearning much. A bad style, a superficial superiority, acquired in the early stages of musical education, whether vocal or instrumental is hard to eliminate, and [55] therefore, in teaching and in learning, the proper course is to lay the foundation for that high after-instruction which can hardly be obtained in the colonies. Something, however, could be done towards conserving musical talent in our communities for development; and no better means to this end could be adopted than by the establishment of an Australian Academy of Music. Surely it is possible to sink provincial jealousies in this matter, so as to bring about the unity of the whole country. The natural genius in music in Australia is now running to waste, notwithstanding the chairs of music at the Universities and the Trinity College examinations. For one that is by good fortune enabled to secure education in the celebrated schools of Europe hundreds are without hope of such an advantage. In the brief record of the progress of music in Sydney which is given hereafter, it will be seen that several Australian-born musicians acquired positions of some eminence after a visit to Europe, and it is not too much to say that, with advantages approaching those to be obtained there, many others would have achieved success that under present conditions is hopeless. Public taste is to some extent formed by the opinions of those who are supposed to be capable of directing it. The province of the critic is not unqualified praise or wholesale condemnation, but to show both the public and the performers where success is attained, said where improvement is necessary. It is said that no criticism can stop the progress of genius or raise mediocrity to eminence; this is only partially true. Great genius is no doubt able to combat adverse criticism, but, on the other hand, meritorious work has frequently suffered by the condemnation of incompetent and unimpartial censors. That which is good should not be despised

because it is not up to the highest standard it should be encouraged. To “slate” is easy—to discriminate requires consideration.

In the early days of Australian colonisation musical performances were, as might be imagined, of a primitive kind, if we except the regimental bands. Indeed, several of the musical celebrities of fifty years ago had been attached to military bands, and, leaving their regiments, became teachers and performers in Sydney. The piano was almost confined to the manipulation of ladies, some of whom, particularly Mrs. Prout and Mrs. Logan, were ore excellent players and instructors. Concerts were given, with vocal programmes entirely of ballads and glees, with solos on the key-bugle, the flute, seldom the violin, and occasionally the oboe. It was fortunate that a lady holding a very high position in the Colony was not only a warm patron of music, but an accomplished musician herself; this was Miss Bourke, daughter of His Excellency Sir Richard Bourke, and afterwards Lady Deas-Thomson. Under her fostering care such talent as was available in the early thirties often appeared in public.

Mrs. Taylor, an actress with a good voice, gave concerts when not engaged at the theatre. One of these took place at Levein’s Pulteney Hotel, Bent-street, on March 24, 1835, and consisted entirely of old English ballads, and to this concert Mr. Joseph Simmons contributed a couple of songs. The Pulteney was the old Australian Club; and the dining room, in which the concert took place, is still in existence; the building is now used by the nurses of the Sydney Hospital. In the same year Mr. Stubbs, well known afterwards as an auctioneer, the “George Robins” of Sydney, gave a concert at the Royal Hotel, “assisted by the whole of the professors and amateurs of Sydney.” Stubbs was a good flautist, but he performed well on several other instrumtents.

Mr. Wallace, brother of Vincent Wallace, was also a performer on the flute, and some years after led a theatrical orchestra, playing the violin. Another prominent musician was Leggatt, once in the band, or a regiment [56] stationed in Sydney; his principal instrument was the oboe. The concerts with any pretensions to classical and other high-class music were given by Mrs. Prout and Stephen Marsh, a harpist and composer.

The first era in the musical history of Australia was the unexpected appearance in 1836 of William Vincent Wallace, the celebrated composer of *Maritana*, *Lurline*, *Matilda of Hungary*, and other operas. Wallace came to Sydney unknown as a musician save to a few, went to the bush, and was for a time engaged on a station. He returned to the metropolis, and some friends hearing him play by accident were amazed to discover in a simple immigrant a violinist of the first rank, and at the solicitations of Sir Richard Bourke, the Governor of the Colony, he was induced to give a concert, which took place on the 12th February, 1836, and proved a great success. He played his own compositions, both for violin and pianoforte. The tickets for this concert were 7s. 6d. each. He then advertised himself as “Leader of the Anacreontic Society and Professor of Composition of the Royal Society”, and commenced teaching. Wallace did not remain long in Sydney. He went to New Zealand, from there he proceeded to South America, passed through a variety of incidents, and then returned to London, where he composed the opera of *Maritana*, and became famous, not only as an operatic writer, but as a composer of music for the pianoforte, which retains its popularity to this day; his finest being the fantasia on *Maritana*, seldom performed.

In 1836 the Deane family arrived from Hobart Town, and it is only justice to them to record that they did much towards the introduction of classical music into the concert-room. Mr. Deane, senior, was organist of St. David’s Church, Hobart Town, for ten years previous to his making Sydney his home. He was, before his emigration to Tasmania, a performer at the London Philharmonic Society’s concerts, and was a sound musician. Miss Deane was a well-cultured vocalist, and a good pianist John Deane (*films*) was well known in Sydney as a violinist, sometimes leader and conductor; and Edward Deane made the violoncello his speciality. Vincent Wallace at once availed himself of this valuable addition to the musical profession, and gave concerts in conjunction with the Deanes, at which, it may be said, the first string quartette performances took place. The Deane family long held a foremost position in the musical world of Sydney, and, to the present day, the name is familiar in the concert programmes. They were the first to give promenade concerts in Sydney, at the Royal Hotel, in 1850, an example followed by Mr. Emanuel, a pianist and musical instructor, in 1851. It may be of interest to mention here that the late Mr. W. H. Aldis was a frequent vocalist at concerts given by Mr. Deane. Mr. Aldis’ name was connected with the musical history of the colony for forty years. He devoted both time and, money to the advancement of the art; was the friend and adviser of many professional visitors to Sydney; and the large room over his establishment in George-street was often used to introduce artistes to the critics. His eldest daughter, Mrs. Palmer, is well known as an accomplished pianist, and for some years was a soloist at the principal concerts in Sydney; musical talent is inherent in the family.

Vincent Wallace brought out his sister, Miss Wallace, as a vocalist at the concerts given in 1836. Miss Wallace (better known as Madame Wallace-Bushelle) was without doubt the finest of all sopranos that had appeared in Sydney; so well cultured as to become the exponent of many of the brilliant arias of Rossini, Bellini, Weber, and other celebrated composers. Her voice was a pure soprano, clear, flexible, and expressive she was very popular and a great favourite with the ladies, who presented [57]

her with a magnificent harp. From the concert-room Miss Wallace rose to an operatic prima donna in Sydney; and after the death of Mr. John Bushelle, senr. (who was a very fine basso), went to England, a widow of 21, and for many years appeared as the heroine in her brother's operas; she also visited America, returned to Sydney in 1861, and devoted herself to teaching singing, for which she was thoroughly competent, having herself studied while in Europe under good masters. Many of the best amateur lady singers during the last twenty-five years were her pupils. Mrs. Wallace-Bushelle died a few years ago. Mr. John Bushelle, her son, was an accomplished singer, with a fine low baritone, and up to the time of his death was well known as taking a leading part in oratorios and concerts when his health would permit.

Mr. Isaac Nathan, a musician and composer, who set some of Byron's Hebrew melodies to music, came to Sydney in 1841, and had not been many weeks in the Colony when he arranged for a performance of sacred music in St. Mary's Cathedral. It was described as an "oratorio," and consisted of selections from the works of Handel, Mozart, Haydn, and some of his own compositions. The vocalists were—Mr. John Bushelle, sen., Mrs. Bushelle (nee Miss Wallace), the Misses Nathan (2), Miss Strickland, Miss Anne Winstanley, and Messrs. Morgan, Goherty, Boyce, Rigby, Allen, Falchon, Derby, Kelly, and Wye; a number of boys from the various church choirs in Sydney formed part of the chorus. The tickets for the nave were 15s. each, and for the western end 10s.; even at these prices there was a large audience. On May 2, 1842, Nathan gave a Madrigal Concert in the hall of the Sydney College (now the Grammar School). At this concert an aboriginal melody, composed by him and dedicated to Mrs. Deas-Thomson, was given. It was divided into solo, quartette, and chorus; the melody was entitled *Koorinda Braiee*. For many years Mr. Nathan was foremost in musical matters in Sydney giving concerts and presiding over oratorical performances. An accident befell him when alighting from a tram in Pitt-street. He fell, and was so severely injured by the wheel that he died shortly after.

The production of opera in Australia commenced on February 12, 1844, when Rossini's *Cenerentola* was performed at the Victoria Theatre, with a cast that at the present day would be considered ludicrous—if the principal character is excepted. There was then but one copy of the score of the opera in the Colony, and that was in the possession of Mr. Nathan. No English version of the libretto could be found, and a translation had to be made by Mr. Richard Thompson, then on time Press, who took great interest in the matter. All the performers in the opera, with one exception, were members of the dramatic company of the Victoria—the exception being Mrs. Wallace-Bushelle, who sustained the part of Cinderella, and sang the music splendidly. The rest of the cast was as follows:—Mr. J. Lazar, Baron Pomposo; Mr. J. Simmons, Dandini; Mrs. Gibbes, the Prince; Mrs. Wallace, the Page; and Mesdames Louise and Torning, Thisbe and Clorinde. Lazar and Simmons acted well, and made as much the buffo duet as actors could. The opera was highly relished by the public, and was frequently performed.

One or two musical dramas were all the operatic performances that followed, until the Messrs. Frank and John Howson, Mrs. Stirling (afterwards Mrs. Guerin and now Mrs. Stewart), and Madame Carandini joined the company. The latter has been continuously before the public since then, and her daughters Rosina and Fanny have held a popular position as concert singers throughout the colonies. *Fra Diavolo* introduced Mrs. Stirling to the Australian stage on August 14, 1845, that lady playing Zerlina; though not performed as an opera, much of Auber's music was given. [58]

Weber's Opera of *Der Freischutz* was produced at the Victoria on August 25, 1845, with the Howsons, Mrs. Stirling, and Madame Carandini in the principal characters. It was the custom in those days to give plenty for the money, and after the opera on the second night, *Don César de Bazan* was performed; on the third night the five-act comedy, *The Honeymoon*, and on the fourth representation *The Stranger* was given as an afterpiece. *Gustavus III*, elaborated by Verdi into *Un Ballo in Maschera*, was the next operatic display on October 23; and on November 10, *Masaniello*, the baritone taking the part of the fisherman. *La Sonnanhula* was presented on December 9, Mrs. Wallace sustaining the part of Lisa. Mrs. Stirling was a fair actress in drama, but her forte was opera; she had a pleasing soprano voice, which she used with the skill of a well-cultivated artiste. Mr. F. Howson was a rich but not powerful baritone, and his brother John a good tenor; both were thorough musicians. These operas were occasionally performed. On May 12, Barnett's *Mountain Sylph* was added to the répertoire, and ran for a week; a rare occurrence then. That popular lyric work, *The Bohemian Girl*, was first performed in Sydney on the 15th July, 1846, with J. Howson as Thaddeus, F. Howson, as Devilshoof, Mrs. Stirling as Arline, Mrs. Gibbes as the Gipsy Queen, and Mr. J. Lazar as Count Arnheim. It was a creditable effort, but Lazar was unequal to sentimental opera, and his rendering of "The Heart bowed down" elicited from the audience anything but sympathy. *The Bohemian Girl* was very successful, however, and ran on the opera nights for some weeks.

The musical dramas of *Guy Mannering*, *Rob Roy*, the English operetta *The Waterman*, with J. Howson as Tom Tug, who was supported by Mr. Saville, a recent addition, were given with the operas already named, until November, 1847, when *The Night Dancers* was performed and took well. On August 3, 1848, *The Siege of Rochelle* was produced. Successful as many of the operas had been, they

were eclipsed by the performance of *Maritana* on April 19, 1849. The “distribution” of characters gave to Mr. J. Howson, the part of Don Caesar; F. Howson, Don Jose; G. H. Rogers, the King; Mrs. Guerin (Mrs. Stirling), Maritana; and Mrs. Rogers, Lazarello. This most popular of all English operas “went from the jump”. There were no stars in the cast, but on the whole, the resources considered, it was very fairly given, and pleased all.

The first vocal “star” to appear in the colonies was Miss Sara Flower. This gifted *contralto* came quite modestly before the public. The announcement of her *début* was simply that “Miss Flower from the Nobility Concerts in London would make her first appearance at a concert given by the Messrs. Marsh at the Victoria Theatre on May 8, 1850”. One of the songs chosen for that occasion was “By the Sad Sea Waves,” and for the first time the pure *contralto* tones were heard in Sydney. Her visit to Australia, now forty-two years ago, astonished persons in England, where she held a good position on the concert platform, as much as it did many colonial residents, who could appreciate the splendid quality of her voice. The audience at the concert on May 3 were surprised and charmed; and it might be thought the critics would have been elated. Her first appearance was dismissed with the following brief notice in the leading journal of that year in Sydney:—“The concert given by the Messrs. Marsh last night at the Victoria Theatre was most successful. The great interest of the evening was the *début* of Miss Sara Flower, of whom much was expected, and contrary to what usually occurs in such cases the expectations were fully realised. Miss Flower’s voice is of great compass and power, rich [59] in tone, and her enunciation most distinct.” The fact is that so perfect a voice of the quality has not to this day been heard in Australia, not one better cultivated. The *contralto* parts taken by her in opera here have never been equalled musically, and as a proof of the extraordinary range of her voice, as well as her ability in lyric drama, it need only be mentioned that she was the first *Norma* in Australia. Two characters in which she afterwards appeared—Azucena in *Trovatore*, and Maffeo Orsini in *Lucrezia Borgia*—have not been equalled by any other artiste in Australia; though a splendid acting representation of the former was once given in Melbourne by Lucy Escott, who declared that she would not attempt the part again. Sara Flower married Mr. Sam. Howard, actor and manager, never returned to England, which probably accounts for the omission of her name in Grove’s Musical Dictionary, and after a somewhat chequered career died about twenty years ago, in comparatively poor circumstances, in a cottage in Victoria-street, Darlinghurst.

Promenade concerts were inaugurated by the Deane family, in 1850, at the Royal Hotel Saloon and a series of subscription concerts were given in the same year by Miss Flower, and Madame Carandini. At the Victoria Theatre, on February 24, *Masaniello* was produced, followed by *La Cheval de Bronze* on March 3. Sara Flower took a benefit and appeared for the first time in opera, as Cinderella, in 1851, afterwards in the *Enchantress* and *The Daughter of the Regiment*. On February 10, 1852, *Norma* was presented with John Howson, as Pollio, F. Howson, Oroveso, Madame Carandini, as Adalgisa, and Sara Flower as *Norma*—this production was an event; and though the music for the priestess is unsuited for the *contralto* register, Sara Flower managed the difficulty so well that the performance of the part was excellent; and the Adalgisa of Madame Carandini was also good. *The Daughter of St. Mark* was produced on June 22.

Winterbottom, who in London was one of Jullien’s celebrated band, arrived in Sydney in 1853, and at once organised a series of promenade concerts, on the model of that “Napoleon of Quadrille,” as London *Punch* styled him. These took place in the only hall available, the Saloon of the old Royal Hotel, commencing on April 20. The principals were H. Marsh (piano), Richardson (flute), Evan Sloper (saxhorn), Kohler (cornet), and Mrs. Storr (harp); the vocalists were Mrs. Fiddes (soprano), John Gregg, said to be a pupil of Staudigl (basso), and afterwards Miss Flora Harris. Winterbottom’s instrument was the bassoon, on which he was a fine performer; and he also conducted in the style of Jullien, quite a feature of the concerts. They were a success and ran a month.

In 1853 St. Mary’s Choral Society was formed, Messrs. Wilkins and Sigmont being the secretary and conductor respectively. The old Sydney Philharmonic Society came into existence in 1854; John Hubert Plunkett (then Attorney-General) who was an enthusiast in music, was elected president. The society lasted for many years, and produced at various times, the oratorios of *The Messiah*, *The Creation*, *Elijah*, and others.

If Sara Flower’s *début* in Sydney was comparatively unnoticed, the case was very different with the advent of Catherine Hayes. *Veni, vidi, vici*, might well be applied to this daughter of Erin, gifted with a voice of extreme beauty as regards softness and expression. Judges, barristers, leading political, ecclesiastical, literary, and mercantile men led ovations that scarcely had a parallel in the career of any other artiste. She was the queen of the hour, and her subjects were most devoted. Mr. Bushnell, the agent, was [60] her prime minister, through whom only she could be approached as it were. Levee after levee was held at the hotel honoured by the residence of the *cantatrice*. On the evenings of her concerts carriages of leading citizens filled with flowers to be afterwards showered on the stage, drew up at the Victoria Theatre. She was the idol of the Hibernians, who infused their enthusiasm into their fellow citizens of other nationalities. Green ribbons were worn in her honour, even by people who did not sympathise with the political emotions of which this colour is the symbol. Parties were given in all

directions, her presence was the charm; to be in the same room with her was a delight, to converse with her a beatitude. Towards the close of the Hayes season, a very valuable set of jewels was presented to her at the theatre, where she was surrounded by the most important personages in the community, who completely filled the stage. The Presentation was made with all the deference due to royalty; portraits of the principal people concerned in the ceremony were given in pictures of the event; and, as a climax to all this adulation, on leaving Sydney, Miss Hayes was followed to the place of embarkation at the Circular Quay by a procession of notabilities. Two reasons may be assigned for this demonstration; Kate Hayes was the first vocal artiste whose reputation had preceded her, whom many had heard in the old country, and her nationality was an immense draw, when it is remembered that a Judge and an Attorney General, both Irishmen, were the vanguard. Catherine Hayes sang first in Sydney at the Victoria on September 25, 1854, the only other new singer who appeared with her was M. Emile Coulon, a baritone, who subsequently performed in opera successfully. The prices were raised to boxes and stalls, £1; upper circle, 15s.; pit 10s. gallery, 5s. At these, for Sydney, enormous prices the theatre was filled nearly every evening; and, as showing the nightly receipts, a concert given by Miss Hayes for the benefit of the Randwick Asylum realised over £1,000, devoted to the building of the Catherine Hayes Hospital in connection with that institution. As an operatic artiste Catherine Hayes failed in London, but was a success in Dublin in light parts. It was in Irish and Scotch ballads that her success lay; for the rendering of these she had peculiarities of voice possessed by no other singer of the same class of music the higher notes were not particularly remarkable, but the lower and middle registers were liquid and beautiful in the extreme; it was this singular quality that obtained for her the title of "The Swan of Erin", that bird in dying emitting a soft and plaintive note considered to be the expression of "sublime sadness". Miss Hayes during her sojourn in the colonies appeared as Amina in *Sonnambula*, the music of this opera being suited to her and also in *Norma*, entirely beyond her powers. Delicate health precluded intense study and the exertion necessary for heavy opera, as was shown on one occasion when performing *Norma*: after the second act, she was so exhausted that further effort on her part was impossible, and Madame Sara Flower sustained the character in the last act. On the announcement being made of the change, a large proportion of the occupants of the dress circle and stalls had the bad taste to retire. Catherine Hayes remained in the colonies for two years; the big prices, however, did not last, and her farewell concerts in Sydney could be attended for 7s. 6d., 5s., 2s. 6d., and 1s. She returned to England in 1857, having amassed a fair fortune by her tour through America and Australia (principally in the latter country), married her agent, Mr. Bushnell, and died at Sydenham, near London, on August 11, 1861. A fine oil portrait of Miss Hayes hangs in the committee-room of the hospital at Randwick, bearing her name. [61]

In November, 1854, Miska Hauser, a Hungarian violinist, visited Sydney, and performed at the Victoria theatre, his characteristics were a very glassy tone, and skilful manipulation of harmonics; his rendering of De Bériot's concertos was his forte in the classic school. Hauser travelled through the country and gave concerts, and by this means did much service in the elevation of musical taste in the interior. He said on one occasion when visiting a small country town, "I can take my violin under my arm, and play—if with accompaniment, well; if not, well too. The pianist cannot take his piano in a carpet-bag." Hauser may be regarded as the pioneer of violinists of celebrity. He was a pupil of Böhm and Mayseder, and when only twelve years of age made a tour through Europe. After leaving Australia in 1858, he resumed performances on the Continent, and in 1860 was feted by King Victor Emanuel and the Sultan of Turkey. He died in Vienna on December 9, 1887.

Mr. and Mrs. Herman, violinist and pianist, introduced chamber music to Sydney. Both were good executants, and well acquainted with the best composers. After appearing at a few concerts, they gave "readings" of strictly classical music in a room in one of the houses on Church Hill, at present known as the office of the *Freeman's Journal*. The audiences were small, and confined solely to those who appreciated that class of music. They were very enjoyable, and the series lasted for over a few weeks.

Madame Anna Bishop, once cantatrice at La Scala, and who had acquired a reputation in Europe, arrived in Sydney in 1855, and was accompanied by another celebrated musician, the Chevalier Bochsa. This renowned harpist and composer was, on his arrival, suffering from dropsy, and, though he took his place in the orchestra in the Prince of Wales Theatre on the first night of Madame Bishop's appearance, and on three other occasions (when he had to be carried in), his death occurred at the Royal Hotel a few weeks after his arrival. His remains are interred in the Newtown Cemetery, over which Madame Bishop placed a monument, surmounted by a harp with broken strings. A few days before his death Bochsa composed a requiem, which was sung at his funeral. Madame Bishop's debut in Sydney took place at a concert given in the Prince of Wales Theatre on the 18th August, 1855. Public enthusiasm had been so exhausted over Catherine Hayes that there was apparently little left to bestow on her rival, and the house, though well filled, was not by any means crowded; the welcome accorded her was, however, genuine and spontaneous. As a singer of ballads, particularly of the Irish and Scotch plaintive class, Madame Bishop was not equal to Kate Hayes; but, as an operatic artiste and a musician Bishop was far her superior; during the first visit of the latter to Sydney she did much for

the advancement of colonial taste in music. Her stay in the colonies extended to two years; she introduced several operas, new to Australia, during her sojourn, *Lucrezia Borgia*, *Martha*, and *Linda di Chamouni* being among the number. Her *Norma* has never been equalled; the only approach to her in this character was Barratti, who certainly gave a fine rendering of the part. It was fortunate for Madame Bishop that in scenes selected from opera, given during her first season, she had the support of a very good tenor, M. Laglaise, and afterwards of an English opera company, through whom she was able to produce full opera. Laglaise was a "French tenor", a quality distinct from Italian or English, being more demonstrative than melodious. This artiste did not remain long in the colonies; he returned to Paris and secured an engagement at the Opera House there for second parts. [62]

Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle, a Turk, but generally supposed to be either a Frenchman or an Irishman dressed in Turkish costume, gave concerts, the novelty being his performance on an instrument styled the "Turkophone," something like a bass clarinet with a curved bell at the end. The tone was rich and sonorous. "Ben Sullivan," as he was familiarly called, was a good executant on this particular article. The Tonic-Sol-Fa system was introduced into this country by Mr. John Churchill Fisher, who taught it in the Fort-street Public School, from which it extended to a number of other Public Schools in the Colony. The system obtained for some years, but has now been abandoned for the old notation.

Mr. Black (who afterwards built the old Theatre Royal in Melbourne) took the Prince of Wales Theatre, which had been renamed The English Opera House, in 1856, for operatic purposes. He had recently arrived from England, and brought with him Miss Julia Harland (Mrs. Hoskins), Mr. Walter Sherwin, and Mr. Farquharson; with these he associated Mr. J. Howson, Mr. Stewart, Miss Flora Harris, Miss Cramer, and Miss Warde. The season opened with *La Sonnambula*, Miss Harland sustaining the part of Amina; Sherwin, Elvino; and Farquharson, the Count. The latter was the only one of the new artistes that attracted notice; he had a fine, full, deep, baritone voice of limited compass, with a powerful middle C always in reserve; of this note he made great use for "bringing down the house". Sherwin was a well-cultivated, but rather weak tenor; he became more popular on the platform than on the stage, and for many years was one of the Carandini Concert Company. Miss Harland's voice had seen better days. The season was a complete failure financially.

Madame Clarisse Cailly, the possessor of a fine soprano voice, and an excellent operatic performer, gave her first concert at the "Royal Hotel," on August 15, 1856. M. Boulanger, certainly the best pianist that up to the year 1856 had visited Australia, performed at a concert given by the Sydney Philharmonic Society; his musical education had been of the classic school, and his interpretation of that music was marked by considerable ability, some of his compositions for the piano show much talent, both in melody and harmony and have occasionally been performed by Mrs. Palmer (née Aldis), who studied for a time under Boulanger. After rolling about the colonies for some years he proceeded to China, from where news of his death was received. Madame Rawack [Ravac] was another pianist to whom the Sydney musical public were for a considerable time indebted for admirable readings of high class compositions. Herr Rawack had previously appeared as a solo violinist, his first performance taking place in what is now the Girls' High School, in Castlereagh-street, Sydney.

M. Horace Poussard and M. Douay gave concerts in 1856, the principal feature being the performance of solos for the violin and 'cello, and duets for the same instruments. They were both acknowledged musicians of ability. M. Poussard is a sterling violinist of the strictly legitimate school. He remained in the colonies for a few years, then returned to Europe, and revisited Sydney after an absence of several years, again took his place as a soloist and, teacher of violin anti piano, and is now a popular identity in musical circles. M. Douay was a dreamy player on the 'cello. He seemed, when performing, to be entirely absorbed by the instrument, often introducing extempore passages when playing, but always in unison with the subject; in fact, at times, there was something supernatural in the man and the tones he produced from his instrument; his brain was no doubt affected, and on his return to France it was reported that he had been placed in a lunatic asylum near Paris. A melancholy story is related of Douay, the [63] truth of which, however, cannot be vouched, as the authority is a paragraph that appeared in one of the Paris journals; it was to the effect that the Empress Eugenie was visiting that asylum one day, and while being shown over the building she heard the most plaintive and delicate sounds of the 'cello, and listened for some minutes enrapt by the melody; the player was the unfortunate but highly-gifted Douay. Mr. Armes Beaumont made his first appearance at the Poussard and Douay concerts; he created then a most favourable impression.

A subscription opera season opened at Prince of Wales Opera House, on April 2, 1857, with Lavenu as conductor. The company was a strong one and comprised Madame Carandini, Sara Flower, Mrs. Guerin, Madame Cailly, Laglaise, J. and F. Howson, Farquharson, Fisher, and Herr Schluter, and later on Emile Coulon. This may be considered the first double company. The principal novelty was the appearance of Madame Cailly as *Norma*, a character she admirably sustained. The season closed, in May.

Madame Bishop gave concerts which ended on August 15, and then she organised a performance of Rossini's *Stabat Mater*; this took place in St. Mary's Cathedral, on August 15, 1857, for the benefit of the fund for enlarging that edifice. A screen was placed before the altar, and a large

platform erected; in the centre of the building a semi-circular enclosure was railed off for the Governor, Sir William Denison, Lady Denison, and suite, Archbishop Polding, J. H. Plunkett, Mrs. Plunkett, and a few others. The tickets were fixed at 10s., 7s. Gd., and 5s., and at those prices the sacred building was filled to excess. The principals in the production of this fine work were Mesdames Bishop, Sara Flower, and Guerin, Miss Flora Harris, Mrs. Bridson, M. Laglaise, F. and J. Howson, Messrs. Fisher, Farquharson, and Banks, with Mr. Cordner as organist; a small selected chorus was got together, and the result a marked success. The *Stabat Mater* was followed by portions of Mozart's *Twelfth Mass* and some miscellaneous sacred pieces, including Gugleidini's *Gratius Agimus*, sang by Madame Bishop and accompanied on the flute by Mr. Seide [Siede], who has since filled the important position of conductor of opera and of the Melbourne Liedertafel. There was of course no applause, and this silence on the part of the audience, with the ecclesiastical environments of the performance gave to the whole a religious odour, such as could not attach to it in any public hall or theatre. Madame Bishop was highly complimented on the excellence of the entire rendition. She took her farewell benefit at the Prince of Wales Theatre in the opera of *Norma*, on September 12, Mr. George Loder conducting; and was presented with a testimonial. In this year the Sydney Choral Society came into existence, Mr. Ussher being secretary.

There is little to note during 1858, beyond the visit of Herr Julius Hamberger, violinist and Madame Hamberger, who performed at concerts, and the formation in December of the Sydney Vocal Harmonic Society, Dr. Nathan, a musical enthusiast, being chosen president, Mr. Joseph Dyer, another devotee of the divine art, secretary, and Mr. S. M. Hurford, treasurer. This society was formed not only to give musical entertainments, but also to train choral singers; classes were formed for the purpose, and Mr. Cordner was engaged as tutor.

Madame Carandini was the first to produce *Trovatore* in 1859, at the Prince of Wales. Her company consisted of Sara Flower, herself, Walter Sherwin, Frank and Emma Howson, and John Gregg. This ever popular opera took immensely, Sara Flower's rendering of Azucena being, as previously, stated, the finest, in point of vocalisation, ever heard in the colonies. The same company also introduced *Ermani* to Australia, [64] M. Coulon sustaining the rôle of Don Carlos, in which character he has here had no superior; he not only looked the part, but the music suited his voice admirably. The opera had a good run.

The year 1859 was marked by the first musical festival given in Australia. It lasted from July 19 to 23, and was in celebration of the opening of the Great Hall of the Sydney University, where it took place. A description of the interior of this noble structure, one of the most unique in the world, is given at length in a pamphlet by the late Mr. Edward Reeve, at one time Curator of the University Museum. For this festival Mrs. Testar, a very effective concert artiste, resident in Melbourne, was secured, with Mesdames Carandini, Sara Flower, St. John Adcock, Misses Brady, Spagnoletti and Emma Howson, Messrs. J. Howson, Walter Sherwin, and Frederick Ellard (tenors), Spagnoletti, F. Howson, John Gregg and Waller (basses). The chorus numbered 250, and the orchestra about seventy. Lavenu conducted. The oratorios produced were the *Creation* and the *Messiah*, with selections of sacred and secular music. Each performance attracted a large audience, even though the weather was during the five days inclement to a degree. Lavenu, one of the most talented in the record of Australian conductors, and a fair composer, for his services in connection with these festivals, was given benefits at the Victoria and Prince of Wales Theatres. He caught a severe cold, which fastened on him, and caused his death shortly after.

Miss Julia Matthews appeared in leading operatic parts at the Prince of Wales, under the bâton of Mr. Charles Packer. Opera flickered for a few weeks only. Packer was the most talented of all the residential musicians of Sydney up to the present day. The organ and piano were his instruments, and on both he was a master. As a pianist his style was similar to that of Sir Charles Hallé. As a composer he established his reputation by his oratorio *The Crown of Thorns*, first given at the Masonic Hall, about twenty-five years ago. Objection was taken to the introduction of the Saviour in the work, and for this reason it was not afterwards given for some years. Packer was a sound teacher of the piano as well as of harmony.

Signor Cutolo, a pianist, pupil of Mercadante, gave his first concert in the hall of the Sydney Exchange, on February 28, 1860, and he at once took a leading position as soloist and teacher. Ultimately, he fixed on Melbourne as his permanent residence. He married Mrs. Heath, the widow of a chemist in Sydney, who was well known in musical circles. Cutolo met with a sad end. When returning to Melbourne from a visit to Sydney on board the steamer *Alexandra* he was reclining on the cabin-lights, suffering from the after effects of sea-sickness; Signora Cutolo was reading to him, when suddenly the spanker boom fell, and striking poor Cutolo on the neck injured him so severely that he lived only a few hours. His body was taken on to Melbourne and buried there. A handsome monument was placed over the grave, recording the occurrence

An attempt to still further spread the love for music was made by the formation of the People's Vocal Music Association. Dr Woolley, Principal of the Sydney University, was elected president, Mr. Packer was chosen as organist, and Mr. Chizlett conductor. The latter was for some years teacher of

part and choral singing to the children of the State schools in and around Sydney, and in this capacity did good work. He was a disciple of Hullah. The concerts given usually at the Temperance Hall by this society were successful for a time; but notwithstanding their excellence for the money they died out. [65]

The year was not to pass without a season of opera, and fortunately three new vocalists had arrived in Sydney to give novelty to it—they were Signor and Signora Bianchi, with Miss Octavia Hamilton, a contralto from Melbourne; in addition to these three the company included Coulon F. Howson, Pierce, Grosse, and Schluter. It was a subscription season at the Prince of Wales, and the prices were fixed at 7s. 6d., 5s., 3s., 2s., and, 1s. The Bianchis proved a welcome addition to the operatic corps of the colonies; they made their first appearance in *Trovatore*, and were a pronounced success, being well supported by Miss Hamilton, as Azucena, and M. Coulon as the Count di Luna. The Signor had a fine resonant tenor, which he used with the skill of a true artiste; he was, however, an indifferent actor, and caused some amusement by his manner of leaving the stage. After finishing a solo such as “Ah me ben sio”, he always ran, taking short steps like “marking time as the double”. The Signora’s voice was powerful, and she was also well impressed with the advantages of good acting, added to good singing. Mr. Farquharson, being out in the cold as regards opera, gave his entertainment à la Henry Russell, at the Victoria. The genial baritone was remarkably clever in that line; indeed it is a moot point whether Russell did not suffer by comparison. Mr. J. H. Brooks, the harpist, first appeared at a concert at the Exchange Hall, on June 17, 1860. After a few years he, so to speak, “hung his harp on a willow tree,” and entered the Customs service, from which he occasionally emerged to delight now some friends and now the public.

In 1861 Mr. William Saurin Lyster commenced his operatic campaign in Australia, and was to the capitals of New South Wales and Victoria what Gye and Mapleson have been to London. For a number of years he was sole impresario, and when he shared with others the management of opera in Sydney or Melbourne was always the chief director of affairs. The Public were indebted to him for regular seasons of opera, for the production of many of the finest works of the best composers, for the introduction of a large number of operatic artistes of considerable talent, and a determination to place opera before the public in the best manner that was possible in a community where prices of admission ranged comparatively low. The seasons were sometimes successful financially, often gave no return, and occasionally resulted in loss; yet Lyster was never discouraged. His tact in dealing with the discordant elements of musical companies was one of the causes of his success. Though hasty in temper, impatient, and decidedly forcible in his expressions of disapproval, Lyster was held in the highest regard by artistes and others engaged under him, and the esteem of the public, with whom he was a great favourite, was substantially expressed in Sydney on more occasions than one. In his managerial capacity—both in drama and opera—he served the public well nearly up to the time of his death, which occurred near Melbourne. So much was he thought of by the Melbourne public that his bust is placed in the Public Library there in company with those of others who have rendered a service to the country.

The Lyster Opera Company first appeared in Sydney on the 5th August, 1861, in the opera of *Maritana*. The members of the company were Madame Lucy Escott and Madame Rosalie Durand (*prime donne*), Miss Georgia Hodson (contralto), Mrs. Ada King, Messrs. Henry Squires (tenor), F. Lyster (baritone), Farquharson (basso), Frank Trevor (tenor buffo) and J. Kitts (basso). The conductor, Mr. Reiff. [...]

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1901: J. P. McGuanne, “The Humours and Pastimes of Early Sydney”, *The Australian Historical Society Journal and Proceedings* 1 (1901), 40-42 [extract].

What Old Sydney preferred was something cheerful after its hard day’s work. Music, singing, and dancing were greatly enjoyed. Just a word about each. We always had a piano in Sydney. When Surgeon Worgan left the Colony in 1790 he left the first piano as a present to Mrs. Macarthur, but the instrument was silent for want of a player—the only Government House lady was not a musician. When the first organ was imported there was no player until Mr. Merritt, a blind man, arrived in 1831. Sydney was never without its Military Band—at times an exceptionally good one. This Band played twice a week within Barrack Square; when the Band stopped there was the sun-dial to excite curiosity in the young folk, while their elders bethought them of dials like The Seven. When Cummins first opened his Hotel, now known as Petty’s, its proximity to the Band was considered by visitors one of its many uncommon advantages. At other times Citadel Hill, and Macquarie Place were sites for military music. Second-rate hotels provided long tables, forms, and chairs, for free entertainments at which a person would preside, holding a hammer to demand silence while the voluntary song was given.

1826 was a notable year for giving birth to intellectual enjoyment for Sydney. Bandmaster Kavanagh, of the 3rd Regiment, composed *The Trumpet Sounds Australia’s Fame* and *The Currency*

Lads—both became popular; the *Australian March*, slow time, dedicated to Governor Darling; a *Grand Australian March*, quick time, dedicated to Governor Brisbane; and *Hail, Australia*, dedicated to Colonel Stewart. His compositions, in manuscript, were for sale at Sydney's first Music Shop, opened in 1824, at 93 George Street, by Robert Campbell, from Clement and Company, London. Here the pianoforte, harp, organ, violin and other musical instruments were obtainable. James Pearson was the pianoforte tuner at this time.

In the year when Kavanagh made Australia musical, we find the youth Charles Thompson, of Clydesdale, publishing his home-made verse, dedicated to his tutor, that early Sydney classic the Rev. Henry Fulton, B.A. In the same month, December, of the same year, the *Aurora Australis* of Dr. Lang was published. They were not poets in the sense that Kavanagh was a musician.

In January, 1826, a second music shop was opened at No. 70 George Street, by J. Wood. Early in the same year the first meeting was held to establish an Australian Subscription Literary and Reading Room, the history of which you are familiar with.

Public Entertainments were first advertised in 1826, when a series of monthly amateur concerts, commencing in May, were held in the temporary, or, so-called, New Court House—that was the Georgian School, Castlereagh Street.

When the Royal Hotel was opened in 1826, Edwards and Sippe, musicians, assisted by Barnett Levy, Mrs. Jones and sonic amateur singers, gave a concert—on the 27th September in its concert room, of which the recording critic wrote, “it was a great SUCCESS. We liked Miss C. and Miss F. very much. There was a very large and respectable audience.” You will note how the principals are ignored. The old *Gazette*, like its modern namesake, had no sense of humour. Most colored people are sad in their publications. Hence we are not indebted to Howe for our knowledge of the people's pastimes. The first concert, under Vice-Regal patronage, was given by Edwards and Sippe on 4th September, 1826. Self-indulgent Sydney was neither monetarily nor numerically strong enough to support a constant entertainment. On the 23rd August, 1832, Mr. Sippe gave a grand concert at which the band of the 17th Regiment played the overtures to *The Slave* and *Guy Mannering*; its bandmaster, Mr. Lewis, delighted the audience of two hundred persons with his clarionette solo. Mr. Edwards led the orchestra and Mr. Sippe conducted. Colonel Despard, as a patron of entertainments, gladly allowed the instrumental assistance.

The Sydney Philharmonic Society held its first concert in April, 1833, in the same large room which the present society of that name now uses for rehearsals, and used in 1854 when the old name was revived. Some of the best class concerts were held in the large room of the Pulteney Hotel, opened by Mr. Petty in 1832, and until recent years the home of the Australian Club. William Vincent Wallace, bandmaster of the 29th Regiment, of *Maritana* fame, his brother S.W., the violinist, his sister Eliza, and John Bushelle, the popular tenor, were notable for their excellent music and singing. Wallace was a master of the violin and demanded his twenty-five guineas for assisting at a night's entertainment. The large room of the Sydney College, our present Grammar School, was frequently used for high class concerts. In 1839 the Cecilian Society absorbed its predecessors and became prominent as a musical centre.

While we have music and singing by the ear, one or two important items deserve noting. Sydney's earliest singers were Mrs. Rust, Mrs. Bird, Mrs. Lancaster of St. James' Choir, Misses Eliza and Sarah Wallace, Miss Douglas, Miss Winstanley, Mrs. Taylor and Mrs. Chester, both the latter from Drury Lane, all of whom were most estimable persons except, perhaps, the lady of whom lang syne was written:—

*John Thomas was a Shropshire man,
And eke a worthy nailer,
He had a stout-built, portly frame,
And his flame she was a Taylor.*

The male singers were Gordonvitch, a Polish refugee, Rhodius, the artist, Simmons, comic singer. Father Spencer was a musician and choirmaster.

The foremost musicians were Edwards, Sippe, Josephson, Stubbs, and William Wallace, (the two latter were flute players, though Stubbs could play several instruments), all the bandmasters, and the Deane family. At 17 Phillip Street, Stubbs taught the violin, bugle, flute and French horn. Tom Stubbs was the first Australian-born composer. In 1836 he composed the '*Minstrel Waltz*, which was dedicated to Mrs. H. Deas-Thomson, and the family name still sounds in waltz music.

Had we the names of all who took part in the selections from *The Messiah* and *The Creation*, given at old St. Mary's on the night of the 21st September, 1836, when the leading singers and musicians united under Mr. Cavendish to worthily introduce oratorio in our midst, we could find singers and musicians who, if living, would sustain a foremost place in modern concert rooms. Our first French Opera Company, of five members, opened at the Royal Victoria Theatre on 15th March, 1839; they were poorly patronised—M. and Madame Gautrot of the Company became resident

teachers of music and singing. [...]

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1944: Lorna Stirling, “The Development of Australian Music” [Commonwealth Literary Fund lecture given in the University of Melbourne, 21 July 1944], *Historical Studies: Australia & New Zealand* 3 (October 1944-February 1945), 58-72 [extract, opening].

IT is with a due sense of the honour done to it that Australian music presents itself for the first time as the subject of a Commonwealth Literary Fund lecture. It is conscious of its own immaturity in comparison with the native arts of literature and painting, which have already established their traditions and are in process of evolving recognizably from them. It cannot point to any pioneer of the national significance of Henry Lawson or Tom Collins, on the one hand, or of Tom Roberts or Arthur Streeton on the other. In short it is, in its creative aspect at least, the laggard among our arts; still, after 150 years, rather more of a phantom than a fact. At the same time it does not propose to offer any special apology for this dilatoriness. Music is by nature a slow starter, as the history of European culture shows. We can believe if we like, with Heine, that it starts slowly because, with its transcendental power of dissolving in sound the whole corporeal world, it is ordained to be the final aesthetic utterance, arrived at over the dead bodies of the visual and literary arts. Poets, bruising themselves with words, often express this flattering view of music's destiny. The musician himself, who is usually a hard-headed realist, is less disposed to glory in it. If he reflects at all upon the abstract, immaterial nature of his medium it is to deplore it as something that limits the popular appeal of music by putting it beyond the reach of man's acquisitive instinct—an instinct to which books and pictures make gross and obviously unfair advances.

Taking into consideration, then, this characteristically slow rate of progress and adding to it the purely local deterrents which all art development in a young country has to face, we shall not expect Australian music to be in full flower after a mere one and a half centuries. The musician reads, with a certain envy, of the four periods already discernible in Australian literature. The native history of his own art sprawls before him, opaque and amorphous, resisting all attempts at tidying into tendencies or parcelling into schools of thought. The most he can do for it at the moment is to draw a tentative line somewhere near the turn of the century, indicating on the far side a period of assimilation of European influences, and on the near a period of creative activity. Let us draw such a line, then, and look first behind it to the beginnings of music in this country.

Australia's musical history may be said to date from the very moment of her colonization, for it appears that along with Governor Phillip, his convicts, his men and his gear, there was landed on the shores of Port Jackson in 1788 a piano. The piano, you may recall, was the property of Surgeon Worgan of H.M.S. *Sirius*, and the fact that he owned such an instrument suggests him to have been an amateur of progressive not to say radical tendencies; for the piano in 1788 was a relatively new invention, and one still held in distrust by conservative harpsichordists. It had made its first public appearance in London, before a gaping Covent Garden audience, only twenty years earlier, and now here it was, in all its glossy sophistication, ready to sound the first civilized musical note in a savage and silent land.

“All history,” says Keyserling, “is perforce mythology, because all remembrance is romance.” I quote him to justify a little imaginative reconstruction on my own part, for I confess that I like to think of Surgeon Worgan at that piano, easing his heart by playing—what? Almost certainly Handel, whose long life in London had closed in 1759 and whose music had already been absorbed into the English blood-stream: airs from the popular *Beggar's Opera*, perhaps, revived time and again during the past fifty years: or perhaps some of the song-hits of the day which he had heard in the theatres or at Vauxhall Gardens—Linley's *Here's to the maiden of bashful fifteen*, from Sheridan's latest comedy; or *Heart of Oak* with its tune by Dr Boyce, conductor of George III's band and its verses by David Garrick; or that other new bit of rousing sea-dogger, Dr Arne's *Rule Britannia*, the first eight notes of which, as Wagner was to point out later, so aptly express our national character. No doubt, too, there would be times when the surgeon's hearers would coax him back to the familiar simplicities of English folksong and the hymns of Watts and Wesley, feeling acutely in that strange land the mood Thomas Hardy was to know when he wrote:

*Newest themes I want not
On subtle strings,
And for thrillings pant not
That new song brings:
I only need the homeliest
Of heart-stirrings.*

In some such fashion as this did the music of our great-great-grandfathers come to Australia.

Nearly fifty years later, in 1836, behold another pioneering instrument floating precariously to the South Australian shore through the surf of Holdfast Bay, this one destined for the use of Mrs. Hindmarsh, wife of the first governor. Now, Mrs. Hindmarsh and her piano were migrants from a very different musical England; an England in almost complete subjection to continental influences, invaded by an ever-increasing army of Signori, Messieurs and Herren whose applauded compositions overpowered her own creative music, reducing it step by step to that, state of cosy imbecility that was to mark it throughout the Early Victorian era. It seems not unlikely, then, that Mrs. Hindmarsh and her piano brought with them echoes of all this foreign music—German sonatas and Italian arias, songs from the Weber operas that were enchanting all ears, even (granting the lady an adequate technique) the bravura pieces of Franz Liszt, hailed by a rapt London press as ‘the Polyphemus of the Pianoforte, the Aurora Borealis of musical effulgence.’

Travelling modestly with these exotics in her portfolio may well have been the songs of Burns and the Irish melodies of Moore, Celtic marriages of immortal tunes to immortal verse. Nothing of equal worth from contemporary England would have accompanied them. In fact, though I hesitate to impute it to her, Mrs. Hindmarsh may have brought out with her some early specimens of the Victorian drawing-room ballad, thus innocently introducing a pest as inexterminable as the rabbit. One song, by the best of the balladists, must have arrived in Australia at about this time, to be sung here, no doubt, with a special nostalgic fervour—Bishop’s *Home Sweet Home*. The opera from which it was taken, *Clari—Maid of Milan*—was the first to be presented to an Australian audience.

Returning for the moment to Sydney, we find the musical life of the community there being organized with surprising speed, material hardships notwithstanding. It was given a fillip by the visit of an adventurous young Dubliner, William Wallace, who was induced by the governor to arrange a concert of his own works—and to accept for it the unconventional fee of a hundred sheep. Wallace remained long enough in Australia, it is thought, to compose part of his ‘Maritana,’ which was to be London’s operatic sensation of the 1840’s. More propitious still was the arrival, in 1841, of the volatile Isaac Nathan, former music librarian to George IV and friend of Byron, whose *Hebrew melodies* he had set. For twenty- three years, until he was fatally involved with a Pitt Street horsetram, Nathan took a vigorous hand in developing the colony’s music with his madrigal concerts and lectures, his oratorio performances in St. Mary’s Cathedral and his side-line prospecting among aboriginal tunes, some of which he reproduced in his *Southern Euphrosyne and Australian Miscellany*, published in 1846.

Meanwhile, Melbourne had come into the picture, and here also music appeared with gratifying promptness in the sequence of organized activities. The first public concert, held at the British Hotel, ‘Williams Street, took place in December 1839, winning by a neck from the first Flemington race meeting in March 1840, and by a considerably wider margin from the first dramatic performance in February 1842. Within twenty-five years Batman’s village had its Philharmonic Society, its popular concerts in the Salle Valentino, and its opera performances at one or other of several theatres—including George Coppin’s famous Iron Pot, which was apparently of the same culinary type of architecture as the Post Office, described by Henry Kingsley as ‘that miserable little hot tin kettle.’

After the Gold Rush Melbourne, jingling its money, became a regular bidder in the world’s opera market. Impresarios darted out with foreign companies and the latest scores: Bellini, Donizetti, Meyerbeer, and after them Faust and Carmen, early Verdi and early Wagner—all the glittering operatic repertoire of mid-nineteenth century Europe—filled the Antipodean air. The greatest of these visiting impresarios, William Lyster—an Irishman—elected to settle, and spent the remaining twenty years of his life here, ministering to a voracious appetite. And yet, despite this flying operatic start, which suggests an ancestral receptivity to the form almost Italian in its intensity, opera is still an exotic in our country. We have welcomed many opera companies since, and made many gifts to European opera houses in the shape of native singers—but we have not yet a permanent opera company of our own. Nor are we likely to have until we can command one of two things—either a government subsidy, or the fanatical devotion of a Lilian Baylis. And on the whole I think it would be quicker to look out for a Lilian Baylis [...].

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Appendix 2

A chronological checklist of Australian colonial musical compositions, arrangements, and transcriptions from 1788

Part 1: 1788-1860

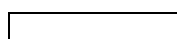
Part 2: Selected later works (1861 onward) by composers previously active

These two tables complement the discussion of composers and works in the main text. Effort has been taken to ensure that the checklist of works documented until the end of 1860 in **Part 1** is as complete as reasonably possible for a first attempt at list of this kind. Every effort has been made to include all original musical works, though the listings of new songs to pre-existing imported tunes, and of arrangements of imported music, are both more selective, and progressively more incomplete into the 1850s. A major but, alas, necessary omission from the list are those undated or undateable items, not actually documented before 1861, notably many “traditional” songs and ballads.

Where, as in many cases, the list includes works written/published prior to the composer’s arrival in Australia, but which were then performed, published or otherwise disseminated in Australia; they are dated according to their first Australian documented mention; for instance, Stephen Marsh’s opera **The Gentleman in Black** was first mentioned in the Australian press on 4 November 1841. However, the other Marsh work mentioned in that notice, *A Parent’s Gift*, is not included in the checklist because there is no evidence of its actual dissemination in Australia. Thus, many works listed by Nathan and Marsh in their catalogues advertised in the Sydney press in 1841 and 1843 respectively are not included.

Part 2 is a selective list, not intended to be anywhere near a complete coverage of works beyond 1860; it has been included mainly to continue to list works of composers already active before 1861, who are represented in Part 1, and/or mentioned in the main text.

KEY



Extant works;



Works not known to be any longer extant;



“Australian” works by composers not known to have come to Australia.

Earliest notice

YEAR-MONTH-DAY: this is not necessarily the date of first performance, or publication, of a work; but of the first recorded (Australian) mention of the existence of the work, i.e. the date, in the Australian record, that is closest to the known or likely date of composition; where the only date documented is a year cited on a print, and no closer month or day has been established, the date is given YEAR-00-00; where even the year is a best guess, or at the centre of a range of several possible years, YEAR~

Composer(s)/arranger(s)

SURNAME, Forenames
(*country of birth*, year of birth—year of death)
{year of arrival in Australia—year of departure from

Australia, or death in Australia}

***Title /work and
edition details***

Live Links = extant work/print available online;
Underlined = extant work/print not yet digitised or
available online;
Bold without underline = title of work no longer known
to be extant.

**Publication
details/year**

If the year of publication does not appear on the print, it
has usually been established for the first time in this
study, and is given in square brackets [DATE], with
supporting evidence in the links column; if there is
more than one edition, or version, these are indicated
❶, ❷, etc..

Availability

Indicates the library or archive in which one selected
copy (or occasionally copies) of the work/print are to be
found, with permalinks to electronic bibliographic
records, and *Trove* Bookmarks; the site abbreviations
used are:

NLA (National Library of Australia, Canberra);
SL-NSW (State Library of New South Wales,
Sydney, includes Mitchell Library);
SL-TAS (State Library of Tasmania, Hobart)
SL-VIC (State Library of Victoria, Melbourne)
SL-SA (State Library of South Australia)
SL-QLD (State Library of Queensland, Brisbane).

In most cases, no attempt has been made to refer to
other copies of the item.

**Comments and
supporting data**

Includes links to advertisements and/or reviews, of
performances and/or publication; occasionally addition
information that does not appear in the main text is
given (i.e. in support of date of arrival or death of
composer).

Part 1: 1788-1860

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
1.	1790-12-00	INDIGENOUS (Australia fl.1790)	A Song (“Bannelong [...] had lately been at Botany-Bay, where, he said, they danced, and that one of the tribe had sung a song, the subject of which was, [Phillip’s] house, the governor, and the white men at Sydney”).		John Hunter, <i>An Historical Journal of the Transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island</i> (London: Printed for John Stockdale, 1793), 493; SL-NSW online: http://acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/item/itemDetailPaged.aspx?itemID=152435 ; modern edition, searchable text: http://freeread.com.au/ebooks/e00063.html .	
2.	1793	BENNELONG (Australia c.1764-1813); YAMMROWENY (Australia d. England 1794); JONES, Edward (arr.) (UK 1752-1824)	1 A Song of the Natives of New South Wales; The same Harmonized with a Bass, by the Editor (vocal short score); 2 A Song of the Natives of New South Wales (melody line only). 3 Carl Engel, <i>An Introduction to the Study of National Music</i> (London, Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1866), 26-27.	1 Edward Jones, <i>Musical Curiosities: or a Selection of the most characteristic national songs and airs [...] consisting of Spanish, Portuguese, Russian, Danish, Lapland, Malabar, New South Wales [...]</i> (London: Printed for the author, 1811), 15; 2 Carl Engel, <i>An Introduction to the Study of National Music</i> (London, Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1866), 26-27.	1 Copy at British Library, London, R.M.13.f.5, scanned by SL-NSW, in Keith Vincent Smith (curator), exhibition guide, <i>Mari Nawi: Aboriginal Odysseys 1790-1850</i> , 20 September-12 December 2010 (Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, 2010), 20: http://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/events/exhibitions/2010/mari_nawi/docs/marinawi_guide.pdf ; 2 Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/2389996 ; Google Books: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=ok4QAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA26&#v=onepage&q&f=false .	Full title: “A SONG OF THE NATIVES OF NEW SOUTH WALES; Which was written down from the Singing of BENELONG, and YAM-ROWENY, the two Chiefs, who were brought to England some years ago from Botany Bay, by Governor Phillips [sic]. The subject of the Song, is in praise of their Lovers; and when they Sang, it seem’d indispensable to them to have two sticks, one in each hand to beat time with the Tune [...]”; Keith Vincent Smith, <i>Mari Nawi</i> (2010), dated the performance to sometime in 1793, at the singers’ then lodgings at the home William Waterhouse at 125 Mount Street, Mayfair, near Berkeley Square, London; Smith discovered that Jones, a Welsh harpist and bard to the Prince of Wales (later George IV), lived at 122 Mount Street.

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
3.	1802	INDIGENOUS (Australia fl. Winter-Spring 1802); LESUEUR, Charles-Alexandre (transcr..) (France 1778-1846) {1802-03}; BERNIER, Pierre-François (transcri.) (France 1779-1803) {1802-03}	<p>① 1 Chant; 2 Air de danse; 3 Cri de ralliement (Cou-hé) (“Musique des Naturels. Nouvelle Hollandia. N[ouv]elle Galles du Sud [...] Lesure et Bernier notaverunt”); (“Pl.32: Musique de sauvages de la Nouvelle-Galles du Sud. Divers airs notés”);</p> <p>② No 3 Air; No 5 Kouhi [= 1 and 3 above].</p>	<p>① François Péron & Louis de Freycinet, <i>Voyage de decouvertes aux terres australes: Atlas par Mm. Lesueur et Petit</i> (2^e ed. revue, corrigee et augmentee par Louis de Freycinet; Paris: Arthus Bertrands, 1824), plate 32;</p> <p>② Louis de Freycinet, <i>Voyage Autour du Monde: Entrepris par Ordre du Roi ... Exécuté sur les corvettes de S. M. l'Uranie et la Physicienne, pendant les années 1817, 1818, 1819 et 1820, Historique, Tome Deuxième—Deuxième Partie</i> (Paris: Chez Pillet Ainé, 1839), 775.</p>	<p>① Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16830219;</p> <p>② Copy at Google Books: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=pWNNAAYAAJ&pg=PA775#v=onepage&q&f=false.</p>	Noted down by members of Nicolas Baudin’s expedition in NSW, Winter and Spring 1802, and added by Freycinet to the second edition of the <i>Atlas</i> ; some details of the visit appear in the text of volume 1 of the 1824 edition, at Google Books: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=CtsNAAAAQAAJ ; on Bernier, see http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pierre-Fran%C3%A7ois_Bernier ; on Lesueur http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Charles_Alexandre_Lesueur .
4.	1809-01-26	ANONYMOUS; [? DAVOREN, Lawrence (Ireland 1762-?) {1793-1814}]	<u>A New Song Made in New South Wales on the Rebellion</u> (to the tune of <i>Health to the Duchess</i>).	MS at SL-NSW: William Bligh—Papers relating to his term as Governor of New South Wales, 1805-1811; Permalink: http://acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/item/ItemDetailPaged.aspx?itemId=420840 .	Dated 26 January 1809; possibly by the Irish convict attorney Lawrence Davoren; see <i>A new song: made in New South Wales on the rebellion by (Lawrence Davoren)</i> , edited with an essay on historical detection, notes and commentary by George Mackaness (Sydney: D. S. Ford, 1951); Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9985731 ; see 368, M.H. Ellis, <i>John Macarthur</i> (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1967), 368; also <i>ADB</i> entry on Michael Robinson, below.	
5.	1810-10-20	ANONYMOUS	<u>Murtoch Delaney’s Description of the Races</u> (to the tune <i>Ballynamony-ora</i>).	Words only: <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (20 October 1810), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article628109 .		
6.	1810-10-20	WILLIAMS, Mr.	<u>Song, prepared for the festive occasion</u> (words only; Tune: <i>To Anachreon in Heaven</i>).	Words only: “THE SUBSCRIBERS’ BALL”, <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (20 October 1810), 2: http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/628106 .		

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7.	1811-06-08 ROBINSON, Michael Massey (England 1744-1826) {1798-26}	Ode for the King's Birth-day.		Words only: <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (8 June 1811), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article628260 .	Robinson, a former convict, was unofficial colonial bard from the early 1810s onwards; the texts his annual odes for the King's and Queen's birthdays, as sung by him, and of which this is possibly the earliest, and other songs, were regularly reprinted in the press; see Donovan Clarke, "Robinson, Michael Massey (1744-1826)", <i>Australian Dictionary of Biography</i> 2 (1967), 387-389: http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/AO20342b.htm .
8.	1819 INDIGENOUS (Australia fl. 1803 & 1819) FREYCINET, Louis de (France 1779-1842) {1802-03; 1819}	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ① No 1 Danse du Kangaroo; No 2 Air de danse; No 3 Air; No 4 Air de pêche; No 5 Kou-hi; ② Kangaroo Dance [No 1 above]. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ① Louis de Freycinet, <i>Voyage Autour du Monde: Entrepris par Ordre du Roi ... Exécuté sur les corvettes de S. M. l'Uranie et la Physicienne, pendant les années 1817, 1818, 1819 et 1820</i>, Historique, Tome Deuxième—Deuxième Partie (Paris: Chez Pillet Ainé, 1839), 774-75; ② Carl Engel, <i>An Introduction to the Study of National Music</i> (London, Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1866), 238. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ① Copy at Google Books (page 774-75): http://books.google.com.au/books?id=pWNNAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA774#v=onepage&q&f=false; ② Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/2389996; Google Books: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=ok4QAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA238#v=onepage&q&f=false. 	Printed in Freycinet's 1839 account of his 1819 return visit to Australia; Nos 1 and 4 printed here for the first time; as noted in the respective entries, Nos 3 and 5 reproduced from the Baudin expedition (Péron & Freycinet, 2 nd edn 1824), No 2 from Barron Field (1825); Freycinet (1839), 830, also later notes Lhotsky's 1834 transcription, in order to correct Lhotsky's claim that his was the "premiere spécimen de musique australienne", by citing the priority of the Baudin and Field transcriptions; see Google Books: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=pWNNAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA830#v=onepage&q&f=false .
9.	1822-03-11 ANONYMOUS	Songs, duets, glees, choruses, &c. in the new musical extravaganza 'yclept <i>Giovanni in Botany: or, The Libertine Transported</i> ("first performed at the Olympic Theatre ... March 11th, 1822").	London: Printed for the author by Charles Lowndes, 1822.	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/21352537 .	
10.	1823-01-15 ANONYMOUS (Scotland fl.1823) {1823-?}	The Emigrant ("A Song Written on the eve of a Lady's Embarking from Leith with her relations for Van Diemen's Land [...] Edinburgh Jan[uar]y 15 1823").	Edinburgh: Walker & Anderson, 1823.	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19582407 .	

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11.	1823-11-00 HARRY (Australia fl.1817-24?); FIELD, Barron (transcr.) (England 1786-1846) {1817-24}	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ① Australian National Melody; ② Australian National Melody; ③ No 2 Air de danse. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ① Barron Field, "Journal of an Excursion Across the Blue Mountains", <i>The London Magazine</i> (November 1823); ② Barron Field, <i>Geographical Memoirs on New South Wales; by Various Hands</i> (London: John Murray, 1825), 433-34; ③ Louis de Freycinet, <i>Voyage Autour du Monde: Entrepris par Ordre du Roi ... Exécuté sur les corvettes de S. M. l'Uranie et la Physicienne, pendant les années 1817, 1818, 1819 et 1820, Historique, Tome Deuxième—Deuxième Partie</i> (Paris: Chez Pillet Ainé, 1839), 775. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ① Copy at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/6651959; ② Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/914243; at Google Books (page 433): http://books.google.com.au/books?id=P7kBAAAAYAAJ; ③ Copy at Google Books (page 775): http://books.google.com.au/books?id=pWNNAAYAAJ&pg=PA775#v=onepage&q&f=false. 	<p>"From the neighbourhood of our settlements we have scared the kangaroo and the emu, and left these poor lords of the creation no created food but a few opossums, and a tenancy in common with us of fish. Together with their numbers, their customs and manners are in a state of decay [...] But the <i>corrobory</i>, or night dance, still obtains. This festivity is performed in good time, and not unpleasing tune. The song is sung by a few males and females who take no part in the dance. One of the band beats time by knocking one stick against another. The music begins with a high note, and gradually sinks to the octave, whence it rises again immediately to the top. I took down the following Australian national melody from Harry, who married Carangarang, the sister of the celebrated Bennilong; and I believe it to be the first that was ever reduced to writing." (Field, 1825, 433: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=P7kBAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA433#v=onepage&q&f=false).</p>
12.	1824-11-18 ANONYMOUS	Monody, on the death of General Macquarie, Late Governor of New South Wales.			Words only (possibly never set to music): <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (18 November 1824), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2183409 .
13.	1825-04-28 REICHENBERG, Joseph (Italy c.1789/92-1851) {1824-51}	A First Set of Quadrilles for Australia ("Australian Quadrilles").			[Advertisement], "AUSTRALIAN QUADRILLES", <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (28 April 1825), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2183967 ; [Advertisement]: "AUSTRALIAN QUADRILLES", <i>The Australian</i> (28 April 1825), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37074539 .
14.	1825-11-10 ROBINSON, Michael Massey (England 1744-1826) {1798-26}	Song ("composed and sung by that old son of the Muses").			Words only: "PUBLIC DINNER" <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (10 November 1825), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2184661 ; also, "Sydney Intelligence", <i>Colonial Times</i> 2 December 1825), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2446678 .

<i>1st notice</i>	<i>Creator</i>	<i>Title/details</i>	<i>Publication</i>	<i>Availability</i>	<i>Comments and supporting data</i>	
15.	1825-12-22	ANONYMOUS [? KAVANAGH, Thomas (Ireland c.1800-?) {1825-27}	Welcome to Australia.			“HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR IN CHIEF”, <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (22 December 1825), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2184905 ; “The Lieutenant Governor then escorted His EXCELLENCY [Governor Darling] through the military lane [...] preceded by the full Band of the Buffs, playing <i>Welcome to Australia</i> ”; at Darling’s inauguration; possibly already a traditional item passed down from one serving regimental band to the next; but also possibly newly composed by the master of the Buffs band, Thomas Kavanagh (see below).
16.	1826-01-05	INDIGENOUS (fl. 1826)	Two Australian Aboriginal Songs (words only; transcribed: E. L. Threlkeld).			“POETRY: AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINAL SONG”, <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (5 January 1826), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2184973 .
17.	1826-01-05	KAVANAGH, Thomas (Ireland c.1800-?) {1825-27}	General Ralph Darling’s Australian Slow March.			Ralph Darling (governor of NSW, 1826-31); [Advertisement]: “ORIGINAL AUSTRALIAN MUSIC”, <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (5 January 1826), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2184974 ; [Advertisement]: “ORIGINAL AUSTRALIAN MUSIC”, <i>The Australian</i> (5 January 1826), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37071849 .
18.	1826-01-05	KAVANAGH, Thomas (Ireland c.1800-?) {1825-27}	General Darling’s Quick Step.			As above.
19.	1826-01-05	KAVANAGH, Thomas (Ireland c.1800-?) {1825-27}	Mrs. Darling’s Waltz.			As above.
20.	1826-01-05	KAVANAGH, Thomas (Ireland c.1800-?) {1825-27}	His Honor Colonel Stewart’s Slow March, <i>Hail Australia!</i>			Stewart was commanding Officer of Kavanagh’s regiment, the Buffs; as above; later, an air by the title <i>Hail Australia</i> was regularly played in answer to the dinner toast “To the land that we live in”.
21.	1826-01-05	KAVANAGH, Thomas (Ireland c.1800-?) {1825-27}	Sir Thomas Brisbane’s Grand Australian March.			Thomas Brisbane (governor of NSW, 1821-25); as above.
22.	1826-01-05	KAVANAGH, Thomas (Ireland c.1800-?) {1825-27}	Sir Thomas Brisbane’s Grand Australian Quick March.			As above.
23.	1826-01-05	KAVANAGH, Thomas (Ireland c.1800-?) {1825-27}	Lady Brisbane’s Waltz.			As above.
24.	1826-01-05	KAVANAGH, Thomas (Ireland c.1800-?) {1825-27}	My Native Distant Home (Scotch Air).			As above.
25.	1826-01-05	KAVANAGH, Thomas (Ireland c.1800-?) {1825-27}	Currency Lasses.			By the mid -1820s, dinner toasts were regularly made to the “Currency Lads and Lasses”, i.e. native born settler Australians; as above.

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26.	1826-01-05	KAVANAGH, Thomas (Ireland c.1800-?) {1825-27}	The trumpet sounds Australia's fame ("A new song") (words only survive).		As above; "THE AMATEUR CONCERT", <i>The Monitor</i> (21 July 1826), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31757663 ; "SYDNEY AMATEUR CONCERT", <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (22 July 1826), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2186232 ; "THE CONCERT", <i>The Australian</i> (22 July 1826), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37073176 [reprints text]; "SYDNEY AMATEUR CONCERT", <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (24 July 1826), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2186232 .
27.	1826-04-29	ANONYMOUS	Australian Air.		[News], <i>The Hobart Town Gazette</i> (29 April 1826), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8790487 : His Excellency gave the health of Governor Darling, and the prosperity of the sister Colony, when the new and beautiful <i>Australian Air</i> was struck up"; the band was that of the 40th Regiment, under Joseph Reichenberg, who may have brought the <i>Australian Air</i> with him from Sydney, plausibly his own composition or one of Thomas Kavanagh's.
28.	1826-08-06	ANONYMOUS	Alas! Alas! And is the spirit fled? ("An Anthem Sung at the Funeral Sermon of the Late Mrs. Lawry in Macquarie-Street [Methodist] Chapel") (words only).		Words only: "AN ANTHEM", <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (9 August 1826), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2186316 ; though very probably sung to an imported hymn tune, see <i>Original and Select Hymns</i> (London: John Van Voorst, 1837), 168: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=O1UEAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA168#v=onepage&q&f=false ; and "A FUNERAL ODE", <i>The Primitive Methodist Magazine</i> 7 (1838), 399: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=CAoFAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA399#v=onepage&q&f=false .
29.	1826-10-04	SIPPE, George (Ireland ?-1842) {1826-42}	Rondo ("clarinet") ("a Rondeau, composed by Mr. Sippe").		Added to an Air and Variations by Druett [?Drouet] on <i>Believe me if all those endearing bright charms</i> ; [Advertisement], "AMATEUR CONCERT", <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (4 October 1826), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2186645 ; [Advertisement]: "AMATEUR CONCERT", <i>The Monitor</i> (6 October 1826), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31757880 ; "MR. SIPPE'S BENEFIT CONCERT", <i>The Monitor</i> (13 October 1826), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31757909 .
30.	1826-12-01	ANONYMOUS	Australian March.		"ST ANDREW'S DAY", <i>Colonial Times</i> (1 December 1826), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2448996 ; played by Reichenberg's Band of the 40th Regiment in answer to a toast to General Darling and [the Sister Colony] New South Wales"; see Australian Air above.
31.	1827-01-16	KAVANAGH, Thomas (Ireland c.1800-?) {1825-27}	New music ("vocal and instrumental, composed by Mr. Cavenagh").		[News], <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (16 January 1827), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2187390 ; the promised benefit concert at which this new music was to be played may never have taken place; Kavanagh left with his regiment for India in February.
32.	1827-01-27	ANONYMOUS	Governor's March.		Possibly one of Kavanagh's two marches for Governor Darling (see above); "THE ANNIVERSARY DINNER", <i>The Monitor</i> (27 January 1827), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31758157 ; the band is not named, but it was probably Kavanagh's on one of its last Sydney appearances.

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33.	1827-03-09	PEARSON, James (England c.1794-1841) {fl.1825-34}	Magnificat (“chaunt [...] arranged by Mr. Pearson”).		[News], <i>The Monitor</i> (9 March 1827), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31758255 ; “The choir of St. James’s Church, will chaunt on Sunday evening next, the <i>Magnificat</i> , arranged by Mr. Pearson, who has accepted the office of leader.”	
34.	1827-11-12	SIPPE, George (Ireland ?-1842) {1826-42}	Australian Troop (“air [...] by Mr. Sippy”).		“TURF CLUB DINNER”, <i>The Monitor</i> (12 November 1827), 6s: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31759112 .	
35.	1827-11-12	ANONYMOUS	Sydney Lasses (air).		“TURF CLUB DINNER”, <i>The Monitor</i> (12 November 1827), 6s: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31759112 .	
36.	1828-00-00	DAWSON, Robert (England 1782-1866) {1825-28}	<p>① Song of the Natives: We all sit down together;</p> <p>② Song of the Natives: We all sit down together.</p>	<p>① Robert Dawson, <i>The Present State of Australia: a description of the country, its advantages and prospects, with reference to emigration: and a particular account of the manners, customs, and condition of its aboriginal inhabitants</i> (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1830), 134;</p> <p>② (2nd edn; London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1831), 134.</p>	<p>① Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/11319793; at Google Books: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=5ngIAAAQAAJ;</p> <p>② Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/11319793; at Google Books: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=6swNAAAQAAJ.</p>	<p>“[The wild natives] generally have an excellent ear for [music], and those who usually attended me were in the habit of accompanying my flute in chorus, which they did in excellent tune and time. I was in the habit, and especially when I wished to keep them cheerful, of singing and playing the following simple strain to them, with any words the occasion might call for [...]” (Dawson, 1830, 133-34).</p>
37.	1828-01-28	DEANE, John Philip (England 1796-1849) {1822-49}	The First Set of Tasmanian Quadrilles (“by J. P. Deane”).		[Advertisement]: “MRS. DEANE [...] Just published”, <i>The Hobart Town Courier</i> (28 January 1828), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4224849 ; despite being advertised as “just published”, Deane’s quadrilles were probably for sale in MS copies.	
38.	1828-08-01	ANONYMOUS	<u>A Song, by the Convict, in Van Diemen’s Land.</u>		Words only; in Andrew Bent’s <i>Colonial Advocate</i> 1 (1828); see [Advertisement], <i>Colonial Times</i> (1 August 1828), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8644005 ; possibly an extract from William T. Moncrieff, <i>Van Diemen’s Land: an operatic drama in three acts</i> , (London: G.H. Davidson, [1831?]); see also <i>Colonial Times</i> (6 August 1830), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8645294 ; [News]: “19 th of May 1830 [...] Van Diemen’s Land, or Settlers and Natives”, <i>The Hobart Town Courier</i> (9 October 1830), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4206734 .	

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39.	1828-08-09	REICHENBERG, Joseph (Italy c.1789/92-1851) {1824-51}	The Hobartton Quadrilles (1 The safe arrival; 2 The Scotch settler; 3 The English settler; 4 The Irish settler; 5 The Union).		“Quadrilles”, <i>The Hobart Town Courier</i> (9 August 1828), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4221623 .
40.	1828-08-09	REICHENBERG, Joseph (Italy c.1789/92-1851) {1824-51}	Another Set of Quadrilles for the 40th Regiment (1 La Peninsula; 2 La Waterloo; 3 La Paris; 4 L’Australia; 5 La Tasmania).		“Quadrilles”, <i>The Hobart Town Courier</i> (9 August 1828), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4221623 .
41.	1829-09-12	ANONYMOUS	<u>Stanzas to be set to music.</u>		Words only: “Rejected Addresses [No 1]: To have been spoken at the Opening of the Opera House, Sydney, August 1829”, <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (12 September 1829), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2193399 .
42.	1830-07-06	PEARSON, James (England c.1794-1841) {fl.1825-34}	Responses in the Communion Service (“the composition of Mr. PEARSON, the Organist”).		[News], <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (6 July 1830), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2195472 : “That beautiful piece of sacred music adapted to the responses in the Communion Service, and sung by the choir of St. James’s Church, is the composition of Mr. PEARSON, the Organist.”
43.	1830-10-16	ANONYMOUS	Native melodies of our Van Diemen’s land Blacks (“Some of our musical amateurs have lately made some progress in recording [these], but what we have seen are of the rudest and most uncouth kind, though doubt not without their charms to the sable ear”).		[News], <i>The Hobart Town Courier</i> (16 October 1830), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4206714 .
44.	1832-01-21	REICHENBERG, Joseph (Italy c.1789/92-1851) {1824-51}	Tasmanian New Quadrilles and Country Dances for 1832.		[Advertisement]: “TASMANIAN NEW QUADRILLES”, <i>The Hobart Town Courier</i> (21 January 1832), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4200325 .
45.	1833-04-20	CAVENDISH [de Castell] William Joseph (Ireland 1789-1839) {1833-39}	5 quadrilles and 2 waltzes (“The Fairy Quadrilles”; “Australian, Notasian, Arabian, or Mal[a]gareske quadrilles”); (2 Quadrilles have Sydney titles: <i>Woo-loo-moo-loo</i> and <i>Kurry Jong</i>).		MS score and accompanying letter (dated “Parramatta, Notasia [i.e. Australasia], April 20, [18]33”), at SL-NSW; Castell family papers, 1786-1993 (MLMSS 7989); Permalink: http://acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/item/itemDetailPaged.aspx?itemID=909647 .
46.	1833-10-25	REICHENBERG, Joseph (Italy c.1789/92-1851) {1824-51}	Variations on Oh no we never mention her (“clarionet”).		[Advertisement]: “CONCERT”, <i>The Hobart Town Courier</i> (25 October 1833), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4189158 ; “At Mr. Peck’s concert [...]”, <i>The Hobart Town Courier</i> (1 November 1833), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4189100 ; “Mr. Peck’s concert [...]”, <i>Colonial Times</i> (5 November 1833), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8647262 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
47.	1833-10-25	PECK, George (<i>England</i> c.1810-1863) {1833-c.40; c.1856-63}	Solo (violin) (“collected and diversified from various works of Mayseder, De Beriot, Paganini, &c.”).			As above.
48.	1834-09-03	CALVERT, Mr. C.A. (<i>UK</i> fl.1834)	<u>The Emigrant’s Farewell</u> (words: Robert Gouger Esq.).	[London]: [?], [1834?].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/32195026 ;	“THE EMIGRANT’S FAREWELL. Sung at the Dinner of the South Australian Colonists, September 3 [1834]”, <i>The Australian</i> (6 February 1835), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article42007903 ; “The Emigrants’ Farewell. Sung at the Dinner of the South Australian Colonists, September 3 rd . [1834]”, <i>The Sydney Monitor</i> (7 March 1835), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article32148410 .
49.	1834-10-21	SIPPE, George (<i>Ireland</i> ?-1842) {1826-42}	The Fatal Snow Storm (“in which will be introduced some new and appropriate Music by Mr. Sippe”).			[Advertisement], “Theatre Royal”, <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (21 October 1834), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2217359 .
50.	1834-10-21	SIPPE, George (<i>Ireland</i> ?-1842) {1826-42}; WILSON, Mr.	The Demon, or The Magic Rose (“The Music by Messrs. Sippe and Wilson”).			[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (21 October 1834), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2217359 .
51.	1834-11-07	INDIGENOUS (<i>Australia</i> fl.1834); LHOTSKY, John (transcr.) (<i>Bohemia</i> ?1795-?1866) {1832-38}; JOSEPHSON, Joshua Frey (arr.) (<i>Germany</i> 1815-1892) {1820-92}; PEARSON, James (arr.) (<i>England</i> c.1794-1841) {c.1825-41}; SIPPE, George (arr.) (<i>Ireland</i> ?-1842) {1826-42}	<p>① <u>A Song of the Women of the Menero Tribe</u> (“Arranged with the assistance of several Musical Gentlemen”) (2 versions: 1 voice and piano; 2 piano solo);</p> <p>② <u>A Song of the Women of the Menero Tribe</u> (facsimile of ①).</p>	<p>① Sydney: John Innes, [1834];</p> <p>② [Sydney ?]: [?], [? between 1880-1900].</p>	<p>① Copy at SL-NSW: http://acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/album/albumView.aspx?itemID=846215&acmsid=0; Trove Record: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/33504891;</p> <p>② Copy at NLA; Trove Record: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/33504891.</p>	<p>“Domestic Intelligence”, <i>The Australian</i> (7 November 1834), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article42007225; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (11 November 1834), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2217523; “SHORTLY WILL BE PUBLISHED, A SONG OF THE WOMEN OF THE MENERO TRIBE, NEAR THE AUSTRALIAN ALPS. ARRANGED With the assistance of several Musical Gentlemen, FOR THE VOICE AND PIANO-FORTE, Most humbly inscribed as the first specimen of AUSTRALIAN MUSIC [...] BY Dr. J. LHOTSKY, Colonist, New South Wales. TO BE SOLD BY JOHN INNIS, PITT STREET. THIS SONG has been declared by the most competent judges as “very pretty”; by others, even as a “sublime” production [...]”;</p> <p>Louis de Freycinet, <i>Voyage Autour du Monde: Entrepris par Ordre du Roi ... Exécuté sur les corvettes de S. M. l’Uranie et la Physicienne, pendant les années 1817, 1818, 1819 et 1820</i>, Historique, Tome Deuxième— Deuxième Partie (Paris: Chez Pillot Ainé, 1839), 830 footnote, noted the existence of Lhotsky’s 1834 transcription, in order to correct Lhotsky’s published claim that his was the “<i>premiere spécimen de musique australienne</i>”, Freycinet citing the priority of the Baudin and Field transcriptions; see Google Books: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=pWNNAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA830#v=onepage&q&f=false.</p>
52.	1835-02-10	SIPPE, George (<i>Ireland</i> ?-1842) {1826-42}	The Indian Maid (“A New Ballet [...] with entire New Music, by Mr. Sippe, and in which Mrs. Jones will sing the Favourite Song of <i>The Indian Maid</i> ”).			[Advertisement]: “Theatre Royal, Sydney”, <i>The Australian</i> (10 February 1835), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article42007481 ; “Theatricals”, <i>The Australian</i> (13 February 1835), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article42006628 .

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53.	1835-09-15 LEWIS, Mr (Bandmaster of H.M. 17th Regiment) {1830-36}	Why don't the Girls propose , (a new song [...] the music composed expressly for Mrs. Taylor by Mr. Lewis”).			Words survive: “Original Poetry”, <i>The Australian</i> (15 September 1835), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article42005941 ; [Advertisement]: “Theatre Royal, Sydney”, <i>The Australian</i> (18 September 1835), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article42004566 ; [News]: “Mrs. Taylor’s benefit ...”, <i>The Australian</i> (25 September 1835), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article42007034 .
54.	1835-12-10 HELY, Miss (Ireland ?-?) {1823-after 1835}; ? HELY, Frederick Augustus (Ireland 1794-1836) {1823-36}	The Parting (Ballad; words: F. A. Hely).	[Dublin: Andrew Ellard, 1835].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED	“Sydney General Trade List: IMPORTS”, <i>The Colonist</i> (10 December 1835), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31717338 ; “6 packages musical instruments, F. Ellard”; [News], <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (12 December 1835), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2201678 ; “NEW MUSIC”, <i>The Sydney Monitor</i> (12 December 1835), 3s: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article32150302 ; “AUSTRALIAN MUSIC”, <i>The Sydney Herald</i> (24 December 1835), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28654531 ; “ERRATUM”, <i>The Sydney Herald</i> (28 December 1835), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12853687 ; Frederick Hely, of Engehurst, Paddington, NSW Supervisor of Convicts, had three daughters, 2 of whom married and remained in Australia, Mary, to Gother K. Mann, who later joined Leichhardt’s expedition, “MARRIED”, <i>The Sydney Herald</i> (4 January 1838), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28653355 ; she died in 1901, aged 82; “THE LATER MRS. GOTHER MANN”, <i>The Brisbane Courier</i> (17 September 1901), 6: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article19163125 ; and Georgina Fanny, married Edward Strickland; “MARRIED”, <i>Australasian Chronicle</i> (20 November 1841), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31733462 .
55.	1835-12-10 ELLARD, William (Ireland fl.1835-1839?) {1839?}	The Much Admired Australian Quadrilles (“selected from the newest and most celebrated operas and arranged for the Piano Forte or Harp by W[ilia]m Ellard”); (1 La Sydney (La pantalon); 2 La Woolloomooloo (L’et�); 3 La Illawarra (La poule); 4 La Bong-Bong (La trenise); 5 La Engehurst (La finale)).	Dublin: [Andrew] Ellard, [1835].	Copies at SL-NSW (lacks titlepage), and University of Melbourne Library; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/12279142 ; copy at University of Newcastle Auchmuty Library, Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/34313133 .	“Sydney General Trade List: IMPORTS”, <i>The Colonist</i> (10 December 1835), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31717338 ; “6 packages musical instruments, F. Ellard”; [News], <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (12 December 1835), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2201678 ; “NEW MUSIC”, <i>The Sydney Monitor</i> (12 December 1835), 3s: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article32150302 ; “AUSTRALIAN MUSIC”, <i>The Sydney Herald</i> (24 December 1835), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28654531 .
56.	1836-01-01 STUBBS, Thomas (Australia c.1803-1878)	The Minstrel Waltz for 1836 (piano).	[Sydney: Wilson; Francis Ellard, 1836].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement], “For the Ladies”, <i>The Sydney Herald</i> (31 December 1835), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28654562 ; [News], <i>The Sydney Herald</i> (4 January 1836), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28654581 ; “THE MINSTRAL WALTZ”, <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (5 January 1836), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2202100 .
57.	1836-01-16 SIMMONS, Joseph (England 1810?-1893) {1830-32; 34-93}	Mock Italian Bravura , and Mock Minuet de la Cour .			[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (16 January 1836), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2202266 ; Simmons revived the bravura as the <i>Mock Italian Aria</i> in Nagel’s Mock Catalani in 1842, [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (7 May 1842), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2556440 .

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58.	1836-03-01 PAUL, Mrs. John, Senior {fl.1826-38}	Currency Lasses (song; “as composed by our talented towns lady”).			“LAST FRIDAY EVENING’S CONCERT”, <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (1 March 1836), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2203019 ; Mrs. Paul was musically active already in the 1826 Sydney Amateurs Concerts; [News]: “Mrs. Paul’s private concert [...]”, <i>The Australian</i> (28 June 1826), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37073806 .
59.	1836-03-01 WALLACE, William Vincent (Ireland 1812-1865) {1835-38}	Extemporaneous variations on the song <i>Currency Lasses</i> (“as composed by our talented towns lady, Mrs. John Paul senior”).			“LAST FRIDAY EVENING’S CONCERT”, <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (1 March 1836), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2203019 .
60.	1836-03-31 WALLACE, William Vincent (Ireland 1812-1865) {1835-38}	Come to me (song).	[Unidentified edition].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED; advertised on title-page of Fernyhough’s edition of Wallace’s <i>Walze Favorite</i> , see Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/10637135 .	Advertised as available at Wallace’s “Academy”, which he announced on 31 March 1836; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (31 March 1836), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2203514 .
61.	1836-03-31 WALLACE, William Vincent (Ireland 1812-1865) {1835-38}	<p>① Bohemian Air: with Brilliant Variations (piano);</p> <p>② Brilliant Variations on a Favorite Bohemian Melody;</p> <p>③ Bohemian Melody: With Brilliant Variations.</p>	<p>① [Unidentified edition];</p> <p>② London: Cramer, Beale & Co., 1851.</p> <p>③ New York: Wm. Hall and Son, 1851.</p>	<p>① NO COPY IDENTIFIED; advertised on title-page of Fernyhough’s edition of Wallace’s <i>Walze Favorite</i>, see Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/10637135;</p> <p>② Copy at British Library, Music Collections h.771.(9) [004727345];</p> <p>③ Copy at Library of Congress, online; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19710378.</p>	① Advertised as available at Wallace’s “Academy”, which he announced on 31 March 1836; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (31 March 1836), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2203514 ; may be the same work as ② and ③.
62.	1836-03-31 WALLACE, William Vincent (Ireland 1812-1865) {1835-38}	Rondo Brillante in E flat (piano).	[Unidentified edition].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED; advertised on title-page of Fernyhough’s edition of Wallace’s <i>Walze Favorite</i> , see Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/10637135 .	Advertised as available at Wallace’s “Academy”, which he announced on 31 March 1836; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (31 March 1836), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2203514 .
63.	1836-07-11 WALLACE, William Vincent (Ireland 1812-1865) {1835-38}	Rondo Brillante (in which will be introduced the “ <i>Cooleen</i> ”, Irish Melody).			[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Herald</i> (11 July 1836), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12854693 .

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64.	1836-09-22 WALLACE, William Vincent (Ireland 1812-1865) {1835-38}	<p>① Walze Favorite du Duc de Reichstadt, Arranged with Variations for the Piano Forte;</p> <p>② Walze Favorite du Duc de Reichstadt Arranged with Variations for the Piano Forte.</p>	<p>① Sydney: W.H. Fernyhough, [1836?];</p> <p>② Sydney: W. Baker, [184-?].</p>	<p>① Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/10637135;</p> <p>② Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/10637135.</p>	<p>Title-page lists other works available at Wallace's "Academy", which he first announced in March 1836; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (31 March 1836), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2203514; as nothing further is heard of Wallace's Academy after that year, the print can be tentatively dated to late 1836; William Henry Fernyhough (1809-1849), a recent arrival, had commenced business and produced his first prints for sale by September 1836; see [News], <i>The Colonist</i> (22 September 1836), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31718522; see entry in <i>Dictionary of Australian Artists Online</i>: http://www.daa0.org.au/main/read/2503.</p>
65.	1836-12-29 SIPPE, George (Ireland ?-1842) {1826-42}	Oberon, or The Charmed Horn ("Grand Romantic Fairy Tale"; "The Music composed and arranged by Mr. Sippe").			<p>[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (17 December 1836), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2208354; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (29 December 1836), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2208594; "DRAMA", <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (29 December 1836), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2208591; "DRAMA", <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (3 January 1837), 2-3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2208658.</p>
66.	1837~ INDIGENOUS (Australia fl.? 1830s); LOGAN, Mrs. [? Mary] (arr.) (Ireland ?-1888) {1835-88}	<p>① Song of the Aborigines of Van Diemen's Land (arranged by Mrs. Logan) (page 1); Song of the Aborigines (page 2) (MS fair copy);</p> <p>② Song of the Aborigines (arranged by Mrs. Logan) (MS sketch).</p>			<p>① Original MS at Archives Office of Tasmania, photograph copies at SL-TAS (not in Trove); Permalink (page 1): http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=AB713-1-4961; (page 2): http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=AB713-1-4960; and</p> <p>② University of Tasmania Library; Permalink: http://eprints.utas.edu.au/1866/2/w9_c4_1(54).pdf; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/3882084; http://eprints.utas.edu.au/1866 (the catalogue record dates this sketch MS to 1856).</p>
67.	1837-01-05 SIPPE, George (Ireland ?-1842) {1826-42}	The £100 Note ("The Music composed and arranged by Mr. Sippe").			<p>[Advertisement] "Theatre Royal", <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (5 January 1837), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2208687.</p>
68.	1837-01-28 STUBBS, Thomas (Australia c.1803-1878)	Australian Minstrel March ("arranged for the occasion by Mr. Coleman"); possibly the same work as The Australian March .	<p>[Sydney]: [George Peck], [1860]; or [James Fussell], [1861] (in <i>The Australian Musical Bouquet</i>).</p>	<p>Copy at NLA: Trove Bookmark (album: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16894393).</p>	<p>"United Australians' Dinner", <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (28 January 1837), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2209082; "Dinner of the United Australians", <i>The Sydney Herald</i> (30 January 1837), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12861100; while there is no indication that the original or 1837 versions were ever printed; but the work may be the same as that printed either in 1860 or -1861 in the monthly serial <i>Australian Musical Bouquet</i>; Stubbs was by then living in Melbourne, and not any longer known to have been composing;</p> <p>On dating the edition: George Peck began issuing the <i>Bouquet</i> in 1860, but under his management the publication seems to have run into trouble after a few issues; nevertheless, a sixth number January 1861) appeared at New Year 1861, and further issues, edited by Edwin Cobleby and published by James Fussell, appeared during 1861.</p>

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69.	1837-02-02 WALLACE, William Vincent (Ireland 1812-1865) {1835-38}	Echo's Song (song; "The words by Robert Stewart, Esq[ui]re Composed and dedicated to his friend, Mrs. C. Logan of Hobart Town by Will[ia]m Wallace").	Sydney: J.G. Austin, [1837].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/24305586 .	"DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE: MUSIC", <i>The Sydney Herald</i> (2 February 1837), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12861416 ; [News], <i>The Colonist</i> (2 February 1837), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31719000 ; [Sydney news], <i>The Hobart Town Courier</i> (17 February 1837), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4173144 ; An early version of the text appeared anonymously at, "Original Poetry: ECHO'S SONG", <i>The Australian</i> (20 March 1835), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article42009740 ; Mrs. C[harles] D. (Mary) Logan was Francis Ellard's sister and Wallace's cousin; in Hobart in 1839, she published a song of her own to words by Robert Stewart, see below.
70.	1837-07-08 HAMMOND, Adela A. (UK? 1821-?) {fl.1837}	The Shadow of the Heart (song; "the poetry by W. H. Harrison, Esq. to whom the music is respectfully inscribed by his obliged young friend, Adela A. Hammond, Melbourne").	[Melbourne?], [?], [1837, or 1842-43?].	Copy at SL-VIC, MSS 12831, McCrae Family Papers; pencilled on cover: "This is the first song & music published in Melbourne prior to 1845"; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/21614686 .	[Review], <i>The Musical World</i> 6/69 (7 July 1837), 61; same page, review of "Sleeping in Lily Bells, by Miss Adela Hammond (Dale & Co. [London?])"; "NEW PUBLICATIONS", <i>The Literary Gazette and Journal of the Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences, &c.</i> (8 July 1837), 437: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=9r9LAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA437&lpg=PA437#v=onepage&q&f=false ; according to the review, the composer was 16 years old, but makes no mention of the work being printed in Melbourne; whether it was indeed printed in Melbourne, or merely composed there, the music must have been at least 4-5 months in transit before the July 1837 review; In July 1837, the colonial settlement at Melbourne was barely two years old. There must be a strong possibility, then, that there may have been two editions; that the 1837 print is English, and that this is a later local print. Neidorf, <i>A Guide</i> , 41-42, tentatively dates it to 1842-43, which seems far more likely; "Sleeping in Lily Bells, Miss A. Hammond. Dale and Co.", was announced in "NEW PUBLICATIONS", <i>The Literary Gazette</i> 974 (19 September 1835), 604: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=WVoZAAAAMAAJ&pg=PA604&lpg=PA604&dq ; Hammond's <i>Sleeping in Lily Bells</i> was also later published in USA (Philadelphia, 1849, probably from the Dale UK edition; Hammond is not to be confused with the early 20 th -century English song composer, Adela E. Hammond.
71.	1838-01-19 STUBBS, Thomas (Australia c.1803-1878); WALLACE, William Vincent (arr.) (Ireland 1812-1865) {1835-38}	Australian Jubilee Waltz ("arranged for the piano forte by Wm. Wallace").	Sydney: W. H. Fernyhough, [1838].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/12891780 .	[Advertisement], "IN THE PRESS And will be published on the 26 th instant [...] THE AUSTRALIAN JUBILEE WALTZ", <i>The Australian</i> (19 January 1838), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36855428 ; "THE JUBILEE WALTZ", <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (6 February 1938), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2547425 .

<i>1st notice</i>	<i>Creator</i>	<i>Title/details</i>	<i>Publication</i>	<i>Availability</i>	<i>Comments and supporting data</i>
72.	1839-04-05 GAUTROT, Joseph (France 1775-1854) {1839-54}	Barcarole with variations (“on a discordant violin composed by himself, in the style of Paganini”).			[Advertisement]: “ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE”, <i>The Sydney Herald</i> (5 April 1839), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12857931 .
73.	1839-04-26 LOGAN, Mary (Mrs. C. D.) (Ireland ?-1888) {1835-88}	The vow that’s breathed in solitude (words: Robert Stewart).	[Hobart?]: [?], [1839].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[News]: “A Song, entitled [...]”, <i>The Hobart Town Courier</i> (26 April 1839), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4158722 ; also <i>Hobart Town Advertiser</i> (10 May 1839); (quoted Maree-Rose Jones): “We must not pass lightly by the music of Mrs. Logan, a lady who has the merit of being the first musical composer in the colony”; [Editorial], “THURSDAY EVENING, APRIL 16, 1840”, <i>The Hobart Town Courier</i> (17 April 1840), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8748254 ; “We are not blessed with hurdy-gurdies or barrel-organs in this hemisphere, but claim some exemption from the tomb of oblivion, in an occasional offering to the muses, which passes through the colony with the swiftness of the Highland fire-brand, visiting the mansion and the cottage, and thereby indicating a taste for the “tender and true”. We allude more particularly to <i>The vow that’s breathed in solitude</i> .”
74.	1839-05-24 GAUTROT, Joseph (France 1775-1854) {1839-54}	O Dolce Concerto [Mozart] with variations (“composed by Mons. Gautrot”; for soprano).			[Advertisement], <i>The Hobart Town Courier</i> (24 May 1839), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4158477 ; [Advertisement], <i>Colonial Times</i> (28 May 1839), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8749724 .
75.	1839-05-24 GAUTROT, Joseph (France 1775-1854) {1839-54}	Variations on the Violin.			[Advertisement], <i>The Hobart Town Courier</i> (24 May 1839), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4158477 ; [Advertisement], <i>Colonial Times</i> (28 May 1839), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8749724 .
76.	1839-08-13 REID, Dr. J.A. (? Scotland ?-?) {1839-40}	Oratorio Paradise Lost.			“Concert for the benefit of the Poor”, <i>Australasian Chronicle</i> (13 August 1839), 1s: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31726208 ; possibly the work mentioned in “Music in Scotland: A BRIEF HISTORICAL SURVEY”, <i>The Musical Times</i> (1 November 1901), 723.
77.	1839-08-16 REID, Dr. J. A. (? Scotland ?-?) {1839-40}	Overture to Zriny.			[Advertisement]: “CONCERT”, <i>Australasian Chronicle</i> (16 August 1839), 4s: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31726249 ; [Advertisement]: “CONCERT”, <i>The Australian</i> (17 August 1839), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36862661 ; “Concert”, <i>Australasian Chronicle</i> (23 August 1839), 1s: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31726296 ; see also “DR. REID’S CONCERT”, <i>The Colonist</i> (28 August 1839), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31723606 ; “DR. REID’S CONCERT”, <i>The Sydney Monitor</i> (23 August 1839), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article32165280 .
78.	1839-08-16 REID, Dr. J. A. (? Scotland ?-?) {1839-40}	Scena and Aria O thou sweet star of love on high (“from a new opera”).			See above.
79.	1839-08-16 REID, Dr. J. A. (? Scotland ?-?) {1839-40}	Chorus and Solo Spring is come and the wars are all over (“from a new opera”).			See above.
80.	1839-09-28 PECK, George (England c.1810-1863) {1833-c.40; c.1856-63}	Imitations of Paganini on the Violin (“for this night only”).			[Advertisement]: “GRAND CONCERT”, <i>The Australian</i> (28 September 1839), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36861814 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data
81.	1839-10-29	REID, Dr. J. A. (? Scotland ?-?) {1839-40}	Mass No. 1 in C.		[News], <i>Australasian Chronicle</i> (29 October 1839), 1s: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31726755 .
82.	1839-11-01	DEANE, John Philip (England 1796-1849) {1822-49}	Trio (for 2 violins and violoncello).		“MR. DEANE’S SOIREE”, <i>Australasian Chronicle</i> (1 November 1839), 1s: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31726771 ; [Advertisement], <i>Australasian Chronicle</i> (8 November 1839), 4s: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31726817 ; [Advertisement], <i>Australasian Chronicle</i> (3 January 1840), 4s: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31727178 ; [Advertisement], <i>Australasian Chronicle</i> (21 January 1840), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31727355 .
83.	1839-11-09	GAUTROT, Joseph (France 1775-1854) {1839-54}	Australiana, A Pastoral (composed for the Ladies of the Colony for violin solo) (also advertised as Australia, A Pastoral).		[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (9 November 1839), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2550699 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Herald</i> (13 November 1839), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12857239 ; “M.GAUTROT’S CONCERT”, <i>Australasian Chronicle</i> (15 November 1839), 1s: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31726856 .
84.	1839-12-00	INDIGENOUS (Australia fl.1839); DRAYTON, Joseph (transcr.) (USA 1798-1877) {1839}	Four Australian Native Chants, Nos 1-2 ; Four Australian Native Chants, Nos 3-4 (transcribed NSW, December 1839).	Charles Wilkes, <i>Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842</i> , Volume 2 (Philadelphia, 1844?); later printing, (Philadelphia: [?], 1849), 189-90.	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/544621 ; at Google Books (1849 print): http://books.google.com.au/books?id=BfAKAAAYAAJ .
85.	1839-12-14	GAUTROT, Joseph (France 1775-1854) {1839-54}	The Soldier Tir’d [Arne] (with new orchestral accompaniments by Mons. Gautrot).		[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (14 December 1839), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2549780 .
86.	1839-12-14	GAUTROT, Joseph (France 1775-1854) {1839-54}	Fantasia on the airs from La vestale (executed on the Violin by Mons. Gautrot).		[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (14 December 1839), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2549780 .
87.	1840-03-02	GAUTROT, Joseph (France 1775-1854) {1839-54}	Success (“words by Linsburg – Music by Mons. Gautrot”).		[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Herald</i> (2 March 1840), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12864130 .
88.	1840-06-07	GAUTROT, Joseph (France 1775-1854) {1839-54}	Quintett (for two Tenors, two Violoncellos, and one Double Bass).		“Royal Victoria Theatre: Grand Concert”, <i>The Sydney Herald</i> (6 July 1840), 6: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12864988 .

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89.	1841-00-00	INDIGENOUS (Australia fl.1837-39)	Funeral Chant (words only).		George Grey, <i>Journals of Two Expeditions of Discovery in North-West and Western Australia During the Years 1837, 38, and 39</i> (London: T. and W. Boone, 1841), Volume 2, 308: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=soQbAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA308&#v=onepage&q&f=false .
90.	1841-01-09	ANONYMOUS	A favourite quadrille , newly named <i>Advance Illawarra</i> .		“DIVISION OF THE COLONY: PUBLIC MEETING”, <i>Australasian Chronicle</i> (9 January 1841), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31730412 .
91.	1841-03-27	DUNCAN, William Augustine (arr.) (Scotland 1811-1885) {1837-85}	The Sacred Minstrel [No I] , (“being a collection of [5] APPROVED HYMNS, arranged and adapted to the choicest movements of THE MOST CELEBRATED COMPOSERS [...] by W. A. Duncan”); (1 Veni Creator Spiritus [Mozart]; 2 Lucis Creator Optime [Gluck]; 3 Stabat mater [Pergolesi]; 4 A Hymn for Easter [Haydn]; 5 O salutaris hostia).	[Sydney: W. Nicholas, 1841].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED. [Advertisement], <i>Australasian Chronicle</i> (27 March 1841), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31731282 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Herald</i> (30 March 1841), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12868457 ; “NEW PUBLICATIONS”, <i>Australasian Chronicle</i> (30 March 1841), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31731328 .
92.	1841-04-08	DUNCAN, William Augustine (arr.) (Scotland 1811-1885) {1837-85}	The Sacred Minstrel No II (“being a collection of [5] APPROVED HYMNS [...]”); (1 Morning Hymn [Haydn]; Vexilla Regis [Cramer]; Before the closing of the Day; 4 Easter Hymn [Mozart]; 5 Lauda Sion [Gluck]).	[Sydney: W. Nicholas, 1841].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED. [Advertisement], <i>Australasian Chronicle</i> (8 April 1841), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31731402 ; “NEW PUBLICATION: THE SACRED MINSTREL NO. II”, <i>Australasian Chronicle</i> (10 April 1841), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31731426 ; according to the April advertisements, the series was “to be continued monthly”; no further numbers were advertised, but see [Advertisement], <i>Australasian Chronicle</i> (23 June 1842), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31736313 .
93.	1841-04-12	GAUTROT, Joseph (France 1775-1854) {1839-54}	Overture a la Melbourne (for band and orchestra).		Gautrot concert in Melbourne, 12 April 1841; see Brisbane, <i>Entertaining Australia</i> , 36.

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94.	1841-06-08 NATHAN, Isaac (England 1792-1864) {1841-64}	<p>① Long Live Victoria (“a New National Air, (to be) Sung by Mrs. Bushelle, at the Oratorio in the Cathedral of Sydney. Words by W. A. Duncan”);</p> <p>② Long Live Victoria! (“A National Anthem for voice and chorus, with full orchestral accompaniments”).</p>	<p>① [Sydney: For I. Nathan by Francis Ellard, 1841];</p> <p>② Sydney: For I. Nathan by J. R. Clarke [after 1856].</p>	<p>① Not in Trove; possibly copy at SL-NSW: http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/record=b2015824~S2;</p> <p>② Copy at NLA, and 2 copies at University of NSW Library; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16494434.</p>	<p>[Advertisement]: “ORATORIO. MR. NATHAN [...]”, <i>Australasian Chronicle</i> (5 June 1841), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31731940;</p> <p>[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (8 June 1841), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2553546; “REVIEW: LONG LIVE VICTORIA”, <i>The Sydney Herald</i> (19 June 1841), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12869718; “ORATORIO”, <i>The Sydney Herald</i> (2 July 1841), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28651702;</p> <p>“Original Poetry: NEW NATIONAL MELODY”, <i>Australasian Chronicle</i> (24 June 1841), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31732115;</p> <p>[Advertisement]: “AUSTRALIAN MELODIES”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (27 August 1842), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12408146 [later advertisement for the series of “Australian Melodies”].</p> <p>Nathan appears not have made public in Sydney, however, that the music was essentially that of a much earlier – new national air!, <i>Long Live our Monarch</i>, for William IV, which he had published in London, also “with full orchestra accompaniments”; my thanks to Dr Graham Pont for this information; a copy of <i>Long Live our Monarch</i> (words: H.W. Montagu, published London, 1830) is at British Library Music Collections H.1678.(7.) [004549126].</p>
95.	1841-06-30 NATHAN, Isaac (England 1792-1864) {1841-64}	A New Overture (“composed for the occasion”).			[Advertisement]: “ORATORIO”, <i>The Sydney Herald</i> (30 June 1841), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12869906 .
96.	1841-08-04 NATHAN, Isaac (England 1792-1864) {1841-64}	Selection (including “Favourite pieces serious and comic from the operas of <i>The Illustrious Stranger</i> , <i>The Alcaid</i> , <i>Birds without Feathers</i> , and <i>Sweethearts and Wives</i> ”).	VARIOUS.	VARIOUS.	[Advertisement]: “ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE”, <i>The Sydney Herald</i> (4 August 1841), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12870383 .

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97.	1841-09-10 NATHAN, Isaac (England 1792-1864) {1841-64}	’Tis true that all the world must live (“A new Australian Glee”; lost original MS version, 1841); Humbug (“composed and inscribed to all professors of the art by I. Nathan”).	Sydney: William Moffit, 1845.	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/15065885 .	“NATHAN’S NEW AUSTRALIAN GLEE”, <i>The Sydney Herald</i> (10 September 1841), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12871057 ; “THE AUSTRALIAN HARMONIC CLUB”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (16 June 1845), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12880280 ; “THE AUSTRALIAN HARMONIC CLUB”, <i>The Weekly Register</i> 5/99 (14 June 1845), 287: http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18450614/e0050099/9-12.pdf ; “MUSIC AND THE THEATRE”, <i>The Atlas</i> 1/28 (29 March 1845), 211: http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/1440365x/18450329/00010018/7-8.pdf . “MUSIC AND MUSICIANS”, <i>The Atlas</i> 1/29 (5 April 1845), 223: http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/1440365x/18450405/00010019/7-8.pdf [a letter from Nathan, explaining the circumstances of the composition, its loss, and late publication]; [Advertisement]: “THIS DAY IS PUBLISHED” <i>The Australian</i> (25 March 1845), 2: ; http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37156729 “NEW MUSIC”, <i>The Weekly Register</i> 4/87 (29 March 1845), 147: http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18450329/00040088/1-4.pdf ; also advertisement in same issue, 155: http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18450329/00040088/9-12.pdf .
98.	1841-09-17 STUBBS, Thomas (Australia c.1803-1878); NATHAN, Isaac (arr.) (England 1792-1864) {1841-64}	Lady O’Connell’s Waltz (“its arrangement due to the kindness of Mr. Nathan”).	Sydney: H.C. Jervis, [1841].	Copy at SL-NSW; Permalink: http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/record=b3320017~S2 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/37498906 .	“NEW MUSIC”, <i>Morning Chronicle</i> (17 September 1845), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31746343 ; “NEW MUSIC: <i>Lady O’Connell’s Waltz</i> , by Thomas Stubbs. Sydney, 1845”, <i>The Weekly Register</i> 5/ 113 (20 September 1845), 135: http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18450920/00050113/1-4.pdf ; [Advertisement], “NEW MUSIC, JUST PUBLISHED”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (23 September 1845), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12882357 ; [Letter]: “To the Editors”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (23 September 1845), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12882346 .
99.	1841-09-18 LEGGATT, Thomas (arr.) (Ireland c.1791-1846) {1839-46}	Molly Carew (“The Characteristic Irish Ballad [...] with Orchestral Accompaniments by Mr. Leggatt”).			[Advertisement]: “CONCERT”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (18 September 1841), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2554493 .
100.	1841-10-21 NATHAN, Isaac (England 1792-1864) {1841-64}	Drink and a Fig for All Sorrow (“A new composition”; “Song” and “glee to the same words composed for the Sydney Harmonic Club”).			“NEW MUSIC”, <i>Australasian Chronicle</i> (21 October 1841), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31733170 ; “Mr. Nathan’s Concert”, <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (30 October 1841), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2554858 .; also “NATHAN’S GRAND CONCERT”, <i>Australasian Chronicle</i> (28 October 1841), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31733245 .

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101.	1841-10-41	NATHAN, Isaac (<i>England</i> 1792-1864) {1841-64}	The Aboriginal Mother (words: Mrs. E. H. Dunlop) (“Australian Melodies No 1”).	[Sydney]: [I. Nathan], [1842].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/24305488 .	“THE ABORIGINAL MOTHER”, <i>The Sydney Herald</i> (15 October 1841), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12871688 ; [Advertisement]: “NEW MUSIC. THIS DAY IS PUBLISHED”, <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (20 January 1842), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2555555 ; “NEW MUSIC”, <i>The Sydney Herald</i> (22 January 1842), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12873433 ; “NEW MUSIC”, <i>Australasian Chronicle</i> (22 January 1842), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31734813 ; [Advertisement]: “AUSTRALIAN MELODIES”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (27 August 1842), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12408146 [later advertisement for the series of “Australian Melodies”].
102.	1841-11-04	MARSH, Stephen (<i>England</i> ?1805-1888) {1842-46; 1849-72}	The Gentleman in Black (opera).			
103.	1842~	MARSH, Stephen (<i>England</i> ?1805-1888) {1842-46; 1849-72}	Improvisation on the harp (during a storm at sea on the <i>Edward Paget</i>).			On Marsh’s voyage out to Australia (arrived Sydney, 14 February 1842), as recalled by his fellow passenger, the explorer Leichhardt; see Ludwig Leichhardt, letter to C. Shlmalfuss (21 October 1847), in M. Arousseau (ed.), <i>The Letters of F.W. Ludwig Leichhardt</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), vol. 3, 960 (translation 965).
104.	1842~	MARSH, Stephen (<i>England</i> ?1805-1888) {1842-46; 1849-72}	Cantata ‘Ere yet I left my Father Land.			Composed on the voyage; arrived Sydney, 14 February 1842; [Leaflet insert], <i>Arden’s Sydney Magazine of Politics and General Literature</i> 1/2 (October 1843), supplement: http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/1329962x/18431000/soo10002/1-5.pdf .
105.	1842~	MARSH, Stephen (<i>England</i> ?1805-1888) {1842-46; 1849-72}	Chorus of Emigrants—The Voyager’s Evening Song (words: Capt. A.J. Tait).			Composed on the voyage; arrived Sydney, 14 February 1842; Tait was captain of the <i>Paget</i> ; [Leaflet insert], <i>Arden’s Sydney Magazine of Politics and General Literature</i> 1/2 (October 1843), supplement: http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/1329962x/18431000/soo10002/1-5.pdf .
106.	1842-02-07	NATHAN, Isaac (<i>England</i> 1792-1864) {1841-64}	The Eagle Chief (An Aboriginal Melody; words: Mrs. E. H. Dunlop) (“Australian Melodies No 2”).	[Sydney]: [Nathan], [1842].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/24305549 .	[Advertisement]: “NEW MUSIC [...] In a few days will appear [...]”, <i>The Sydney Herald</i> (7 February 1842), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12873585 ; “NEW MUSIC”, <i>Australasian Chronicle</i> (16 April 1842), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31735630 ; “NEW MUSIC”, <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (16 April 1842), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2556255 ; “NEW MUSIC”, <i>The Sydney Herald</i> (18 April 1842), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12874750 ; [Advertisement], <i>Australasian Chronicle</i> (28 April 1842), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31735736 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (7 May 1842), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2556439 ; [Advertisement]: “AUSTRALIAN MELODIES”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (27 August 1842), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12408146 [later advertisement for the series of “Australian Melodies”].

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107.	1842-02-14 MARSH, Stephen (<i>England</i> ?1805-1888) {1842-46; 1849-72}	The Parting Hour (“The words by Capt. A. J. Tait, the Music composed on board the <i>Sir Edward Paget</i> , on her Voyage to Sydney, and dedicated to Mrs. A. J. Tait”).	Sydney: Francis Ellard, [1842].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16444716 .	Composed on Marsh’s voyage to Sydney on the <i>Sir Edward Paget</i> , the words by the ship’s master, Captain A.J. Tait [dated here his arrival Sydney, 14 February 1842]; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Herald</i> (7 March 1842), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12874063 ; “CONCERT”, <i>The Sydney Herald</i> (11 March 1842), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12874132 ; although no advertisement has been found for Ellard’s print, a date of early 1842 remains most likely.
108.	1842-02-14 MARSH, Stephen (<i>England</i> ?1805-1888) {1842-46; 1849-72}	The Paget Quadrilles (“composed on board the <i>Sir Edward Paget</i> , on her voyage to Sydney. Dedicated to Capt[ai]n A.J. Tait”).	Sydney: Francis Ellard, [1842].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/31318825 .	Composed on Marsh’s voyage to Sydney on the <i>Sir Edward Paget</i> , and dedicated to the ship’s master, Captain A.J. Tait [dated here to his arrival Sydney, 14 February 1842]; though no advertisement has been found for either a performance of the work or for Ellard’s print, a date of early 1842 remains most likely; note the image of the ship, by Edward Winstanley, on the illustrated cover; see Colin Laverty, Joan Kerr, “Edward Winstanley” [1820-1849], <i>DAAO</i> : http://www.daa0.org.au/main/read/6690 .
109.	1842-02-26 ANONYMOUS	The Australian Waltz.			The toast to “The Currency Lads and Lasses” was answered by the air <i>The Australian Waltz</i> , possibly Stubbs’s <i>Australian Jubilee Waltz</i> ; “AUSTRALIAN GRAND LODGE OF THE INDEPENDENT ORDER OF ODD FELLOWS”, <i>The Australian</i> (26 February 1842), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36850226 ; “AUSTRALIAN GRAND LODGE OF THE INDEPENDENT ORDER OF ODD FELLOWS”, <i>The Australian</i> (1 March 1843), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37113900 .
110.	1842-03-01 HOWSON, John (<i>England</i> c.1819-1871) {1842-71}	When I was in that happy place (song).			[Advertisement], <i>Colonial Times</i> (1 March 1842), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8752471 .
111.	1842-03-02 GAUTROT, Joseph (<i>France</i> 1775-1854) {1839-54}	Air varié (for violin solo).			[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Herald</i> (2 March 1842), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12873969 .
112.	1842-03-19 ELLARD, Frederick (<i>Ireland</i> 1824-1874) {1832-74}	Swiss Air with Variations for the Piano Forte. Frederick Ellard. Op. 1.	Sydney: Francis Ellard, [1842].	Copy at SL-NSW (Q780.4/Mu4).	“MUSIC”, <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (19 March 1842), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2556033 ; [News], <i>The Australian</i> (19 March 1842), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36850153 ; “Music”, <i>The Sydney Herald</i> (5 April 1842), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12874536 .
113.	1842-03-19 ELLARD, Frederick (<i>Ireland</i> 1824-1874) {1832-74}	Woodland Call. Arr. By Fred[erick]k Ellard (piano) (one number only of Francis Ellard’s series “The Child’s Friend. A series of Familiar Melodies Written expressly [for] the Young Pupil”).	Sydney: Francis Ellard, [c.1842?].	Copy at SL-NSW (Q780.4/Mu4).	Not positively dateable; but a date reasonably proximate to the above work, whether before or after the above work, Frederick Ellard’s “Op.1”, seems likely; see also Francis Ellard’s undated edition of Rodwell’s song <i>Woodland Call</i> ; copy at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/32366967 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
114.	1842-04-04	DUNCAN, William Augustine (Scotland 1811-1885) {1837-85}	Adoro te devoto (“adapted to [...] the prayer in Rossini’s <i>Moise in Egito</i> ”).	Sydney: [for W. A. Duncan], [1842].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	“NEW MUSIC”, <i>The Sydney Herald</i> (4 April 1842), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12874514 ; “NEW MUSIC”, <i>Australasian Chronicle</i> (5 April 1842), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31735508 ; and [Advertisement], same issue, 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31735517 ; “MUSIC”, <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (5 April 1842), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2556163 ; “NEW MUSIC—JUST PUBLISHED: <i>ADORO TE DEVOTE</i> ”, <i>The Australian</i> (5 April 1842), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36849731 ; see also, “Sydney Philharmonic Society”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (11 July 1855), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12971591 .
115.	1842-05-04	NAGEL, Charles (Germany ?-?) {fl.1840-50}	The Mock Catalani in Little Puddleton (“Musical Burletta”; “Musical Extravaganza”; first performance on 4 May 1842 only billed “ <i>The Sham Catalani</i> ”).	[Sydney: T. Rolfe, 1842] (“All the Songs”); [Sydney: James Tegg, 1842] (libretto).	Individual published songs see below; Copy of libretto at British Library, HSS 1344.k.8.	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Herald</i> (4 May 1842), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12874994 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (7 May 1842), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2556440 [with list of numbers]; “Theatricals”, <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (12 May 1842), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2556469 ; “Theatrical Examiner”, <i>The New South Wales Examiner</i> (11 May 1842), [3]: http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402203/18420511/00000012/3-3.pdf ; [Advertisement], “MUSIC”, <i>Australasian Chronicle</i> (10 May 1842), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31735875 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Herald</i> (19 May 1842), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12875245 ; “This day is published [...] All the Songs”; “NEW MUSIC”, <i>Australasian Chronicle</i> (12 May 1842), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31735901 ; “CHARLES NAGEL, ESQ. AND THE <i>MOCK CATALANI</i> ”, <i>Australasian Chronicle</i> (21 May 1842), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31735982 ; “LITERATURE”, <i>Australasian Chronicle</i> (9 June 1842), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31736177 ; the management advertised “new songs” when the work was revived in May-June 1843, their non-appearance duly commented on in the press; see [Advertisement]: “ROYAL CITY THEATRE”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (29 May 1843), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12427124 ; “THEATRICALS”, <i>The Australian</i> (2 June 1843), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37115286 .
116.	1842-05-04	NAGEL, Charles (Germany ?-?) {fl.1840-50}	A Sensitive Plant (aria; words) from <i>The Mock Catalani</i> .	[Sydney: T. Rolfe, 1842].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	“NEW MUSIC”, <i>Australasian Chronicle</i> (14 May 1842), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31735908 .
117.	1842-05-04	NAGEL, Charles (Germany ?-?) {fl.1840-50}	It was but a dream (song) from <i>The Mock Catalani</i> .	[Sydney: T. Rolfe, 1842].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	“NEW MUSIC”, <i>Australasian Chronicle</i> (14 May 1842), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31735908 .
118.	1842-05-04	NAGEL, Charles (Germany ?-?) {fl.1840-50}	The Pretty Bark Hut in the Bush (song) from <i>The Mock Catalani</i> .	[Sydney: T. Rolfe, 1842].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	“NEW MUSIC”, <i>Australasian Chronicle</i> (14 May 1842), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31735908 .
119.	1842-05-04	NAGEL, Charles (Germany ?-?) {fl.1840-50}	Wellington (song) from <i>The Mock Catalani</i> .	[Sydney: T. Rolfe, 1842].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement], “New Music”, <i>The Sydney Herald</i> (6 June 1842), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12875568 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
120.	1842-05-21	MARSH, Stephen (<i>England</i> ?1805-1888) {1842-46; 1849-72}	Third Grand Melange for the Harp (“introducing VIVI TU, a MARCH of Beethoven, Ivanhoff’s celebrated song of OH CHE IN CIELO, and the favourite DUET from Donizetti’s opera of Belisario; also selections from some of the most favourite operas and composers for the harp and pianoforte”).		[Advertisement]: “SUBSCRIPTION CHAMBER CONCERTS”, <i>The Sydney Herald</i> (18 May 1842), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12875241 ; “MR. NATHAN’S CONCERT”, <i>The Sydney Herald</i> (30 May 1842), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12875453 ; “ORIGINAL. CORRESPONDENCE: CONCERT. To the Editor”, <i>The Australian</i> (31 May 1842), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37115169 ; “Mr. Marsh’s Melange on the harp, was a treat of its kind [...]”; this work had appeared on an 1841 concert program at Galway, “CONCERT BILL EXTRAORDINARY”, <i>The Musical World</i> 16 (1841), 211: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=OhAtAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA211&dq=#v=onepage&q&f=false .	
121.	1842-05-24	NATHAN, Isaac (<i>England</i> 1792-1864) {1841-64}	<p>① Koorinda Braia; (“an Aboriginal Native Song, put into rhythm, harmonised, and inscribed to Mrs. E. Deas Thomson, by I. Nathan. Sydney. 1842.”) (Australian Melodies No 4”);</p> <p>② Koorinda Braia (“we must now conclude our examples and illustratuins of aboriginal airs, with a new edition of KOO-RIN-DA-BRAI-A; which may be thought acceptable, since it is a melody as popular and as well known to every Australian, as God Save the Queen to every Englishman”).</p>	<p>① [Sydney]: [I. Nathan]: [1842];</p> <p>② In Isaac Nathan, <i>The Southern Euphrosyne</i> (Sydney: W. & F. Ford, for I. Nathan, [1848]), 127-32.</p>	<p>① Copy at NLA, without cover; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/21236841;</p> <p>② Copy at NLA; online: http://www.nla.gov.au/apps/cdview?pi=nla.mus-an6427468-s137-e; Trove Bookmark (<i>Southern Euprosyne</i>): http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/6685469 (NB: corrected year of publication).</p>	<p>[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (24 May 1842), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2556557: “A genuine Aboriginal Melody, sung by the Maneroo tribe of Australia—presented to Mr. Nathan, by a highly respectable merchant of this Colony, and its authenticity identified and fully established by several native blacks”;</p> <p>① “NEW MUSIC”, <i>Australasian Chronicle</i> (2 July 1842), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31736395; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (27 August 1842), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12408146;</p> <p>② [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (1 November 1847), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12892185: “THE OVERTURE TO NATHAN’S NEW OPERA DON JOHN OF AUSTRIA. THE SOUTHERN EUPHROSYNE, AND LADY’S MAGAZINE, will be ready for circulation the 1st of January, 1848 [...] the publishers, Messrs. W. and F. Ford, where names will be received until the 20th of December; the subscription list must then close.”</p>
122.	1842-05-24	NATHAN, Isaac (<i>England</i> 1792-1864) {1841-64}	An Extemporaneous Capriccio (“modulating in the Major and Minor modes through thirty different keys” [sic]).		[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (24 May 1842), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2556557 .	
123.	1842-05-24	MARSH, Stephen (<i>England</i> ?1805-1888) {1842-46; 1849-72}	A Grand Melange for the Harp (“introducing <i>Farewell to the Mountain, Oh come Nascondere</i> , and his national air, <i>Queen of merry England</i> ”).		[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (24 May 1842), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2556557 .	
124.	1842-05-26	DUNCAN, William Augustine (<i>Scotland</i> 1811-1885) {1837-85}	Kyrie Eleison (“adapted to a morceau in A minor of Karl Heinrich Graun, and arranged for four voices and chorus, with An Accompaniment for the Organ or Pianoforte, by W. A. Duncan”).	Sydney: W. A. Duncan, [1842].	Copy at SL-NSW; Permalink: http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/record=b2198584~S2 ; online: http://acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/album/albumView.aspx?itemID=852717&acmsid=0 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/17314438 .	[Acknowledgement], <i>The Australian</i> (26 May 1842), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37116817 ; “New Music”, <i>The Sydney Herald</i> (30 May 1842), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12875453 ; [Advertisement]: “SACRED MUSIC. Just published”, <i>Australasian Chronicle</i> (9 June 1842), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31736168 ; [Advertisement], <i>Australasian Chronicle</i> (23 June 1842), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31736313 [also quotes review from the <i>Observer</i>].

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
125.	1842-06-02	MARSH, Stephen (<i>England</i> ?1805-1888) {1842-46; 1849-72}	The Spirit of Music (Cantata) (words: Mrs. George Trevelyan).	[London: ?, 1837].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement]: “PROGRAMME”, <i>The Australian</i> (2 June 1842), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37116326 ; on the English edition, see: “REVIEW: Spirit of Music. A Cantata. Poetry by Mrs. George Trevelyan, and the music composed by S. H. A. March [sic]”, <i>The Musical Record</i> 7/82 (6 October 1837), 60: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=EgkVAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA60#v=0&nepage&q&f=false ; according to Basil Walsh, <i>Catherine Hayes, 1818-1861: The Hibernian Prima Donna</i> (Irish Academic Press, 2000), 25, Catherine Hayes sang Marsh’s <i>Spirit of Music</i> for him at a concert at the Rotunda Rooms, Dublin, 20 April 1841.
126.	1842-06-23	DUNCAN, William Augustine (<i>Scotland</i> 1811-1885) {1837-85}	“A Mass”; “In the press, Gloria in Excelsis Deo , from Mozart, with an easy, compressed accompaniment. Also a complete Vespers service ”.	[Sydney: W. A. Duncan, 1842 ?].	NO COPIES IDENTIFIED (but may never have been issued).	[Advertisement], same issue, 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31735517 ; [Advertisement], <i>Australasian Chronicle</i> (23 June 1842), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31736313 ; Duncan continued to run the latter advertisement in each issue into early July.
127.	1842-07-04	NATHAN, Isaac (<i>England</i> 1792-1864) {1841-64}	Mable Macmahon (“An Australian Melody”; words: Mrs. E.H. Dunlop) (“Australian Melodies No 3”).	Sydney: I. Nathan, [1842].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16497075 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Herald</i> (4 July 1842), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12876006 ; [Advertisement]: “AUSTRALIAN MELODIES. AUSTRALIAN AND ABORIGINAL MELODIES, BY NATHAN”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (27 August 1842), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12408146 .
128.	1842-08-02	WALLACE, Spencer Wellington (<i>Ireland</i> ?-?) {1836-after 1851}	Salathiel, or The Wandering Jew (play by Conrad Knowles; “the new and original music by Mr. S. W. Wallace”).			[Advertisement]: “ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE”, <i>Australasian Chronicle</i> (2 August 1842), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31736718 ; “Theatricals”, <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (11 August 1842), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2557104 ; Knowles’s script was published in November, and survives, see [Advertisement], <i>Australasian Chronicle</i> (12 November 1842), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31737847 ; copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/22092351 .
129.	1842-08-02	LEGGATT, Thomas (arr.) (<i>Ireland</i> c.1791-1846) {1839-46}	The Death of Nelson [Braham] (“the celebrated Song [...] arranged for a full Orchestra, by Mr. Leggatt”).			[Advertisement]: “ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE”, <i>Australasian Chronicle</i> (2 August 1842), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31736718 .
130.	1842-08-09	NATHAN, Isaac (<i>England</i> 1792-1864) {1841-64}	Star of the South (“An Australian National Melody”; words: Mrs. E.H. Dunlop) (“Australian Melodies No 5”).	Sydney: [Composer], [1842].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/15080814 .	“New Music”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (9 August 1842), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12419051/1521485 ; “NEW MUSIC”, <i>Australasian Chronicle</i> (11 August 1842), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31736838 ; [Advertisement]: “AUSTRALIAN MELODIES. AUSTRALIAN AND ABORIGINAL MELODIES, BY NATHAN”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (27 August 1842), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12408146 .
131.	1842-08-16	GAUTROT, Joseph (<i>France</i> 1775-1854) {1839-54}	Russian Air with variations: a Sestett (for Piano-forte, two Violins, two flutes, Violoncello, and Double Bass).			[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (16 August 1842), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2557136 ; “M. GAUTROT’S CONCERT”, <i>Australasian Chronicle</i> (18 August 1842), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31736909 . Neidorf, <i>A Guide</i> , mentions a performance of this work in Melbourne in April 1841.

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data
132.	1842-08-16	GAUTROT, Joseph (France 1775-1854) {1839-54}	Septett (for Pianoforte, two Violins, two Flutes, Violoncello, and Double Bass) (“composed, we believe, for the occasion”).		[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (16 August 1842), 3: “M. GAUTROT’S CONCERT”, <i>Australasian Chronicle</i> (18 August 1842), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31736909 .
133.	1842-08-26	HOWSON, John (England c.1819-1871) {1842-71}	A New Pas Seul (“the music composed by Mr. J. Howson”).		[Advertisement], <i>The Courier</i> (26 August 1842), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2953843 .
134.	1842-10-28	DEANE, John, junior (England 1815-1893) {1822-93}	What is Love? (ballad; “a maiden composition, by Mr. J. Deane”).	[Sydney: Francis Ellard, 1842].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED. “New Music”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (28 October 1842), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12408241 ; “NEW MUSIC”, <i>Australasian Chronicle</i> (29 October 1842), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31737690 ; [Advertisement]: “NEW MUSIC”, <i>The Courier</i> (18 November 1842), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2953525 ; “Deaths”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (14 March 1893), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13900909 .
135.	1842-12-08	WORGAN, George W. (England ?-?) {1838-51?}	How Sweet Those Tuneful Bells (cantata; “written & composed by G.W.Worgan”) (“Respectfully dedicated to The Very Reverend F. Murphy”).	Sydney: Francis Ellard, [1842].	Copy at SL-QLD; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/8773540 .
136.	1842-12-16	ELLARD, Frederick (Ireland 1824-1874) {1832-74}	The Sydney Corporation Quadrilles (“Dedicated by Permission to Mrs. John Hosking” [first lady mayoress of Sydney]).	Sydney: Francis Ellard, [1842].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/18822147 .
137.	1842-12-16	HOWSON, John (England c.1819-1871) {1842-71}	A New Characteristic Venetian Furlana (“the Music composed by Mr. J. Howson”).		[Advertisement], <i>The Courier</i> (16 December 1842), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2953432 .
138.	1842-12-21	NATHAN, Isaac (England 1792-1864) {1841-64}	Australia the wide and the free! (“A National Song [...] as sung at the great Civic Dinner, December 21 st , 1842 [...] respectfully inscribed to The Right Worshipful John Hosking”; words: W. A. Duncan).	Sydney: Nathan, [1843].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16495344 . “THE MAYOR’S BANQUET”, <i>The Australian</i> (23 December 1842), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37118118 ; “NEW PUBLICATIONS”, <i>Australasian Chronicle</i> (31 December 1842), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31738426 ; “THE CIVIC SONG”, <i>The Australian</i> (2 January 1843), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37114961 ; [Advertisement]: “THIS DAY is published”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (21 January 1843), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12417181 .
139.	1842-12-21	ANONYMOUS	Currency Lasses.		“THE MAYOR’S FEAST”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (22 December 1842), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12412355 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
140.	1842-12-29	ANONYMOUS	Australian Air (played by “a portion of the band of the 80th regiment” to the toast “the Land we live in”).		“MASONIC”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (29 December 1842), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12420773 .	
141.	1843-00-00	ANONYMOUS	11 [Australian] National Country Dances (piano) [named after Sydney ladies] (in issues Nos 4 [1-9] and 5 [10-11] of 5 number series <i>Ellard's National Country Dances for 1843</i>); (1 Lady Gipps; 2 Lady Franklin; 3 Lady O'Connell; 4 Lady Wilmot; 5 Lady Dowling; 6 Lady Forbes; 7 Lady Mitchel[]; 8 Mrs. E. D. Thompson; 9 Mrs. Riddell; 10 Mrs. Burton; 11 Mrs. Stephens).	Sydney: Francis Ellard, 1843.	Copy at SL-NSW (Q786.4/Mu3; attributed to “Frederick Ellard” in card catalogue, but nowhere on the prints).	It is not implausible that some or all of these 11 items may have been arranged, or even composed, in Sydney by Francis and/or Frederick Ellard; however, it is perhaps just as likely that these were existing imported dance tunes, renamed for local identities.
142.	1843-01-19	NATHAN, Isaac (<i>England</i> 1792-1864) {1841-64}	The Aboriginal Father (“A Native Song of the Maneroo Tribe. Versified from the original words [...] by Mrs. E. H. Dunlop. The melody, as sung by the Aborigines, put into rhythm, and harmonized with appropriate Symphonies & Accompaniments, Respectfully inscribed to The Lady Mayoress”).	Sydney: T. Bluett, [1843].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16497064 .	A treatment of the same melody as, and very probably sourced directly from, Lhotsky's A Song of the Women of the Menero Tribe (1834, see above), as W. A. Duncan noted in the <i>Australian Chronicle</i> : “The melody is not here published for the first time. It was given to the world some years ago by Dr. Lhotsky, but in a very unattractive state, from the absurd harmonies with which it was accompanied. Those who have seen it before will barely recognise it now, and they will be very agreeably surprised at the metamorphosis it has undergone”; “NEW MUSIC”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (19 January 1843), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12411279 ; “NEW PUBLICATION”, <i>Australasian Chronicle</i> (19 January 1843), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31738598 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (21 January 1843), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12417181 ; “THE ABORIGINAL FATHER”, <i>The Australian</i> (27 January 1843), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37116848 ; “A Poem [...]”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (25 February 1843), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article27444047 .
143.	1843-03-06	LEGGATT, Thomas (arr.) (<i>Ireland</i> c.1791-1846) {1839-46}	Together let us range the field (“Duet, Clarionet and Tenor, [Boyce] arranged by T. Leggatt”) (performed by Leggatt and Gautrot).		[Advertisement]: “GRAND CONCERT”, <i>The Australian</i> (6 March 1843), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37117105 .	
144.	1843-03-13	ANONYMOUS; [? DEERING, Mr.]	A Conversation between the South Head and the Statue of Governor Bourke (“a new and original Chaunt [sung by] Mr. Deering”).		[Advertisement]: “ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (13 March 1843), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28650883 .	

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data
145.	1843-03-24	GIBBS, John (England ?-1875) {1843-75}	A New Set of Irish Quadrilles (composed for this occasion, introducing the airs of <i>Captain Casey</i> , <i>St. Patrick Was a Gentleman</i> , and <i>Morgiana in Ireland</i> , &c. &c.).		[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (24 March 1843), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12421450 .
146.	1843-03-24	GIBBS, John (England ?-1875) {1843-75}	The Lord of the Manor (The Comic Opera [...] the whole of the music arranged and partly composed by Mr. Gibbs; Hark! Hark! the merry Peal (Duet): Our sex is Capricious (song), both “composed by Mr. Gibbs”).		[Advertisement]: “ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (24 March 1843), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12421450 .
147.	1843-04-21	COPPIN, George (England 1819-1906) {1843-1906}	Billy Barlow (“ <i>Billy Barlow’s Visit to Sydney</i> [...] As Sung by Mr. Coppin, at the Royal Victoria Theatre. Arranged for the Piano Forte [...] Arranged by George Coppin”).	Sydney: Thomas Rolfe, 1843.	Copy at SL-NSW: http://acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/album/albumView.aspx?itemID=852867&acmsid=0 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9624798 .
148.	1843-05-27	SIMMONS, Joseph (England 1810?-1893) {1830-32; 34-93}	An Extemporaneous Song in the character of Billy Barlow.		[Advertisement]: “ROYAL CITY THEATRE”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (27 May 1843), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12412302 .
149.	1843-05-29	NAGEL, Charles (Germany ?-?) {fl.1840-50}	Maid of Castile (additional song in revival of <i>The Mock Catalani</i> ; “sung by Mrs. Wallace and composed expressly for her by C. Nagle, Esq.”).		[Advertisement]: “ROYAL CITY THEATRE”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (29 May 1843), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12427124 .
150.	1843-05-29	NAGEL, Charles (Germany ?-?) {fl.1840-50}	Little Girls and Boys (additional song in revival of <i>The Mock Catalani</i> ; for Mrs. Ximenes).		[Advertisement]: “ROYAL CITY THEATRE”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (29 May 1843), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12427124 .
151.	1843-06-13	SIMMONS, Joseph (England 1810?-1893) {1830-32; 34-93}	An Extemporaneous Song upon the Election.		[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (13 June 1843), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12424264 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (15 June 1843), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12420194 ; [Advertisement]: “ROYAL CITY THEATRE”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (27 May 1843), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12412302 .
152.	1843-06-28	STUBBS, Thomas (Australia c.1803-1878)	Corporation Waltz.		“ANNIVERSARY DINNER”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (28 January 1843), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12409506 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data
153.	1843-07-08 NATHAN, Isaac (England 1792-1864) {1841-64}	<u>Merry Freaks in Troublous Times</u> (“An Historical Operatic Drama in Two Acts, by Charles Nagel; the music composed by I. Nathan”) (vocal score).	Sydney: I. Nathan, [1851].	Copy at SL-NSW: http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/record=b2207917~S2 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/17739610 ; also copy at British Library.	[Advertisement]: New South Wales Magazine”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (8 July 1843), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12422491 ; “COLONIAL LITERATURE”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (26 September 1843), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12418559 ; “LITERARY REGISTER: Merry Freaks in Troublous Times”, <i>The Weekly Register</i> 1/9 (23 September, 1843), 132: http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18430923/00010009/9-12.pdf ; 133-34: http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18430923/00010009/13-16.pdf ; “MUSICAL REGISTER: The New Opera”, <i>The Weekly Register</i> 1/12 (14 October 1843), 171: http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18431014/00010012/1-4.pdf ; [Advertisement]: “AUSTRALIAN PHILHARMONIC CONCERTS”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (27 May 1844), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12417311 ; “THE PHILHARMONIC CONCERTS”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (31 May 1844), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12418529 .
154.	1843-07-08 NATHAN, Isaac (England 1792-1864) {1841-64}	<u>Sweet smiles and bright eyes</u> from <i>Merry Freaks in Troublous Times</i> .	Sydney: W. Baker, Hibernian Press, 1845.	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/15081225 .	[Advertisement], “MUSIC. JUST PUBLISHED”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (10 July 1845), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12880758 ; “ANOTHER TUNE”, <i>The Australian</i> (10 July 1845), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37156994 ; <i>The Weekly Register</i> 5/103 (12 July 1845), 15: http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18450712/00050103/1-4.pdf ; and advertisement 5 / 104 (19 July 1845), 36: http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18450719/00050104/13-13.pdf .
155.	1843-07-08 NATHAN, Isaac (England 1792-1864) {1841-64}	<u>Oh, for the Olden Time</u> from <i>Merry Freaks in Troublous Times</i> .	Sydney: W. Baker, Hibernian Press, 1845.	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16497619 .	[Advertisement]: “Just published”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (21 July 1845), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12881014 ; “NEW MUSIC”, <i>The Weekly Register</i> 5/105 (26 July 1845), 45-46: http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18450726/00050105/9-12.pdf ; “NEW MUSIC: Oh! For the Olden Time”, <i>The Australian</i> (14 August 1845), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37156354 .
156.	1843-07-08 NATHAN, Isaac (England 1792-1864) {1841-64}	<u>God save the Queen</u> from <i>Merry Freaks in Troublous Times</i> .	Isaac Nathan, <i>The First, Second, and Third of a Series of Lectures on the Theory and Practice of Music</i> (Sydney: W. Ford, 1846), 7.	Copy at NLA: http://www.nla.gov.au/apps/cdview?pi=nla.mus-an6426940-s15-v ; Trove Bookmark (<i>Lectures</i>):	“It is a stubborn fact that the most beautiful melody ever composed may be entirely destroyed by performing it with an unclassical bass [...] A striking instance of this fact occurs in the Opera of <i>Merry Freaks in Troublous Times</i> , composed in this colony (Sydney), in the plot of which King Charles II., quits England for the Continent. On his departure, <i>God Save the King</i> is performed, during the slow falling of the curtain; but to express the lament of the Loyalists at losing their beloved Monarch, the composer has given his own bass, which admits of harmony in the minor mode from beginning to end [...]” (Nathan, <i>Lectures</i> , 7: http://www.nla.gov.au/apps/cdview?pi=nla.mus-an6426940-s15-v).

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data
157.	1843-07-08 NATHAN, Isaac (England 1792-1864) {1841-64}	<p>① Overture (MS clarinet part) (Nathan autograph);</p> <p>② Overture to <i>Merry Freaks in Troublous Times</i>.</p>	② Sydney: I. Nathan, 1851.	<p>① At SL-NSW; Permalink: http://acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/item/itemDetailPaged.aspx?itemID=879309;</p> <p>② Copy at University of NSW Library; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/15074104.</p>	
158.	1843-07-11 HOWSON, Frank (England 1817-USA 1869) {1842-66}	Pas de Deux (“the Music selected and part composed by Mr. F. Howson”).			[Advertisement], <i>Colonial Times</i> (11 July 1843), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8753736 .
159.	1843-07-14 HOWSON, John (arr.) (England c.1819-1871) {1842-71}	The Fairy Lake, or The Magic Veil (“a New Grand Romantic Opera, in Three Acts”; libretto; Charles Selby) (“the Music by Auber, Herold, Boildieu, Marschner, and Rossini: the whole arranged by, Mr. John Howson”).			[Advertisement]: “ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE [...] MR. J. HOWSON’S BENEFIT”, <i>The Courier</i> (14 July 1843), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2952444 ; “MR. JOHN HOWSON’S BENEFIT”, <i>The Courier</i> (14 July 1843), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2952448 ; for a revival, see “VICTORIA THEATRE”, <i>Colonial Times</i> (18 February 1845), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8756181 ; Howson’s pastichio was based on Charles Selby, <i>The Fairy Lake; or, The magic veil: a romantic musical burletta, in three acts</i> (London: Duncombe, 1839), based on Auber’s opera <i>Lac de Fées</i> , opened at Drury Lane in May 1839; see [Editorial], <i>The Musical World</i> (16 May 1839), 33: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=IQkVAAAAQAAJ&pg=RA1-PA33&#v=onepage&q&f=false .
160.	1843-07-18 HOWSON, John (England c.1819-1871) {1842-71}	Tasmanian Waltzes [first series].	Hobart: For the author by J.A. Thomson, [1843].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/33256532 .	[Advertisement]: “NEW MUSIC”, <i>Colonial Times</i> (18 July 1843), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8753754 .
161.	1843-09-18 ANONYMOUS; [? FANNING, Edward (arr.) (d.1870)]	Billy Barlow in Australia (“an original song, [words] written by a Gentleman of Maitland” [Benjamin Griffin]).			[Advertisement], <i>The Maitland Mercury</i> (19 September 1843), 2s: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12421789 ; see also Billy Barlow [...] to which is now added, <i>Billy Barlow’s emigration to Australia</i> (London: Davidson, [185-?]); on Fanning, see “DEATH OF MR. EDWARD FANNING”, <i>The Maitland Mercury</i> (1 September 1870), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article18747822 ; words only: “AN ORIGINAL SONG”, <i>The Maitland Mercury</i> (24 December 1892), 5s: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article19018006 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
162.	1843-10-01	MARSH, Stephen (England ?1805-1888) {1842-46; 1849-72}	<p>① The New Waltzes, (“composed by Mr. Marsh for the Military Band of the 80th Regiment Military Band”);</p> <p>② The Australian Valse (“<i>Australian Valse Brillante, Op. 58</i> [...] composed for the opening of the Government House, Sydney”).</p>	<p>② London: T. Boosey, [1847 or 48].</p>	<p>Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/18861840.</p>	<p>“THE NEW GOVERNMENT HOUSE”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (25 May 1843), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12424524; “THE QUEEN’S BIRTH-DAY”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (25 May 1843), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12424511; [Leaflet insert]: “A Catalogue of the Musical Compositions of Mr. Marsh”, <i>Arden’s Sydney Magazine of Politics and General Literature</i> 1/2 (October 1843), supplement: http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/1329962x/18431000/s0010002/1-5.pdf; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (10 October 1843), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12409678; on tentatively dating this print: one of Marsh’s other English Boosey prints from these years, that of <i>Hail to Victoria</i> (see below), must date from 1848 at the latest in order for its London review to have been noted in the Australian press in May 1849; the cover illustration is based on an engraving of an original by the artist, John Skinner Prout, Marsh’s brother-in-law: see http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/15902888.</p>
163.	1843-10-14	MARSH, Stephen (arr.) (England ?1805-1888) {1842-46; 1849-72}	Overture to Auber’s Les Diaman’s De La Couronne (arr. for “Five New Grand Pianofortes and Three Harps”).		[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (14 October 1843), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12426119 .	
164.	1843-10-27	GAUTROT, Joseph (France 1775-1854) {1839-54}	The Chinese Quarilles [Hart] (“arranged by Monsieur Gautrot”).		[Advertisement], <i>The Courier</i> (27 October 1843), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2951958 ; later advertisement has “just imported”, probably “Hart’s Celebrated <i>Chinese Quadrilles</i> ”.	
165.	1843-11-07	HOWSON, John (England c.1819-1871) {1842-71}	Tasmanian Waltzes, Second Series.	[Hobart]: [Composer], [1853].	Copy at SL-TAS: http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=538232 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9854273 .	
166.	1843-12-19	GAUTROT, Joseph (France 1775-1854) {1839-54}	Overture (“composed expressly for this Theatre [...] with variations for all the instruments”).		[Advertisement], <i>Colonial Times</i> (19 December 1843), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8754328 .	
167.	1844-02-06	GAUTROT, Joseph (France 1775-1854) {1839-54}	Air, with Variations for the Violin on ONE STRING (“composed and performed by M. Gautrot [with] Pianoforte Accompaniment”).		[Advertisement], <i>Colonial Times</i> (6 February 1844), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8754507 .	
168.	1844-02-13	DEANE, John Philip (England 1796-1849) {1822-49}	Trio (for 2 violins and violoncello).		“MR. DEANE’S CONCERT”, <i>Colonial Times</i> (13 February 1844), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8754548 .	
169.	1844-03-15	DULY, George Frederick (Ireland? 1825-1847) {1839-47}	The Maid of Perth, Or The Rival Lovers (“an entirely new Comic Scotch Ballet, the music selected and arranged for the orchestra by Mr. G. F. Duly”).		[Advertisement] <i>Colonial Times</i> (13 February 1844), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8754537 .	

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170.	1844-03-15	DULY, George Frederick (Ireland? 1825-1847) {1839-47}	Pas de Trois (“the music arranged by Mr. G. F. Duly”).		[Advertisement], <i>The Courier</i> (15 March 1844), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2951315 .	
171.	1844-03-15	HOWSON, Francis senr (England 1794-1863) {1844-63}	Kate Kearney; or, The Fairy of the Lakes of Killarney [G. Alexander Lee] (“The whole of the Music arranged by Mr. Francis Howson, Senior”).		[Advertisement], <i>The Courier</i> (15 March 1844), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2951315 ; probably based on William Collier’s <i>Kate Kearney, or, The Fairy of the Lakes, A Musical Romance in Two Acts</i> (London: Samuel French, 1836).	
172.	1844-03-17	CLEARY, William (UK? ?-?) {1843-after 1859}	My loved my happy home (ballad).	<p>① [Sydney: W. A. Duncan, Weekly Register, 1844];</p> <p>② Sydney: G. Hudson, [1849?].</p>	<p>① NO COPY IDENTIFIED (if the two issues are, indeed, separate prints, which is by no means certain).</p> <p>② Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/24560929.</p>	<p>“LITERARY REGISTER: NEW MUSIC”, <i>The Weekly Register</i> 3/56 (17 August 1844), 85; [Advertisement], 88: http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18440817/00030056/9-12.pdf; [Advertisement], “CONCERT”, <i>The Australian</i> (31 October 1844), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37124042; [Advertisement]: “NEW MUSIC”, <i>The Courier</i> (14 April 1849), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2966237.</p>
173.	1844-03-19	GAUTROT, Joseph (France 1775-1854) {1839-54}	The Josephian Hymn (words: J. J. Therry; “Respectfully inscribed to The Most Reverend Count Polding, Archbishop of Sydney and Metropolitan of Australasia, Festival of St. Joseph, 1844”).	Hobart: T. Bluett, 1844.	Copy at Veech Library, Sydney; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/31195622 .	<p>[Advertisement], <i>Colonial Times</i> (19 March 1844), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8754696; “A new Hymn will be sung (for the first time) [...] by Madame Gautrot, which, with its musical arrangement by Monsieur Gautrot, is, in the course of a few days, to be lithographed, and afterwards sold for their benefit”; [Advertisement], <i>The Courier</i> (5 April 1844), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2951233; “SACRED MUSIC”, <i>The Courier</i> (5 April 1844), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2951222.</p>
174.	1844-04-03	NATHAN, Isaac (England 1792-1864) {1841-64}	Blessed is he who cometh in the name of the Lord (“the music composed expressly by him”).		“CONSECRATION OF THE NEW SYDNEY SYNAGOGUE”, <i>The Australian</i> (3 April 1844), 2-3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37118533 .	
175.	1844-04-03	NATHAN, Isaac (England 1792-1864) {1841-64}	A new Hallelujah Chorus (“composed expressly for the occasion by Mr. Nathan”).		“CONSECRATION OF THE NEW SYDNEY SYNAGOGUE”, <i>The Australian</i> (3 April 1844), 2-3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37118533 .	
176.	1844-04-06	ANDERSON, James Henri (England 1823-1879) {1842-79}	The Lays of the Hebrews (“A Selection of Hebrew Melodies as Sung at the Consecration of the Sydney Synagogue [...] Arranged for the Piano Forte by J.H. Anderson”); (1 Psalm 91 [by Matthew Moss (England 1795-1868)]; 2 Psalm 24 [Matthew Moss]); 3 Awake! Awake!; 4 Come my beloved).	Sydney: Francis Ellard, [1844].	Copy at SL-NSW; Permalink: http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/record=b2140776~S2 ; online: http://acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/album/albumView.aspx?itemID=846678&acmsid=0 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/23533289 .	<p>“CONSECRATION OF THE NEW SYDNEY SYNAGOGUE”, <i>The Australian</i> (3 April 1844), 2-3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37118533; “OPENING OF THE SYNAGOGUE”, <i>The Weekly Register</i> 2/37 (6 April 1844), 519: http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18440406/00020037/5-8.pdf; “ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE: HEBREW MELODIES: To the Editor”, <i>The Australian</i> (19 August 1844), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37120411. [Advertisement] <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (17 September 1844), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12418309; “THE LAYS OF THE HEBREWS”, <i>The Australian</i> (23 September 1844), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37119610; [Advertisement]: “CATALOGUE OF MUSIC AT GROCOTT’S”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (31 August 1850), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12920685.</p>

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data
177.	1844-04-26	DEANE, John Philip (England 1796-1849) {1822-49}	Trio on <i>Home, sweet home, and Hey, the bonnie breast knots</i> (for 2 Violins and Violoncello).		[Advertisement], <i>The Courier</i> (26 April 1844), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2951144 .
178.	1844-04-27	ANONYMOUS [? FANNING, Edward]	An Original Song (composed expressly for the occasion).		[Advertisement]: “The Maitland Amateur Theatre”, <i>The Maitland Mercury</i> (27 April 1844), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article666611 .
179.	1844-05-10	GAUTROT, Joseph (France 1775-1854) {1839-54}	Hymn (words: Madame Gautrot).		[Advertisement], <i>The Courier</i> (10 May 1844), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2951088 .
180.	1844-05-14	DEANE, John Philip (England 1796-1849) {1822-49}	Trio in which will be performed several favourite airs (for Two violins and violoncello).		[Advertisement], <i>Colonial Times</i> (14 May 1844), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8754873 .
181.	1844-05-22	MARSH, Stephen (England ?1805-1888) {1842-46; 1849-72}	Introduction, Thema and variations (“an early composition of his own”).		“COMMERCIAL READING ROOMS AND LIBRARY LECTURES”, <i>The Australian</i> (22 May 1844), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37119462 .
182.	1844-05-22	MARSH, Stephen (England ?1805-1888) {1842-46; 1849-72}	A new fantasia on the harp (“in which he introduced the favorite airs of <i>Love Not</i> , and <i>Billy Barlow</i> ”).		See above.
183.	1844-05-22	MARSH, Stephen (England ?1805-1888) {1842-46; 1849-72}	The Whale of the Southern Sea (“a new song [...] composed expressly for the occasion”).		See above.
184.	1844-05-22	MARSH, Stephen (England ?1805-1888) {1842-46; 1849-72}	Overture to <i>The Gentleman in Black</i> .		See above.
185.	1844-05-22	MARSH, Stephen (England ?1805-1888) {1842-46; 1849-72}	Fantasia for harp on <i>The Last Rose of Summer</i> .		See above.
186.	1844-06-01	ANONYMOUS [? FANNING, Edward]	An Original Song (“composed expressly for the occasion”).		[Advertisement]: “The Maitland Amateur Theatre”, <i>The Maitland Mercury</i> (1 June 1844), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article667027 .
187.	1844-07-10	NATHAN, Isaac (England 1792-1864) {1841-64}	War-goon-da min-ya-rah (“Aboriginal Melody sung by the Maneroo Tribes of Australia. Put into modern rhythm, harmonized and arranged, with characteristic additions”).	Isaac Nathan, <i>The Southern Euphrosyne</i> (Sydney: W. & F. Ford, for I. Nathan, [1848]), 118.	Copy at NLA; online: http://www.nla.gov.au/apps/cdview?pi=nla.mus-an6427468-s119-v ; Trove Bookmark (<i>Southern Euphrosyne</i>): http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/6685469 .
188.	1844-11-16	DULY, George Frederick (Ireland? 1825-1847) {1839-47}	What care I, tho' fortune frowns (ballad; for Madame Gautrot).		[Advertisement], <i>Colonial Times</i> (16 November 1844), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8755645 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
189.	1844-11-16	GAUTROT, Joseph (France 1775-1854) {1839-54}	Solo—Air and Variations (violin, “composed expressly for this occasion”).		[Advertisement], <i>Colonial Times</i> (16 November 1844), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8755645 .	
190.	1844-11-16	GAUTROT, Joseph (France 1775-1854) {1839-54}	Aria Nel cor non più mi sento [Paisiello] with variations (“composed by Mons. Gautrot for Mad. Gautrot”).		[Advertisement], <i>Colonial Times</i> (16 November 1844), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8755645 .	
191.	1845~ (?)	PURCHAS, Arthur {1845; 1846}	Anglican Chants.		MS: Sydney, Christ Church; edition: Forsyth: http://ses.library.usyd.edu.au/handle/2123/2447 .	
192.	1845-02-24	NATHAN, Isaac (England 1792-1864) {1841-64}	A Good Black Gin (song) (“An Australian Melody; poet, Lieut. J.W. Dent [...] Inscribed with great deference and profound respect, to the loyal subjects of his most gracious, highly accomplished, and revered, antipodal majesty, King Bungaree”).	Sydney: W. Moffitt, 1845.	Copy at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/17763288 ; copy at University of NSW Library; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/15607824 .	
193.	1845-03-11	GAUTROT, Joseph (France 1775-1854) {1839-54}	Violin solo, on one string, on the Air—Rendez moi ma Patrie.		“Mr. J. Howson’s Concert”, <i>Colonial Times</i> (11 March 1845), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8756325 .	
194.	1845-03-15	DEANE, John Philip (England 1796-1849) {1822-49}	Trio on The Last Rose of Summer and Garryowen (for 2 Violins and Violoncello).		[Advertisement]: “Second Concert”, <i>The Maitland Mercury</i> (15 March 1845), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article672416 .	
195.	1845-03-18	DEANE, John Philip (England 1796-1849) {1822-49}	Trio on The Portuguese Hymn [= <i>Adeste fidelis</i>] (for 2 Violins and Violoncello).		[Advertisement], “Oratorio—Sacred Music”, <i>The Maitland Mercury</i> (18 March 1845), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article672476 .	
196.	1845-05-03	MARSH, Stephen (England ?1805-1888) {1842-46; 1849-72}	God of our Father Land (words: John Rae; [? Op. 59]).	[Sydney: ? H.C. Jervis, 1845].	[Advertisement]: “IN A FEW DAYS WILL BE PUBLISHED”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (3 May 1845), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12879208 ; words only survive in: “THE MAYOR’S FANCY BALL: CANTO THE FOURTH [...] XXII”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (18 April 1845), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12878857 .	
197.	1845-05-03	MARSH, Stephen (England ?1805-1888) {1842-46; 1849-72}	<p>① Hail to Thee, Mighty One (“Song of Australia, and Chorus, Composed by S.H. Marsh, the poetry by John Rae, A.M.”) (“Op[us] 60”);</p> <p>② Hail to Victoria! Queen of the Ocean (“composed in Australia, and performed there as the national Australian anthem, and dedicated to its inhabitants by S.H. Marsh, Esqr. The words by John Rae, Esqr., Town Clerk, Sydney”).</p>	<p>① Sydney: H.C. Jervis, [1845];</p> <p>② London: T. Boosey, [1847 or 1848].</p>	<p>① Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/14950125;</p> <p>② Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/18861863.</p>	<p>① [Advertisement]: “IN A FEW DAYS WILL BE PUBLISHED”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (3 May 1845), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12879208; [Advertisement]: “THIS DAY IS PUBLISHED [...] THE NATIONAL SONG OF AUSTRALIA”, <i>The Australian</i> (2 August 1845), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37158229;</p> <p>② “THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL ANTHEM”, <i>The Argus</i> (22 May 1849), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4765785; see also Hannah Villiers Boyd, <i>A Voice from Australia: An Inquiry into the Probability of New Holland being Connected with the Prophecies Relating to New Jerusalem and the Spiritual Temple</i> (Sydney: Robert Barr, 1851), 31: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=SAIDAAAQAQAJ&pg=PA31#v=onepage&q&f=false.</p>

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data
198.	1845-05-17	DULY, George Frederick (arr.) (Ireland? 1825-1847) {1839-47}	Kate Kearney; Or, The Fairy Of The Lakes Of Killarney [G. Alexander Lee ?] (“the music was arranged with great care and skill by Mr. G.F. Duly”).		“The Theatre”, <i>Colonial Times</i> (17 May 1845), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8756787 ; see also [Advertisement], <i>Colonial Times</i> (13 May 1845), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8756757 .
199.	1845-05-27	GAUTROT, Joseph (France 1775-1854) {1839-54}	Grand New Air with Variations (for the Violin by Gautrot).		[Advertisement] “Royal Victoria Theatre”, <i>Colonial Times</i> (27 May 1845), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8756853 .
200.	1845-06-10	NATHAN, Isaac (England 1792-1864) {1841-64}	Alice Brand (“Glee and chorus [...] arranged for three voices by Mr. Nathan”) (original music possibly that by John Clarke-Whitfield; words: Walter Scott, from <i>The Lady of the Lake</i>).		“AUSTRALIAN HARMONIC CLUB”, <i>The Australian</i> (10 June 1845), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37158434 .
201.	1845-06-10	NATHAN, Isaac (England 1792-1864) {1841-64}	Here in cool grot (“Glee [...] four voices, arranged by Mr. Nathan for full orchestral and piano accompaniment”) (original music probably that by Lord Mornington).		“AUSTRALIAN HARMONIC CLUB”, <i>The Australian</i> (10 June 1845), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37158434 .
202.	1845-06-17	GAUTROT, Joseph (France 1775-1854) {1839-54}	Le plaisir des Dames: Variations on one string (Dedicated to the Ladies, and composed for this occasion).		[Advertisement], <i>Colonial Times</i> (17 June 1845), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2948206 .
203.	1845-07-08	REICHENBERG, Joseph (Italy c1789/92-1851) {1824-51}	Ancient Hebrew Melodies (“sung at the consecration of the Synagogue, Argyle Street, Hobart-Town [1845] harmonized and arranged for the pianoforte by j. Reichenberg”); (1 How goodly are thy tents; 2 Come let us sing unto the Lord; 3 Blessed be he who cometh in the name of the Lord; 4 Thanks to thee O Lord; 5 Thine, O Lord is the greatness; 6 His glory is above all the earth; 7 Ascribe unto the Lord; 8 Praise God in His sanctuary).	Hobart: Thomas Browne, [1847].	Copy at SL-TAS; Permalink: http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=945363 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/37015413 . [News of the day], <i>Colonial Times</i> (8 July 1845), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8756909 ; “THE SYNAGOGUE”, <i>Colonial Times</i> (11 July 1845), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8756924 ; The impending publication of the set was announced in July 1845, [Advertisement]: “Hebrew Melodies: To be published shortly [...]”, <i>The Courier</i> (30 July 1845), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2947838 ; However, the print does not seem to have appeared until 1847; see “NEW MUSIC”, <i>The Courier</i> (28 April 1847), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2972015 ; LITHOGRAPHY—HEBREW MELODIES”, <i>Colonial Times</i> (23 April 1847), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8760488 .

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204.	1845-08-09	NAGEL, Charles (Germany ?-?) {fl.1840-50}	The Banner of Old England (“A Song dedicated to the Blue and Red Jackets, by an Old Soldier”; “New Zealand 1845 Tahiti”; “Words and Music by Chas. Nagel, Esq.”).	Sydney: G. Hudson, 1845.	Copy at SL-NSW (Q786.4/Mu3).	[Advertisement]: “JUST PUBLISHED”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (9 August 1845), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12881433 ; “NEW MUSIC”, <i>Morning Chronicle</i> (9 August 1845), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31746095 ; “NEW MUSIC”, <i>The Weekly Register</i> 5 / 107 (9 August 1845), 62: http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18450809/00050107/1-4.pdf ; “THE BANNER OF OLD ENGLAND”, <i>The Australian</i> (30 August 1845), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37157906 ; [Advertisement]: “Just Published”, <i>The Examiner</i> (6 September 1845), 39: http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14401932/18450906/e0010039/7-9.pdf .
205.	1845-09-06	HINCKESMANN, Maria (England 1803-after 1852) {1842-49}	<p>❶ The Grand Fancy Ball;</p> <p>❷ <u>A Dream of the Mayor's Fancy Dress Ball.</u></p>	<p>❶ [Sydney: William Baker, 1845];</p> <p>❷ In <i>Heads of the People</i> (10 July 1847) (Sydney: William Baker, 1847).</p>	<p>❶ NO COPY IDENTIFIED;</p> <p>❷ Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark (item): http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/20380558; Trove Bookmark (<i>Heads of the People</i>, set): http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/18790769.</p>	<p>❶ “Domestic”, <i>The Atlas</i> (6 September 1845), 491: http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/1440365x/18450906/00010041/11-12.pdf; “We beg to acknowledge the receipt of a song entitled <i>THE GRAND FANCY BALL</i>, published by Mr. Baker, of King-street [...]”; [Advertisement]: “ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (6 September 1845), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12881992; ❷ [Advertisement]: “PROSPECTUS [...] HEADS OF THE PEOPLE”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (23 March 1847), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12896827; but see also [Advertisement]: “ROYAL VICTORIAN THEATRE”, <i>The Australian</i> (26 June 1847), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37130017; “Comic Song, THE MAYOR'S FANCY BALL! Written expressly for this occasion, by a Gentleman of known literary attainments”).</p>

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206.	1845-09-06	NATHAN, Isaac (<i>England</i> 1792-1864) {1841-64}	Leichhardt's Grave: An Elegiac Ode ("On the scarcely doubtful fate of the amiable and talented Naturalist—Leichhardt—whose life there is too much reason to fear has been sacrificed in the cause of Science, whilst endeavouring to effect an overland route to Port Essington") (words: Robert Lynd).	Sydney: William Baker, Hibernian Press, 1845.	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16497035 .	Words first published, "ADDRESSED TO THE PARTY PROCEED[ING] ON THE TRACK OF DR. LEICHHARDT. By R. LYND, Esq.", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (3 July 1845), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12880636 ; see also <i>The Weekly Register</i> 5/103 (12 July 1845), 17: http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18450712/00050103/5-8.pdf ; [Advertisement], "THIS DAY IS PUBLISHED", <i>The Australian</i> (2 September 1845), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37156685 ; "NEW MUSIC", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (4 September 1845), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28649928 ; "Leichhardt's Grave", <i>The Weekly Register</i> 5/111 (6 September 1845), 111: http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18450906/00050111/1-4.pdf ; [Advertisement]: "New Music", [same issue], 120: http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18450906/00050111/9-12.pdf ; "LEICHHARDT'S GRAVE", <i>The Australian</i> (9 September 1845), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37159772 ; "MUSIC", <i>The Australian</i> (16 September 1845), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37158084 [notes a performance of <i>Leichhardt's Grave</i> by James Waller; the item probably, though by no means conclusively, Nathan's]; "REVIEW: NEW MUSIC: LEICHHARDT'S GRAVE", <i>The Australian</i> (20 September 1845), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37154504 ; see also reviews reproduced in Nathan, <i>Lectures</i> : http://www.nla.gov.au/apps/cdview?pi=nla.mus-an6426940-s55-v ; see also: "LEICHHARDT'S LAST HOME CORRESPONDENCE", <i>The Argus</i> (13 September 1865), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5769161 ; "SCHOOL OF ARTS", <i>The Australian</i> (16 September 1845), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37158084 ; Nathan's songs were also reported in Germany, in a review of Leichhardt's <i>Journal</i> , in <i>Gelehrte Anzeigen</i> 80 (21 April 1848), cols 644-646: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=OrUPAQAIAAJ&q=Herr+Nathan#v=snippet&q=Herr%20Nathan&f=false .
207.	1845-09-06	HOWSON, John (<i>England</i> c.1819-1871) {1842-71}	In one of Jersey's peaceful vales (song).		[Advertisement], <i>Colonial Times</i> (15 February 1845), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8756163 .	
208.	1845-09-15	BUSHELLE, Eliza (<i>Ireland</i> 1814-1879) {1835-47; 1863-79}	Gondolier's Song.		[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (15 September 1845), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12882167 .	
209.	1845-09-15	DEANE, John Philip (<i>England</i> 1796-1849) {1822-49}	Trio (Juvenile) (for 2 Violins and Violoncello).		[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (15 September 1845), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12882167 .	
210.	1845-09-15	DEANE, John, junior (arr.) (<i>England</i> 1815-1893) {1822-93}	King Death [Neukomm] ("with full orchestral accompaniments, arranged by Mr. J. Deane" [junior]).		[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (15 September 1845), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12882167 .	
211.	1845-09-15	DEANE, John, junior (arr.) (<i>England</i> 1815-1893) {1822-93}	The Last Man [Callcott] ("the orchestral accompaniments by Mr. J. Deane" [junior]).		[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (15 September 1845), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12882167 .	

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212.	1845-09-29	NATHAN, Isaac (England 1792-1864) {1841-64}	Sir Wilfred (“The much admired romance, sung by Mrs. Ximenes, in the very successful tragic play produced at the Victoria Theatre, Sydney, entitled <i>The Queen’s Love</i> ”).	Sydney: William Baker, [1845].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/8817258 .	[Advertisement]: “ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (29 September 1845), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12882472 ; “In the course of the Piece, Mrs. Ximenes will sing an olden Romance, called <i>Sir Wilfred he mounted his War-steed true</i> . The Melody and Orchestral Accompaniments written and arranged expressly for the Tragedy, by J. Nathan, Esq.”; “THE DRAMA”, <i>The Atlas</i> 1/45 (4 October 1845), 535: http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/1440365x/18451004/00010045/7-8.pdf ; “THEATRICAL REGISTER”, <i>The Weekly Register</i> 5/115 (4 October 1845), 166: http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18451004/00050115/9-12.pdf ; see also reviews reproduced in Nathan, <i>Lectures</i> : http://www.nla.gov.au/apps/cdview?pi=nla.mus-an6426940-s56-v ; [Advertisement], “ <i>SIR WILFRED</i> . JUST PUBLISHED”, <i>The Australian</i> (29 November 1845), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37154100 .
213.	1845-10-11	NATHAN, Isaac (England 1792-1864) {1841-64}	The Lord’s Prayer (Composed for one or four voices and respectfully inscribed to The Right Reverend William Grant Broughton, D.D., Lord Bishop of Australia”).	Sydney: William Baker, Hibernian Press, 1845.	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16497174 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Australian</i> (11 October 1845), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37156780 ; “THE LORD’S PRAYER”, <i>The Australian</i> (11 October 1845), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37156786 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Weekly Register</i> 5/116 (11 October 1845), 180: http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18451011/00050116/9-12.pdf ; “NEW MUSIC”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (13 October 1845), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12882794 ; “NEW MUSIC”, <i>The Weekly Register</i> 5/117 (18 October 1845), 191: http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18451018/00050117/9-12.pdf .
214.	1845-10-18	PACKER, Charles S. (England 1810-1883) {1840-83}	Variations on the March from I Puritani.			“CHAMBER CONCERT”, <i>The Courier</i> (18 October 1845), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2947156 .
215.	1845-10-18	PACKER, Charles S. (England 1810-1883) {1840-83}	Overture to Sadak and Kalasrade.		Some of the original performance material of <i>Sadak and Kalasrade</i> are extant at British Library, Additional MSS 33810-33814; MS 33810 includes part of piano score, and soprano and alto chorus parts, 33813 includes horns, bassoons, and strings parts.	“CHAMBER CONCERT”, <i>The Courier</i> (18 October 1845), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2947156 ; premiered in London in 1834; see “THEATRICALS”, <i>Figaro in London</i> 3/125 (26 April 1834), 69: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=jnVIAAAAYAAJ&q=Sadak#v=snippet&q=Sadak&f=false ; also <i>The Musical Library: Monthly Supplement</i> 4 (July 1834), 48: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=SuMPAAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA48#v=onepage&q=Sadak&f=false ; see also <i>The Literary Gazette</i> 953 (25 April 1835), 269: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=WVVoZAAAAMAAJ&pg=PA269#v=onepage&q&f=false ; the book (London: Fairbrother, 1835) was reviewed in the next issue, 280; see Mary Russel Mitford, <i>Sadak And Kalasrade; Or, The Waters of Oblivion: A Romantic Opera, In Two Acts</i> (London: [1836]), online edition at the University of Virginia Library: http://xtf.lib.virginia.edu/xtf/view?docId=chadwyck_evd/uvaGenText/t/ei/chevd_V3.0062.xml .

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216.	1845-10-18	PACKER, Charles S. (England 1810-1883) {1840-83}	Duo concertante (violin and piano forte).		“CHAMBER CONCERT”, <i>The Courier</i> (18 October 1845), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2947156 .	
217.	1845-11-01	GIBBS, John (England ?-1875) {1843-75}	The Rose of Cashmere; Or, Ebe Bacar, The Diamond Merchant (“Ballet Divertisement”).		[Advertisement], <i>The Australian</i> (1 November 1845), 2; cited by James Hall, <i>The Canon</i> (February 1953), 267.	
218.	1845-11-04	GIBBS, John (England ?-1875) {1843-75}	In Christian Lands (“an entirely new song arranged for the occasion by Mr. Gibbs”).		[Advertisement]: “ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE”. <i>The Australian</i> (4 November 1845), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37158576 .	
219.	1845-11-08	GAUTROT, Joseph (France 1775-1854) {1839-54}	Grand Solo Violin sur des Airs de la Vestale de Spontini (“avec trois variations sur une corde, une sur deux cordes, et une sur quartres cordes”).		[Advertisement], <i>Colonial Times</i> (8 November 1845), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2946976 .	
220.	1845-11-15	WALLACE, William Vincent (Ireland 1812-1865) {1835-38}	<p>❶ In happy moments from <i>Maritana</i> (The Poetry of this Ballad is by A. Bunn, Esq.”);</p> <p>❷ In happy moments (“All copies got up under his inspection will bear his signature. ‘S. W. Wallace’”);</p> <p>❸ In happy moments;</p>	<p>❶ Sydney: Francis Ellard, [1846];</p> <p>❷ [Sydney: For S.W. Wallace, 1846].</p> <p>❸ Sydney: Henry Marsh, [185-?].</p>	<p>❶ Copy at NLA; Permalink: http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-an5628926; Trove Bookmark (<i>Maritana</i>): http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/8250381.</p> <p>❷ NO COPY IDENTIFIED.</p> <p>❸ Copy at NLA; Permalink: http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-vn4510799; Trove Bookmark (<i>Maritana</i>): http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/8250381.</p>	<p>The opera of <i>Maritana</i>; FP: London, 15 November 1845;</p> <p>❷ [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (7 September 1846), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12889522: “JUST PUBLISHED. MR. [S.W.] WALLACE has the honour to inform his friends, and the public of Sydney, that he has published the admired ballad from his brother’s Opera of MARITANA, entitled <i>In Happy Moments</i>. All copies got up under his inspection will bear his signature. ‘S. W. Wallace’. To be had of Messrs. Grocott, Ford, and Colman [...] Mr. Moffitt, [...] and Mr. Hudson [...]”.</p>
221.	1845-11-15	WALLACE, William Vincent (Ireland 1812-1865) {1835-38}	Scenes that are brightest from <i>Maritana</i> (“Poetry by A. Bunn , Esq.”).	Sydney: James Grocott, [1846?].	Copy at NLA; Permalink: Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/13561655 .	
222.	1845-12-02	MARSH, Stephen (England ?1805-1888) {1842-46; 1849-72}	Grand Military Overture (“first performance [...] Military Band and full Orchestra”).		[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (2 December 1845), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12883855 .	
223.	1845-12-02	MARSH, Stephen (England ?1805-1888) {1842-46; 1849-72}	Duet for Trombone and Harp (in the celebrated Aria “Fra poco” in <i>Lucia de Lammermoor</i>).		[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (2 December 1845), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12883855 .	
224.	1845-12-16	GAUTROT, Joseph (France 1775-1854) {1839-54}	Grand Septuor (for Three Violins, Viola, Violoncello, Flute, and Contra Basse).		[Advertisement], <i>Colonial Times</i> (16 December 1845), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8757827 .	

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225.	1846-00-00 INDIGENOUS (Australia fl.1840-46); TOWNSEND, Joseph Phipps (arr.) {1840-46}	An Aboriginal Chant.	Joseph Phipps Townsend, <i>Rambles and Observations in New South Wales with sketches of men and manners, notices of the Aborigines and glimpses of scenery, and some hints to emigrants</i> (London: Chapman and Hall, 1849), 91.	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19178681 ; at Google Books: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=uhNF4AAAIJ&source=gbs .	Date given here was Townsend's last year in Australia; having arrived in 1842, he travelled country NSW, from Ulladulla to the Illawarra, and <i>Rambles</i> includes several observations of native song. Not always a sympathetic observer, he borrowed a couplet from Ford: " <i>When they joined in doleful chorus,/How these happy blacks did bore us</i> " (90), yet admitted at the same time that one of his most admired native guides, "Jimmy Woodbury" was "a great man at corrobories [...]" and I know that he has walked fifty miles, in one day, in order to join in a dance at night (89, also 97). Townsend also noted: "When our blacks visited Sydney, and saw the military paraded, and heard the bands, they said that was 'white fellow' corrobory'[...]". Also: "Their own songs are monotonous, and consist of the frequent repetition of a few words, such as, – Water, water, where is water? There is water, welling out of the ground; but this, of course, is sung in their own dialect. They have their bards or rhymers, who compose their songs; and, when a new song is produced, it passes quickly from tribe to tribe" (100).
226.	1846-01-17 NATHAN, Isaac (England 1792-1864) {1841-64}	The Currency Lasses (A Song, inscribed [...] to the fair sex of Australia"; "words by *****"; "1846, the 58th anniversary of the colony").	Sydney: William Ford, 1846.	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16497029 .	[Advertisement]: "CURRENCY LASSES. ON MONDAY, the 26th instant (being the 58th Anniversary of the Colony) will be published [...]", iThe Sydney Morning Herald (17 January 1846), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12884742 .
227.	1846-03-28 ANDERSON, James Henri (England 1823-1879) {1842-79}	Solos and Choruses ("the greater part composed by Mr. Anderson"; opening of the Launceston Synagogue).			"CONSECRATION OF THE NEW SYNAGOGUE", <i>Launceston Examiner</i> (26 March 1846), 6: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36244260 ; Anderson is credited on the cover of the printed order of service: "THE MUSIC COMPOSED EXPRESSLY FOR THE OCCASION BY MR. ANDERSON", and later "I.H. Anderson" is also listed as "honorary secretary" of the Launceston congregation; see <i>Order of service performed at the consecration of the new synagogue, St. John Street, Launceston, Van Diemen's Land, on 5606-1846</i> (Launceston: Printed for the synagogue, 1846); copy at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/20361962 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
228.	1846-05-02	NATHAN, Isaac (England 1792-1864) {1841-64}	<u>Thy Greeting Home Again; A Paean on Leichhardt's Return from Port Essington</u> (words: E. K. Silvester; [incorrectly typeset as "A. K. Silvester"]).	Sydney : William Ford, [1846].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16497347 ;	"STANZAS", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (27 March 1846), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12886171 ; described in his obituary as a "litterateur", Edward Kennedy Silvester died in 1863; he worked on the <i>Herald</i> at the time that "he wrote those beautiful verses on the Death of Leichhardt"; "THE LATE MR. E. K. SILVESTER", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (11 December 1863), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13086183 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (2 May 1846), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12886935 ; [Advertisement]: "ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (25 May 1846), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12887427 ; [Advertisement]: "LEICHHARDT'S RETURN", <i>The Australian</i> (26 May 1846), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37157338 ; "LINES TO DR. LEICHHARDT ON HIS RETURN", <i>The Atlas</i> (20 June 1846), 294: http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/1440365x/18460620/00020082/5-6.pdf ; "NEW MUSIC", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (27 June 1846), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12888122 ; [Advertisement]: "NEW MUSIC. JUST PUBLISHED", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (30 June 1846), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12888158 ; other press reviews reproduced by Nathan at the end of his published <i>Lectures</i> : http://www.nla.gov.au/apps/cdview?pi=nla.mus-an6426940-s56-v ; see also "DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE: DR. LEICHHARDT'S LECTURES", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (27 August 1846), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12898405 ; [Advertisement]: "ROYAL CITY THEATRE", <i>The Australian</i> (27 October 1846), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37132894 .
229.	1846-05-23	SALVADO, Rosendo (Spain 1814-1900) {1846-1900}	<u>Pequeño entretenimiento con aire de marcha</u> ("Compuesto y dedicado a la virtuosa senõrta Paquita Patrelli").		MS; facsimile at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19396992 .	Claimed to have been performed on this occasion: [News of the day], <i>The Perth Gazette</i> (23 May 1846), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article646732 ;
230.	1846-05-23	SALVADO, Rosendo (Spain 1814-1900) {1846-1900}	<u>Fantasia, variaciones y final</u> ("Compuestas y dedicadas a la excelentisima seõora Condesa Lebzenltern").		MS; facsimile at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19396977 .	Claimed to have been performed on this occasion: [News of the day], <i>The Perth Gazette</i> (23 May 1846), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article646732 ; MS Score: facsimile in NLA: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19396977 .
231.	1846-05-23	SALVADO, Rosendo (Spain 1814-1900) {1846-1900}	<u>Gran walz fantastic</u> ("Compuesto y dedicado a la senora Marquesa Santasilia").		MS; facsimile at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19396999 .	Claimed to have been performed on this occasion: [News of the day], <i>The Perth Gazette</i> (23 May 1846), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article646732 ; MS Score: facsimile in NLA: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19396999 .
232.	1846-06-15	DUDEMAINE, Florentine (France ?-?) {1843-61}	<u>Le pittoresque quadrille</u> (Pour Le Piano Forte par Madame Dudemaine, Respectfully dedicated to Mrs. Bland").	Sydney: Francis Ellard, [1846].	Copy at SL-NSW: online: http://acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/album/albumView.aspx?itemID=852752&acmsid=0 Permalink: Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/30258511 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (15 June 1846), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12887816 : "JUST PUBLISHED, THE PITTORESQUE QUADRILLES. Composed and arranged for the Pianoforte by Madame Dudemaine, To be had at her residence, 24, Park-street; or at Mr. Ellard's, George-street."

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data
233.	1846-07-25 DULY, George Frederick (Ireland? 1825-1847) {1839-47}	Conrad the Corsair, Or, The Pacha's Bride ("the celebrated Opera [...] the whole of the Music composed by Mr. G.F. Duly").			"THE THEATRE", <i>Colonial Times</i> (24 July 1846), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8758987 ; [Advertisement], <i>Colonial Times</i> (24 July 1846), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8758992 ; also, [Advertisement], <i>The Courier</i> (25 July 1846), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2945166 .
234.	1846-07-27 GAUTROT, Joseph (France 1775-1854) {1839-54}	Solo for Violin ("dedicated to his friend Mr. S.W. Wallace, by Gautrot").			[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (27 July 1846), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12888714 .
235.	1846-08-01 MARSH, Stephen (England ?1805-1888) {1842-46; 1849-72}	Ballad.			[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (1 August 1846), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12888852 .
236.	1846-08-10 MARSH, Stephen (England ?1805-1888) {1842-46; 1849-72}	<p>❶ Ode to Leichhardt (the poetry by Mr. E. K. Silvester);</p> <p>❷ The Traveller's Return (Song with an accompaniment for the Harp or Piano-forte, Composed on the Occasion of Dr. Leichhardt's Return to Sydney").</p>	❷ London: Thomas Boosey, [1847 or 1848].	❷ Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/17037467 ;	❶ [Advertisement]: "MUSICAL SOIREE", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (10 August 1846), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12889028 ; ❷ the cover carries a quotation from J.D. Lang's <i>Cooksland</i> , dating the print to after that book's appearance in London during 1847.
237.	1846-08-19 MARSH, Stephen H. (England ?1805-1888) {1842-46; 1849-72}	Dr Leichhardt's March ("for the harp, Composed On the successful termination of his Expedition, after having traversed a distance of nearly 3000 miles through a portion of Australia hitherto untrodden by civilized man; By his Friend, S.H. Marsh").	London: Thomas Boosey, [1847 or 1848].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/17037480 .	Ludwig Leichhardt, letter to C. Shlmalfuss (19 August 1846), in M. Auroseau (ed.), <i>The Letters of F.W. Ludwig Leichhardt</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), vol. 3, 895-96 (translation 899): "Two more pieces have been composed [for me], and one of them, for the harp, by Mr. Marsh, is very good"; also advertised in Sydney by Henry Marsh in 1854, [Advertisement]: "NEW MUSIC", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (15 March 1854), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30939842 .
238.	1846-08-31 MARSH, Stephen (England ?1805-1888) {1842-46; 1849-72}	Souvenir de Sydney (Fantasia for Harp).			[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (31 August 1846), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12895665 ; Marsh later labeled his <i>Ferrolana Polka</i> "Souvenir de Sydney"
239.	1846-12-09 ELLARD, Frederick (Ireland 1824-1874) {1832-74}	I think of thee ("Ballad from the German of Goethe's <i>Ich gedenke deiner</i> ").			[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (9 December 1846), 1s: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12897282 .
240.	1846-12-09 ELLARD, Frederick (Ireland 1824-1874) {1832-74}; WALLACE, Spencer Wellington (Ireland ?-?) {1836-after 1851}	Reminiscences of Maritana ("by S.W. Wallace and F. Ellard").			[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (9 December 1846), 1s: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12897282 .
241.	1847-01-25 GIBBS, John (England ?-1875) {1843-75}	An entirely new set of Polka Quadrilles ("arranged for this orchestra by Mr. Gibbs").			[Advertisement]: "ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (25 January 1847), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12891941 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
242.	1847-02-17	WITTON, Henry James (UK ?-?) {fl.1847-51}	My gallant bark (song).		[Advertisement]: “CONCERT”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (17 February 1847), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article48543003 .	
243.	1847-02-17	WITTON, Henry James (UK ?-?) {fl.1847-51}	Heki’s address to his country the evening before he was attacked by the British Forces (“Song [...] Written and composed by H. J. Witton”).		[Advertisement]: “CONCERT”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (17 February 1847), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article48543003 .	
244.	1847-03-10	DULY, George Frederick (Ireland? 1825-1847) {1839-47}	I’ve watched with thee (ballad, “composed by Mr. G. Duly”).		“The Concert”, <i>The Courier</i> (10 March 1847), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2972471	
245.	1847-03-13	WITTON, Henry James (UK ?-?) {fl.1847-51}	The New Zealand Chieftains’ Battle Song (Heki and Kawita).		[Advertisement]: “PROGRAMME”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (13 March 1847), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article48543447 ; Witton moved from Adelaide to Melbourne in 1853, and established a music repository in Great Brunswick-street, Collingwood.	
246.	1847-03-23	ANONYMOUS	The Melbourne Quickstep.		“The Teetotal Band”, <i>The Melbourne Argus</i> (23 March 1847), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4761212 .	
247.	1847-04-30	NATHAN, Isaac (England 1792-1864) {1841-64}	Don John of Austria (opera; vocal score only; libretto: Jacob L. Montefiore).	Copyist’s MS (c.1847) at SL-NSW; Permalink: http://acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/item/itemDetailPaged.aspx?itemId=402355 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/31732828 .	Nathan’s second colonial opera (though, as he advertised “the first ever written and produced in the colony of New South Wales”), it was first performed at Royal Victoria Theatre, Sydney, 3 May 1847; [Advertisement]: “ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (3 May 1847), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12900105 ; “NEW OPERA”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (30 April 1847), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12897337 ; “THEATRICALS”, <i>Sydney Chronicle</i> (1 May 1847), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31751772 ; “THE THEATRE”, <i>The Australian</i> (4 May 1847), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37129418 ; “DON JOHN OF AUSTRIA”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (8 May 1847), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12897423 ; for description of the manuscript, see Graham Pont and Paul Wilkins, <i>Isaac Nathan (1792-1864), a bicentennial tribute and chronological listing of Nathan’s Australian Compositions</i> (Sydney: State Library of NSW, 1991); http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19747141 .	
248.	1847-04-30	NATHAN, Isaac (England 1792-1864) {1841-64}	① Overture (to <i>Don John of Austria</i>) (piano score); ② Overture (to <i>Don John of Austria</i>).	① Sydney: W. and F. Ford, [1848]; ② In I. Nathan, <i>The Southern Euphrosyne</i> (Sydney: W. and F. Ford for I. Nathan, [1848]), 15-21.	① Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16497692 ; ② Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark (<i>Southern Euphrosyne</i>): http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/6685469 .	Only 5 items from it were printed, despite the advertisement at the end of ② that “In the Press, the whole of the Music from DON JOHN”: http://www.nla.gov.au/apps/cdview?pi=nla.mus-an6427468-s31-v ; they appeared, probably all simultaneously during 1848, in <i>The Southern Euphrosyne</i> and as separate prints; however, only the Overture was advertised separately; ① and ② [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (1 November 1847), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12892185 ; “THE OVERTURE TO NATHAN’S NEW OPERA DON JOHN OF AUSTRIA. THE SOUTHERN EUPHROSYNE, AND LADY’S MAGAZINE, will be ready for circulation the 1st of January, 1848 [...] the publishers, Messrs. W. and F. Ford [...]”

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
249.	1847-04-30	NATHAN, Isaac (England 1792-1864) {1841-64}	<p>① The visions of Youth (“in which is introduced, as an obligato accompaniment, The celebrated Air from <i>Sweethearts and Wives</i>, “Why are you wandering here, I pray”; Sung by Mr. F. Howson [Don John] at the Royal Victoria Theatre, Sydney, in the opera of <i>Don John of Austria</i>. (<i>The first Opera ever written and produced in the Colony of New South Wales</i>)”);</p> <p>② The visions of Youth.</p>	<p>① Sydney: W. and F. Ford, [1848];</p> <p>② In I. Nathan, <i>The Southern Euphrosyne</i> (Sydney: W. and F. Ford for I. Nathan, [1848]), 65-71.</p>	<p>① Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16497638;</p> <p>② Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark (<i>Southern Euphrosyne</i>): http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/6685469.</p>	See note above.
250.	1847-04-30	NATHAN, Isaac (England 1792-1864) {1841-64}	<p>① Canst thou bid the hand its cunning forget (“Sung by Mrs. Guerin [Agnes] ... in the opera of <i>Don John of Austria</i> [...]”);</p> <p>② Canst thou bid the hand its cunning forget.</p>	<p>① Sydney: W. and F. Ford, [1848];</p> <p>② In I. Nathan, <i>The Southern Euphrosyne</i> (Sydney: W. and F. Ford for I. Nathan, [1848]), 81-87.</p>	<p>① Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16497678;</p> <p>② Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark (<i>Southern Euphrosyne</i>): http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/6685469.</p>	See note above.
251.	1847-04-30	NATHAN, Isaac (England 1792-1864) {1841-64}	<p>① I dare not say how much I love (“Sung by Mr. J. Howson [Philip II] ... in the opera of <i>Don John of Austria</i> [...]”);</p> <p>② I dare not say how much I love.</p>	<p>① Sydney: W. and F. Ford, [1848];</p> <p>② In I. Nathan, <i>The Southern Euphrosyne</i> (Sydney: W. and F. Ford for I. Nathan, [1848]), 73-79.</p>	<p>① Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/15065616;</p> <p>② Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark (<i>Southern Euphrosyne</i>): http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/6685469.</p>	See note above.
252.	1847-04-30	NATHAN, Isaac (England 1792-1864) {1841-64}	<p>① I'll go to sleep. (“Sung by Mr. W. Griffiths [Don Quixado] ... in the opera of <i>Don John of Austria</i> [...]”);</p> <p>② I'll go to sleep.</p>	<p>① Sydney: W. and F. Ford, [1848];</p> <p>② In <i>The Southern Euphrosyne</i>, Sydney: Nathan, [1848], 89-93.</p>	<p>① Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16497664;</p> <p>② Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark (<i>Southern Euphrosyne</i>): http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/6685469.</p>	See note above.
253.	1847-06-02	GIBBS, John (England ?-1875) {1843-75}	Le Pont Neuf; or, Mad as a March Hare (Comic Ballet Of Action).		[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (2 June 1847), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12897449 .	

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data
254.	1847-06-26	ANONYMOUS	The Mayor's Fancy Ball ("Comic Song [...] Written expressly for this occasion, by a Gentleman of known literary attainments").		[Advertisement]: "ROYAL VICTORIAN THEATRE", <i>The Australian</i> (26 June 1847), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37130017 ; but possibly the same as Hinckesmann's song, see above.
255.	1847-07-24	DEANE, John Philip (England 1796-1849) {1822-49}	Trio ("upon two violins and a violoncello").		"News from the Interior: Windsor; Concert", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (24 July 1847), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12898568 .
256.	1847-10-15	HOWSON, John (England c.1819-1871) {1842-71}	The Bride's Farewell to Her Mother ("Ballad Sung by Madame Carandini with great applause at the Royal Victoria Theatre, Sydney").	Sydney: For the composer, James T. Grocott, [1848].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/6507737 .
257.	1847-11-16	WALLACE, William Vincent (Ireland 1812-1865) {1835-38}	Introduction, et Finale a'la Fuga ("Dédie à Monsieur Frederick Ellard, par son cousin W. V. Wallace").		[Advertisement], <i>The Melbourne Argus</i> (16 November 1847), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4762618 .
258.	1848-01-01	NATHAN, Isaac (England 1792-1864) {1841-64}	Koo-ees ("put into rhythm to a Piano Forte accompaniment").	In I. Nathan, <i>The Southern Euphrosyne</i> (Sydney: W. and F. Ford for I. Nathan, [1848]), 103.	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark (<i>Southern Euphrosyne</i>): http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/6685469 .
259.	1848-01-01	NATHAN, Isaac (England 1792-1864) {1841-64}	Ah! Wy-a Boo-ka ("The Turtle Song, An Aboriginal Melody sung by the Wellington Valley Tribe of Australia, Put into modern rhythm, harmonized and arranged, with a Piano Forte accompaniment").	In I. Nathan, <i>The Southern Euphrosyne</i> (Sydney: W. and F. Ford for I. Nathan, [1848]), 115-118.	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark (<i>Southern Euphrosyne</i>): http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/6685469 .
260.	1848-01-01	NATHAN, Isaac (England 1792-1864) {1841-64}	Dital Dital Baloanai ("A Native Battle Song").	In I. Nathan, <i>The Southern Euphrosyne</i> (Sydney: W. and F. Ford for I. Nathan, [1848]), 119-26.	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark (<i>Southern Euphrosyne</i>): http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/6685469 .
261.	1848-01-01	NATHAN, Isaac (England 1792-1864) {1841-64}	Ah! Warin-ee, Ah Warin-e ("song of lamentation").		Described in <i>The Southern Euphrosyne</i> (Sydney: Nathan, [1848]), 114: http://www.nla.gov.au/apps/cdview?pi=nla.mus-an6427468-s124-v ; Nathan did not include it ("our limited <i>fount</i> of music type, will not at present allow us to lay [it] before the public").

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data
262.	1848-01-01 HILL, Arthur S. {fl.1848-54}	The Australian Grand Waltzes ("A New Year's Gift ... composed and arranged for the Piano Forte, by Arthur S. Hill, 99th Regiment, And with permission dedicated to the late Right Honorable Lady Mary Fitz Roy").	[Sydney?: [?], 1848].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement], <i>Sydney Chronicle</i> (1 January 1848), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31754931 ; "NEW MUSIC", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (5 January 1848), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12892339 .
263.	1848-03-10 DANIELL, Jonah A. (UK ?-?) {1843-after 1853}	La Militaire Quardilles ("Selected from the airs of various nations Harmonized and arranged for the PIANO FORTE").	Sydney: Daniell, [1843].	Copy at SL-NSW (Q786.4/Mu4).	"MUSICAL", <i>The Australian</i> (10 March 1848), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37132531 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Australian</i> (10 March 1848), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37132527 ; Daniell advertised his arrive in March 1843 as a "Professor of Music and Pianoforte-maker formerly of Broadwood's, London", see [Advertisement], <i>The Australian</i> (10 March 1843), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12411473 .
264.	1848-05-29 PACKER, Charles S. (England 1810-1883) {1840-83}	May Day ("Pastoral Ballad").	[Sydney: W. J. Johnson, 1854].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement], "MUSIC HALL. PROGRAMME OF CHARLES S. PACKER'S May Day Concert", <i>The Courier</i> (29 April 1848), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2969239 ; [Advertisement]: "NEW MUSIC. Charles S. Packer's beautiful Ballad, <i>May Day</i> , published this day", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (24 January 1854), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12951589 .
265.	1848-11-01 GAUTROT, Joseph (France 1775-1854) {1839-54}	Fantasia (for violin; "composed by Monsieur Gautrot").			[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (1 November 1848), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12911150 .
266.	1848-11-01 GAUTROT, Joseph (France 1775-1854) {1839-54}	Aria and Variations ("composed by Monsieur Gautrot [sung by] Madame Gautrot").			[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (1 November 1848), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12911150 .
267.	1848-11-01 STIER, Charles William Ferdinand (Germany ?-?) {1845-59}	Overture ("Composed by Mr. STEER, Band-master of H. M. 11th Regiment").			[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (1 November 1848), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12911150 .
268.	1848-12-02 HOWSON, John (England c.1819-1871) {1842-71}	The Corsair; or Conrad and Medora ("New Grand Opera"; "the whole of the music composed by Mr. J. Howson") (libretto: Edward FitzBall).			[Advertisement]: "Royal Victoria Theatre", <i>Bell's Life in Sydney</i> (2 December 1848), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article59765645 ; [Advertisement]: "ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (4 December 1848), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12908287 ; "THE DRAMA", <i>Bell's Life in Sydney</i> (23 December 1848), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article59766029 ; [Advertisement]: "ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (4 January 1849), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12903334 .
269.	1849~ DAVIS, Charles Henry (England 1815-1854) {1848-54}	Simple Masses.			Mentioned in an article by J. H. B. Curtis, in the Catholic magazine <i>Austral Light</i> (February 1902), reproduced in Henry Norbert Birt, <i>Benedictine Pioneers in Australia</i> , Volume 2 (London: Herbert & Daniel, 1911), 208-210 (also O'Farrell, <i>Documents</i> , 112-113); see also R. A. Daly, "Davis, Charles Henry (1815-1854)", <i>Australian Dictionary of Biography</i> 1 (1966), 292-293: http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A010277b.htm .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
270.	1849~	DAVIS, Charles Henry (England 1815-1854) {1848-54}	Christus factus est pro nobis obediens usque ad mortem (in the <i>Tenebrae</i> service).		See above; according to Curtis, soon after his arrival late in 1848, and presumably before he fell seriously ill in mid-1849, Davis, who was and ex-Downside monk sent to be Polding's bishop coadjutor, instituted "a reform" in St. Mary's Cathedral Choir: "He began by selecting some simple Masses of his own composition [...] Bishop Davis was much pleased with the progress of his choir, and when he heard them sing for the first time his masterly arrangement of <i>Christus factus est pro nobis obediens usque ad mortem</i> in the <i>Tenebrae</i> service [...]"; "FUNERAL OF BISHOP DAVIS", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (22 May 1854), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12957587 .	
271.	1849-00-00	SALVADO, Rosendo (Spain 1814-1900) {1846-1900}	Maquielo: cancion de caile de los Australianos Occidentales (<i>Maquieló</i> —Dance Song of the West Australians; arranged for pianoforte).	In Rosendo Salvado, <i>Memorias historicas sobre la Australia: y particularmente acerca la mision Benedictina de Nueva Nursia y los usos y costumbres de los salvajes</i> (Barcelona: Impr. de los Herederos de la V. Pla, 1853), unnumbered page after 314.	Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/13211630 ; at Google Books: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=z_YaZIk1YLQC& .	Dated here to 1849, the last year of Salvado's first tenure in Australia, which began in 1846; he then returned to Europe to raise money for his missionary endeavours; the music does not appear in the original Italian edition of his memoirs, Rudesindo [Rosendo] Salvado, <i>Memorie storiche dell'Australia: particolarmente delle Missioni benedettine di Nuova Norcia e degli usi e costumi degli australiani</i> (Napoli: Tipografia di Vincenzo Priggiobba, 1852); at Google Books: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=eXRjTZgEmYkC .
272.	1849-01-05	PACKER, Charles S. (England 1810-1883) {1840-83}	National Recollections ("Extemporaneous Performance on the Eolophon"); Souvenirs de l'Opera Français ("Extemporaneous Performance on the Eolophon").		[Advertisement]: "MUSIC HALL", <i>Colonial Times</i> (5 January 1849), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8764194 ; "PACKER'S CONCERT", <i>The Courier</i> (10 January 1848), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2967082 .	
273.	1849-01-07	ANONYMOUS	Tasmanian Polka ("Military band"; "the excellent band of H.M. 96th Regiment").		[Advertisement]: "HERR IMBERG'S MUSICAL SOIREE", <i>Colonial Times</i> (7 January 1848), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8762068 .	
274.	1849-01-10	IMBERG, Julius Samuel (Germany ?-1863) {1846-63}	Pas Seul ("Tableaux Vivants, With Music expressly composed for the occasion").		[Advertisement]: "ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE", <i>The Courier</i> (10 January 1849), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2967098 .	
275.	1849-06-20	HENSLOWE, Francis Hartwell (England 1811-1878) {1839-64}	Songs of Zion No 1, Psalm XIX, Thy glory, Lord, the Heavens declare ("The Words by James Montgomery; The Music by Francis Hartwell Henslowe").	Hobart: Thomas Browne, [1849].	Copy at SL-TAS; Permalink: http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=703701 ; Trove Bookmark (set, Nos 1-4): http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9855226 .	"NEW MUSIC", <i>The Launceston Examiner</i> (20 June 1849), 6: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36257711 ; "NEW MUSIC—SONGS OF ZION, No 1", <i>The Courier</i> (23 June 1849), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2965672 ; [Advertisement]: "Just published, NEW MUSIC by F. H. HENSLOWE, Esq., <i>WHERE IS THY HOME?</i> , and Nos. 1 and 2 of <i>THE SONGS OF ZION</i> ", <i>The Courier</i> (1 September 1849), 1s: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-page638680 ; "TASMANIAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO PARIS [EXHIBITION], 1855", <i>The Courier</i> (27 September 1855), 2: "The Music by Mr. F. H. Henslowe [...] <i>Campbelltown Waltz, Where is Thy Home? Songs of Zion, No 1,2,3,4. Northdown. Bridal Polka.</i> "

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
276.	1849-06-20	HENSLOWE, Francis Hartwell (England 1811-1878) {1839-64}	Songs of Zion No 2, Psalm 39, Lord, let me know mine end (Words: James Montgomery).	Hobart: Thomas Browne, [1849].	Copy at SL-TAS; Permalink: http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=704032 ; Trove Bookmark (set, Nos 1-4): http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9855226 .	See above; and "NEW MUSIC", <i>The Launceston Examiner</i> (20 June 1849), 6: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36257711 ; "NEW MUSIC", <i>The Courier</i> (8 August 1849), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2965319 .
277.	1849-06-20	HENSLOWE, Francis Hartwell (England 1811-1878) {1839-64}	Songs of Zion No 3, Psalm 43, Judge me Lord in Righteousness (Words: James Montgomery).	Hobart: Thomas Browne, [1849].	Copy at SL-TAS; Permalink: http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=704035 ; Trove Bookmark (set, Nos 1-4): http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9855226 .	See above.
278.	1849-06-20	HENSLOWE, Francis Hartwell (England 1811-1878) {1839-64}	Songs of Zion No 4, Psalm 130, Out of the depths of woe (Words: James Montgomery).	Hobart: Thomas Browne, [1849].	Copy at SL-TAS; Permalink: http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=704036 ; Trove Bookmark (set, Nos 1-4): http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9855226 .	See above.
279.	1849-07-14	HENSLOWE, Francis Hartwell (England 1811-1878) {1839-64}	Where is thy home? (words: Robert Wilson Evans).	Hobart: Thomas Browne, [1849].	Copy at SL-TAS; Permalink: http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=538588 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9854409 .	"COLONIAL MUSIC", <i>Launceston Examiner</i> (14 July 1849), 6: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36257893 ; "MUSIC", <i>The Courier</i> (4 August 1849), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2965362 ; [Advertisement]: "Just published, NEW MUSIC by F. H. HENSLOWE, Esq., <i>WHERE IS THY HOME?</i> , and Nos. 1 and 2 of <i>THE SONGS OF ZION</i> ", <i>The Courier</i> (1 September 1849), 1s: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-page638680 .
280.	1850~	NATHAN, Isaac (England 1792-1864) {1841-64}	Long live our Gracious Queen.	Sydney: Kern and Mader, [between 1850 and 1853].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16494419 .	Before the expiry of Kern and Mader's partnership, see: [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (8 June 1853), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12946477 .
281.	1850-01-05	HENSLOWE, Francis Hartwell (England 1811-1878) {1839-64}	The Campbell-Town Waltzes ("Dedicated to the ladies of the district") (copy at SL-TAS, autographed by the composer, Nov. 1851); another copy: The Campbell-Town Waltzes.	Hobart: Thomas Browne, 1849.	Copy at SL-TAS; Permalink: http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=574440 ; Copy at SL-NSW: online: http://acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/album/albumView.aspx?itemID=847229&acmsid=0 ; Permalink: http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/record=b2146951~S2 .	The music is unattributed in the print; but see "NEW MUSIC", <i>The Courier</i> (5 January 1850), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2963942 ; Henslowe was police magistrate at Campbell-Town during the 1840s. His main musical activity there appears to have been the organisation of the annual Campbell Town Ball, for which, in May 1848, he hired Francis Howson senior to direct the band.

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282.	1850-01-28 SIGMONT, William Abercrombie (UK/Germany 1897-1867) {1849-67}	The Red Cross Banner (“a patriotic Ode, the music by Mr. Sigmont, consisting of an Overture, a triumphal march, a double chorus, and four other chorusses; three solos and a duet”).			[Advertisement]: “PROGRAMME OF MR. SIGNONT’S MUSICAL ENTERTAINMENT”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (28 January 1850), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12915296 ; [Advertisement]: “MR. SIGMONT”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (20 April 1850), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12917293 ; Sigmont arrived in August 1849; late “Professor of Music in Vienna, in the family of Prince Metternich”; briefly organist of St. Patrick’s, Sydney; in Britaan he had published a set of Six German Waltzes (Die Verliebte) in 1830; was organist of the Catholic Chapel at Newcastle in 1837; he retired to Goulburn by 1855, and died in 1867”; “DEATHS”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (23 October 1867), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28607826 ; further published works in the British Library Catalogue: “W. A. Sigmont” (2), and “Sigmont” (1).
283.	1850-01-28 SIGMONT, William Abercrombie (UK/Germany 1897-1867) {1849-67}	Fantasia on an Hungarian Air.			[Advertisement]: “PROGRAMME OF MR. SIGNONT’S MUSICAL ENTERTAINMENT”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (28 January 1850), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12915296 .
284.	1850-01-28 SIGMONT, William Abercrombie (UK/Germany 1897-1867) {1849-67}	German Air with Brilliant Variations for the Pianoforte.			[Advertisement]: “PROGRAMME OF MR. SIGNONT’S MUSICAL ENTERTAINMENT”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (28 January 1850), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12915296 .
285.	1850-01-28 SIGMONT, William Abercrombie (UK/Germany 1897-1867) {1849-67}	Brilliant Waltzes.			[Advertisement]: “PROGRAMME OF MR. SIGNONT’S MUSICAL ENTERTAINMENT”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (28 January 1850), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12915296 .
286.	1850-01-30 MEGSON, Joseph {fl.1846-70}	I knew him in his childhood (song; words: Mr. Reynolds).			[Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (30 January 1850), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4765351 .
287.	1850-03-19 SIGMONT, William Abercrombie (UK/Germany 1897-1867) {1849-67}	Zigueuner Waltzes.			[Advertisement]: “PROGRAMME OF MR. SIGNONT’S MUSICAL ENTERTAINMENT”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (19 March 1850), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12916534 .
288.	1850-03-29 ANONYMOUS	My Adopted Land (“Ballad [...] Manuscript”).			[Advertisement]: “Adelaide Choral Society”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (29 March 1850), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38446951 .
289.	1850-05-04 GAUTROT, Joseph (France 1775-1854) {1839-54}	A New Grand Overture (“by a Double Orchestra, composed expressly for this occasion”).			[Advertisement]: “Royal Victoria Theatre”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (4 May 1850), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12917664 .
290.	1850-05-09 GIBBS, John (England ?-1875) {1843-75}	The Wandering Savoyards (duet).			[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (9 May 1850), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12917774 .

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291.	1850-06-03	HOWSON, Henry (orch. arr.) (England 1822-1893) {1842-93}	The Two Figaros (opera; “the Music selected from the Operas of <i>The Barber of Seville</i> , and <i>The Marriage of Figaro</i> , arranged for the Orchestra by Mr. Henry Howson”).		[Advertisement]: “ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (3 June 1850), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12918392 ; See by J. R. Planché, <i>The Two Figaros : a musical comedy, in two acts</i> (London: Chapman and Hall, [?1837]; copy at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/15274013 .	
292.	1850-06-18	ELLARD, Frederick (Ireland 1824-1874) {1832-74}	Südaustralischer Galop (“compose et dedié à M. François Dutton, par F. Ellard”).		[Advertisement], <i>South Australian Register</i> (18 June 1850), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38448162 .	
293.	1850-06-25	HOWSON, John (England c.1819-1871) {1842-71}	Angry Words (ballad, “composed expressly for Miss Sara Flower”).		[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (25 June 1850), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12919016 .	
294.	1850-06-27	CRANZ, August Friedrich (Germany ?-?) {1846-after 51}	The Barnett Galop (“composed and played by Herr Cranz”).		“On Tuesday last, Mr. Wallace gave what he described as a concert [...]”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (27 June 1850), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38446018 ; on Cranz, who directed a German Liedertafel in Adelaide in 1850-51, and his singer wife Madame [Christiane] Anna Cranz, see Meike Tiemeyer-Schütte, <i>Das Deutsche Sängerveresen in Südastralien vor Ausbruch des Ersten Weltkrieges zwischen Bewahrung von Deutschum und Anglikanisierung</i> (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2000), 26: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=L2HXewmnOfQC&pg=PA26#v=onepage&q&f=false .	
295.	1850-06-28	STANLEY, William (England 1820-1902) {c.1837-1902}	<p>① Tell him I love him yet (“This beautiful Ballad, as sung by Miss Sara Flower”);</p> <p>② Tell him I love him yet (new edition).</p>	<p>① Sydney: James T. Grocott for W. Stanley, [1850];</p> <p>② [Sydney: Woolcott & Clarke, 1853].</p>	<p>① Copy at NLA (Stanley’s autograph signature on the cover); Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19203968;</p> <p>② NO COPY IDENTIFIED.</p>	<p>① [Advertisement]: “TELL HIM I LOVE HIM YET”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (28 June 1850), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12919100; also performed as <i>Tell her I love her yet</i>, see [Advertisement]: “LAST MUSICAL ENTERTAINMENT. MESSRS. STANLEY AND WALLER”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (11 December 1850), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12923231; ② [Advertisement]: “JUST PUBLISHED”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (5 November 1853), 6: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12950119.</p>
296.	1850-06-28	LANCELOTT, Mr. {fl.1850}	We’ve sever’d ourselves from our friends and home (song; “a song set to music dedicated to [...] Alexander Anderson, Esq.” [Chairman of the Anti-Dray Tax League]).		Words only survive printed: “ANTI-DRAY TAX LEAGUE”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (28 June 1850), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38441107 .	
297.	1850-07-04	MEGSON, Joseph {fl.1846-70}	New Song (“Written by Mr. Belfied, and the music composed by Mr. Megson”).		[Advertisement], “QUEEN’S THEATRE”, <i>The Argus</i> (4 July 1850), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4774626 .	
298.	1850-08-28	MEGSON, Joseph {fl.1846-70}	Quadrille The Prince of Wales (“Vocal Finale composed by J. Megson”).		[Advertisement]: “FAREWELL CONCERT”, <i>Launceston Examiner</i> (28 August 1850), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36266865 ; “CONCERT”, <i>Launceston Examiner</i> (31 August 1850), 6: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36266905 ; [Advertisement]: “FAREWELL CONCERT”, <i>Launceston Examiner</i> (11 September 1850), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36267006 .	

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299.	1850-09-20	MARSH, Henry (<i>England</i> 1824-USA after 1884) {1849-74}	<p>① The Australian Polka (“for the pianoforte; composed for the Citizens’ Return Fancy Dress Ball by Henry Marsh”);</p> <p>② The Australian Polka (5th edn);</p> <p>③ The Australian Polka (6th edn); (“The Australian National Polka (6th edn).</p> <p>④ The Australian National Polka (7th edn) (title on first page of music: “The Australian Polka”);</p> <p>⑤ The Australian National Polka.</p>	<p>① Sydney: Henry Marsh, 1850;</p> <p>② [Sydney: Henry Marsh, 1852];</p> <p>③ [Sydney: Henry Marsh, 1853];</p> <p>④ Sydney: H. Marsh, [185-?];</p> <p>⑤ [Sydney: J. R. Clarke, after 1858, as No 7 of Clarke’s “Colonial Polkas”].</p>	<p>① Copy at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/13901624;</p> <p>② NO COPY IDENTIFIED;</p> <p>③ NO COPY IDENTIFIED;</p> <p>④ Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/34794057;</p> <p>⑤ NO COPY IDENTIFIED.</p>	<p>① For the Citizens’ Return Fancy Dress Ball, on 20 September 1850; see [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (2 September 1850), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12920733; [Advertisement]: NEW POLKA. IN A FEW DAYS WILL BE PUBLISHED THE AUSTRALIAN POLKA”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (1 October 1850), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12921445; Marsh also directed a performance, billed as <i>Grand Australian Polka</i>, for military band “with vocal accompaniments”, at Sara Flower and Maria Carandini’s November concert, [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (4 November 1850), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12922280;</p> <p>② [Advertisement]: “JUST PUBLISHED [...] the Fifth Edition of the AUSTRALIAN POLKA”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (3 July 1852), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12938091;</p> <p>③ Sixth edition: [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (2 March 1853), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12944052 [as “Australian Polka”]; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (2 April 1853), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12944815 [as “Australian National Polka”].</p>
300.	1850-09-25	ANDERSON, James Henri (<i>England</i> 1823-1879) {1842-79}	The Fitzroy Quadrilles (“dedicated by permission to His Excellency Sir Charles A. Fitzroy, K.C.B., in honor of his visit to Melbourne”).	Sydney: James T. Grocott, for the composer [1850].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/18588440 .	[Advertisement]: “Just published”, <i>Launceston Examiner</i> (21 September 1850), 11: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36267035 ; “FITZ ROY QUADRILLES”, <i>Launceston Examiner</i> (25 September 1850), 6: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36267077 ; “THE FITZROY QUADRILLES”, <i>The Courier</i> (21 December 1850), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2961634 ; on same page: [Advertisement], <i>The Courier</i> (21 December 1850), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2961628 .
301.	1850-10-07	NATHAN, Isaac (<i>England</i> 1792-1864) {1841-64}	Loyalty (“A National Paean, Respectfully inscribed to His Excellency, Sir Charles Augustus Fitz Roy [...] Governor-in-chief of New South Wales and its dependencies”) (words: I. Nathan).	[Sydney]: [Kern and Mader], [1850].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16495348 .	[Advertisement]: “LOYALTY”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (7 October 1850), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12921579 .
302.	1850-10-15	HUENERBEIN, August Christian (senior) (<i>Germany</i> 1823-1882) {fl. 1850-82}	Waltz The Victoria.			[Advertisement], <i>South Australian Register</i> (15 October 1850), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38447962 ; [News], <i>South Australian Register</i> (16 October 1850), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38451299 ; [Advertisement], <i>South Australian Register</i> (29 October 1850), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38439165 .
303.	1850-10-15	MOORE, Andrew (<i>UK</i> ?-1876) {1850-76}	South Australian Polka (“Dedicated to Osmond Gilles, Esq.”).			[Advertisement], <i>South Australian Register</i> (15 October 1850), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38447962 ; [News], <i>South Australian Register</i> (16 October 1850), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38451299 .
304.	1850-10-15	MOORE, Andrew (<i>UK</i> ?-1876) {1850-76}	Schottische The Bushman’s Cooeey.			[Advertisement], <i>South Australian Register</i> (15 October 1850), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38447962 ; [News], <i>South Australian Register</i> (16 October 1850), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38451299 .

<i>1st notice</i>	<i>Creator</i>	<i>Title/details</i>	<i>Publication</i>	<i>Availability</i>	<i>Comments and supporting data</i>
305.	1850-10-15 MOORE, Andrew (UK ?-1876) {1850-76}	Sentimentality versus Reality (Song; “sung by Miss Lazar” [future Mrs. Moore]).			[Advertisement], <i>South Australian Register</i> (15 October 1850), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38447962 ; [News], <i>South Australian Register</i> (16 October 1850), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38451299 .
306.	1850-10-29 HUENERBEIN, August Christian (senior) (Germany 1823-1882) {fl. 1850-82}	March Adelaide.			[Advertisement], <i>South Australian Register</i> (29 October 1850), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38439165 .
307.	1850-10-29 CHAPMAN, Mr.	Theme with variations (solo on cornet a piston).			[Advertisement], <i>South Australian Register</i> (29 October 1850), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38439165 .
308.	1850-11-06 KNIGHT, Troy {fl.1850-55; 1886-87}	Ballad <i>The Fire Fly</i> (“Written and sung by Troy Knight”).			[Advertisement]: “GRAND PROMENADE CONCERT”, <i>Launceston Examiner</i> (6 November 1850), 11: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36267413 .
309.	1850-11-13 MOORE, Andrew (UK ?-1876) {1850-76}	An Australian Air.			“MR. MOORE’S CONCERT”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (13 November 1850), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38445076 .
310.	1850-11-20 REED, Thomas	The Song of Victoria (“Written and Composed with Original Music, by Thomas Reed”).	[Melbourne: T. Reed, 1850].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement], T. REED’S MUSICAL REPOSITORY [...] Just Published”, <i>The Argus</i> (20 November 1850), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4767785 ; “HAM’S ILLUSTRATED AUSTRALIAN MAGAZINE”, <i>The Courier</i> (11 February 1851), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2961347 .
311.	1850-11-26 CRABBE [?]	March Adelaide.			But see Huenerbein’s above; [Advertisement], <i>South Australian Register</i> (26 November 1850), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38435397 .
312.	1850-11-26 HUENERBEIN, August Christian (senior) (Germany 1823-1882) {fl. 1850-82}	Duet for 2 clarinets.			[Advertisement], <i>South Australian Register</i> (26 November 1850), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38435397 .
313.	1850-11-26 HUENERBEIN, August Christian (senior) (Germany 1823-1882) {fl. 1850-82}	Galop <i>Sonnambula</i>.			[Advertisement], <i>South Australian Register</i> (26 November 1850), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38435397 .
314.	1850-12-11 WALLER, James (England 1819-1871) {1826-71}	Britain (song).			[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (11 December 1850), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12923231 .
315.	1850-12-11 MARSH, Stephen (England ?1805-1888) {1842-46; 1849-72}	I drink to thee (song).	[London: ? T. Boosey ?, between 1847 and 1850?].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (11 December 1850), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12923231 .
316.	1850-12-24 NATHAN, Isaac (England 1792-1864) {1841-64}	<u>The Meeting of the East and the West</u> (words: Thomas Livingstone Mitchell).	[Sydney]: [?], [1852].	Incomplete copies at SL-NSW, Mitchell papers.	“STANZAS FOR MUSIC: THE MEETING OF THE EAST AND WEST; OR THE MARCH OF CHRISTIAN MAN”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (24 December 1850), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12923576 ; see also note on Marsh’s Mitchell setting below;

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data
317.	1850-12-24 MARSH, Stephen H. (<i>England</i> ?1805-1888) {1842-46; 1849-72}	The spell that beams in woman's eye ("words by Sir T. Livingston Mitchell; music arranged by S. H. Marsh").	[Sydney]: [?], [1850-52].	Copies at SL-NSW; Papers of Sir Thomas Mitchell, A295-2/vii, 253-54; another copy: Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/24883128 .	Tentatively dated as above; the song was engraved freehand, probably by an amateur rather than a professional, and the similar format suggests it was issued, and perhaps commissioned, to form a pair with Nathan's Mitchell setting above; elsewhere, the song has been dated to early 1852 at the latest, the result of "an arrangement [...] whereby Mitchell was to supply the words for a melody composed by Marsh"; see William C. Foster, <i>Sir Thomas Livingston Mitchell and his World 1792-1855: Surveyor General of New South Wales 1828-1855</i> (Sydney: The Institute of Surveyors, 1985), 447.
318.	1850-12-24 WILKIE, Joseph (<i>England</i> ?-1875) {1850-1872}	The Separation Polka.	[Melbourne: Joseph Wilkie, 1851].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	First performed at the Separation Ball, Melbourne, November 1850, see <i>Colonial Times</i> (24 December 1850), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8768442 ; [Advertisement]: "JUST PUBLISHED, THE SEPARATION POLKA, composed by Joseph Wilkie", <i>The Argus</i> (9 January 1851), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4775521 ; "HAM'S ILLUSTRATED AUSTRALIAN MAGAZINE", <i>The Courier</i> (11 February 1851), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2961347 ; Godfrey Charles Mundy, <i>Our Antipodes, or, Residence and Rambles in the Australasian Colonies, with a Glimpse of the Goldfields</i> , Volume 3 (2 nd edn; London: Richard Bentley, 1852), 283: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=u3VCAAAACAAJ&pg=PA283#v=onepage&q&f=false .
319.	1851 LINGER, Carl Ferdinand August (<i>Germany</i> 1810-1862) {1849-62}	O Lord who is as thee (anthem for SATB and Orchestra, 1851).		MS in private collection.	"VOCAL MUSIC BY CARL LINGER", <i>The Advertiser</i> (27 February 1936), 19: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article35411694 ; article also mentions pre-Australian works by Linger.
320.	1851-01-20 LINGER, Carl Ferdinand August (<i>Germany</i> 1810-1862) {1849-62}	Instrumental Quartette (played by "Messrs. [S.W.] Wallace, Osborne, Heinerbein [sic], and Mater").			[Advertisement]: "GRAND CONCERT OF GEORGE FISCHER", <i>South Australian Register</i> (20 January 1851), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38436850 .
321.	1851-01-25 IMBERG, Julius Samuel (<i>Germany</i> ?-1863) {1846-63}	① Tasmanian Quadrilles; ② Tasmanian Quadrilles ("dedicated to Lady Denison, just re-published").	① [Hobart ?; Thomas Browne, for J. S. Imberg, 1851]; ② [2 nd ed., Sydney: Henry Marsh, 1855].	① NO COPY IDENTIFIED. ② NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	① [Advertisement]: "JUST PUBLISHED", <i>Launceston Examiner</i> (25 January 1851), 6: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36259431 ; "MR. IMBERG'S QUADRILLES", <i>Colonial Times</i> (28 January 1851), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8768636 ; "TASMANIAN QUADRILLES", <i>The Courier</i> (1 February 1851), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2961407 ; ② "TASMANIAN QUADRILLES", <i>Launceston Examiner</i> (19 April 1855), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36292363 ; "THE TASMANIAN QUADRILLE", <i>The Argus</i> (1 August 1856), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7134125 ; "THE TASMANIAN QUADRILLE", <i>The Argus</i> (6 August 1856), 6: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7134395 .
322.	1851-01-28 MOORE, Andrew (<i>UK</i> ?-1876) {1850-76}	Jeanette and Jeannot; or, The Conscript and His Bride ("musical petite drama"; "operetta"; "The overture, and new music, composed and arranged by Mr. Moore").			[Advertisement]: "Royal Victoria Theatre", <i>South Australian Register</i> (28 January 1851), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38445242 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data
323.	1851-02-10	GIBBS, John (England ?-1875) {1843-75}	Grand New Mexican Dance.		[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (10 February 1851), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12924691 .
324.	1851-03-05	GIBBS, John (England ?-1875) {1843-75}	Air with Variations (violin).		[Advertisement]: "ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (5 March 1851), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28646126 .
325.	1851-03-12	HUENERBEIN, August Christian (senior) (Germany 1823-1882) {fl. 1850-82}	Solo for Tuba basso on a Theme from Mozart's opera Don Giovanni.		[Advertisement], <i>South Australian Register</i> (12 March 1851), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38445644 .
326.	1851-03-28	BENNETT, George (UK 1817-1854) {1839-54}	South Australian Anthem ("Let all our cares and griefs be drowned") ("composed expressly for the occasion [...] the intrinsic merit of the music exciting very general admiration").		"OLD COLONISTS' FESTIVAL", <i>South Australian Register</i> (28 March 1851), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38449615 ; "CONCERT AT GAWLEER TOWN", <i>South Australian Register</i> (26 April 1851), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38435731 ; see also "FUNERAL OF MR. G. BENNETT", <i>South Australian Register</i> (26 September 1854), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49201932 ; "THE LATE MR. BENNETT", <i>South Australian Register</i> (25 September 1854), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49201804 .
327.	1851-03-29	ANONYMOUS; [? BENNETT, George (UK 1817-1854) {1839-54}]	Old Colonists' Song.		"ANNIVERSARY DINNER OF THE OLD COLONISTS", <i>South Australian Register</i> (29 March 1852), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38459726 ; [Advertisement]: "ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE", <i>South Australian Register</i> (10 April 1851), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38436664 ; "CONCERT AT GAWLEER TOWN", <i>South Australian Register</i> (26 April 1851), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38435731 .
328.	1851-04-07	DEL SARTE, Camille (France c.1817-1877) {1851-77}	Le Chant Beni des Oiseaux.		[Advertisement]: "GRAND EVENING CONCERT", <i>South Australian Register</i> (7 April 1851), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38450697 .
329.	1851-04-28	MARSH, Stephen (England ?1805-1888) {1842-46; 1849-72}	The Ferrolana Polka ("Op. 63") ("Souvenir de Sydney; Composed and dedicated to Brigadier Quesada, and The Officers of Her Catholic [Spanish] Majesty's Corvette <i>Ferrolana</i> ") ("Introduction and Coda must be left out when played for dancing").	Sydney: Woolcott & Clarke, [1851].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19203932 .
330.	1851-04-30	ANONYMOUS	Adelaide Polka ("old favourite").		At George Bennett's "KOORINGA CONCERTS", <i>South Australian Register</i> (30 April 1851), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38452078 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
331.	1851-05-10	MARSH, Henry (<i>England</i> 1824-USA after 1884) {1849-74}	<p>① The Birth-Day Polka (“composed in honor of Her Majesty’s birthday”);</p> <p>② The Birthday Polka; (Introduction–Polka–Galop).</p>	<p>① Sydney: H. Marsh, [1851];</p> <p>② [Sydney: J. R. Clarke, after 1858, as No 11 of Clarke’s “Colonial Polkas”].</p>	<p>Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19204107.</p>	<p>Composed for the Queen’s Birthday Ball, 1851; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (10 May 1851), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12926962; “Now in the Press [...] THE BIRTH-DAY POLKA, composed expressly for the Ball to be given at Government House, in honour of Her Majesty’s Birthday, on Friday, the 23rd instant, and dedicated to the Hon. Mrs. Keith Stewart”.</p>
332.	1851-05-17	MARSH, Henry (<i>England</i> 1824-USA after 1884) {1849-74}	The Military Polka (“dedicated to Colonel Bloomfield and the Officers of Her Majesty’s 11th Regiment”).	① Sydney: H. Marsh, [1851].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (17 May 1851), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12927161 .
333.	1851-05-22	STANLEY, William (<i>England</i> 1820-1902) {c.1837-1902}	The Sydney Polka (“respectfully dedicated to the Ladies of Sydney”).	Sydney: H. Marsh, [1851].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16444927 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (22 May 1851), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12927294 ; “NEW POLKA. Just Published”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (8 July 1851), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31734220 .
334.	1851-06-12	HEMY, Henry F Frederick (<i>UK?</i> 1818-1888) {1851}	The Victoria Quadrilles (“composed and dedicated to His Excellency Sir Charles Joseph La Trobe [...] by Henry F. Hemy”).			“MECHANICS’ INSTITUTION MUSIC CLASS”, <i>The Argus</i> (12 June 1851), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4778465 ; Thomas Reed had presented Mrs. Testar and Henry F. Hemy as “newly arrived from England”, “MECHANICS’ INSTITUTION”, <i>The Argus</i> (20 February 1851), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4776286 ; Hemy composed the well-known tune to Faber’s “Faith of our Fathers” (ST. CATHERINE), originally published in his <i>Crown of Jesus</i> (London & Dublin, 1864).
335.	1851-06-12	HEMY, Henry F Frederick (<i>UK?</i> 1818-1888) {1851}	The Border Polkas (first time).	[London: 1845].	Copy at British Library.	See above;
336.	1851-06-14	ANONYMOUS	A New Song on the Times (“The golden days are coming, boys”) (“written expressly for this occasion by a gentleman of East Maitland”).			[Advertisement], <i>The Maitland Mercury</i> (14 June 1851), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article682511 .
337.	1851-06-21	MARSH, Henry (<i>England</i> 1824-USA after 1884) {1849-74}	The Ophir Polka (“for the Pianoforte”).	[Sydney: H. Marsh, 1851].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (21 June 1851), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12928082 .
338.	1851-07-01	LEVEY, Montague snr (<i>Australia?</i> 1833-1884)	The Montague Polka (“Dedicated to the Ladies of Sydney”).	[Sydney]: [?], [1851].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/34370664 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (1 July 1851), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31734161 ; “DEATHS”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (12 May 1884), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13572265 .
339.	1851-07-12	MEYMOTT, Frederick William (<i>UK?</i> c.1810-1883) {1850-83}	<p>① Oh! never doubt I love thee (“New song, by F. W. Meymott, Esq.”);</p> <p>② Oh, never doubt I love thee (“words by the countess of Blessington”).</p>	<p>① [Sydney: Henry Marsh, 1851];</p> <p>② London, [1854]; in <i>The Melodist</i> No 12.</p>	<p>① NO COPY IDENTIFIED;</p> <p>② Copy at British Library, Music Collections H.1254.(38.) [004525819].</p>	[Advertisement]: “NEW MUSIC. Published this week”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (12 July 1851), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12928551 ; “THE LATE MR. F. W. MEYMOTT”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (24 December 1883), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13546299 ; the NLA also hold an MS letter from Meymott, to his father (14 June 1820), MS NLA MS 2270, Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/22728236 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
340.	1851-07-29	IMBERG, Julius Samuel (Germany ?-1863) {1846-63}	Welcome to the Spring Polka ("Composed and dedicated to the ladies of Tasmania").	Hobart: T. Isaacs, [1851].	Copy at SL-TAS: Permalink: http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=573363 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9854839 .	"NEW POLKA", <i>Colonial Times</i> (29 July 1851), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8769663 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Courier</i> (30 July 1851), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2960493 .
341.	1851-08-02	EMANUEL, Abraham (England 1814-1907) {1841-1907}	The Casino Polka [? by Jullien, or Koenig] ("Arranged [sic] by A. Emanuel. Dedicated to the patrons of his fashionable weekly entertainment at the Royal Hotel").	Sydney: Kern & Mader, [1851].	Copy at SL-NSW: Permalink: http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/record=b2166741~S2 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/30650279 .	[Advertisement]: "NEW MUSIC", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (2 August 1851), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12929140 ; Abraham advertised as a "Professor of the Piano-forte" in 1841, [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Herald</i> (29 June 1841), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12869871 ; "DEATHS", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (9 May 1907), 6: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article14847013 ; his daughter Carrie Emanuel was a noted opera singer.
342.	1851-08-05	STANLEY, William (England 1820-1902) {c.1837-1902}	Grand March (for pianoforte; "composed when only 12 years of age" [1831]).			[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (5 August 1850), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12920019 .
343.	1851-08-23	MARSH, Stephen (England ?1805-1888) {1842-46; 1849-72}	The Ophir Schottische ("for the Pianoforte, Composed and dedicated to Miss Barney").	Sydney: [Woolcott & Clarke], [1851].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19204075 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (23 August 1851), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12929705 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (22 October 1851), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12931421 ; "THE OPHIR SCHOTTISCHE", <i>Bell's Life in Sydney</i> (25 October 1851), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article59773376 ; [Advertisement]: "ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (15 November 1851), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12932065 .
344.	1851-10-27	WALLACE, Spencer Wellington (Ireland ?-?) {1836-after 1851}	Solo for Violin ("written expressly by Mr. S. W. Wallace for his Pupil, Master R. White").			[Advertisement]: "MR. FREDERIC ELLARD", <i>South Australian Register</i> (27 October 1851), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38436394 ; later "Mr. R. B. White (from the Royal Academy of Music)" advertised as a professor of music, see [Advertisement]: <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (21 January 1859), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article788002 .
345.	1851-11-07	STIER, Charles William Ferdinand (Germany ?-?) {1845-59}	Merry Old England Quadrilles ("Arranged, and in part composed, for His Excellency the Governor-General's Costume Ball") (1 Whilst with village maids I stray; 2 Sweet Anne Page; 3 I've kissed and I've prattled; 4 When the rosy morn appearing; 5 'Twas merry in the hall).	Sydney: For the composer by H. Marsh/Woolcott & Clarke, [1851].	Copy at SL-NSW; Permalink: http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/record=b3320013~S2 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/37498133 .	[Advertisement]: "NEW MUSIC", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (7 November 1851), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12931874 .
346.	1851-11-07	STIER, Charles William Ferdinand (Germany ?-?) {1845-59}	Fitz Roy Schottische ("Composed for the same occasion [the Governor-General's Costume Ball], and dedicated to the Honorable Mrs. Keith Stewart").	Sydney: For the composer by H. Marsh, 1851.	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19204117 .	[Advertisement]: "NEW MUSIC", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (7 November 1851), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12931874 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
347.	1851-11-07	STIER, Charles William Ferdinand (Germany ?-?) {1845-59}	The Native Flower Polka (“Dedicated to the Ladies of New South Wales”).	Sydney: For the composer by H. Marsh, [1851].	Copy at SL-NSW; http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/record=b3320177~S2 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/37511324 .	[Advertisement]: “NEW MUSIC”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (7 November 1851), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12931874 .
348.	1851-11-24	MOORE, Andrew (UK ?-1876) {1850-76}	Australian Air Varie (for solo violin).			[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (24 November 1851), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12932316 ; “MR. A. MOORE’S SOIREE MUSICALE”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (27 November 1851), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12932389 ; and see also “MR. MOORE’S CONCERT”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (13 November 1850), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38445076 .
349.	1851-12-16	MOORE, Andrew (UK ?-1876) {1850-76}	Falling Leaves (song) (“Composed and dedicated to Mrs. Henry Marsh”; “As sung by Miss Sara Flower”).	Sydney: H. Marsh & A. Moore, [1851].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/20846941 .	[Advertisement], “MR. HENRY MARSH’S GRAND ANNUAL CONCERT”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (16 December 1851), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12932864 ; [Advertisement]: “NEW MUSIC—Just Published”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (1 January 1852), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31734345 .
350.	1851-12-16	MOORE, Andrew (UK ?-1876) {1850-76}	These odious diggings (comic song/scena; “A Letter about those odious Gold Diggings. As sung by Mr. John Howson”).	[Sydney: H. Marsh & A. Moore, 1852].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (16 December 1851), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12932864 ; “Mr. HENRY MARSH’S CONCERT”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (22 December 1851), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12933035 [prints full text]; [Advertisement]: “NEW MUSIC—Just Published”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (1 January 1852), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31734345 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (30 January 1852), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12933996 .
351.	1851-12-16	MOORE, Andrew (UK ?-1876) {1850-76}	Grand Gallop (“for 12 pianofortes arranged for this occasion by Mr. Andrew Moore”).			[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (16 December 1851), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12932864 ; John Shaw, <i>A Tramp to the Diggings: Being notes of a ramble in Australia and New Zealand in 1852</i> (London: Richard Bentley, 1852), 202: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=rcMNAAAQAAJ&pg=PA202#v=onepage&q&f=false .
352.	1851-12-16	MOORE, Andrew (UK ?-1876) {1850-76}	La Coquette (for solo violin).			[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (16 December 1851), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12932864 .
353.	1851-12-16	MOORE, Andrew (UK ?-1876) {1850-76}	Capriccio Arpeggio (for solo violin).			[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (16 December 1851), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12932864 .
354.	1852-00-00	MONTGOMERY, William Henry (UK c.1811-1866)	To the Gold Fields, or The Song of the Emigrant .	London: D’Almaine, [1852].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/34869453 .	British Library catalogue dates this [1852]; the title appears in a long list of music for sale from Robert Blair, Maitland, [Advertisement], “MUSIC”, <i>The Maitland Mercury</i> (6 April 1858), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article18649997 .
355.	1852-02-14	EMANUEL, Abraham (arr.) (England 1814-1907) {1841-1907}	A Young Lady’s No (song).	[Sydney: A. Emanuel, 1852].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	“NEW SONG”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (14 February 1852), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31733909 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
356.	1852-03-20	NATHAN, Isaac (<i>England</i> 1792-1864) {1841-64}	Lungi dal caro bene ([from Sarti's <i>Giulio Sabrino</i>] "Sung by MR. PALMER, As newly harmonised, corrected and revised, with appropriate symphonies and accompaniments; and with VARIATIONS composed expressly for his extraordinary soprano voice by I. NATHAN").	Sydney: Kern & Mader, [1853].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/15073267 .	"MUSIC", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (20 March 1852), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12935283 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (7 April 1853), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12944888 ; [Advertisement]: "St. Mary's Choral Society", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (19 May 1853), 1s: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12945950 ; despite the printed title disclaimer, this may be identical with the item Nathan advertised for performance in 1842; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Gazette</i> (24 May 1842), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2556557 : "Cavatina, Lungi dal Caro Bene—With the original ornaments, as expressly written by Mr. Nathan for Madame Malibran [sung by] Miss R Nathan—[composed by] Sarti".
357.	1852-03-22	DEL SARTE, Camille (<i>France</i> c.1817-1877) {1851-77}	The Juvenile Ball Quadrilles ("Mons. del Sarte's first Australian composition [...] can be obtained at Mr. Wilkie's").	[Melbourne: ? composer, 1852].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (22 March 1852), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4783922 ; probably composed for Lady Denison's Juvenile Ball, Hobart, at which music was supplied by "the Chamber Band of the 99th Regiment"; see "LADY DENISON'S ANNUAL BALL", <i>Launceston Examiner</i> (7 January 1852), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36262179 .
358.	1852-03-22	DEL SARTE, Camille (<i>France</i> c.1817-1877) {1851-77}	The Faded Rose ("his first composition in Port Phillip").			[Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (22 March 1852), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4783922 .
359.	1852-03-23	MOORE, Andrew (<i>UK</i> ?-1876) {1850-76}{1850-59}	King David's Lamentation on the Death of His Son Absalom.			[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (23 March 1852), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12935330 .
360.	1852-05-12	GIBBS, John (<i>England</i> ?-1875) {1843-75}	A Cantata, appropriate to the first Anniversary of the Gold Discovery in New South Wales (words: Mr. [J.G.] Griffiths).			[Advertisement]: "ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (12 May 1852), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12936709 ; "MUSIC", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (12 May 1852), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12936703 .
361.	1852-06-07	MARSH, Stephen (<i>England</i> ?1805-1888) {1842-46; 1849-72}	Kathleen O'More with variations for the Harp ("composed by S.H. MARSH").	[Unidentified edition, probably London, T. Boosey].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (7 June 1852), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12937376 .
362.	1852-06-26	PACKER, Charles S. (<i>England</i> 1810-1883) {1840-83}	A new Ballet of Action and a Favourite Overture ("Composer and Director of the Music").			[Advertisement], <i>The Courier</i> (26 June 1852), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2958837 .
363.	1852-07-02	HOWSON, John (<i>England</i> c.1819-1871) {1842-71}	The Lost One (new ballad; words: J. G. Griffiths; for Maria Carandini).			[Advertisement]: "ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (2 July 1852), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12938052 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
364.	1852-08-12	MARSH, Henry (England 1824-USA after 1884) {1849-74}	<p>① The Chusan Waltz (“as played at the Ball on the 26th instant, and dedicated to Captain Henry Down, and the Officers of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company’s Steam Ship <i>Chusan</i>”).</p> <p>② The Chusan Waltz;</p> <p>③ The Chusan Waltz.</p>	<p>① Sydney: H. Marsh, [1852] (cover illustration of the <i>Chusan</i> by G.F. Angas);</p> <p>② Sydney: H. Marsh, [185-?];</p> <p>③ Sydney: Woolcott & Clarke, [185-?].</p>	<p>① Copy at NLA: Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/8806916; item: http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-an6450130;</p> <p>② Copy at NLA: Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/8806916; item: http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-an6450119;</p> <p>③ Copy at NLA: Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/8806916; item: http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-an23154145.</p>	<p>[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (12 August 1852), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12939149; [Advertisement]: “NEW DANCE MUSIC FOR THE BALL ON THE 26TH INSTANT. IN THE PRESS, And will be published in the 27th instant”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (25 August 1852), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12939494; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (28 August 1852), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12939579.</p>
365.	1852-08-12	MARSH, Henry (England 1824-USA after 1884) {1849-74}	The Australian Galop (“a companion to [<i>The Chusan Waltz</i>] dedicated to the Australian Royal Mail Company”).	[Sydney: H. Marsh, 1852].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	<p>[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (12 August 1852), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12939149; [Advertisement]: “NEW DANCE MUSIC FOR THE BALL ON THE 26TH INSTANT. IN THE PRESS, And will be published in the 27th instant”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (25 August 1852), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12939494.</p>
366.	1852-08-14	MARSH, Henry (England 1824-USA after 1884) {1849-74}	<p>① The Nugget Schottische (“dedicated to his friend, C.W.F. Stier” [master of the band of the 11th Regiment]);</p> <p>② The Nugget Schottische.</p>	<p>① Sydney: Henry Marsh, [1852].</p> <p>② Sydney: Henry Marsh, printed by Allan & Wigley, [? 1855 or later].</p>	<p>① Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16541473; item: http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-an6442796;</p> <p>② Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16541473; item: http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-vn603064.</p>	<p>[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (14 August 1853), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12939196; [Advertisement]: “NEW DANCE MUSIC FOR THE BALL ON THE 26TH INSTANT. IN THE PRESS, And will be published in the 27th instant”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (25 August 1852), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12939494; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (28 August 1852), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12939579; “GOLD ANNIVERSARY DINNER”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (14 February 1853), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12943643; a report of the 1853 Mayor’s Fancy Dress Ball lists some of the dance music performed, including “and (best of all) the Nugget Quadrilles, Polka and Galopes”, “THE MAYOR OF SYDNEY’S FANCY DRESS BALL”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (9 July 1853), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12947156.</p>
367.	1852-08-23	JOHNSON, William J. (England 1810-1866) {1836-66}	<p>① The Chusan Polka (“Performed by the band of Her Majesty’s XIth Regiment, at the Ball given in honor of the arrival of the first Steam Ship [<i>Chusan</i>] from Great Britain [...] and published at the request of his friends”);</p> <p>② The Chusan Polka (2nd edn).</p>	<p>① Sydney: W. J. Johnson, [1852].</p> <p>② [Sydney: W. J. Johnson, 1854].</p>	<p>① Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19492986;</p> <p>② NO COPY IDENTIFIED.</p>	<p>[Advertisement]: “IN THE PRESS, And will be published in the 27th instant”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (23 August 1852), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12939453; “STEAM FORTY YEARS AGO”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (28 August 1909), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article15992335; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (11 February 1854), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12958481.</p>

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
368.	1852-10-02	MARSH, Henry (<i>England</i> 1824-USA after 1884) {1849-74}	The Galop for Gold (“dedicated to everybody”).	Sydney: Henry Marsh, 1852 (cover: “October 19 th 1852”; illustration by G.F. Angas).	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19550349 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (2 October 1852), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12940441 ; [Advertisement]: “THE GALOP FOR GOLD: PUBLISHED THIS DAY”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (19 October 1852), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12940874 .
369.	1852-11-01	NELSON, Sidney (<i>England</i> 1800-1862) {1853-61}	Madoline (“New Song”; words: Edward J. Gill; “As sung by Mr. John Gregg, at Mr. Winterbottom’s Concerts”).	Sydney: H. Marsh, [1853].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/5461406 ; item: http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-an5352824 .	[Advertisement]: “THE NELSON FAMILY”, <i>The Argus</i> (1 November 1852), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4787858 ; [Advertisement]: “NEW MUSICAL PUBLICATIONS [...] In the Press”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (19 July 1853), supplement 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12947424 .
370.	1852-11-26	DANIELL, Jonah A. (<i>UK</i> ?-?) {1843-after 1853}	The Great Britain Polka (“Composed by Mr. J. A. DANIELL, and dedicated by special permission, to Captain Matthews and the Officers or the <i>Great Britain</i> , steam-ship”).	[Sydney: Henry Marsh, 1852].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement]: “NEW MUSIC. Just published”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (26 November 1852), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12941869 ; “ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (6 December 1852), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12942131 : “composed by Mr. J. A. Daniell, and arranged for the Orchestra by Mr. Gibbs”.
371.	1852-11-26	ELLARD, Frederick (<i>Ireland</i> 1824-1874) {1832-74}	The Great Britain Polka (“Composed by Mr. F. ELLARD, in honor of the first arrival of the Great Britain Steamship, in the harbour of Port Jackson; embellished with a superb illustration of the steamer, drawn by Mr. F. GARLING; engraved on wood in the first style of art, by WALTER MASON; and most respectfully dedicated to CAPTAIN and Mrs. MATTHEWS, by the publishers WOOLCOTT AND CLARKE”). 🔗 The Great Britain Polka.	① Sydney: Woolcott & Clarke, [1852]; ② [Sydney: J. R. Clarke, after 1858, as No 5 of Clarke’s “Colonial Polkas”].	① Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19573876 ; ② NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (26 November 1852), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12941869 .
372.	1852-11-26	MARSH, Stephen (<i>England</i> ?1805-1888) {1842-46; 1849-72}	The Great Britain Quadrilles (composed for the Pianoforte by S. H. Marsh).	[Sydney: Henry Marsh, 1852].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (26 November 1852), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12941869 : “IN THE COURSE OF PUBLICATION. The Great Britain Quadrilles”.
373.	1865-12-22	HOWSON, John (<i>England</i> c.1819-1871) {1842-71}	The Christmas Present Polka.	Sydney: Woolcott & Clarke, [1852].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/10636624 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (22 December 1852), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12942456 .
374.	1853~	CHILDE, Adelaide (<i>UK</i> fl.1853)	The Melbourne Polka (pianoforte).	London, [1853].	Copy at British Library.	
375.	1853-01-11	NELSON, Sidney (<i>England</i> 1800-1862) {1853-61}	The Ladies’ Prerogative (“new farce”; libretto: W. M. Akhurst).			[Advertisement]: “NEW FARCE”, <i>The Argus</i> (11 January 1853), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4788837 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (20 January 1853), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4789100 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
376.	1853-01-07	STRONG, George (? Australia 1824-1878)	The Escort Polka (“a new composition, entitled <i>The Gold Escort Polka</i> ”).	Sydney: G. Hudson, [1853].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19209662 .	“ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (7 January 1853), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12942722 .
377.	1853-01-12	MARSH, Henry (England 1824-USA after 1884) {1849-74}	The Bridal Waltz (“The Bride’s Waltz”) (“respectfully dedicated to Mrs. Ward, by Henry Marsh”).	Sydney: H. Marsh, [1853].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/13789278 .	For Mrs. John Ward (Anne Therry, daughter of the Chief Justice of NSW), her wedding in January; “MARRIED”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (12 January 1853), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12942818 ; Marsh later composed and published the <i>Sharon-Hesketh Bridal Waltz</i> (San Francisco: Henry Marsh, 1881).
378.	1853-01-13	MARSH, Henry (England 1824-USA after 1884) {1849-74}	<p>① The Anniversary Polka (“Dedicated to the Committee of Management of the [65th] Anniversary Regatta” [26 January 1853]);</p> <p>② The Anniversary Polka.</p>	<p>① Sydney: Henry Marsh, [1853] (cover illustration: G.F. Angas);</p> <p>② [Sydney: J. R. Clarke, after 1858, as No 8 of Clarke’s “Colonial Polkas”].</p>	<p>① Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16541542;</p> <p>② NO COPY IDENTIFIED.</p>	[Advertisement]: “NEW MUSICAL PUBLICATIONS [...] In the course of publication”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (13 January 1853), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12942850 .
379.	1853-01-18	NELSON, Sidney (England 1800-1862) {1853-61}	Love and Experience (“an entirely new musical vaudeville, founded on the French of. Balzac”; libretto: W. M. Akhurst).			[Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (18 January 1853), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4789010 .
380.	1853-02-05	DEANE, Edward S. (Australia c.1830-1879)	The Electro-Biological Schottische (“composed by E.S. Deane” [dedicated to Mr. Daly]).	Sydney: W. J. Johnson, [1853].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19204100 .	[Advertisement]: “NEW POLKA AND SCHOTTISCHE, In the Press, and will be published on Tuesday, the 8 th instant”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (5 February 1853), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28643732 ; “Deaths”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (5 September 1879), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13449407 .
381.	1853-02-05	HARWOOD, W.C. [?=C.W.] {c.1853-55}	The Biological Polka ([advertisement]: “composed by C.W. Harwood, and dedicated to Mr. Daly”) (cover: “dedicated to Mr. Daly, composed by W.C. Harwood”).	Sydney: W. J. Johnson, [1853].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19204092 .	[Advertisement]: “NEW POLKA ANDSCHOTTISCHE, In the Press, and will be published on Tuesday, the 8 th instant”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (5 February 1853), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28643732 .
382.	1853-03-31	LINGER, Carl Ferdinand August (Germany 1810-1862) {1849-62}	God Save the Queen (“Solo, Quartette, and Chorus, written expressly for this Concert”).			[Advertisement]: “MADAME M. CRANZ’S CONCERT”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (31 March 1853), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38459801 ; “MADAME CRANZ’S CONCERT”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (15 April 1853), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38455697 ; “The evening’s amusements were concluded with a new version of the National Anthem, written expressly for this concert. We were not surprised to perceive that few Englishmen attempted to join in the parody. Those who have long learned to venerate the beautifully simple strains of <i>God Save the Queen</i> , could only regard as a sort of profanation any attempt to embellish so bright a gem of our national genius with adornments foreign to the melody and the harmony of that spirit-stirring anthem [...]”.

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data
383.	1853-04-01	YRIGOYTI, Francis de	Dig! Dig! Dig! (“Song composed & dedicated to all merry gold diggers”).	London: Jewell & Letchford, [1853].	Copy at NLA (“Third edition”); Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/33727438 . “Composed & dedicated to all merry gold diggers”; “This song may serve to shed a gleam of satisfaction to our Australian friends”, “we hope it may find its way to Geelong”; “New Music”, <i>The Ladies’ Companion and Monthly Magazine</i> 3 (1 April 1853), 222: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=HoQFAAAQAAJ&pg=PA222&v=onepage&q&f=false ; “CHARACTERISTIC MUSIC”, <i>The Courier</i> (1 June 1854), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2247000 ; the title also appears in a long list of music for sale from Robert Blair, [Advertisement], “MUSIC”, <i>The Maitland Mercury</i> (6 April 1858), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article18649997 .
384.	1853-04-07	NATHAN, Isaac (England 1792-1864) {1841-64}	Angels ever bright and fair (“from Handel’s <i>Theodora</i> ; sung by Mr. Palmer, at St. Mary’s Choral Society; as arranged with variations &c., expressly for his extraordinary soprano voice by I. Nathan”).	Sydney: Kern & Mader, [1853].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/5844773 . [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (7 April 1853), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12944888 ; [Advertisement]: “ST. MARY’S CHORAL SOCIETY”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (8 August 1853), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12947841 .
385.	1853-04-07	NATHAN, Isaac (England 1792-1864) {1841-64}	The Names of Christ (“[words] by James B. Laughton, Esq.; composed as a soprano solo and arranged likewise as a sestetto expressly for St. James’ and St. Mary’s Choral Societies by I. Nathan”).	Sydney: W. J. Johnson, [1853].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/15072837 . [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (7 April 1853), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12944888 ; St. Mary’s Choral Society formed in 1851, Nathan conducting it until 1854; See also a broadside copy of Broughton’s text at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/8324145 .
386.	1853-04-12	LINGER, Carl Ferdinand August (Germany 1810-1862) {1849-62}	Vocal Quartette, Die Nelken und die Rosen.		[Advertisement]: “MADAME M. CRANZ’S CONCERT”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (12 April 1853), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38456646 .
387.	1853-04-23	PACKER, Charles S. (England 1810-1883) {1840-83}	Little Nell (A Ballad) (words: Charlotte Young); (“sung with enthusiastic applause by Madame Anna Bishop, to whom it is dedicated by her friend and fellow student, the composer Charles S. Packer”).	Sydney: W. J. Johnson, [1857].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/5492748 . See also US Edition [Advertisement]: “CORNWALL ASSEMBLY ROOMS”, <i>Launceston Examiner</i> (23 April 1853), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36268871 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (15 December 1853), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12954327 ; [Advertisement]: “PRINCE OF WALES THEATRE”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (27 August 1857), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12999828 ; “NEW BALLAD, <i>Little Nell</i> [...] the music by Charles Packer, [sung by] Madame Anna Bishop”; [Advertisement]: “JUST PUBLISHED”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (1 September 1857), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13000056 ; for US edition, see “NEW MUSIC FOR JUNE”, <i>Dwight’s Journal of Music</i> (27 June 1863), 23: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=02UPAAAAYAAJ&pg=PR23#v=onepage&q&f=false .
388.	1853-05-06	WINTERBOTTOM, John (England 1817-1897) {1853-61}	Vale of my Childhood (song).		[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (6 May 1853), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12946140 .
389.	1853-05-07	TURNER, Mr.	Medley (“composed for the occasion, comprising several popular melodies”).		[Advertisement]: “MELOPHONIC CONCERT ROOM”, <i>The Courier</i> (7 May 1853), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2240831 .

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390.	1853-05-18	MURPHY, Miss {fl.1853}	See Love's web around thee weaving ("A New Song"; words: J.D. Merewether)	Sydney: W. J. Johnson, [1853].	Copy at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/31830446 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (18 May 1853), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12945897 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Courier</i> (22 July 1853), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2243125 ; "NEW SONG [...] The Poetry By the Rev. J. D. Merewether, B.A, The Music composed and dedicated to Mrs. Alfred Stephen, by Miss Murphy".
391.	1853-05-26	WINTERBOTTOM, John (<i>England</i> 1817-1897) {1853-61}	1 Presentation Polka ("MR. WINTERBOTTOM has the honour to announce his intension of presenting each Lady in the Reserved Stalls with a new Polka, beautifully illustrated by Walter Mason, Esq."); 2 Presentation Polka.	1 [Sydney: Woolcott & Clarke, 1853]; 2 [Sydney: J. R. Clarke, after 1858; as No 12 of Clarke's "Colonial Polkas"].	1 NO COPY IDENTIFIED. 2 NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (26 May 1853), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12946140 ; [Advertisement]: "WINTERBOTTOM'S PRESENTATION POLKA", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (28 May 1853), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12946209 ; "WINTERBOTTOM'S MONSTER CONCERT", <i>Bell's Life in Sydney</i> (28 May 1853), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article59757204 .
392.	1853-05-31	LAVENU, Lewis Henry (<i>England</i> 1818-1859) {1853-59}	The Hellespont Polka , ("composed and dedicated to Captain Watts and the officers of the screw steamship <i>Hellespont</i> ").	[Sydney: Henry Marsh, 1853].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement], "NEW MUSICAL PUBLICATIONS", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (31 May 1853), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12946298 ; [Advertisement]: "NEW MUSICAL PUBLICATIONS", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (2 July 1853), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12946985 .
393.	1853-05-31	WINTERBOTTOM, John (<i>England</i> 1817-1897) {1853-61}	Ladies of Scotland Polka ("new polka [...] composed expressly for the Scotch Festival").			[Advertisement]: "ROYAL HOTEL SCOTTISH FEATIVAL", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (31 May 1853), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12946298 .
394.	1853-05-31	JACOBS, Coleman {1852-after 1883}	Fantasia (for the piano).			[Advertisement]: "ROYAL HOTEL SCOTTISH FEATIVAL", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (31 May 1853), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12946298 .
395.	1853-05-31	GREGG, John {1852-62}	Will o' the Wisp ("song [...] composed expressly for the occasion").			[Advertisement]: "ROYAL HOTEL SCOTTISH FEATIVAL", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (31 May 1853), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12946298 .
396.	1853-06-01	YRIGOYTI, Francis de	The Great Nugget Polka.	London: Jewel & Letchford, [1853].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/6311515 .	"THE GREAT NUGGET POLKA", <i>The Ladies' Companion and Monthly Magazine</i> 3 (1 June 1853), 330: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=HoQFAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA330&v=onepage&q&f=false ; [Advertisement]: "THE GREAT NUGGET POLKA, embellished with a veritable nugget [...] WOOLCOTT and CLARKE", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (12 May 1854), 6: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12952065 ; "CHARACTERISTIC MUSIC", <i>The Courier</i> (1 June 1854), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2247000 .
397.	1853-06-01	GIBBS, John (<i>England</i> ?-1875) {1843-75}	The Bachelors' Polka ("composed expressly").			"BACHELORS' BALL", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (4 June 1853), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12946398 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
398.	1853-06-15	NELSON, Sidney (England 1800-1862) {1853-61}	Quite Colonial (a musical farce written especially for the Nelson family by an “Adelaide amateur”; words: W. M. Akhurst; music: S. Nelson).		“THE NELSON FAMILY”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (15 June 1853), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38459684 ; [Advertisement], <i>South Australian Register</i> (7 July 1853), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article48547454 [with list of numbers]; [Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (7 September 1853), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4796723 .	
399.	1853-06-23	MARSH, Henry (England 1824-USA after 1884) {1849-74}	The Marian Waltzes (“composed expressly for the Grand Fancy Dress Ball, to be given by the Worshipful the Mayor of Sydney, and dedicated to Mrs. Egan”).	Sydney: Henry Marsh, [1853].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16541271 .	[Advertisement]: “THE MARION WALTZES” [sic], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (23 June 1853), supplement 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12946864 ; [Advertisement]: “NEW MUSICAL PUBLICATIONS [...] In the Press”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (19 July 1853), supplement 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12947424 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (20 August 1853), 6: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12948212 ; dedicated to Mrs. Daniel Egan (Marian Cahnac), wife of the Lord Mayor of Sydney, who would die tragically in 1857 when the <i>Dumbar</i> was wrecked at Sydney Heads.
400.	1853-07-09	A’BECKETT EVANS, Mr. and Mrs.	Comic Duet, The Gold Digger’s Return (“original; [sung by] Mr. and Mrs. A’Becket Evans”).		[Advertisement], “ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE”, <i>The Courier</i> (9 July 1853), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2240273 .	
401.	1853-07-19	MARSH, Henry (England 1824-USA after 1884) {1849-74}	Argo Schottische.	[Sydney: Henry Marsh, 1853].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement]: “NEW MUSICAL PUBLICATIONS [...] In the Press”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (19 July 1853), supplement 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12947424 ; named after the steamship <i>Argo</i> , in Sydney, July-August 1853.
402.	1853-07-25	JOHNSON, William J. (England 1810-1866) {1836-66}	Fancy Ball Polka (“performed by the band of Her Majesty’s XIth Regiment, at the Mayor’s Fancy Dress Ball”; “Dedicated to Mrs. Egan”).	Sydney: W. J. Johnson, [1853].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/17033458 .	[Advertisement]: “NEW PUBLICATIONS”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (25 July 1853), supplement 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12947554 ; [Advertisement]: “NEW DANCE MUSIC”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (13 October 1853), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12949509 : “one of the easiest and most danceable Polkas yet written”.
403.	1853-07-25	NELSON, Sidney (England 1800-1862) {1853-61}	Romance and Reality; or, The Digger in London (“new petite comedy written expressly [...] by W. M. Akhurst”; “The Music incidental to the Piece composed, arranged, and selected by Mr. S. Nelson”).			[Advertisement]: “FIRST NIGHT”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (25 July 1853), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article48550499 ; [Advertisement]: “THE NELSON FAMILY”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (4 August 1853), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article48547758 [lists contents]; [Advertisement]: <i>The Argus</i> (15 September 1853), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4797039 .
404.	1853-07-30	Oakey, Alfred {1853-66 or later}	Valse Crystal Palace.			[Advertisement]: “ROWE’S CIRCUS”, <i>The Argus</i> (30 July 1853), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4795134 .
405.	1853-08-04	SOU-ALLE, Ali-Ben (Soualle, Augustin Edmond) (France 1820-after 1865) {1853-56}	Valse L’Australienne.			[Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (4 August 1853), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4795329 .
406.	1853-08-04	SOU-ALLE, Ali-Ben (Soualle, Augustin Edmond) (France 1820-after 1865) {1853-56}	Cheerily, men: the sailor’s song.			[Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (4 August 1853), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4795329 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
407.	1853-08-06	ANONYMOUS	Tasmanian Anthem for the Demonstration (“We come, we come, a social band”) (words by “T. W. M. [of] Launceston”).		The Tasmanian “Demonstrations” of 1853 were public celebrations of the cessation of transportation coinciding with the jubilee of the colony; “TASMANIAN ANTHEM FOR THE DEMONSTRATION”, <i>Launceston Examiner</i> (6 August 1853), 4-5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36269759 .	
408.	1853-08-08	UHR, William Cornelius (UK 1820-1896) {fl. 1842-96}	You love me not (“Air and Words composed by W. C. Uhr and dedicated to the Ladies of Sydney, Sung with Rapturous Applause by Madame Sara Flower and Mr. John Howson”).	Sydney: W. J. Johnson, [1853].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16951780 .	“YOU LOVE ME NOT”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (8 August 1853), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12947826 ; [Advertisement]: “THIS EVENING [...] ROYAL HOTEL”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (24 August 1853), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12948319 .
409.	1853-08-19	RADFORD, William or Sydney {fl.1853}	The Argus Polka; Braid’s Assembly Polka; Herald of Hope Valses; Express Galope (“New Music composed by Radford, expressly for Braid’s Rooms”).		[Advertisement], “NEW MUSIC”, <i>The Argus</i> (19 August 1853), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4795870 ; see also [Advertisement]: “BRAID’S”, <i>The Argus</i> (3 August 1853), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4795273 .	
410.	1853-08-20	MARSH, Henry (England 1824-USA after 1884) {1849-74}	The Gazelle Waltz.	Sydney: H. Marsh & Co., [1853].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16541012 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (20 August 1853), 6: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12948212 .
411.	1853-08-20	LAVENU, Lewis Henry (England 1818-1859) {1853-59}	Cleopatra Polka (“Composed and dedicated to Robert McKean, Esq.”).	Sydney: H. Marsh and Co., [1853].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/38707401 .	[Advertisement]: “CLEOPATRA POLKA”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (20 August 1853), 6: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12948212 ; McKean was co-owner of the steamship <i>Cleopatra</i> , see: “THE CLEOPATRA STEAM SHIP”, <i>Colonial Times</i> (3 January 1853), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8772626 .
412.	1853-08-23	KNIGHT, Troy {fl.1850-55; 1886-87}	Uncle Tom (“written, composed, and sung of this occasion only, by Troy Knight”).		[Advertisement]: “MOONLIGHT. A GRAND CONCERT”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (23 August 1853), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article48549562 .	
413.	1853-08-23	MANTEGANI, Alfredo {fl.1850-1870}	The Helen Waltz.		[Advertisement]: “MOONLIGHT. A GRAND CONCERT”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (23 August 1853), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article48549562 ; named after his fiancée, Helen Thomas; see Papers of Helen Mantegani (1815-1921), at SL-SA: Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/32033725 ; see also Desmond O’Connor, “A Home Away from Home: Alfred Mantegani in Australia”, in <i>Riflessi e riflessioni</i> (Adelaide: Italian Discipline, Flinders University of South Australia, 1992), 157-187; http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/3818344 .	
414.	1853-08-26	ANONYMOUS	The Australian Anthem (“the band of the 11th Regiment, who performed the Australian Anthem in magnificent style”).		“CEREMONY OF THE LAYING OF THE FOUNDATION STONE OF THE SYDNEY EXCHANGE”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (26 August 1853), 2-3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12948398 .	
415.	1853-09-06	MEGSON, Joseph {fl.1846-70}	Grand variations for violin on popular themes.		[Advertisement]: “Mechanics’ Institute”, <i>The Courier</i> (6 September 1853), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2245567 .	
416.	1853-09-10	ROSENSTEIN, Ferdinand (Germany ?-?) {1853-after 1856}	The Remembrance Polka (dedicated with permission to the Hon. Mrs. Keith Stewart).	[Sydney: Woolcott and Clarke, 1853].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (10 September 1853), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12948758 ; Mrs. Keith Stewart, the popular daughter of the Governor General, was returning to Britain.

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417.	1853-09-10 WILKINS, George; TUPPER, Martin F. (England 1810-1889) {1853-54}	Advance Australia (<i>A National Ballad for the Times</i> 1853) [possibly words only].	[Sydney: Woolcott & Clarke, 1853].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (10 September 1853), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12948758 ; see also Tupper's <i>Half a Dozen Ballads for Australian Emigrants</i> (London, 1853); copy at NLA: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/22553246 .
418.	1853-10-07 SOU-ALLE, Ali-Ben (Soualle, Augustin Edmond) (France 1820-after 1865) {1853-56}	Anthem (words by M. F. Tupper) [possibly the same work as Tupper's <i>Advance Australia</i>] (performed Melbourne, with full orchestral accompaniments, 1854).			"THE INAUGURATION FETE OF THE GEELONG RAILWAY (Abridged from the <i>Geelong Advertiser</i>)", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (7 October 1853), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12949346 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (11 March 1854), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4804220 .
419.	1853-10-08 LAVENU, Lewis Henry (England 1818-1859) {1853-59}	Solo Violoncello On Airs from <i>Somnambula</i>.			[Advertisement]: "MR. LAVENU'S GRAND CONCERT", <i>The Courier</i> (8 October 1853), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2240347 .
420.	1853-10-26 SPAGNOLETTI, Ernesto snr (Italy/England c.1804-1862) {1853-62}	Tho' for awhile ("A New Canzonet, for a soprano voice").	[Sydney: W. J. Johnson, 1853].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (26 October 1853), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12949893 .
421.	1853-11-02 ANONYMOUS	The Mayor of Melbourne Polka ("composed expressly for his ball; by the writer of <i>Ball Room Refinement</i> ").	[Melbourne: ?, 1853].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (2 November 1853), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4798935 ; see "THE MAYOR'S BALL", <i>The Argus</i> (27 October 1853), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4798677 .
422.	1853-11-05 ELLARD, Frederick (Ireland 1824-1874) {1832-74}	Mazurka Brillante ("pour le piano, par Frederic Ellard").	[Sydney: Woolcott & Clarke, 1853].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement]: "JUST PUBLISHED", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (5 November 1853), 6: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12950119 .
423.	1853-11-10 SALOMON, Edward {1853-?}	Solo (for piano "composed by himself").			"WINTERBOTTOM'S LAST CONCERT", <i>The Courier</i> (10 November 1853), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2238725 .
424.	1853-11-12 NELSON, Sidney (England 1800-1862) {1853-61}	Don Leander, or Woman's Wit.			"THE NELSON FAMILY", <i>Colonial Times</i> (12 November 1853), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8774838 .
425.	1853-12-12 ANONYMOUS; [?MARSH, Henry (England 1824-USA after 1884) {1849-74}]	Adieu Polka ("dedicated to the Honourable Mrs. Keith Stewart").	[Sydney: Henry Marsh, 1853].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement]: "NEW MUSICAL PUBLICATIONS", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (12 December 1853), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12956818 ; Mrs. Keith Stewart, the popular daughter of the Governor General, was returning to Britain.
426.	1853-12-12 MARSH, Henry (England 1824-USA after 1884) {1849-74}	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ① Louisa Schottische; ② Louisa Schottische. 	Sydney: Henry Marsh, [1853].	<p>2 copies at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/10798374;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ① illustrated cover (C.W. Andrews): http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-an6442803; ② plain cover: http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-an10416158. 	[Advertisement]: "NEW MUSICAL PUBLICATIONS", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (12 December 1853), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12956818 ; on Charles William Andrews, see <i>Dictionary of Australian Artists Online</i> , http://www.daao.org.au/main/read/201 ; possibly named after the dancer, Miss Louisa Collins, who appeared at the Royal Victoria Theatre in 1853 and 1854.

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data
427.	1853-12-15	PACKER, Charles S. (England 1810-1883) {1840-83}	My heart is full of Bitterness (<i>Uncle Tom's Cabin</i> ; MS Song).		[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (15 December 1853), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12954327 .
428.	1853-12-15	PACKER, Charles S. (England 1810-1883) {1840-83}	When Lovers are Sighing (<i>Lovers' Freaks</i> : MS song).		[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (15 December 1853), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12954327 .
429.	1853-12-17	ELLARD, Frederick (Ireland 1824-1874) {1832-74}	Oh Merciful God ("An Anthem, Being the third Collect for Good Friday. Composed expressly for two sopranos, tenor and bass, with an accompaniment for the organ or pianoforte. By Frederick Ellard. Sold in aid of the Fund for erecting St. Phillip's Church, Sydney").	[Sydney: W. J. Johnson, 1853].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED. [Advertisement], "OH MERCIFUL GOD! An Anthem [...]", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (17 December 1853), 9: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12960312 .
430.	1854-00-00	HENSLER, W.L.	Australia Polka.	Baltimore: Miller and Beacham, 1854.	Copy at USA, Library of Congress; online, Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19725650 .
431.	1854-00-00	LEWIS, John W.	Australia March ("Composed for the Piano").	Boston: Oliver Ditson & Co., 1854.	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/11749409 ; see also Library of Congress: http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.music/sm1854.260320 .
432.	1854-01-23	STRONG, George (? <i>Australia</i> 1824-1878)	The Catodon Polka ("most respectfully dedicated to William Sheridan Wall, Esq. Curator, Australian Museum").	Sydney: G. Hudson, [1854].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/30449038 . [Advertisement]: "ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (23 January 1854), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12954265 .
433.	1854-01-31	NATHAN, Isaac (England 1792-1864) {1841-64}	Hey diddle diddle ("Chorus [...] 2000 copies of which have printed exclusively for the pleasure of presenting to every young lady at the concert a copy as a New Year's Gift").	Sydney: For the composer, [1861].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16495361 . [Advertisement]: "ST. MARY'S CHORAL SOCIETY", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (31 January 1854), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30939684 ; "ST. MARY'S CHORAL SOCIETY", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (7 February 1854), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12953477 ; [Advertisement]: "MR. NATHAN'S FIRST QUARTERLY CONCERT", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (13 December 1861), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13066240 ["1,000 copies printed"]; [Advertisement]: "MR. NATHAN'S CONCERT", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (23 December 1861), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13061493 .
434.	1854-02-21	MARSH, Stephen (England ?1805-1888) {1842-46; 1849-72}	The Bathurst March ("Composed and dedicated to the Misses Want").	Sydney: Henry Marsh, [1854].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/33423884 . [Advertisement]: "NEW PUBLICATION: THE BATHURST MARCH", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (21 February 1854), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12958606 ; [Advertisement]: "JUST PUBLISHED. Bathurst March—2 nd edition", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (8 April 1854), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12959609 .

<i>1st notice</i>	<i>Creator</i>	<i>Title/details</i>	<i>Publication</i>	<i>Availability</i>	<i>Comments and supporting data</i>
435.	1854-03-11	SOU-ALLE, Ali-Ben (Soualle, Augustin Edmond) (<i>France</i> 1820-after 1865) {1853-56}	Turki-Russian Historical Polka (“composed on the arrival of news of the late victories of the Turks at Kalafat and Oltenitza”).		[Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (11 March 1854), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4804220 .
436.	1854-03-11	SOU-ALLE, Ali-Ben (Soualle, Augustin Edmond) (<i>France</i> 1820-after 1865) {1853-56}	Maharajpore March (“first time: in commemoration of the eventful battle of the 40th Regiment in the East Indies”).		[Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (11 March 1854), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4804220 .
437.	1854-03-11	DE GREY, Henry {1852-53}	New Bendigo Polka (“composed and performed by Mr. De Grey, at Mr. Lavenu’s Benefit Concert”).		[Advertisement]: “NEW Bendigo Polka”, <i>The Argus</i> (11 March 1854), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4804248 .
438.	1854-03-19	MARSH, Stephen (<i>England</i> ?1805-1888) {1842-46; 1849-72}	Grand Duo , for Harp and Pianoforte, Introducing <i>Dr Leichhardt’s March</i> and favourite English, Irish, and Scotch Airs.		[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (19 March 1854), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12954920 ; “The Leichhardt Concert”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (14 March 1854), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12953900 .
439.	1854-03-20	MANTEGANI, Alfredo {fl.1850-1870}	Away with Melancholy with variations (“Solo, Pianoforte [...] Montigani” [sic]).		[Advertisement]: “PUBLIC AMUSEMENT [...] PROMENADE MUSICALE”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (20 March 1854), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article48554988 .
440.	1854-03-21	WHITE, Clement (<i>UK</i> fl.1841-61) {1854}	Since the weary day (“adapted by C. W.”).		[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (21 March 1854), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12952234 .
441.	1854-03-21	WHITE, Clement (<i>UK</i> fl.1841-61) {1854}	Far, far upon the sea (adapted by C.W. [from Henry Russell’s <i>The Emigrant’s Progress</i> ?]).		As above.
442.	1854-03-21	WHITE, Clement (<i>UK</i> fl.1841-61) {1854}	The Australian Lover.		As above.
443.	1854-03-21	WHITE, Clement (<i>UK</i> fl.1841-61) {1854}	Down by the Yarra Yarra.		As above.
444.	1854-03-21	WHITE, Clement (<i>UK</i> fl.1841-61) {1854}	Australia (national song).		As above.
445.	1854-04-01	ELLARD, Frederick (<i>Ireland</i> 1824-1874) {1832-74}	The Australian Bird Waltz.	Sydney: Woolcott & Clarke, 1854 (in <i>The Australian Presentation Album for 1854</i>).	Copy at SL-NSW (Photocopy at NLA); Permalink: http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/record=b2104859~S2 ; Trove Bookmark (album): http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/32022218 ; item online at NLA: http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-an10041000 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
446.	1854-04-01	PACKER, Charles S. (England 1810-1883) {1840-83}	<p>① The City of Sydney Polka (“Respectfully dedicated, by permission, to William Charles Wentworth Esq., M.L.C. by the publishers”);</p> <p>② (after 1858).</p>	<p>① Sydney: Woolcott & Clarke, 1854 (also in <i>The Australian Presentation Album for 1854</i>);</p> <p>② [Sydney: J. R. Clarke, after 1858, as No 9 of Clarke’s “Colonial Polkas”].</p>	<p>① 2 copies at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/12840702;</p> <p>② NO COPY IDENTIFIED.</p>	<p>[Advertisement]: “JUST PUBLISHED”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (1 April 1854), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30940004; “THE AUSTRALIAN PRESENTATION ALBUM”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (3 April 1854), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12958504;</p> <p>[Advertisement]: “JUST PUBLISHED”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (5 April 1854), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12956116 [reprints review from <i>Empire</i>].</p>
447.	1854-04-01	VARIOUS (European); (arr. for J. R. Clarke?)	Ladies of Sydney Waltzes (“selected from the elected from the <i>Shower of Diamonds</i> [Rowbotham], <i>Wild Flowers</i> [Jullien], <i>Fairest of the Fair</i> [d’Albert], and <i>Faust</i> [d’Albert] Waltzes”).	Sydney: Woolcott & Clarke, 1854 (also in <i>The Australian Presentation Album for 1854</i>).	Copy at SL-NSW: Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/20440718 .	<p>[Advertisement]: “JUST PUBLISHED”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (1 April 1854), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30940004; “THE AUSTRALIAN PRESENTATION ALBUM”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (3 April 1854), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12958504;</p> <p>[Advertisement]: “JUST PUBLISHED”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (5 April 1854), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12956116 [reprints review from <i>Empire</i>].</p>
448.	1854-04-05	MANTEGANI, Alfredo {fl.1850-1870}	Away with Melancholy, with variations (“Solo, Pianoforte, Montigani”).		“PROMENADE CONCERT”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (5 April 1854), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article48552334 .	
449.	1854-04-24	MANTEGANI, Alfredo {fl.1850-1870}	Pantheon Waltz (“Solo, Pianoforte [...] by A. Montegani” [sic]).		[Advertisement]: “MUSICAL ENTERTAINMENT”. <i>South Australian Register</i> (24 April 1854), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article48551754 .	
450.	1854-05-31	NELSON, Sidney (England 1800-1862) {1853-61}	A Turk in Distress (“A Comic Situation”; libretto: F. M. Soutten).		[Advertisement]: “A TURK IN DISTRESS”, <i>The Argus</i> (31 May 1854), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4808527 .	
451.	1854-06-06	DEL SARTE, Camille (France c.1817-1877) {1851-77}	Farewell (ballad; dedicated to F. H. Henslowe).		<p>[Advertisement], <i>The Courier</i> (10 June 1854), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2246187; “Concert”, <i>The Courier</i> (7 June 1854), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2240628 ;</p> <p>[Advertisement], <i>The Courier</i> (10 June 1854), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2246187; “Grand Concert”, <i>The Courier</i> (16 June 1854), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2246021</p>	
452.	1854-06-29	NELSON, Sidney (England 1800-1862) {1853-61}	The Russians in Melbourne (“an entirely new and original, highly probable, versified local catastrophe, the music arranged by Mr. S. Nelson”; libretto: F. M. Soutten).		<p>[Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (29 June 1854), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4794470; “THE NELSON FAMILY”, <i>The Argus</i> (11 July 1854), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4795020.</p>	
453.	1854-07-11	LINGER, Carl Ferdinand August (Germany 1810-1862) {1849-62}	Scena and Aria Through long dull Years.		<p>[Advertisement]: <i>South Australian Register</i> (11 July 1854), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49197979; [Advertisement]: “EVENING CONCERT”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (3 August 1854), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49205468; “LINGER MEMORIAL CONCERT”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (11 September 1863), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article50175449.</p>	

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data
454.	1854-07-11	LINGER, Carl Ferdinand August (Germany 1810-1862) {1849-62}	Overture to the opera <i>The Combat with the Dragon</i>.		[Advertisement]: "GRAND EVENING CONCERT", <i>South Australian Register</i> (11 July 1854), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49197979 ; [Advertisement]: "ADELAIDE CHORAL SOCIETY", <i>South Australian Register</i> (30 September 1857), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49209042 .
455.	1854-07-11	LINGER, Carl Ferdinand August (Germany 1810-1862) {1849-62}	Duet (vocal; "Madame Cranz and Mr. Daniels").		[Advertisement]: "GRAND EVENING CONCERT", <i>South Australian Register</i> (11 July 1854), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49197979 ;
456.	1854-07-11	LINGER, Carl Ferdinand August (Germany 1810-1862) {1849-62}	Scena and Aria (vocal; "Madame Cranz").		[Advertisement]: "GRAND EVENING CONCERT", <i>South Australian Register</i> (11 July 1854), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49197979 ;
457.	1854-07-24	NELSON, Sidney (England 1800-1862) {1853-61}	The Rights of Women (burletta; libretto: W. M. Akhurst).		"THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN", <i>The Argus</i> (24 July 1854), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4795465 .
458.	1854-07-27	HENSLOWE, Francis Hartwell (England 1811-1878) {1839-64}	The Song of the Fairies (new vocal trio, from Bulwer's <i>Pilgrims of the Rhine</i>) (at Lewis Lavenu's Hobart concert).		[Advertisement], <i>Colonial Times</i> (27 July 1854), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8776709 ; [Advertisement], "MECHANIC'S INSTITUTE", <i>The Courier</i> (1 August 1854), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2239794 .
459.	1854-07-29	MARSH, Stephen (England ?1805-1888) {1842-46; 1849-72}	By Murray's banks (Australian Ballad) (words: John A. Evelyn).	Sydney: Henry Marsh, [1854].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16894429 .
460.	1854-08-07	NELSON, Sidney (England 1800-1862) {1853-61}	Midnight Mystery ("A Ghost Story; Musical Vaudeville written by Mr. F. M. Soutten [...] The Music composed and arranged by Mr. S. Nelson").		[Advertisement]: <i>The Argus</i> (7 August 1854), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4796040 "NELSON FAMILY ENTERTAINMENT", <i>The Argus</i> (8 August 1854), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4796102 ; [Advertisement]: "LAST APPEARANCE OF THE NELSON FAMILY", <i>The Argus</i> (10 August 1854), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4796172 .
461.	1854-08-18	WINTERBOTTOM, John (England 1817-1897) {1853-61}	New Polka.		[Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (18 August 1854), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4796537 .
462.	1854-08-18	WINTERBOTTOM, John (England 1817-1897) {1853-61}	New solo on the bassoon.		[Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (18 August 1854), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4796537 .
463.	1854-08-30	MARSH, Henry (England 1824-USA after 1884) {1849-74}	The Croesus Polka ("Dedicated to John Vine Hall, Esq., commander, and the officers of the General Screw Steam Shipping Company's steam ship <i>Croesus</i> ").	Sydney: Henry Marsh, [1854].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16540968 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data
464.	1854-09-01	WINTERBOTTOM, John (England 1817-1897) {1853-61}	The Octavia Polka (“compose expressly [...] dedicated [...] to Miss Octavia Hamilton”).		[Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (1 September 1854), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4797098 ; “IRISH MUSICAL FESTIVAL”, <i>The Argus</i> (2 September 1854), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4797165 .
465.	1854-09-04	ELLARD, Frederick (Ireland 1824-1874) {1832-74}	<p>❶ The Volunteers’ March and Galop (“composed expressly by a distinguished musician, and to be dedicated to those gallant gentlemen, The Volunteer Corps”);</p> <p>❷ The Volunteer’s March, Polka, and Galop (“March, Polka, and Galop, The Volunteers—Ellard. Grotesquely illustrated by an Australian Cruikshank”).</p>	<p>❶ Sydney: Woolcott and Clarke, [1854];</p> <p>❷ Sydney: Woolcott and Clarke, 1855 (in <i>The Australian Presentation Album for 1855</i>).</p>	<p>❶ [Advertisement]: “IN THE PRESS”, <i>Empire</i> (4 September 1854), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article60194590; [Advertisement]: “IN THE PRESS”, <i>Empire</i> (19 September 1854), 6: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article60197747; ❷ The music is unattributed on the print, but credited to Ellard in Woolcott and Clarke’s advertisements; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (4 January 1855), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12964011.</p>
466.	1854-09-18	WARDEN, Mr.	Schottische (“[...] the Schottische is composed by Mr. Warden”).		“BENDIGO [...] OUR LOCAL EXHIBITION”, <i>The Argus</i> (18 September 1854), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4797779 ; “BENDIGO”, <i>Colonial Times</i> (21 September 1854), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8777396 .
467.	1854-09-21	SALAMAN, Mr.	The Hotham Galop (“A new galop [...] composed by Mr. Salaman, of Sandhurst, was played before His Excellency and lady on the occasion of their visit to the Exhibition”).		“BENDIGO”, <i>Colonial Times</i> (21 September 1854), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8777396 .
468.	1854-09-27	LAVENU, Lewis Henry (England 1818-1859) {1853-59}	It reminds me of thee (ballad; “composed expressly for Madame Sara Flower”; “Sung by Madame Sara Flower [...] dedicated to Mrs. Stephen H. Marsh”).	Sydney: Henry Marsh, [1854].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16280488 .
469.	1854-09-29	WALLACE, William Vincent (Ireland 1812-1865) {1835-38}; Lavenu, Lewis Henry (arr.) (England 1818-1859) {1853-59}	Happy birdling of the forest (song “composed expressly for Miss Hayes” by W.V. Wallace; arranged by Lavenu).	Sydney: Henry Marsh, [1854].	Copy at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/30763729 ; See also various US editions, online; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19716955 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
470.	1854-09-30	NELSON, Sidney (<i>England</i> 1800-1862) {1853-61}	Australian Anthem (words: Mr. F. M. Soutten).	[Melbourne: Joseph Wilkie, 1854].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	“THE NELSON FAMILY”, <i>The Argus</i> (30 September 1854), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4798312 ; “AUSTRALIAN ANTHEM”, <i>The Argus</i> (28 September 1854), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4798223 . THE NELSON FAMILY”, <i>The Argus</i> (30 September 1854), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4798312 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (14 October 1854), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4798981 ; “ENTERTAINMENT BY THE NELSON FAMILY”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (2 October 1854), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49204029 .
471.	1854-10-05	HERWYN, Henri (<i>France</i> ?-after 1858) {1854-55}	Grand Fantasia for Violin (with variations and finale for one string only, in which the favorite airs of <i>God save the Queen, Ye Banks and Braes, and Patrick’s Day</i>).			[Advertisement], <i>Colonial Times</i> (5 October 1854), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8777556 .
472.	1854-10-06	MEYMOTT, Frederick William (<i>UK?</i> c.1810-1883) {1850-83}	Sweet Songstress of Erin (“the music composed and dedicated by permission to Miss Catherine Hayes”).	[Sydney: Henry Marsh, 1854].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement]: “IN Course of Publication”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (6 October 1854), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12958694 ; the text probably survives at, “MISS CATHARINE [sic] HAYES”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (3 October 1854), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12957054 .
473.	1854-10-06	SOU-ALLE, Ali-Ben (Soualle, Augustin Edmond) (<i>France</i> 1820-after 1865) {1853-56}	Polka—The Diggers.			“ALI-BEN-SOU-ALLE”, <i>The Courier</i> (6 October 1854), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2240661 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (6 June 1856), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4839609 .
474.	1854-10-11	ANONYMOUS	A new Waltz and Schottische (“composed by a young gentleman of this city”).			“MR. SALIER’S ENTERTAINMENT”, <i>Colonial Times</i> (11 October 1854), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8777651 .
475.	1854-10-13	UHR, George (<i>UK?</i> ?-1864) {1845-64}	The Australian Rifle Corps March (for the pianoforte; by George Uhr, Esq.).	[Sydney: Johnson and Son, 1854].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement]: “THE RIFFLE [sic] CORPS MARCH”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (13 October 1854), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12957491 ; “NEW MUSIC”, <i>Bell’s Life in Sydney</i> (28 October 1854), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article59759337 ; Uhr was the Sheriff of NSW.
476.	1854-10-13	LAVENU, Lewis Henry (<i>England</i> 1818-1859) {1853-59}	I cannot sing tonight (ballad; words: Haynes Bailey; composed by Lavenu for his pupil Maria Carandini; “Sung with great success by Madame Carandini”).	Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1857].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/12842121 .	[Advertisement], “GRAND CONCERT”, <i>The Courier</i> (13 October 1854), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2240897 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (23 May 1857), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12996016 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (8 August 1857), 10: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12999083 ; “PUBLISHED THIS DAY. M. Lavenu’s elegant Ballad, <i>I Cannot Sing to Night</i> , as sung by Madame Carandini, embellished with a portrait of Madame”; see also “Louis Henry Lavenu”, <i>New York Weekly</i> 10 (26 November 1859), 376: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=T_xWAAAAMAAJ&pg=PA376&v=onepage&q&f=false
477.	1854-10-13	HERWYN, Henri (<i>France</i> ?-after 1858) {1854-55}	Hommage à Paganini (“Variations burlesques for Violin”, on “Millbrook” or Marlborough”).			<i>The Courier</i> (13 October 1854), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2240897 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (12 December 1854), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4801634 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
478.	1854-10-17	LAVENU, Lewis Henry (<i>England</i> 1818-1859) {1854-59}	A Tribute to Australia (song) (words: F. H. Dicker; for Catherine Hayes).			“MISS HAYES’ CHARITY FAREWELL CONCERT”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (18 October 1854), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12955861 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (17 October 1854), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12957789 .
479.	1854-10-18	DAWSON, C.J. (<i>England</i> ?-1870) {before 1854-70}	The rose upon the balcony (song; “a slightly constructed melody arranged to the well-known lines in <i>Vanity Fair</i> [...], the composition of Mr. C. J. Dawson, a barrister of the Supreme Court of this province”).	[Melbourne: Joseph Wilkie, 1854].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	“THE GALLERIES”, <i>The Argus</i> (18 October 1854), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4799106 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (19 February 1855), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4803288 ; [News], <i>The Argus</i> (19 March 1870), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5815492 .
480.	1854-10-18	WILLIAMS, H. St. Mordel	The Victoria Polka (“composed in honor of the Paris Exhibition”).	Melbourne: Joseph Wilkie, [1854].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/34934835 .	“THE GALLERIES”, <i>The Argus</i> (18 October 1854), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4799106 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (19 February 1855), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4803288 .
481.	1854-10-19	PACKER, Frederick Augustus (junior) (<i>England</i> 1839-1902) {1852-1902}	The Garrison Polka (“dedicated to the Officers of H.M. 99th Regiment”).	Hobart: Huxtable & Deakin, [1854].	Copy at SL-TAS; Permalink: http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=669101 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9854946 .	“NEW MUSIC”, <i>Colonial Times</i> (19 October 1854), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8777766 ; this first notice, which incorrectly attributed the work to Frederick Packer, was corrected at “SINCE the appearance [...]”, <i>Colonial Times</i> (20 October 1854), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8777778 ; also “THE GARRISON POLKA”, <i>The Courier</i> (20 October 1854), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2240468 ; [Advertisement]: “NEW POLKAS”, <i>Launceston Examiner</i> (28 October 1854), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36290452 .
482.	1854-10-28	HENSLOWE, Francis Hartwell (<i>England</i> 1811-1878) {1839-64}	The Northdown Bridal Polka.	Hobart: Huxtable & Deakin, [1854].	Copy at SL-TAS (signed by the composer) (catalogue record: “Composed by Mrs. [recte Mr.] Henslowe & presented to C. M. Thomas on her marriage to Mr. J. Grant”); Permalink: http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=538636 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9854434 .	“NEW POLKAS”, <i>Launceston Examiner</i> (28 October 1854), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36290452 ; “Tasmanian Contributions to Paris, 1855, No XIV”, <i>The Courier</i> (27 September 1855), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2491196 .
483.	1854-10-28	ALFORD, Thomas (<i>England?</i> 1817-1864) {c.1850-64}	Fair Land of Australia.			[Advertisement], <i>The Moreton Bay Courier</i> (28 October 1854), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3708923 .
484.	1854-11-01	LAVENU, Lewis Henry (<i>England</i> 1818-1859) {1854-59}	Serenade (for orchestra; on popular ballads).			[Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (1 November 1854), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4799682 .

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485.	1854-11-01	SOU-ALLE, Ali-Ben (Soualle, Augustin Edmond) (France 1820-after 1865) {1853-56}	Tasmanian Polka (“dedicated to Sir William Thomas Denison”).		[Advertisement], <i>The Courier</i> (1 November 1854), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2240114 ; “Public Amusements: ALI-BEN-SOU-ALLE’S concert [...]”, <i>The Courier</i> (4 November 1854), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2246230 .	
486.	1854-11-08	HERWYN, Henri (France ?-after 1858) {1854-55}	Grand Fantasia, on themes from Donizetti’s opera La Favorite.		“Monsieur and Madame Herwyn’s Concert”, <i>The Courier</i> (8 November 1854), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2238890 .	
487.	1854-11-11	CALLEN, (George) Douglas (Ireland c.1814-1879) {1854-79}	The Bridal Quadrille (for the pianoforte).	London: [?], [185-?].	Copy at British Library, Music Collections h.944.(2.) [004252624] (“The Bridal Quadrilles”).	[Advertisement], “NEW MUSIC”, <i>The Argus</i> (11 November 1854), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4800169 ; “BAND OF THE 12th REGIMENT”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (8 June 1858), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13018320 .
488.	1854-11-11	CALLEN, (George) Douglas (Ireland c.1814-1879) {1854-79}	Rosina Polka (“for the piano-forte; composed and respectively dedicated to Mrs. Patton”).	London: Boosey & Sons, [185-?].	Copy at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/30679304 ; also British Library, Music Collections h.944.(1) [004252626].	[Advertisement], “NEW MUSIC”, <i>The Argus</i> (11 November 1854), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4800169 .
489.	1854-11-11	CALLEN, (George) Douglas (Ireland c.1814-1879) {1854-79}	Downshire Polka (for the pianoforte).	Military band parts later published in London: Boosey’s military Journal; ser. 14, no 6.	Copy at British Library Music Collections h.1549 [004252625].	[Advertisement], “NEW MUSIC”, <i>The Argus</i> (11 November 1854), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4800169 .
490.	1854-11-11	CALLEN, (George) Douglas (Ireland c.1814-1879) {1854-79}	Honeymoon Waltz.	[London: ?, 185-].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement], “NEW MUSIC”, <i>The Argus</i> (11 November 1854), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4800169
491.	1854-11-11	CALLEN, (George) Douglas (Ireland c.1814-1879) {1854-79}	St. Helena Quadrille.	[London: ?, 185-].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement], “NEW MUSIC”, <i>The Argus</i> (11 November 1854), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4800169 .
492.	1854-11-11	CALLEN, (George) Douglas (Ireland c.1814-1879) {1854-79}	Les jardins botaniques Polka.	[London: ?, 185-].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement], “NEW MUSIC”, <i>The Argus</i> (11 November 1854), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4800169 ; “MILITARY BAND”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (10 August 1858), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13011903 .
493.	1854-11-11	CALLEN, (George) Douglas (Ireland c.1814-1879) {1854-79}	My Polka.	[London: ?, 185-].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement], “NEW MUSIC”, <i>The Argus</i> (11 November 1854), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4800169 ; “MILITARY BAND”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (24 August 1858), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13017247 .
494.	1854-11-11	CALLEN, (George) Douglas (Ireland c.1814-1879) {1854-79}	Greenhall Quadrille.	[London: ?, 185-].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement], “NEW MUSIC”, <i>The Argus</i> (11 November 1854), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4800169 ; “The band of the 12th regiment”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (15 February 1859), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13010860 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
495.	1854-11-13	VARIOUS (See below); STONE, Henry Butler (ed.) (Ireland 1816-1894) {c.1850-55}	The Tasmanian Lyre (“Sequel to The <i>Delacourt Bouquet</i> , Dedicated to Lady Denison and the Ladies of Tasmania”).	Hobart: Huxtable & Deakin, [1854].	Copy at NLA; bound [?complete] set; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/5896405 ; see also individual items below.	First advertised 1854, but issued 1855; [Advertisement], <i>The Courier</i> (13 November 1854), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2242514 ; <i>Colonial Times</i> (9 March 1855), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8779478 .
496.	1854-11-13	VARIOUS (see below); STONE, Henry Butler (ed.) (Ireland 1816-1894) {c.1850-55}	The Delacourt Bouquet (“A Collection of Local Music, or Potpourri of Song, Polkas, Waltzes, Quadrille & Schottische Edited by The Author of <i>A Year in Tasmania</i> And dedicated by Permission to Lady Denison and The Ladies of the Sweet Island of the South”).	Hobart: Huxtable & Deakin, [1854].	See contents, individual items below.	[Advertisement], <i>The Courier</i> (13 November 1854), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2242514 ; “THE DELACOURT BOUQUET”, <i>The Courier</i> (14 November 1854), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2243917 ; “THE DELACOURT BOUQUET”, <i>Launceston Examiner</i> (2 December 1854), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36290843 .
497.	1854-11-13	ANONYMOUS	The Sylvandale Schottische .	Hobart: Huxtable & Deakin, [1855] (in <i>The Tasmanian Lyre</i>).	Copy at SL-TAS; Permalink: http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=703692 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9855185 ; Bound copy of [?complete] set at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/5896405 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Courier</i> (13 November 1854), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2242514 ; <i>Colonial Times</i> (9 March 1855), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8779478 .
498.	1854-11-13	FEREDAY, Susan (England 1818-1878) {1846-78}	Song (words: W. A. Gardiner).	Hobart: Huxtable & Deakin, [1855] (in <i>The Tasmanian Lyre</i>).	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	Advertised to appear in <i>The Tasmanian Lyre</i> ; [Advertisement], <i>The Courier</i> (13 November 1854), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2242514 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Courier</i> (15 November 1854), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2241968 ; on the composer/artist, see “Fereday, Susan”, Biography, Council of Heads of Australasian Herbaria, Australian National Herbarium, http://www.anbg.gov.au/biography/fereday-susan.html ; also a self-portrait, at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19026576 .
499.	1854-11-13	FRASER, Miss	The Louisa Schottische .	Hobart: Huxtable & Deakin, [1855] (in <i>The Tasmanian Lyre</i>).	Copy at NLA; in bound copy of [?complete] set at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/5896405 ; copy at SL-TAS; Permalink: http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=703685 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9855142 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Courier</i> (13 November 1854), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2242514 ; <i>Colonial Times</i> (9 March 1855), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8779478 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data
500.	1854-11-13 HENSLOWE, Francis Hartwell (England 1811-1878) {1839-64}	The Wanderer's Farewell (words: H. Butler Stoney).	Hobart: Huxtable & Deakin, [1855] (in <i>The Tasmanian Lyre</i>).	Copy at NLA; in bound copy of [?complete] set at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/5896405 ; copy at SL-TAS; Permalink: http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=549291 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Courier</i> (13 November 1854), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2242514 ; <i>Colonial Times</i> (9 March 1855), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8779478 .
501.	1854-11-13 HILL, Arthur S. {fl.1848-54}	Elvina Polka .	Hobart: Huxtable & Deakin, [1854] (in <i>The Delacourt Bouquet</i>).	Copy at SL-TAS; Permalink: http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=703647 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9855082 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Courier</i> (13 November 1854), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2242514 .
502.	1854-11-13 HILL, Arthur S. {fl.1848-54}	The Wivenhoe Quadrilles (bound copy incomplete); The Wivenhoe Quadrilles .	Hobart: Huxtable & Deakin, [1855] (in <i>The Tasmanian Lyre</i>).	Incomplete copy at NLA; in bound copy of [?complete] set at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/5896405 ; copy at SL-TAS; Permalink: http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=703690 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Courier</i> (13 November 1854), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2242514 ; <i>Colonial Times</i> (9 March 1855), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8779478 .
503.	1854-11-13 HILL, Arthur S. {fl.1848-54}	Geelong Schottisch ("As played by Miss W., in Hobart Town").	Hobart: Huxtable & Deakin, [1854] (in <i>The Delacourt Bouquet</i>).	Copy at SL-TAS; Permalink: http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=703671 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9855121 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Courier</i> (13 November 1854), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2242514 .
504.	1854-11-13 MACDOUGALL, William J. (Australia, fl.1854-63)	The Isabelle Waltzes .	Hobart: Huxtable and Deakin, [1854] (in <i>The Delacourt Bouquet</i>).	Copy at SL-TAS; Permalink: http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=703657 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9855102 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Courier</i> (13 November 1854), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2242514 ; Macdougall is described as "a native Tasmanian" in "THE DELACOURT BOUQUET", <i>The Courier</i> (14 November 1854), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2243917 .
505.	1854-11-13 MARTIN, Robert {c.1842-56}	The Chant Quadrilles . (Piano score for 5 quadrilles, and "chant" for voice (treble, 2nd treble or alto, bass) and piano).	Hobart: Huxtable and Deakin, [1854] (in <i>The Delacourt Bouquet</i>).	Copy at SL-TAS; Permalink: http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=703666 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9855116 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Courier</i> (13 November 1854), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2242514 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
506.	1854-11-13	NORNA (pseud.)	The F. D. C. Waltz.	Hobart: Huxtable & Deakin, [1855] (in <i>The Tasmanian Lyre</i>)	Copy at NLA; in bound copy of [?complete] set at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/5896405 ; copy at SL-TAS; Permalink: http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=703691 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9855154 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Courier</i> (13 November 1854), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2242514 ; <i>Colonial Times</i> (9 March 1855), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8779478 .
507.	1854-11-13	SMITH, Josephine Villeneuve	The Lanarkshire Polka.	Hobart: Huxtable & Deakin, [1855] (in <i>The Tasmanian Lyre</i>)	Copy at NLA; in bound copy of [?complete] set at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/5896405 ; copy at SL-TAS; Permalink: http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=703678 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9855129 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Courier</i> (13 November 1854), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2242514 ; <i>Colonial Times</i> (9 March 1855), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8779478 .
508.	1854-11-13	STONEY, Henry Butler (<i>Ireland</i> 1816-1894) {c.1850-55}	The Wanderer Polka.	Hobart: Huxtable & Deakin, [1854] (in <i>The Delacourt Bouquet</i>).	Copy at SL-TAS; Permalink: http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=703652 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9855090 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Courier</i> (13 November 1854), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2242514 .
509.	1854-11-13	STONEY, Henry Butler (<i>Ireland</i> 1816-1894) {c.1850-55}	La Speranza Waltz.	Hobart: Huxtable & Deakin, [1855] (in <i>The Tasmanian Lyre</i>)	Copy at NLA; in bound copy of [?complete] set at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/5896405 ; copy at SL-TAS; Permalink: http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=703681 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9855134 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Courier</i> (13 November 1854), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2242514 ; <i>Colonial Times</i> (9 March 1855), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8779478 .
510.	1854-11-13	RAHM, Veit (<i>Germany</i> ?-?) {1853-57}	Aria <i>The Evening Bells with Variations</i> (hand fantasia; zither).			[Advertisement], <i>The Courier</i> (13 November 1854), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2242514 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (7 February 1855), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12965313 ; see also Veit Rahm, <i>Music of the Tyrol</i> (1. Evening bells; 2. A Tyrolese air), arr. for pianoforte by J.O. Smith (London: [1852]), copy at British Library, Music Collections h.970.(13.) [004597311].

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data
511.	1854-11-13	RAHM, Veit (Germany ?-?) {1853-57}	The Tyrolese Postilion (national song; in imitation of the trumpet; zither).		[Advertisement], <i>The Courier</i> (13 November 1854), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2242514 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (7 February 1855), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12965313 .
512.	1854-11-13	RAHM, Veit (Germany ?-?) {1853-57}	The Crying Peasant (comic song).		[Advertisement], <i>The Courier</i> (13 November 1854), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2242514 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (7 February 1855), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12965313 .
513.	1854-11-13	PACKER, Frederick Augustus (junior) (England 1839-1902) {1852-1902}	<u>There is love for you and me</u> (words: Thomas Hood).	Hobart: Huxtable and Deakin, [1854] (in <i>The Delacourt Bouquet</i>).	Copy at SL-TAS; Permalink: http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=703661 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9855111 .
514.	1854-11-13	STONEY, Henry Butler (Ireland 1816-1894) {c.1850-55}	<u>The Wanderer's Return Polka.</u>	Hobart: Huxtable and Deakin, [1854] (in <i>The Delacourt Bouquet</i>).	Copy at SL-TAS; Permalink: http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=703656 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9855096 .
515.	1854-11-17	HAUSER, Miska (Hungary 1822-1887) {1854-58}	<p>① The Bird on the Tree [<i>Das Voeglein im Baume</i>, Grande Caprice Burlesque pour Violon avec orchestre ou piano, Op. 34];</p> <p>② The Bird Upon the Tree (“composed and arranged for the piano forte by Miska Hauser”; “Dedicated to Lady Macdonald”).</p>	<p>① New York: Schuberth and Co., 1854.</p> <p>② Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1857] (in <i>Australian Album 1857</i>).</p>	<p>① Copy at USA, Library of Congress, online; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19724874;</p> <p>② Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16497829.</p>
516.	1854-11-22	HAUSER, Miska (Hungary 1822-1887) {1854-58}	Andante et Rondo di concerto, Esmeralda.		“MISKA HAUSER’S SECOND CONCERT”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (22 November 1854), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12962601 ; also, [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (23 October 1856), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12988185 .
517.	1854-11-24	HAUSER, Miska (Hungary 1822-1887) {1854-58}	Siciliano, Grand Fantasia.		See above.
518.	1854-11-24	HAUSER, Miska (Hungary 1822-1887) {1854-58}	Echo di Australia (“composed expressly in honour of his Excellency’s visit”).		See above.
519.	1854-11-24	HAUSER, Miska (Hungary 1822-1887) {1854-58}	Irish and Scotch airs (arranged by himself for the occasion).		See above.

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
520.	1854-11-25	HENSLOWE, Francis Hartwell (<i>England</i> 1811-1878) {1839-64}	The Song of the Fair Emigrant (words: John Abbott; view of Hobart Town on cover).	Hobart Town: R.V. Hood, 1854.	Copy at SL-TAS; Permalink: http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=703845 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9855233 .	“TASMANIAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE PARIS EXHIBITION”, <i>The Courier</i> (25 November 1854), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2241803 ; “Tasmanian Contributions to Paris, 1855, No XIV”, <i>The Courier</i> (27 September 1855), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2491196 .
521.	1854-11-30	HAUSER, Miska (<i>Hungary</i> 1822-1887) {1854-58}	Thy shadowy form is near me (Romanza) (composed expressly for the occasion; for Sara Flower).			[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (30 November 1854), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12962905 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (1 December 1854), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12962944 .
522.	1854-12-01	HAUSER, Miska (<i>Hungary</i> 1822-1887) {1854-58}	Hail, Australia (Australian National Song) (sung by Frank Howson).			[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (1 December 1854), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12962944 .
523.	1854-12-06	HAUSER, Miska (<i>Hungary</i> 1822-1887) {1854-58}	Carnival of Venice (with the Introduction of Ernst, and new Variations).			[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (6 December 1854), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12963124 .
524.	1854-12-06	HAUSER, Miska (<i>Hungary</i> 1822-1887) {1854-58}	Grand Fantasia on Lucretia Borgia (“Allegro and Maestoso, Thema, and Variations, Andante, and Finale”).			[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (6 December 1854), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12963124 .
525.	1854-12-08	HENSLOWE, Francis Hartwell (<i>England</i> 1811-1878) {1839-64}	The Louis Napoleon Polka (“Exposition de 1855” [Paris]).	Hobartton : R. V. Hood, [1854].	Copy at SL-TAS; Permalink: http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=538637 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9854439 .	“Local Intelligence: MR. F.H. HENSLOWE”, <i>Colonial Times</i> [Hobart] (8 December 1854), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8778334 ; “THE LOUIS NAPOLEON POLKA”, <i>The Hobartton Mercury</i> (27 December 1854), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3334573 .
526.	1854-12-18	COPPIN, George (<i>England</i> 1819-1906) {1843-1906}	The Argo Medley Polka (descriptive of the <i>Argo</i> leaving England and arriving in Victoria, announcing the fall of Sebastopol) (“arranged by Mr. Coppin on board on her passage out to the colonies”).			[Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (18 December 1854), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4801928 ; “THE QUEENS THEATRE”, <i>The Argus</i> (27 December 1854), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4802293 . [Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (15 January 1855), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12964328 .
527.	1854-12-22	RIMMER, Mr. {fl.1854}	Australian Song: The Song of the Bush (“words by Velocipede”).	[Melbourne: Cyrus Mason, 1854].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (22 December 1854), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4802130 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (26 December 1854), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4802229 : “THE Song of the Bush. Tonight, at the Theatres, principal Grand Concert, and Assembly Room”; “NEW SONG”, <i>The Argus</i> (23 January 1855), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4803412 .
528.	1855~	KAINES, H. A.	The Melbourne Polka; Sydney Polka, and Adelaide Waltz.	London: Harry May, [c.1854-59].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/10437284 .	The publisher Harry May, active from at least 1854, retired from business in 1859, when his stock-in-trade, consisting of some 14,000 engraved plates, were sold at auction; [Advertisement], <i>The Musical Times</i> 9 (1859), 292: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=SG4PAAAYAAJ&pg=PA292&dq#v=onepage&q&f=false .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
529.	1855~	BEDFORD, Virginia M.	The Forget Me Not Waltz (“Affectionately dedicated to Mrs. Bedford”).	Hobart Town : Huxtable and Deakin, [185-?].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/24716699 .	-
530.	1855~	JOHNSON, James (England 1803-1860) {1836-60}	The First Hymn for Christmas-Day: High let us swell our tuneful notes.	Sydney: W. J. Johnson, [1862].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16894289 .	“CHRISTMAS HYMN”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (18 December 1862), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13071177 ; but, for probably another setting, see also “COUNTRY NEWS [Bathurst]”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (2 January 1860), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28630016 .
531.	1855-01-00	SOU-ALLE, Ali-Ben (Soualle, Augustin Edmond) (France 1820-after 1865) {1853-56}	The Goulburn Waltz (“a mes amis de Goulburn”).	[Sydney: For the composer, 1855].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/6443484 .	Sou-Alle gave 2 concerts in Goulburn, NSW, in January 1855; “MUSIC IN THE COUNTRY”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (23 January 1855), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12964724 .
532.	1855-01-04	VARIOUS (see above and below).	The Australian Presentation Album for 1855 (“This Work is intended to be forwarded to the Paris Exhibition as a specimen of colonial publications. It will form on elegant present to friends at home or in the colony”).	Sydney: Woolcott and Clarke, 1855.	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16482491 .	[Advertisement]: “THE AUSTRALIAN PRESENTATION ALBUM”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (4 January 1855), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12964011 ; “THE AUSTRALIAN PRESENTATION ALBUM”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (10 January 1855), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12964158 ; “AUSTRALIAN PRESENTATION ALBUM”, <i>Empire</i> (13 January 1855), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article60202623 .
533.	1855-01-04	D’ALBERT, Charles (1809-1886)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ① The Regatta Waltzes (“composed expressly for the colony”; “composed expressly for the publishers”); (“with a view of Sydney Harbour during the Anniversary Regatta, and a portrait of the Silver Cup [...]”); ② The Regatta Waltzes. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ① Sydney: Woolcott and Clarke, 1855 (in <i>The Australian Presentation Album for 1855</i>); ② And sold separately. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ① Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16482627; item: http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-an6422439-s3; ② Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16482627; item: http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-an21991644. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ① [Advertisement]: “THE AUSTRALIAN PRESENTATION ALBUM”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (4 January 1855), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12964011; ② [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (1 March 1856), 12: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28639317; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (13 March 1855), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12966638.
534.	1855-01-04	ELLARD, Frederick (Ireland 1824-1874) {1832-74}	La Hayes’ Quadrilles (“[on] The most favourite sirs, sung by Miss [Catherine] Hayes in Sydney with vignette illustrations in character from <i>La Figlia</i> , <i>L’Elisir d’Amore</i> , and <i>Don Pasquale</i> ”).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ① Sydney: Woolcott and Clarke, 1855 (in <i>The Australian Presentation Album for 1855</i>); ② And sold separately. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ① Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark (item): http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16482578. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ① [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (4 January 1855), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12964011; ② [Advertisement]: “LA HAYES QUADRILLES”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (7 July 1855), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12971390.

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
535.	1855-01-04	HAUSER, Miska (Hungary 1822-1887) {1854-58}	Rain Drops in Australia ("Impromptu"; "Dedic'a son ami Frederic Ellard"; "Dedicated to his friend, Frederick Ellard; with a view of Willoughby Falls, North Shore").	<p>① Sydney: Woolcott and Clarke, 1855 (in <i>The Australian Presentation Album for 1855</i>);</p> <p>② And sold separately.</p>	<p>① Copy at NLA (album); Trove Bookmark (album): http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16482491; Trove Bookmark (item): http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/12840724; item: http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-an6422439-s31;</p> <p>② 2 copies at NLA; http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/12840724; item 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-an5396839; item 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-vn3619539.</p>	<p>① [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (4 January 1855), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12964011; "THE AUSTRALIAN PRESENTATION ALBUM", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (10 January 1855), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12964158: "We next have to invite especial attention to a piece entitled <i>Hail Drops in Australia</i> [sic], composed by Miska Häuser, in which are combined all those resources of his art, both of taste and technicality for which he is so rapidly achieving for himself the highest reputation"; ② [Advertisement], "PIANO SOLO", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (8 March 1855), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12966440.</p>
536.	1855-01-04	STANLEY, William (England 1820-1902) {c.1837-1902}	<p>① Eugenie Schottische;</p> <p>② Eugenie Schottische.</p>	<p>① Sydney: Woolcott and Clarke, 1855 (in <i>The Australian Presentation Album for 1855</i>).</p> <p>② And sold separately.</p> <p>③ [Sydney]: [W. Stanley], 7 October 1857.</p>	<p>① Copy at NLA (album); Trove Bookmark (item): http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16482596;</p> <p>③ Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19582431.</p>	<p>① [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (4 January 1855), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12964011; "THE AUSTRALIAN PRESENTATION ALBUM", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (10 January 1855), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12964158: "A composition of a sterling pianist of our own, Mr. W. Stanley, <i>Eugenie Schottische</i>, will be recognised by all lovers of classical pianoforte compositions"; [Advertisement]: ② "NEW MUSIC", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (4 August 1855), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12972491.</p>
537.	1855-01-04	WALLACE, William Vincent (Ireland 1812-1865) {1835-38}	Why do I weep for thee? (words: George Linley) ("composed expressly for Miss Catharine Hayes, with portrait, by G. F. Angas").	Sydney: Woolcott and Clarke, 1855 (in <i>The Australian Presentation Album for 1855</i>).	<p>Copy at NLA (album): Trove Bookmark (item): http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16482642;</p> <p>See also earlier US edition (New York: William Hall and Son, 1851), copy at Library of Congress, online. http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.music/sm1851.670650; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19712556.</p>	<p>[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (4 January 1855), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12964011.</p> <p>See also (late?) MS copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/17070342.</p>

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
538.	1855-01-19	MANTEGANI, Alfredo {fl.1850-1870}	Some original airs (“played off by a Mr. Montegani [sic]”).		“VICTORIA THEATRE”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (19 January 1855), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49301994 ; “The interlude was only remarkable in other respects for some original airs played off by a Mr. Montegani, who, not feeling satisfied with the manner in which he was received in one instance, deprived the audience of the opportunity of repeating it by withdrawing his valuable services from the bill of fare.”	
539.	1855-01-25	MEGSON, Joseph {fl.1846-70}	The Pretty Coquette (“composed expressly for the occasion”; words; Mr. Cox).		[Advertisement]: “ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE”, <i>The Courier</i> (25 January 1855), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2478328 .	
540.	1855-02-19	STANLEY, William (<i>England</i> 1820-1902) {c.1837-1902}	The Myrtle Waltzes (“Composed and with permission dedicated to Miss Annie Campbell, by William Stanley”).	[Sydney: Woolcott & Clarke, 1855].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED	[Advertisement]: “NEW MUSIC”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (19 February 1855), 6: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12965849 .
541.	1855-03-17	HARWOOD, W. C. [?=C.W.] {c.1853-55}	The Catherine Hayes Polka (“in which an air sung by that celebrated Songstress is introduced”) (“Composed and dedicated with permission to Miss Therry”).	Sydney: W. J. Johnson, [1855].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/35633696 .	[Advertisement]: “CATHERINE HAYES POLKA. Just published”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (17 March 1855), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12966829 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (18 May 1855), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12969401 .
542.	1855-03-17	PACKER, Charles S. (<i>England</i> 1810-1883) {1840-83}	Grand Extemporaneous Performance on the Harmonium.			[Advertisement], <i>The Moreton Bay Courier</i> (17 March 1855), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3711555 .
543.	1855-04-02	HAUSER, Miska (<i>Hungary</i> 1822-1887) {1854-58}	“a rondo, six studies, three melodies (to Heine) and an impromptu [...] At present I am at work on my fantasy with orchestra on a Beethoven theme”.			Letter, from Moreton Bay, 2 April 1855; Hauser, <i>Aus dem Wanderbuche</i> , vol. 2, 51: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=_JMZAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=snippet&q=nach%20heine&f=false .
544.	1855-04-16	HAUSER, Miska (<i>Hungary</i> 1822-1887) {1854-58}	The Fisher Maiden (Barcarolle) (Du Schönes Fischermädchen [Heine]) (“composed expressly for his friend Mr. Frederic Ellard”) (“transcrit par Frederic Ellard; composé par Miska Hauser”) (“Dedicated to Miss Barney, Wootonga, North Shore”).	Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1859].	Copy at SL-NSW; Permalink: http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/record=b2221952~S2 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/7577357 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (16 April 1855), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12968119 ; [Advertisement]: “LATELY PUBLISHED”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (9 April 1859), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13023492 . = Hauser, “Das Fischermädchen” (from Songs without Words) Op.27 No 3.
545.	1855-04-16	BOULANGER, Edward (<i>France</i> 1829-1863) {1854-63}	A Dream (piano).			[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (16 April 1855), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12968119 .
546.	1855-04-16	BOULANGER, Edward (<i>France</i> 1829-1863) {1854-63}	Elisir d'Amore (piano).			See above.
547.	1855-04-16	HAUSER, Miska (<i>Hungary</i> 1822-1887) {1854-58}	Bouquet Irlandaise (Grand Morceau de Concerto).			[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (16 April 1855), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12968119 .

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548.	1855-04-26	GLOVER, Stephen (England 1813-1870)	<p>① The Australian Emigrant (Ballad);</p> <p>② The Australian Emigrant.</p>	<p>① Sydney: Henry Marsh, 1855; <i>The Australian Cadeau</i> No 1 (2 June 1855);</p> <p>② Sydney: Woolcott & Clarke, [before late 1856].</p>	<p>① Copy at SL-NSW; Permalink: http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/record=b2140987~S2; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/6889071; print is anonymous, for attribution to Glover, see advertisements.</p> <p>② Copy at SL-NSW; Permalink: http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/record=b2015951~S2; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/6889071.</p>	<p>[Advertisement]: “[Concert] UNDER THE PATRONAGE”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (26 April 1855), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12968589; [Advertisement]: “AUSTRALIAN CADEAU”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (2 June 1855), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12969954; “THE AUSTRALIAN CADEAU”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (15 June 1855), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12970521.</p>
549.	1855-04-26	ELLARD, Frederick (Ireland 1824-1874) {1832-74}	Crimea (“Alma, Inkermann, Balaklava: a music composition written in honour of our brave defenders in the Crimea by an Old Soldier; composed by Frederick Ellard; “Dedicated ... to the Sydney Philharmonic Society”) (“ <i>military cantata</i> ”; for chorus and orchestra).	Sydney: Henry Marsh, [1855].	<p>Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/12725895.</p>	<p>[Advertisement]: “[Concert] UNDER THE PATRONAGE”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (26 April 1855), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12968589; “CRIMEA”, and “GRAND CONCERT”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (28 April 1855), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12968677; “GRAND CONCERT IN AIR OF THE PATRIOTIC FUND”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (30 April 1855), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12968730; [Advertisement]: “NEW PUBLICATION: CRIMEA”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (2 June 1855), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12969954; “SYDNEY PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY’S FIRST CONCERT OF THE SEASON”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (5 June 1855), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12970067; “NEW MUSIC”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (14 May 1855), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12969225.</p>
550.	1855-04-30	ANONYMOUS	Yarra Polka.	[Melbourne ? : ?, ?].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement]: [Auction of library of G.A. Lloyd], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (30 April 1855), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12968738 .
551.	1855-05-01	HENSLOWE, Francis Hartwell (England 1811-1878) {1839-64}	The Dying Soldier’s Legacy (A Song of the War) (words: John Abbott) (“Patriotic Fund, Tasmania”).	Hobart: Huxtable & Deakin, [1855].	<p>Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9854454.</p>	[Advertisement]: “PATRIOTIC FUND”, <i>The Courier</i> (1 May 1855), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2483185 .
552.	1855-05-03	BOULANGER, Edward (France 1829-1863) {1854-63}	<p>① Nocturne de Concert (“dedicated to Lady Stephen”);</p> <p>② Nocturne de Concert (“Composed for the Pianoforte, Respectfully Dedicated to Lady Stephen”).</p>	<p>① [Sydney: Kern, 1856; in <i>Boulangier’s Musical Keepsake for 1856</i>];</p> <p>② Sydney: J. R. Clarke, 1857 or later].</p>	<p>① NO COPY IDENTIFIED;</p> <p>② Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/12841820.</p>	<p>“Mr. Edward Boulanger’s Concert”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (3 May 1855), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12968910; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (3 May 1855), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12968874; “AUSTRALIAN MUSIC”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (3 December 1855), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28638097; “REVIEW”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (11 February 1856), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12979227; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (11 February 1856), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12979208.</p>

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
553.	1855-05-18	HAUSER, Miska (Hungary 1822-1887) {1854-58}	Chanson d’amour (“dedicated to Madame Montefiore”).	① [Sydney: W. J. Johnson, 1855]; ② [Sydney: W. J. Johnson, 1856] (in <i>The Sydney Harmonicon</i>).	① NO COPY IDENTIFIED; ② NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	① [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (18 May 1855), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12969401 : “NEW PIANOFORTE MUSIC by MISKA HAUSER. Just published [...]”; ② “THE SYDNEY HARMONICON”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (26 February 1856), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12973904 .
554.	1855-05-18	HAUSER, Miska (Hungary 1822-1887) {1854-58}	Mazurka (“dedicated to Madame [Amelia] Rawack”).	[Sydney: W. J. Johnson, 1855].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (18 May 1855), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12969401 : “NEW PIANOFORTE MUSIC by MISKA HAUSER. Just published [...]”.
555.	1855-05-26	HAUSER, Miska (Hungary 1822-1887) {1854-58}	Hungarian Airs.	[Sydney: Henry Marsh, 1855].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement]: “PUBLISHED THIS DAY”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (26 May 1855), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12969750 ; “M. MISKA HAUSER”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (27 June 1855), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12971020 : “[...] the Hungarian Airs, which Messrs. H. Marsh and Co. have published [...]”.
556.	1855-06-02	VARIOUS (see above and below); MARSH, Henry (England 1824-USA after 1884) {1849-74}	The Australian Cadeau (“Published every Saturday morning under the immediate patronage of Her Excellency Lady Denison”).	17 issues; Sydney: Henry Marsh, 2 June 1855-22 September 1855.	Details above and below (except for Nos 3, 6-8, 13-14, which are not Australian compositions and not included in this table).	[Advertisement]: “AUSTRALIAN CADEAU”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (2 June 1855), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12969954 ; “THE AUSTRALIAN CADEAU”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (15 June 1855), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12970521 .
557.	1855-06-08	CALLEN, (George) Douglas (Ireland c.1814-1879) {1854-79}	Overture <i>Le Theatre Royal.</i>			“THEATRE ROYAL”, <i>The Argus</i> (8 June 1855), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4809257 .
558.	1855-06-09	WALLACE, William Vincent (Ireland 1812-1865) {1835-38}	Grand Valse Militaire.	Sydney: Henry Marsh, 1855; <i>The Australian Cadeau</i> No 2 (9 June 1855).	Copies at SL-NSW; Permalink: http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/record=b1710176~S2 and http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/record=b2221016~S2 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/7868012 .	[Advertisement]: “NEW MUSIC”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (8 June 1855), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12970171 ; “THE AUSTRALIAN CADEAU”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (15 June 1855), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12970521 .
559.	1855-06-11	LAVENU, Lewis Henry (England 1818-1859) {1853-59}	Ida May (“new—composed by Mr. Lavenu for Mr. White” [of Rainer’s Ethiopian Serenaders]).			[Advertisement]: “FOR FOUR NIGHTS”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (11 June 1855), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12970272 .
560.	1855-06-13	NELSON, Sidney (England 1800-1862) {1853-61}	The Gold Digger’s Return (new song).			“THE NELSON FAMILY”, <i>The Maitland Mercury</i> (13 June 1855), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article702180 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
561.	1855-06-23	SPAGNOLETTI, Ernesto snr (Italy/England c.1804-1862) {1853-62}	<p>① Awake, my love (Serenade);</p> <p>② Awake, my love (“As sung by Signor Spagnoletti”).</p>	<p>① Sydney: Henry Marsh, [1855]; <i>The Australian Cadeau</i> No 4 (23 June 1855);</p> <p>② Sydney: Henry Marsh, [185-?].</p>	<p>① Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16894400;</p> <p>② Copy at SL-NSW; Permalink: http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/record=b3161039~S2.</p>	[Advertisement]: “NO 4 OF THE AUSTRALIAN CADEAU”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (23 June 1855), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12970845 .
562.	1855-06-30	JACOBS, Coleman (UK ?-?) {1853-after 1883}; [? TALEXY, Adrian].	<p>① Mazurka Brillante (“by Coleman Jacobs”);</p> <p>② Possibly the same as Talex’s work published earlier as Mazurka Brillante (Performed by Mr. Coleman JACOBS at his Farewell Concert”).</p>	<p>① Sydney: Henry Marsh, 1855; <i>The Australian Cadeau</i> No 5 (30 June 1855);</p> <p>② Sydney: W. J. Johnson, [1853].</p>	<p>① NO COPY IDENTIFIED.</p> <p>② Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/8113404.</p>	<p>① [Advertisement]: “NO 5 of the CADEAU”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (30 June 1855), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12971145;</p> <p>② [Advertisement]: “NEW MUSIC”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (26 October 1853), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12949893.</p>
563.	1855-07-12	LAVENU, Lewis Henry (1818-1859) {1853-59}	<p>① My Molly Asthore; (“Ballad (new version) as sung by Catherine Hayes”);</p> <p>② Molly Asthore (“composed by L. Lavenu, expressly for, and as sung by, Miss Catherine Hayes”);</p> <p>③ Molly Asthore (“sung by Miss Catherine Hayes”);</p> <p>④ Molly Asthore (“Composed for and sung by Miss Catherine Hayes”; with cover portrait of Lavenu and printed signature”).</p>	<p>① Sydney: H. Marsh, 1855; <i>The Australian Cadeau</i> No 17 (22 September 1855).</p> <p>② [Sydney; Woolcott and Clarke, 1855];</p> <p>③ Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1857?];</p> <p>④ Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1859] (Lavenu memorial edition).</p>	<p>① Copy at SL-NSW; Permalink: http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/record=b2140220~S2; Trove Bookmark</p> <p>② NO COPY IDENTIFIED;</p> <p>③ Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/18044525;</p> <p>④ Copies at NLA; Trove Bookmark: item: http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-an5620242.</p>	<p>[Advertisement]: “EXHIBITION BUILDING [...] MISS CATHERINE HAYES”, <i>The Argus</i> (12 July 1855), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4811777; ① [Advertisement]: THE CADEAU”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (22 September 1855), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12978366;</p> <p>② [Advertisement]: “MOLLY ASTHORE”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (20 October 1855), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12982640; ③ [Advertisement]: “CHOICE VOCAL MUSIC”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (20 June 1857), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12997354;</p> <p>④ Published after Lavenu’s death (1 August 1859); [Advertisement]: “NEW MUSIC”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (17 September 1859), 12: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13030882: “[...] With portrait of the composer”.</p>
564.	1855-07-28	HAYES, Catherine (Ireland 1825-1861) {1854-55} [? LAVENU, Lewis Henry (England 1818-1859) {1853-59}]	Miss Catherine Hayes’s Song of Australia [possibly Lavenu’s <i>A Tribute to Australia</i> ; words: by F. H. Dicker].	[Sydney: H. Marsh, 1855; <i>The Australian Cadeau</i> No 9 (28 July 1855)].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	<p>[Advertisement]: “AUSTRALIAN CADEAU NO 9”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (31 July 1855), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12972292;</p> <p>On Lavenu’s <i>Tribute to Australia</i>, see “MISS HAYES CHARITY FAREQELL CONCERT”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (18 October 1854), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12955861.</p>
565.	1855-08-04	MARSH, Stephen (England ?1805-1888) {1842-46; 1849-72}	Souvenir of Catherine Hayes Part 1: Introduction (“Catherine Hayes”) & Brilliant Fantasia (on “Ciascun lo dice” from La Figlia del Reggimonto).	Sydney: H. Marsh, 1855; <i>The Australian Cadeau</i> No 10 (4 August 1855);	Copy at SL-NSW; Permalink: http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/record=b2140437~S2 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/23423070 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (4 August 1855), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12972491 ; for a performance, see “MR. MARSH’S SOIREE MUSICALE”, <i>The Argus</i> (17 February 1857), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7144768 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
566.	1855-08-10	MARSH, Stephen (<i>England</i> ?1805-1888) {1842-46; 1849-72}	<i>Souvenir of Catherine Hayes Part 2: “Comin’ through the Rye” & “Savourneen Deelish”</i> .	Sydney: H. Marsh, 1855; <i>The Australian Cadeau</i> No 11 (11 August 1855).	Copy at SL-NSW; Permalink: http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/record=b2142037~S2 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/23686367 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (10 August 1855), 6: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12972732 ; and see above.
567.	1855-08-18	MARSH, Stephen (<i>England</i> ?1805-1888) {1842-46; 1849-72}	<i>Souvenir of Catherine Hayes Part 3: Brilliant Fantasia (on an air from Don Pasquale)</i> .	Sydney: H. Marsh, 1855; <i>The Australian Cadeau</i> No 12 (18 August 1855).	Copy at SL-NSW; Permalink: http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/record=b2142034~S2 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/23686097 .	See above.
568.	1855-08-22	WINTERBOTTOM, John (<i>England</i> 1817-1897) {1853-61}	Alonzo the Brave and the Fair Imogene (“a new Electro-Biological Burlesque Operatic Extravaganza”; libretto: H. T. Craven).			[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (22 August 1855), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12973221 ; “THE DRAMA. ROYAL VICTORIA”, <i>Bell’s Life in Sydney</i> (25 August 1855), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article59760717 .
569.	1855-09-03	TAPP, John Charles (<i>England</i> 1824/25-1875) {1852-75}	<i>Tasmanian Sacred Melodies</i> ; (1 Hobarton; 2 Launceston; 3 Hallelujah (a parting piece); 4 Sorell; 5 Longford; 6 Ross; 7 Brighton; 8 Franklin; 9 Chant[s]).	Hobart: Teachers of the Campbell Street Sunday School, R.V. Hood, [1855].	Copy at SL-VIC; Permalink: http://www.slv.vic.gov.au/sh eetmusic/inter/871740.shtml ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/28085849 .	“SACRED MELODIES”, <i>The Hobarton Mercury</i> (3 September 1855), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3336418 ; [Advertisement]: “Tasmanian Sacred Melodies”, <i>The Hobarton Mercury</i> (3 September 1855), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3336412 .
570.	1855-09-08	MACKENZIE, Harry (<i>UK</i> ?-?) {1853-after 1865}	❶ Such is Life ; ❷ Such is Life (Ballad; words: Walter B. Allen); ❸ Such is Life .	❶ [Sydney: Henry Marsh, 1855; <i>The Australian Cadeau</i> No 15 (8 September 1855)]; ❷ Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1857]. ❸ Sydney: J. Reading, [before 1874].	❶ NO COPY IDENTIFIED. ❷ Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/8820460 ; item: http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-an6338242 ; ❸ Copy at NLA (hand dated “1874”); Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/8820460 ; item: http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-an10691357 .	❶ [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (8 September 1855), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12982553 ; ❷ [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (15 June 1857), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12997008 .
571.	1855-09-15	ANONYMOUS	<i>Sydney Railway Polka</i> .	Sydney: H. Marsh, [1855]; <i>The Australian Cadeau</i> No 16 (15 September 1855).	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/12725927 .	This is not the same work as the, possibly imported, The Railway Polka , also published by Henry Marsh ([also 1855?]); see Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/7316366 .
572.	1855-09-20	LINGER, Carl Ferdinand August (<i>Germany</i> 1810-1862) {1849-62}	Der 93rd Psalm: Der Herr ist Koenig: The Lord is King.			[Advertisement]: “CONCERT OF SACRED MUSIC [...] ADELAIDE CHORAL SOCIETY”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (20 September 1855), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49298583 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
573.	1855-09-20	LINGER, Carl Ferdinand August (Germany 1810-1862) {1849-62}	Lobgesang in der Hoche. "Gloria" from the Mass in B [flat].		[Advertisement]: "CONCERT OF SACRED MUSIC [...] ADELAIDE CHORAL SOCIETY", <i>South Australian Register</i> (20 September 1855), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49298583 .	
574.	1855-09-26	PALING, William Henry (Holland 1825-1895) {1855-95}	Sydney Railway Waltz ([Sydney Railway] "Opened September 26, 1855").	Sydney: Woolcott & Clarke, [1855].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19582438 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (29 September 1855), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12977286 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (4 October 1855), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12980756 ; see also "SYDNEY RAILWAY BALL", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (4 October 1855), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12980757 .
575.	1855-09-27	DEL SARTE, Camille (France c.1817-1877) {1851-77}	Un rêve (Romance musique).	[Possibly printed: Hobart: 1854-55?].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	"Tasmanian Contributions to Paris, 1855, No XIV", <i>The Courier</i> (27 September 1855), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2491196 .
576.	1855-09-27	HENSLOWE, Francis Hartwell (England 1811-1878) {1839-64}	L'Espérance (duet for two tenors).	[Hobart: Henslowe, 1855]; ("lithographed and printed in colours by Mr. Henslowe, junior").	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	"Tasmanian Contributions to Paris, 1855, No XIV", <i>The Courier</i> (27 September 1855), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2491196 .
577.	1855-09-28	PALING, William Henry (Holland 1825-1895) {1855-95}	The Last Rose of Summer (the theme with variations for violin).			"GRAND EVENING CONCERT", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (28 September 1855), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12983983 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (1 May 1856), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12976005 ; "SYDNEY (from our own correspondent)", <i>The Argus</i> (4 October 1855), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4820011 .
578.	1855-10-06	PACKER, Frederick Alexander (senior) (England 1814-1862) {1852-1862}	The Queen of the Polkas ("dedicated to Miss Jones, of Bleak House, Risdon").	[Hobart: Huxtable & Deakin, 1855].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED; But see: "ROYAL SOCIETY OF VAN DIEMEN'S LAND", <i>The Courier</i> (16 November 1855), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2494047 [report of copy presented to the society library].	"NEW MUSIC", <i>The Launceston Examiner</i> (6 October 1855), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36294503 ; "A NEW POLKA", <i>Colonial Times</i> (12 October 1855), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8787953 .
579.	1855-10-13	ADAMS, John (England 1803-1861) {1853-61}	The world is old, oh! very old (choral dirge; words: Alexander Smith; lesson for the Launceston Philharmonic Society; the earliest documented of his reported " 150 Lessons for Beginners ").			"LAUNCESTON PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY", <i>Launceston Examiner</i> (13 October 1855), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36294605 ; "Launceston, Tasmania", <i>The Musical Times</i> 8/189 (1 November 1858), 339.
580.	1855-10-15	HENSLOWE, Francis Hartwell (England 1811-1878) {1839-64}	The Charlie Parker Polka ("Midland Grand Steeple Chase Waltzes. No. 3"; Nos 1 & 2 unidentified).	Hobart Town : R. V. Hood, [1855].	Copy at SL-TAS; Permalink: http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=538641 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9854459 .	Named after the race horse, winner of the 1855 Midland Grand Annual Steeplechase; see "GRAND MIDLAND STEEPLE CHASE", <i>The Hobart Mercury</i> (15 October 1855), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3336755 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
581.	1855-11-10	WINTERBOTTOM, John (<i>England</i> 1817-1897) {1853-61}	The Bird Song (“sung by Mrs. Emma Waller”).	[Sydney; W. J. Johnson, 1855].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement]: “THE BIRD SONG”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (10 November 1855), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12978510 ; [Advertisement]: “THE BIRD SONG”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (21 November 1855), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12983442 .
582.	1855-11-30	ANONYMOUS	Greetings to Australia: A Gay Fantasy (Gruss an Australien: eine freie Phantasie) (by the master of an Adelaide German Band).			Letter from Adelaide, 30 November 1855, Miska Hauser, <i>Aus dem Wanderbuche eines österreichischen Virtuosen: Briefe aus Californien, Südamerika und Australien</i> (Leipzig: Grunow, 1860), vol. 2, 142-43: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=.JMZAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=snippet&q=%22freie%20phantasie%22&f=false .
583.	1855-12-05	MARTIN, Robert {c.1842-56}	Tchernaya Galop (by R. Martin, 99th).			“THE BAND OF the 99th Regiment”, <i>The Courier</i> (5 December 1855), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2495064 .
584.	1855-12-15	PALING, William Henry (<i>Holland</i> 1825-1895) {1855-95}	Thoughts of Home (“words by Henry Halloran, Esq., the music composed and dedicated to the Baron Heiness, By W.H. PALING”).	[Sydney: Woolcott & Clarke, 1855].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement: “NEW SONG, in course of publication”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (15 December 1855), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28638144 .
585.	1855-12-22	THOMPSON, Mr.	Harlequin Jack and the Bean Stalk (“Christmas pantomime, the new and original music composed expressly by Mr. Thompson”).			“ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE”, <i>The Courier</i> (22 December 1855), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2496056 .
586.	1855-12-22	BOCHSA, Nicholas (<i>France</i> 1789-1856) {1855-56}	La Bajadere (Song) (“Je suis la Bayadere”).	[Sydney: W. J. Johnson, 1856; in <i>The Sydney Harmonicon</i>].	NO COPY OF AUSTRALIAN EDITION IDENTIFIED; But see earlier US edition, (New York, 1848): https://jscholarship.library.jhu.edu/handle/1774.2/31492 .	[Advertisement]: “PRINCE OF WALES THEATRE [...] MADAME ANNA BISHOP”, <i>Empire</i> (22 December 1855), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article60171384 ; [Advertisement]: “SYDNEY HARMONICON”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (2 February 1856), 9: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12976856 [with complete listing of the contents of issues 1-7]; “THE SYDNEY HARMONICON”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (26 February 1856), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12973904 .
587.	1855-12-22	BOCHSA, Nicholas (<i>France</i> 1789-1856) {1855-56}	A Characteristic Fantasia on Mexican Melodies for the Orchestra, arranged by Bochsa, and introducing the humorous and Quaint Mexican Canzion, La Pasadita.			[Advertisement]: “PRINCE OF WALES THEATRE [...] MADAME ANNA BISHOP”, <i>Empire</i> (22 December 1855), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article60171384 .
588.	1855-12-24	PACKER, Charles S. (<i>England</i> 1810-1883) {1840-83}	La Figlia Mia: A New Schottische (“composed expressly for the <i>Sydney Harmonicon</i> ”).	[Sydney: W. J. Johnson, 1855; in <i>The Sydney Harmonicon</i> No 1].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	“THE SYDNEY HARMONICON”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (24 December 1855), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12973915 .
589.	1855-12-29	BOCHSA, Nicholas (<i>France</i> 1789-1856) {1855-56}	Bochsa’s New Whimsical Overture for full Orchestra, entitled <i>The Past and the Present</i>.			[Advertisement]: “MADAME ANNA BISHOP”, <i>Bell’s Life in Sydney</i> (29 December 1855), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article59761264 ; “PRINCE OF WALES THEATRE”, <i>Empire</i> (3 January 1856), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article60171928 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data
590.	1856~ LAVENU, Lewis Henry (<i>England</i> 1818-1859) {1853-59}	Queen of the West (“In a few days will be published [...] both poetry and music, by the late Mr. Lavenu”) (composed for Madame Carandini; accompaniment by Charles Packer”).	Sydney: J. R. Clarke, 1859.	Copy at SL-NSW (Q786.4/Mu2); Permalink: http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/record=b1710176~S2 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/7868012 .	[Advertisement]: “NEW MUSIC”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (17 September 1859), 12: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13030882 ; [Advertisement]: “NEW BALLAD”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (26 September 1859), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13031202 ; according to review, it was sung once by Maria Carandini in Victroia, therefore probably late 1855 or early 1856.
591.	1856~ SOU-ALLE, Ali-Ben (Soualle, Augustin Edmond) (<i>France</i> 1820-after 1865) {1853-56}	Souvenirs d’Australie.	Paris: For the author, 1861.	Modern edition.	“ALI-BEN-SOU-ALLE”, <i>Gazette musicale de Paris</i> 24 (1857), 204: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=HO8sAAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA204#v=onepage&q&f=false ; “Musique pour piano”, <i>Journal général de l’imprimerie et de la librairie</i> 5/1 (1861), 574: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=QRcDAAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA574#v=onepage&q&f=false .
592.	1856~ H., A.H.	The Cremorne Waltzes (“Composed expressly for Cremorne and dedicated to the visitors”): (Crossing the Harbour; [Waltz] No 1; No 2, No 3; Finale).	Sydney: Woolcott & Clarke, [1856?].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16610443 .	“Composed expressly for Cremorne” [probably for Woolcott & Clarke’s Cremorne Gardens Entertainments, during 1856, and/or the steam boat that carried passengers from the south side of the Harbour].
593.	1856-01-09 BOCHSA, Nicholas (<i>France</i> 1789-1856) {1855-56}	Requiem aeternam (Rest, great Musician, rest) (“a mournful refrain [...] adapted by Mr. Frank Howson, and harmonised in four parts by Mr. [W. H.] Paling”).	[Reported being prepared for publication, Sydney, 1856].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	“DEATH AND OBSEQUIES OF THE LATE M. BOCHSA”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (9 January 1856), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12981597 : “[...] Bochsa, three days before his death, also compose[d] a mournful refrain [...] Madame Bishop was struck with the solemnity and appropriateness of the air [...] Accordingly, the Latin <i>Requiem</i> from the Catholic Ritual was adapted by Mr. Frank Howson, and harmonised in four parts by Mr. Paling [...] The dying chaunt will shortly be published, the following stanzas having been written thereto [prints text]”; “DEATH OF CHEVALIER BOCHSA”, <i>Bell’s Life in Sydney</i> (12 January 1856), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article59761347 .
594.	1856-01-17 MARSH, Henry (<i>England</i> 1824-USA after 1884) {1849-74}	Victory Polka.			[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (17 January 1856), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12973788 .
595.	1856-01-17 MARSH, Henry (<i>England</i> 1824-USA after 1884) {1849-74}	Belles of Australia Waltz.			[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (17 January 1856), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12973788 .
596.	1856-01-17 MARSH, Henry (<i>England</i> 1824-USA after 1884) {1849-74}	Victory (“a descriptive music composed expressly for this occasion”); (1 Embarkation of the Troops; 2 “Farewell to Home and Friends”; 3 Advance of the British Army; 4 Advance of the French Army; 5 Our Jolly Tars; 6 God Save the Queen!).			[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (17 January 1856), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12973788 .

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597.	1856-01-18 LILLYWHITE, William (UK? ?-1870) { 1852-70}	Anthem <i>When the weary are at rest</i> (“trio for two sopranos and bass, followed by a soprano duet, with a concluding chorus”).			“CONCERT OF SACRED MUSIC”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (18 January 1856), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49745607 ; “CONCERT OF SACRED MUSIC”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (20 May 1856), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49746743 ; see also “DIED”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (16 June 1870), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28592492 .
598.	1856-02-02 JOHNSON, William J. (England 1810-1866) {1836-66}	Ladies’ Ugly Schottische.	[Sydney: W. J. Johnson, 1856; in <i>The Sydney Harmonicon</i>].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	“THE SYDNEY HARMONICON”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (24 December 1855), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12973915 ; [Advertisement]: “SYDNEY HARMONICON”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (2 February 1856), 9: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12976856 [with complete listing of the contents of issues 1-7]; “THE SYDNEY HARMONICON”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (26 February 1856), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12973904 ; [11th issue] [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (1 March 1856), 12: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28639317 .
599.	1856-02-02 PACKER, Charles S. (England 1810-1883) {1840-83}	Etude en forme de valse.	[Sydney: W. J. Johnson, 1856; in <i>The Sydney Harmonicon</i>].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement]: “SYDNEY HARMONICON”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (2 February 1856), 9: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12976856 [with complete listing of the contents of issues 1-7]; “THE SYDNEY HARMONICON”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (26 February 1856), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12973904 .
600.	1856-02-02 PACKER, Charles S. (England 1810-1883) {1840-83}	Polka Partant pour la Syrie.	[Sydney: W. J. Johnson, 1856; in <i>The Sydney Harmonicon</i>].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement]: “SYDNEY HARMONICON”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (2 February 1856), 9: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12976856 [with complete listing of the contents of issues 1-7].
601.	1856-02-02 SPAGNOLETTI, Ernesto snr (Italy/England c.1804-1862) {1853-62}	Our Village Home.	[Sydney: W. J. Johnson, 1856; in <i>The Sydney Harmonicon</i>].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement]: “SYDNEY HARMONICON”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (2 February 1856), 9: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12976856 [with complete listing of the contents of issues 1-7]; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (28 May 1859), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13025502 .
602.	1856-02-08 HAUSER, Miska (Hungary 1822-1887) {1854-58}	Ballad (“ Thou’rt like unto a flower ”) (“respectfully dedicated to Lady Mac Donnell”).	[?: Composer?, 1856?]	Copy at SL-NSW; Permalink: http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/record=b2221938~S2 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/7577278 .	“MISS EMILIE SMITH’S CONCERT”, <i>The Argus</i> (8 February 1856), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4830187 .
603.	1856-02-11 BOULANGER, Edward (France 1829-1863) {1854-63}	Boulangier’s Musical Keepsake for 1856; (1 Serenade to <i>Don Pasquale</i> ; 2 Nocturne de Concert; 3 Caprice Sur Norma; 4 Concert Waltz; 5 Caprice Nocturne; 6 Souvenir D’Amerique); For all except No 2 (above), see details below.	[Sydney: F. Mader, 1856].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement]: “MUSICAL KEEPSAKE”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (11 February 1856), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12979208 ; AUSTRALIAN MUSIC”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (3 December 1855), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28638097 ; “REVIEW”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (11 February 1856), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12979227 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (11 February 1856), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12979208 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
604.	1856-02-11	BOULANGER, Edward (France 1829-1863) {1854-63}	Serenade to <i>Don Pasquale</i> ("dedicated to Lady Denison").	[Sydney: F. Mader, 1856; No 1 in <i>Boulangier's Musical Keepsake for 1856</i>].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	See above; also: [Advertisement]: "Grand Evening Concert [...] MONS. BOULANGER", <i>The Maitland Mercury</i> (19 June 1856), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article18652524 .
605.	1856-02-11	BOULANGER, Edward (France 1829-1863) {1854-63}	Caprice sur <i>Norma</i> ("dedicated to Mrs. John H. Plunkett").	① [Sydney: F. Mader, 1856; in <i>Boulangier's Musical Keepsake for 1856</i>]; ② [No 6 in THE WORKS OF E.D. BOULANGER; Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1857 or later]].	① NO COPY IDENTIFIED; ② NO COPY IDENTIFIED; for list of contents, see: http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-an5397131 .	See above.
606.	1856-02-11	BOULANGER, Edward (France 1829-1863) {1854-63}	Concert Waltz ("to Mrs. W.W. Manning").	[Sydney: F. Mader, 1856; No 3 in <i>Boulangier's Musical Keepsake for 1856</i>]; [No 7 in THE WORKS OF E.D. BOULANGER; Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1857 or later]].	① NO COPY IDENTIFIED; ② NO COPY IDENTIFIED; for list of contents, see: http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-an5397131 .	See above. But possibly the same work as <i>Last Concert Waltz</i> , Op. 23 (New York: William Hall and Son, 1852), copy at USA, Library of Congress, online; http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.music/sm1852.180080 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19715266 ; Boulangier also played the <i>Last Concert Waltz</i> in Sydney, [Advertisement]: "CONCERT HALL", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (25 August 1856), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12986292 .
607.	1856-02-11	BOULANGER, Edward (France 1829-1863) {1854-63}	Caprice Nocturne ("to Miss Eliza Icelly").	[Sydney: F. Mader, 1856; in <i>Boulangier's Musical Keepsake for 1856</i>]; [No 9 in THE WORKS OF E.D. BOULANGER; Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1857 or later]].	① NO COPY IDENTIFIED; ② NO COPY IDENTIFIED; for list of contents, see: http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-an5397131 .	See above.
608.	1856-02-11	BOULANGER, Edward (France 1829-1863) {1854-63}	Souvenir D'Amerique ("to Mademoiselle Marie Sentis").	[Sydney: F. Mader, 1856; in <i>Boulangier's Musical Keepsake for 1856</i>].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	See above.
609.	1856-02-21	LAVENU, Lewis Henry (England 1818-1859) {1853-59}	Kate Kearney, or the Lakes of Killarney ("The music composed and arranged by M. Lavenue").			[Advertisement]: "COPPIN'S OLYMPIC", <i>The Argus</i> (21 February 1856), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4831343 .
610.	1856-02-28	ADAMS, John (England 1803-1861) {1853-61}	A dialogue held by Paris and Oenone on Mount Ida (pastoral duet and chorus; words: Charles Lamb) (lesson for the Launceston Philharmonic Society).			"LAUNCESTON PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY", <i>Launceston Examiner</i> (28 February 1856), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36296537 ; "Launceston, Tasmania", <i>The Musical Times</i> 8/189 (1 November 1858), 339.

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data
611.	1856-03-08 ADAMS, John (<i>England</i> 1803-1861) {1853-61}	No jewelled beauty is my love (ballad; words: Gerald Massey; “as sung by Miss Catherine Hayes in Tasmania”).	Sydney: Woolcott & Clarke, [1856].	Copy at SL-NSW; Permalink: http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/record=b2140728~S2 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/31338566 ; Copy at SL-TAS: Permalink: http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=704812 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9855532 .	“CATHERINE HAYES’S CONCERT FOR THE BENEVOLENT SOCIETY AND CORNWALL HOSPITAL”, <i>Launceston Examiner</i> (8 March 1856), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36296661 ; “SECOND EDITION OF THE NEW BALLAD NO JEWELLED BEAUTY [...] In the Press a new Ballad, A NIGHT SONG”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (31 May 1856), 10: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12981722 [reproduces texts of several magazine reviews]; “WE republish [...]” <i>Colonial Times</i> (2 June 1856), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8786663 .
612.	1856-04-08 PACKER, Charles S. (<i>England</i> 1810-1883) {1840-83}	The Names of Christ (“Anthem. The Names of Christ, compiled from the Holy Scriptures, by Samuel Elyard, Esq.”).	Sydney: W. J. Johnson, [1856?].	Copy at SL-NSW; Permalink: http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/record=b1707177~S2 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/7577334 .	[Advertisement]: “SYDNEY CHORAL SOCIETY”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (8 April 1856), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28639868 ; [Advertisement]: “SYDNEY CHORAL SOCIETY”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (9 April 1856), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12974485 .
613.	1856-04-22 FIDDES, Harriett (née CAWSE) (<i>England</i> ?-?) {1853-59 or later}	The Australian Schottische.			“COPPIN’S OLYMPIC”, <i>The Argus</i> (22 April 1856), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4836092 ; “The Australian Schottische composed by Mrs. Fiddes was performed by the band subsequent to the tragedy [Macbeth] and was pronounced a success, by those who heard it. The melody is striking and rather Beethovenish, but the noise in the house and general restlessness of the audience prevented its reaching the ears of many.”
614.	1856-05-02 MARSH, Stephen (<i>England</i> ?1805-1888) {1842-46; 1849-72}	Allan M’Gan (ballad; “sung by Madame Bishop during her residence in [Sydney]”; words: Henry Halloran) (“Australian Ballad, written upon the decease of a respected citizen of Australia [...] the music by Henry [sic] Marsh, Esq., of Sydney”).	[Sydney: ? , 1856].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (2 May 1856), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28640152 ; “PRINCE OF WALES THEATRE. Madame ANNA BISHOP will sing for the first time [...] a new Ballad, written expressly for her by Stephen Marsh, Esq.; words by Henry Halloran, Esq., called ALLAN M’GAN”; “NEW MUSIC”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (10 June 1856), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12980793 ; “MUSICAL CRITIQUES”, <i>Bell’s Life in Sydney</i> (14 June 1856), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article59762145 ; also [Advertisement]: “MADAME ANNA BISHOP”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (20 November 1856), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49758479 .
615.	1856-05-31 ADAMS, John (<i>England</i> 1803-1861) {1853-61}	A Night Song (I’m thinking o’er the short sweet hour) . (Words; Gerald Massey; “New ballad composed expressly for and dedicated to Miss Catherine Hayes by John Adams”).	Sydney: Woolcott & Clarke, [1856].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16393039 .	[Advertisement]: “SECOND EDITION OF THE NEW BALLAD NO JEWELLED BEAUTY [...] In the Press a new Ballad, A NIGHT SONG”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (31 May 1856), 10: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12981722 ; “I’M THINKING O’ER THE SHORT SWEET HOUR”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (25 June 1856), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12984057 .
616.	1856-06-06 MILDMAY; [? MILDMAY, Edmond H. St. John]	Galop L’Australienne.			[Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (6 June 1856), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4839609 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
617.	1856-06-10	MARSH, Stephen (<i>England</i> ?1805-1888) {1842-46; 1849-72}	The Homebush Galop ("dedicated to Mrs. John Rose Holden" [late Miss Broadhurst]).	[Sydney: ? , 1856].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	"NEW MUSIC", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (10 June 1856), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12980793 ; "MUSICAL CRITIQUES", <i>Bell's Life in Sydney</i> (14 June 1856), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article59762145 .
618.	1856-06-19	PACKER, Charles S. (<i>England</i> 1810-1883) {1840-83}	Australia, Hail! ("Australian National Anthem"; "The Australian National Hymn") ("Words and Music by Charles S. Packer").	Sydney: Published by the Composer, [before 1866].	Copy at SL-NSW (composer's signature on cover); Permalink: http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/record=b2531597~S2 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/31998266 .	[Advertisement]: "SYDNEY CHORAL SOCIETY", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (19 June 1856), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12981005 ; [Advertisement]: "ENGLISH OPERA HOUSE", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (29 August 1856), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12986517 ; [Advertisement]: "W. J. JOHNSON AND CO.", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (24 November 1866), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13145711 .
619.	1856-06-24	HAUSER, Miska (<i>Hungary</i> 1822-1887) {1854-58}	Souvenire de Gorma (Caprice).			[Advertisement]: "MISKA HAUSER", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (24 June 1856), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28640440 .
620.	1856-06-24	HAUSER, Miska (<i>Hungary</i> 1822-1887) {1854-58}	The Irish Bouquet (violin solo).			[Advertisement]: "MISKA HAUSER", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (24 June 1856), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28640440 .
621.	1856-07-11	NELSON, Sidney (<i>England</i> 1800-1862) {1853-61}	Benedictus (for vocal quartet and chorus).			[Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (11 July 1856), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7132939 .
622.	1856-07-19	WINTERBOTTOM, John (<i>England</i> 1817-1897) {1853-61}	Overture <i>Our Lyceum</i> ("composed expressly for the occasion").			"THE DRAMA: OUR LYCEUM", <i>Bell's Life in Sydney</i> (19 July 1856), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article59762307 .
623.	1856-08-11	LINGER, Carl Ferdinand August (<i>Germany</i> 1810-1862) {1849-62}	Prelude No 1 "To the Memory of the Fallen Heroes—Prelude for the Orchestra in G minor; Prelude No 2 "Praise and thanks to the Lord for Victory and Peace—Prelude for Orchestra in D major ("the two Preludes and Nos. 1,2,4 and 11 were expressly composed and arranged for this Concert by Herr Linger"): 1 Funeral march on the Death of a Hero (Beethoven); 2 Chorus <i>Sweetly rest in God's own peace</i> [Linger]; 4 Funeral anthem <i>I am the Resurrection</i> [Linger]; 11 Chorus <i>Praise the Lord, O my Soul</i> [Linger].			[Advertisement]: "PEACE REJOICING: A GRAND CONCERT", <i>South Australian Register</i> (11 August 1856), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49753687 ; also (18 August 1856), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49761314 ; "The musical event of the season [...]", <i>South Australian Register</i> (23 August 1856), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49756276 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
624.	1856-08-15	BOULANGER, Edward (France 1829-1863) {1854-63}	<p>① The Last Rose of Summer (Caprice for the Piano) (“composed and dedicated to his friend M. Hauser”);</p> <p>② The Last Rose of Summer.</p>	<p>① Sydney: J. R. Clarke, 1857; in <i>Australian Album</i> 1857.</p> <p>② [No 5 in <i>THE WORKS OF E.D. BOULANGER</i>; Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1857 or later]].</p>	<p>① Copy at NLA (album): Trove Bookmark (item): http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16497839;</p> <p>② NO COPY IDENTIFIED; for list of contents, see: http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-an5397131.</p>	<p>[Advertisement]: “CONCERT HALL. ROYAL HOTEL”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (15 August 1856), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12985996; ① [Advertisement]: “AN ELEGANT CHRISTMAS PRESENT.” <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (24 December 1856), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12990430.</p>
625.	1856-08-19	FANNING, Edward (? ?-before 1884)	The New Overture <i>The Queen’s</i> (“composed expressly for this occasion”).		[Advertisement], “The Queen’s Theatre”, <i>Maitland Mercury</i> (19 August 1856), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article18646693 .	
626.	1856-08-26	WINTERBOTTOM, John (England 1817-1897) {1853-61}	Eva, or Leaves From Uncle Tom’s Cabin (overture and the entire music).		[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (26 August 1856), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12986360 .	
627.	1856-08-30	Oakey, Alfred {1853-66 or later}	Song for the Bush (words: James Mulholland).		Sung by Mrs. Oakey at a concert in the Star Concert Hall for James Mulholland’s benefit, see <i>The Ballarat Times</i> (30 August 1856); cited in Anne Doggett, “And for harmony most ardently we long”: Musical life in Ballarat, 1851-1871 (Ph.D thesis, University of Ballarat, 2006), vol. 2, 47.	
628.	1856-10-23	HAUSER, Miska (Hungary 1822-1887) {1854-58}	Song (“composed expressly for W. F. Ellard”) [probably <i>recte</i> Frederick Ellard].		[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (23 October 1856), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12988185 .	
629.	1856-10-27	BONWICK, Walter (England 1824-1883) {?1854-83}	The Irish peasant girl (“The new ballad [...] Sung with great applause by Madame Anna Bishop”; words: Mrs. W. Boute).	Melbourne: W.H. Williams for the benefit of the Benevolent Asylum, [1856].	Copy at SL-NSW; Permalink: http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/record=b2144627~S2 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/24032662 .	
630.	1856-11-19	HENSLOWE, Francis Hartwell (England 1811-1878) {1839-64}	Lord keep my memory green (“dedicated to Charles Dickens”; “19th November, 1856”).	Tasmania: F. B. Henslowe, Lith., 1856.	Copy at SL-TAS; Permalink: http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=538638 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9854442 .	
631.	1856-11-20	SIEDE, Julius (Germany 1825-1903) {1856-1903}	Grand Fantasia on the flute <i>The Carnival of Venice</i> (“first time”); Le Carnival de Venise (“Grand Solo for Flute”).		[Advertisement]: “MADAME ANNA BISHOP”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (20 November 1856), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49758479 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (13 April 1857), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7147837 .	
632.	1856-11-25	FIDDES, Harriett (née CAWSE) (England ?-?) {1853-59 or later}	The Souvenir (2 songs).	[Melbourne: ?, 1856].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED. “NEW MUSIC”, <i>The Argus</i> (25 November 1856), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7140611 .	

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data
633.	1856-12-08 LODER, George (England 1816-1868) {1856-57; 1862-68}	The Sea Nymph (“New Arietta, composed for MADAME ANNA BISHOP [...] with Obligato Accompaniment for two Flutes”).			[Advertisement]: “MADAME ANNA BISHOP”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (8 December 1856), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49755691 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Hobart Town Mercury</i> (4 February 1857), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3242820 .
634.	1856-12-24 VARIOUS (listed separately); CLARKE, Joseph R. (ed.)	Australian Album 1857 (also advertised as <i>The Australian Musical Album for 1857</i>).	Sydney: J. R. Clarke, 1857.	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/12718234 .	[Advertisement]: “AN ELEGANT CHRISTMAS PRESENT.” <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (24 December 1856), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12990430 ; “Just Published. THE AUSTRALIAN MUSICAL ALBUM FOR 1857 [...] The music is by Miska Hauser, E. Boulanger, F. Ellard, S.H. Marsh, W. Stanley, and H. Marsh; all com-posed specially for the publication. J. R. CLARKE, Music Publisher”; “REVIEW”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (24 December 1856), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12990464 ; [Advertisement]: “A CHRISTMAS PRESENT”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (26 December 1856), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12990528 [lists contents and illustrations].
635.	1856-12-24 ELLARD, Frederick (Ireland 1824-1874) {1832-74}	Morceau de salon sur Lucrèce (“composé par Frederic Ellard”; “Dedié à Madmoiselle Marie Sentis”).	Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1857]; in the <i>Australian Album 1857</i> .	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16497818 .	See above.
636.	1856-12-24 HAUSER, Miska (Hungary 1822-1887) {1854-58}	Australian Flowers (Impromptu for the Piano Forte) (“2 nd Impromptu”; “Dedicated to Miss Aldis”).	Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1857]; in the <i>Australian Album 1857</i> .	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/12842115 .	See above.
637.	1856-12-24 MARSH, Henry (England 1824-USA after 1884) {1849-74}	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● The Pic Nic Polka; ● The Pic Nic Polka. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Sydney: J. R. Clarke, 1857; in <i>Australian Album 1857</i>; ● [Sydney: J. R. Clarke, after 1858, as No 10 of Clarke’s “Colonial Polkas”]. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16180728; ● NO COPY IDENTIFIED. 	See above.
638.	1856-12-24 MARSH, Stephen (England ?1805-1888) {1842-46; 1849-72}	Far o’er the sea (words: Mrs. Hemans) (“Composed and dedicated to Miss McCarthy”).	Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1857]; in the <i>Australian Album 1857</i> .	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16497834 ; See also US edition (San Francisco: Sherman & Hyde, 1877), copy at Library of Congress, online: http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.music/sm1877.04331 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19789799 .	See above.

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639.	1856-12-24	STANLEY, William (<i>England</i> 1820-1902) {c.1837-1902}	The Rose Bay Quadrilles ("Dedicated by permission to Miss Augusta Mitchell").	Sydney: J. R. Clarke, 1857; in <i>Australian Album 1857</i> .	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/7780476 .	See above.
640.	1857~	WEINRITTER, George M. (<i>Poland</i> ?-?) {fl.1856-84}	The Melbourne Varsoviennne .	Melbourne: Published for the Author by Joseph Wilkie, [1857 or later].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/5896703 .	-
641.	1857~	WRAY, W.B. {1857-58}	The Champion of the Seas Polka ("Composed expressly for & respectfully dedicated to the owners of that magnificent vessel").	[Melbourne]: [Joseph Wilkie], [1857].	Copy at SL-VIC; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/34544647 .	Wray probably arrived from the UK on the ship <i>Champion of the Seas</i> , which disembarked at Melbourne in March 1857; probably printed before Wray returned to England in April 1858; "MELBOURNE: DEPARTURES", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (23 April 1858), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13009172 .
642.	1857~ 1858~	WRAY, W.B. {1857-58}	Gem Polka.	[UK: ?, ?].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	
643.	1857~ 1858~	WRAY, W.B. {1857-58}	The Charm Schottisch ("companion to the Gem Polka") ("Dedicated to the gentlemen of Birkenhead").	Liverpool [UK]: W. P. Draper, [before 1857 or after 1858].	Copy at SL-VIC; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/25215493 .	
644.	1857-01-09	CURTIS, Alfred Perkins (<i>England</i> 1830-1902) {1852-1902}	Venite and Gloria and chaunts ("sung the last two or three Sundays [...] are the composition of the organist, Mr. Curtis").			"Domestic Sayings and Doings", <i>The Perth Gazette</i> (9 January 1857), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2929704 .
645.	1857-01-12	BOULANGER, Edward (<i>France</i> 1829-1863) {1854-63}	<p>❶ The Cricket Match Schottische ("played by Winterbottom's unrivaled band"); (Dedicated to the Elevens of Victoria and New South Wales"); ("with a view of the grand competing match to be played on the new ground, by Edmund Thomas").</p> <p>❷ The Cricket Match Schottische.</p>	<p>❶ Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1857].</p> <p>❷ [No 4 in THE WORKS OF E.D. BOULANGER; Sydney: J.R. Clarke, [1857 or later]].</p>	<p>❶ Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/12841798</p> <p>❷ NO COPY IDENTIFIED; for list of contents, see: http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-au5397131.</p>	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (12 January 1857), 1: http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12991189 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (15 January 1857), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12991322 ; "THE CRICKET MATCH SCHOTTISCHE", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (17 January 1857), 10: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12991457 ; [Advertisement]: "PASSENGERS FOR ENGLAND", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (10 February 1857), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12992076 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
646.	1857-01-12	BOULANGER, Edward (France 1829-1863) {1854-63}	The Oneida Polka (“Dedicated to the G. & A.R.M. Company & to the Commander & Officers of the S.S. Oneida”; “Played by Winterbottom’s unrivalled band”; “commemorative of the departure of the <i>Oneida</i> , the first mail ship of the Australian and European line, commanded by Captain Hyde”).	<p>❶ Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1857];</p> <p>❷ [No 1 in THE WORKS OF E.D. BOULANGER; Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1857 or later]].</p> <p>❸ [Sydney: J. R. Clarke, after 1858, as No 4 of Clarke’s “Colonial Polkas”].</p>	<p>❶ Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/12841788;</p> <p>❷ NO COPY IDENTIFIED; for list of contents, see: http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-an5397131;</p> <p>❸ NO COPY IDENTIFIED; for list of contents, see: http://www.nla.gov.au/apps/cdview?pi=nla.mus-an5397172-s1-v.</p>	<p>[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (12 January 1857), 1: http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12991189; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (15 January 1857), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12991322; “NEW MUSIC”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (7 February 1857), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12992002; [Advertisement]: “PASSENGERS FOR ENGLAND”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (10 February 1857), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12992076.</p>
647.	1857-01-12	BOULANGER, Edward (France 1829-1863) {1854-63}	The Simla Galop (“dedicated to Captain Cooper” [of the ship <i>Simla</i>]).	<p>❶ [Sydney: J. R. Clarke, 1857];</p> <p>❷ [No 3 in THE WORKS OF E.D. BOULANGER; Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1857 or later]].</p>	<p>❶ NO COPY IDENTIFIED;</p> <p>❷ NO COPY IDENTIFIED; for list of contents, see: http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-an5397131.</p>	<p>[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (12 January 1857), 1: http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12991189; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (15 January 1857), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12991322; “NEW MUSIC”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (7 February 1857), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12992002; [Advertisement]: “PASSENGERS FOR ENGLAND”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (10 February 1857), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12992076.</p>
648.	1857-01-16	BROWN, Mr. A.	La Rouge Polka (“dedicated to Captain Neatby and Officers of the ship [<i>La Rouge</i>]”).	[Sydney: W. J. Johnson, 1857].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement]: “LA ROUGE POLKA”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (16 January 1857), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12991388 .
649.	1857-01-16	SPAGNOLETTI, Ernesto snr (Italy/England c.1804-1862) {1853-62}	Simla Polka (“respectfully dedicated to Captain Cooper and the officers [of the ship <i>Simla</i>], by Spagnoletti”) (“Played by Mr. Moss”).	Sydney: W. J. Johnson, [1857].	Copy at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/37511284 .	[Advertisement]: “THE SIMLA POLKA”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (16 January 1857), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12991388 .
650.	1857-01-16	SPAGNOLETTI, Ernesto snr (Italy/England c.1804-1862) {1853-62}	The Nina Waltz Brillante (“respectfully dedicated to Lady Denison, by E. Spagnoletti”).	[Sydney: W. J. Johnson, 1857].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement]: “MUSIC. The Nina Waltz, Brillante”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (16 January 1857), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12991388 .
651.	1857-01-16	JOHNSON, Henry	Battle Sinfonia (“Battle Symphony”) (“his clever [...] composition in which all the sounds incidental to an engagement, even the dead silence of suspense, were described in music”).			[Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (16 January 1857), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7143222 ; “MR. JOHNSON’S MILITARY CONCERT”, <i>The Argus</i> (23 January 1857), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7143508 ; “JOURNAL OF LITERATURE AND ART”, <i>The Illustrated Journal of Australasia</i> 2 (1857), 95: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=dIwuAQAIAAJ&pg=PA95&dq#v=onepage&q&f=false ; “CONCERT AT THE BOTANICAL GARDENS”, <i>The Argus</i> (14 March 1859), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5677851 ; Johnson was band-master of the 40th regiment, and stayed on in Melbourne to become bandmaster of a volunteer band.

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
652.	1857-01-29	HAUSER, Miska (Hungary 1822-1887) {1854-58}	A Farewell Song (1857); Farewell to Australia (1858).		[Advertisement]: "MISKA HAUSER'S FAREWELL CONCERT", <i>South Australian Register</i> (29 January 1857), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49762868 [prints words]; "MISKA HAUSER'S FAREWELL CONCERT", <i>South Australian Register</i> (30 January 1857), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49768367 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (1 May 1858), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13009524 [prints words].	
653.	1857-01-31	SPAGNOLETTI, Ernesto snr (Italy/England c.1804- 1862) {1853-62}	The Balmain Polka ("Respectfully dedicated to the ladies of Balmain").	Sydney: Published by the author, [1857].	Copy at SL-NSW; Permalink: http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/record=b3143794~S2 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/36585644 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (31 January 1857), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12991751 ; [Advertisement]: "JUST PUBLISHED", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (10 February 1857), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12992076 .
654.	1857-02-00	MASSETT, Stephen C. (England 1820-USA 1898) {1856-57}	<p>❶ When the moon on the lake is beaming (February 1857);</p> <p>❷ When the moon on the lake is beaming;</p> <p>❸ When the moon on the lake is beaming.</p>	<p>❶ In <i>The Illustrated Journal of Australasia</i> 2/8 (February 1857), 56-59;</p> <p>❷ Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1857];</p> <p>❸ In <i>Williams's Musical Annual and Australian Sketchbook for 1858</i> (Melbourne: W.H. Williams, 1858), 7-10.</p>	<p>❶ Online at Google Books; http://books.google.com.au/books?id=dIwuAQAIAAJ&pg=PA56#v=onepage&q&f=false</p> <p>❷ Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19718782; item: http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-vn3623653;</p> <p>❸ Copy at NLA (album); Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/12773468; item: http://www.nla.gov.au/apps/cdview?pi=nla.mus-vn961407-s16-v;</p> <p>See also earlier US edition (New York: William Hall and Son, 1852), copy at Library of Congress, online: http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.music/sm1852.700240; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19718782.</p>	[Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (5 February 1857), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7144148 ; "Mr. STEPHEN MASSETT'S SONGS", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (15 June 1857), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12997022 ; "NEW SONG", <i>The Hobart Town Courier</i> (24 June 1857), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3244253 ; on Massett's arrival, see "NEW COMPOSER", <i>The Courier</i> (18 December 1856), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2507243 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data
655.	1857-02-07 WEINRITTER, George M. (Poland ?-?) {fl.1856-84}	Kangaroo Hunt Polka.	Melbourne: Joseph Wilkie; Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1857].	Copy at SL-NSW; Permalink: http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/record=b2221016~S2 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/7469630 .	[Advertisement]" KANGAROO POLKA", <i>The Argus</i> (21 February 1857), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7145013 ; see also J. R. Clarke, Sydney: [Advertisement]: "NEW MUSIC [...] The Kangaroo Hunt Polka", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (7 February 1857), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12991970 ; [Review], <i>The Journal of Australasia</i> 3/11 (May 1857), 236: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=dIwuAQAAIAAJ&pg=PA236#v=onepage&q&f=false ,
656.	1857-02-11 MARSH, Stephen (England ?1805-1888) {1842-46; 1849-72}	Song Without Words ("illustrative of the life of a digger"; "for the harp").			"MR. MARSH'S SOIREE MUSICALE", <i>The Argus</i> (11 February 1857), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7144469 ; MR. MARSH'S SOIREE MUSICALE", <i>The Argus</i> (17 February 1857), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7144768 .
657.	1857-02-11 MARSH, Stephen (England ?1805-1888) {1842-46; 1849-72}	The Song of the Gold Fields.			As above.
658.	1857-02-23 PALZER, Jacques {fl.1854-61}	Overture to Othello Travestie ("operatic burlesque, with a new overture composed by J. Paltzer").			Charlie Napier Theatre, Ballarat; <i>The Ballarat Star</i> (23 February 1857); cited in Anne Doggett, "And for harmony most ardently we long": Musical life in Ballarat, 1851-1871 (Ph.D thesis, University of Ballarat, 2006), vol. 2, 157
659.	1857-02-24 ROYAL, Creed {fl. 1853-73}	A Splendid NEW SCHOTTISCHE ("Patronised by Lady Barkley").	[Melbourne: ? Chapman, 1857].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement]: "PATRONISED", <i>The Argus</i> (24 February 1857), 6: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7145158 .
660.	1857-02-28 PALZER, Jacques {fl.1854-61}	Castle Spectre, or The Haunted Oratory (dramatic romance in 3 acts, with new music composed by J. Paltzer).			Charlie Napier Theatre, Ballarat; <i>The Ballarat Star</i> (28 February 1857); cited in Doggett, "And for harmony most ardently we long": Musical life in Ballarat, 1851-1871 (Ph.D thesis, University of Ballarat, 2006), vol. 2, 168.
661.	1857-03-00 NELSON, Sidney (England 1800-1862) {1853-61}	① The Watchword (song); ② The Watchword.	① <i>The Illustrated Journal of Australasia</i> (March 1857), 112-114. ② In <i>Williams's Musical Annual and Australian Sketchbook for 1858</i> (Melbourne: W.H. Williams, 1858), 11- 13.	① At Google Books: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=dIwuAQAAIAAJ&pg=PA112#v=onepage&q&f=false ; ② Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/12773468 ; item: http://www.nla.gov.au/apps/cdview?pi=nla.mus-vn961407-s21-v .	[Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (19 March 1857), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7146467 ; "JOURNAL OF LITERATURE AND ART", <i>The Journal of Australasia</i> 2 (March 1857), 143 : http://books.google.com.au/books?id=dIwuAQAAIAAJ&pg=PA143#v=onepage&q&f=false .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
662.	1857-03-07	BOULANGER, Edward (France 1829-1863) {1854-63}	The European March ("Dedicated to Captain Parfitt and the officers of the A.R.M.S.S. European").	<p>❶ Sydney: J. R. Clarke, 1857.</p> <p>❷ [No 2 in THE WORKS OF E.D. BOULANGER; Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1857 or later]].</p> <p>❸ In <i>The Australian Musical Album for 1863</i> (Sydney: J. R. Clarke, 1863).</p>	<p>❶ Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16497732;</p> <p>❷ NO COPY IDENTIFIED; for list of contents, see: http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-an5397131.</p> <p>❸ Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark (album): http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/12718246; item: http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-an5350560-s30.</p>	<p>"NEW MUSIC", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (7 March 1857), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12992939; [Advertisement]: "PUBLISHED THIS DAY. The European March, for the pianoforte", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (7 March 1857), 10: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12992930.</p>
663.	1857-03-07	STANLEY, William (England 1820-1902) {c.1837-1902}	The Heliotrope Mazurka ("Dedicated to Miss C. Joseph").	<p>❶ Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1857];</p> <p>❷ In <i>The Australian Musical Album for 1863</i> (Sydney: J. R. Clarke, 1863).</p>	<p>❶ Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/12840709; item: http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-an5396834;</p> <p>❷ Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark (album): http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/12718246; item: http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-an5350560-s14.</p>	<p>"NEW MUSIC", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (7 March 1857), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12992939; [Advertisement]: "NEW PUBLICATIONS", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (7 March 1857), 10: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12992930.</p>
664.	1857-03-11	WINTERBOTTOM, John (England 1817-1897) {1853-61}	Overture <i>The Theatre Royal</i> ("by Winterbottom, of Sydney").		<p>"Theatre Royal", <i>The Hobart Town Mercury</i> (11 March 1857), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3243199.</p>	
665.	1857-03-11	WINTERBOTTOM, John (England 1817-1897) {1853-61}	Cinderella (music for the drama).		<p>"Theatre Royal", <i>The Hobart Town Mercury</i> (11 March 1857), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3243199.</p>	
666.	1857-03-17	ANONYMOUS	A Life in the Bush ("a song of Australia"; as sung by Mr. Farquharson).		<p><i>The Ballarat Star</i> (17 March 1857); cited in Anne Doggett, "And for harmony most ardently we long": Musical life in Ballarat, 1851-1871 (Ph.D thesis, University of Ballarat, 2006), vol. 2, 1; also "LYRIC THEATRE, YORK-STREET", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (24 September 1857), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13000992; "MR. FARQUHARSON", <i>The Courier</i> (26 April 1858), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2462329.</p>	
667.	1857-03-21	ROECKEL, Armand {1856-57}	Polka Mazurka (possibly the Australian Polka Mazurka , see below).	[Sydney: J. R. Clarke, 1857].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	<p>[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (21 March 1857), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12993251: "In preparation, new dance music, by M. Armand Roeckel, viz , a <i>Polka Mazurka</i>, and La Varsoviana [...]".</p>

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
668.	1857-03-21	ROECKEL, Armand {1856-57}	La Varsoviana (The Favourite Varsoviana) (La Favourite).	[Sydney: J. R. Clarke, 1857].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (21 March 1857), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12993251 : "In preparation, new dance music, by M. Armand Roeckel, viz. a <i>Polka Mazurka</i> , and La Varsoviana [...]"; see also, See also Roekel's Varsoviana "Graciella" , previously published in London, Copy at British Library, Music Collections h.975.h.(27.) [004616184].
669.	1857-03-21	STANLEY, William (England 1820-1902) {c.1837-1902}	The Eglantine Polka.	① [Sydney: J. R. Clarke, 1857]; ② [Sydney: J. R. Clarke, after 1858, as No 2 of Clarke's "Colonial Polkas"].	① NO COPY IDENTIFIED; ② NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (21 March 1857), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12993251 : "In preparation new dance music [...] a new Polka by M[r]. Stanley, <i>The Eglantine</i> [...]".
670.	1857-03-27	MASSETT, Stephen C. (England 1820-USA 1898) {1856-57}	<u>Take back the ring dear Jamie</u> (words: James Linen: "as sung by Madame Anna Bishop") ("a new song") ("the music composed expressly for Madame Anna Bishop [...] and sung by her with great success in California and Australia").	Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1857].	Copy at NLA: Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/13523187 : No earlier US edition identified.	[Advertisement]: "JUST PUBLISHED [...] Shortly will be published", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (23 March 1857), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12993285 ; "NEW MUSIC", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (16 April 1857), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12994263 .; "Mr. STEPHEN MASSETT'S SONGS", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (15 June 1857), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12997022 .
671.	1857-03-28	WINTERBOTTOM, John (England 1817-1897) {1853-61}	Hermione Valse ("The Hermione Waltz") ("Respectfully dedicated to Mrs. Robt. Heir by the composer").	Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1858].	Copy at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/13188170 .	"NEW MUSIC", <i>Bell's Life in Sydney</i> (28 March 1857), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article59866269 ; [Advertisement]: RECENTLY PUBLISHED" <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (10 April 1858), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13008552 .
672.	1857-04-00	MASSETT, Stephen C. (England 1820-USA 1898) {1856-57}	① <u>When a child I roamed the green fields through</u> ("music and words by Stephen C. Massett"); ② <u>When a child I roamed the green fields through.</u>	① In <i>The Illustrated Journal of Australasia</i> 2/10 (April 1857), 161-63; ② In <i>Williams's Musical Annual and Australian Sketchbook for 1858</i> (Melbourne: W.H. Williams, 1858), 14-16.	① Copy at Google Books: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=dIwuAQAIAAJ&pg=PA161#v=onepage&q&f=false ; ② Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/12773468 ; item: http://www.nla.gov.au/apps/cdview?pi=nla.mus-vn961407-s24-v .	[Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (7 April 1857), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7147574 ; "JOURNAL OF ARTS AND LITERATURE", <i>The Illustrated Journal of Australasia</i> 2/10 (April 1857), 191: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=dIwuAQAIAAJ&pg=PA191#v=onepage&q&f=false ; See also earlier US edition (New York: Atwill, 1845), at Library of Congress, online: http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.music/sm1845.401250 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19693291 .
673.	1857-04-17	MASSETT, Stephen C. (England 1820-USA 1898) {1856-57}	I remember (Ballad; words: Thomas Hood).			"EAST TORRENS INSTITUTE", <i>South Australian Register</i> (17 April 1857), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49763937 :

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674.	1857-04-02	LINGER, Carl Ferdinand August (Germany 1810-1862) {1849-62}	Overture (“for opening the season”).		“THE CHORAL SOCIETY’S CONCERT”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (2 April 1857), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49767315 .	
675.	1857-04-10	CURTIS, Alfred Perkins (England 1830-1902) {1852-1902}	Te Deum (“A new Te Deum by Mr. Curtis, the organist”).		“Domestic Intelligence”, <i>The Perth Gazette</i> (10 April 1857), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2929924	
676.	1857-04-16	BOULANGER, Edward (France 1829-1863) {1854-63}	<u>The Columbian Mazurka</u> (“Dedicated to the Captain & Officers of the E. & A.R.M. Comp. SS <i>Columbian</i> ”) (illustration: “SS Columbian entering the heads of Port Jackson”).	<p>① Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1857];</p> <p>② In <i>The Australian Musical Album for 1863</i> (Sydney: J. R. Clarke, 1863).</p>	<p>① Copy of the original 1857 edition bound into 1863 album below;</p> <p>② Copy at NLA (album); Trove Bookmark (item): http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16180568.</p>	The “new Polka Mazurka, by M. Boulanger” advertised earlier; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (21 March 1857), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12993251 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (4 April 1857), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12993744 ; “NEW MUSIC”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (16 April 1857), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12994263 .
677.	1857-04-28	RUTTER, George O. (England 1819-?) {1856-69}	The sea hath its pearls (partsong: especially composed for the Melbourne Philharmonic chorus).		At concert on 28 April 1857; “THE MELBOURNE PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY. I.” <i>The Argus</i> (25 December 1878), 6: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5926050 .	
678.	1857-05-00	TOLHURST, George (England 1827-1877) {1852-66}	<p>① <u>I remember</u>;</p> <p>② <u>I remember</u> (song; words: Thomas Hood).</p>	<p>① In <i>The Journal of Australasia</i> 2 (May 1857), 216-17 [attributed to “J. Tolhurst”];</p> <p>② In <i>Williams’s Musical Annual and Australian Sketchbook for 1858</i> (Melbourne: Williams, 1858), 17-18.</p>	<p>① At Google Books: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=dIwuAQAAIAAJ&pg=PA216#v=onepage&q&f=false;</p> <p>② Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark (album): http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/12773468; item: http://www.nla.gov.au/apps/cdview?pi=nla.mus-vn961407-s27-v.</p>	“DEATHS”, <i>The Argus</i> (18 April 1877), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5918847 .
679.	1857-05-01	WEINRITTER, George M. (Poland ?-?) {fl.1856-84}	<u>The Pic-Nic Point Schottische.</u>	Melbourne: For the author by Joseph Wilkie, [1857].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/12614449 .	“NEW MUSIC”, <i>The Argus</i> (1 May 1857), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7148912 ; [Advertisement]: “JUST Published”, <i>The Argus</i> (4 May 1857), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7149024 ; also “JOURNAL OF LITERATURE AND ART”, <i>The Illustrated Journal of Australasia</i> 2 (May 1857), 236: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=dIwuAQAAIAAJ&pg=PA236#v=onepage&q&f=false .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
680.	1857-05-01	WEINRITTER, George M. (Poland ?-?) {fl.1856-84}	The Yarra-Yarra Waltzes.	[Melbourne: Joseph Wilkie, 1857].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	“NEW MUSIC”, <i>The Argus</i> (1 May 1857), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7148912 ; [Advertisement]: “JUST Published ... the Yarra-Yarra Waltzes to follow”, <i>The Argus</i> (4 May 1857), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7149024 ; “JOURNAL OF LITERATURE AND ART”, <i>The Illustrated Journal of Australasia</i> 2 (May 1857), 236: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=dIwuAQAIAAJ&pg=PA236#v=onepage&q&f=false .
681.	1857-05-14	ANONYMOUS	Tasmania, the Lovely (song; “composed by a Lady”).	[Hobart: Huxtable & Deakin ?, 1857].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	“NEW MUSIC”, <i>Colonial Times</i> (14 May 1857), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8787251 .
682.	1857-05-16	ADAMS, John (England 1803-1861) {1853-61}	Lo! The desert depths are stired (“Chorale; Antient Hymn”).			“LAUNCESTON PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY”, <i>Launceston Examiner</i> (16 May 1857), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36301377 ; “Launceston, Tasmania”, <i>The Musical Times</i> 8/189 (1 November 1858), 339.
683.	1857-05-16	ADAMS, John (England 1803-1861) {1853-61}	Tasmanian Anthem (words: Rev’d R. K. Ewing).			“LAUNCESTON PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY”, <i>Launceston Examiner</i> (16 May 1857), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36301377 ; “Launceston, Tasmania”, <i>The Musical Times</i> 8/189 (1 November 1858), 339.
684.	1857-05-23	MEYMOTT, Frederick William (UK? c.1810-1883) {1850-83}	I met her in the Railway (ballad; words: Henry Halloran).	[Sydney: J. R. Clarke, 1857].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (23 May 1857), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12996016 ; “Law Intelligence”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (8 October 1850), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12921603 ; “THE LATE MR. F.W. MEYMOTT”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (24 December 1883), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13546299 ; on Meymott’s previous English works see <i>The Musical World</i> 13 (20 January 1840), 72: http://books.google.com/books?id=aecqAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA72&v=onepage&q&f=false ; see also http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16403469 .
685.	1857-05-27	NELSON, Sidney (England 1800-1862) {1853-61}	The World Within and the World Without (“Poetry by James Simmonds, music by S. Nelson, sung by Madame Anna Bishop”).	[Sydney: ?, 1857].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement]: “NEW SONG”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (27 May 1857), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28631851 .
686.	1857-06-00	TOLHURST, William Henry (England 1799-1873) {1852-73}	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❶ The heart that’s true; ❷ The heart that’s true (song; words: Eliza Cook). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❶ In <i>The Journal of Australasia</i> 2 (June 1857), 273-74; ❷ In <i>Williams’s Musical Annual and Australian Sketchbook for 1858</i> (Melbourne: W.H. Williams, 1858), 19-20. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❶ At Google Books: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=dIwuAQAIAAJ&pg=PA273#v=onepage&q&f=false; ❷ Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark (album): http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/12773468; item: http://www.nla.gov.au/apps/cdview?pi=nla.mus-vn961407-s29-v. 	Father of George Tolhurst; “DEATHS”, <i>The Argus</i> (13 March 1873), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5849858 ; on Tolhurst senior’s earlier English career, see “MAIDSTONE”, <i>The Musical World</i> 17 (11 August 1842), 254: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=4vgsAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA254#v=onepage&q&f=false (Testimonial to W. H. Tolhurst, founder of the Sacred Harmonic Society of Maidstone).
687.	1857-06-06	PALZER, Jacques {fl.1854-61}	The Wood Demon, or The Hour of One (melodrama and burlesque with music composed and arranged by J. Palzer).			At the Victoria Theatre, Ballarat; <i>The Ballarat Star</i> (6 June 1857); cited in Doggett, “And for harmony most ardently we long”: Musical life in Ballarat, 1851-1871 (Ph.D thesis, University of Ballarat, 2006), vol. 2, 176.

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
688.	1857-06-13	ADCOCK, Mrs. St. John {1851-after 1889}	<p>① La Favorita Polka;</p> <p>② La Favorita Polka ([Donizetti] “arranged by Mrs. St. John Adcock” (after 1858).</p>	<p>① [Sydney: J. R. Clarke, 1857];</p> <p>② [Sydney: J. R. Clarke, after 1858; as No 3 Clarke’s “Colonial Polkas”].</p>	<p>① NO COPY IDENTIFIED;</p> <p>② Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/12842089.</p>	[Advertisement]: “NOW PUBLISHING” <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (13 June 1857), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12996978 .
689.	1857-06-20	ANONYMOUS	Advance Australia (song).	[Sydney: J. R. Clarke, by 1857].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement]: “CHOICE VOCAL MUSIC”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (20 June 1857), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12997354 ; possibly that by Martin Tupper, above; see also “THE INDIAN MUTINY RELIEF FUND”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (13 April 1858), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13008754 .
690.	1857-07-00	BONWICK, Walter (<i>England</i> 1824-1883) {?1854-83}	<p>① In memory of thee;</p> <p>② In memory of thee (song; words: Mrs. Alex. Newton).</p>	<p>① In <i>The Illustrated Journal of Australasia</i> 3/13 (July 1857);</p> <p>② In <i>Williams’s Musical Annual and Australian Sketchbook for 1858</i> Melbourne: W.H. Williams, 1858), 21-23.</p>	<p>① Copy at NLA (journal); Trove Bookmark (journal): http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/27592686;</p> <p>② Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark (album): http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/12773468; item: http://www.nla.gov.au/apps/cdview?pi=nla.mus-vn961407-s31-v.</p>	① [Advertisement]: “THE ILLUSTRATED JOURNAL OF AUSTRALASIA, for July (commencing Vol. III.)”, <i>The Argus</i> (8 July 1857), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7134941 .
691.	1857-07-11	RICHTY, Herr	El Hyder, or Chief of the Ghaut Mountains (“grand, thrilling, gorgeous Eastern spectacle, with new music by Herr Richty”).			Charlie Napier Theatre, Ballarat; <i>The Ballarat Star</i> (11 July 1857); cited in Doggett, “And for harmony most ardently we long”: Musical life in Ballarat, 1851-1871 (Ph.D thesis, University of Ballarat, 2006), vol. 2, 170.
692.	1857-07-22	NELSON, Sidney (<i>England</i> 1800-1862) {1853-61}	The World within and the World (words: James Simmonds).	[Melbourne: ?, 1857]	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (22 July 1857), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12998351 .
693.	1857-08-01	COBLEY, Edwin H. (<i>England</i> ?-1874) {1857-74}	The Government House Waltz (Valse brillante) (“respectfully dedicated by permission to Lady Denison”).	Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1857].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/35103011 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (1 August 1857), 10: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12998744 ; “A NEW WALTZ”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (1 August 1857), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12998794 ; Several earlier works by Cobley in British Library.
694.	1857-08-08	LODER, George (<i>England</i> 1816-1868) {1856-57; 1862-68}	The Lady Killer, or The Devil in Sydney (“new local extravaganza”, words: James Simmonds).			[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (8 August 1857), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12999075 ; “THE DRAMA. THE ROYAL VICTORIA”, <i>Bell’s Life in Sydney</i> (29 August 1857), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article59867212 .
695.	1857-08-08	LODER, George (<i>England</i> 1816-1868) {1856-57; 1862-68}	Regina apostolorum (“offertor[i]um quartette”; “motette in canone”).			[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (8 August 1857), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12999075 ; also [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (18 August 1857), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12999556 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
696.	1857-08-18	SIEDE, Julius (Germany 1825-1903) {1856-1903}	Grand Aria für Flute.		[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (18 August 1857), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12999556 .	
697.	1857-08-25	HOELZEL, Herman (Hungary ?-?) {1853-58}	Hosannah Hymn (Poetry and Music ascribed to King David; The Accompaniment of the Piano Forte arranged by Dr Hoelzel"); The Hymn of the Dead ("composed in time immemorial; the pianoforte arrangements to both hymns by the author").	In <i>The lecture on the history and use of music: delivered in the hall of the School of Arts, on the 25th August, 1857</i> (Sydney: J. R. Clarke, 1858).	Copy at SL-VIC; Permalink: http://www.slv.vic.gov.au/vicpamphlets/inter/223995.sh tml; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/8309123 .	"SCHOOL OF ARTS LECTURES", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (26 August 1857), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12999780 ; "DR. HOELZEL'S LECTURE ON MUSIC [Letter] To the Editor", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (24 September 1857), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13000965 ; "DR. HOELZEL'S LECTURE ON MUSIC [Letter] To the Editor", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (1 October 1857), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28633148 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (8 September 1857), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13000394 ; "TO THE JEWISH COMMUNITY.-Will be published in a few days, a Lithographic Portrait, by James Guy, of the Rev. Dr. H. HOELZEL, Presiding Rabbi of Sydney"; see also "LECTURE ON THE HISTORY OF MUSIC: TO THE EDITOR OF THE EMPIRE", <i>Empire</i> (15 September 1857), 6: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article60262897 ; "THE HISTORY AND USE OF MUSIC", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (4 February 1858), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13005830 .
698.	1857-08-25	SIEDE, Julius (Germany 1825-1903) {1856-1903}	Fantasia upon airs from Lucrecia Borgia ("composed and performed upon the flute by Mr. Julius Siede").		[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (25 August 1857), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12999712 .	
699.	1857-09-01	ROECKEL, Armand {1856-57}	The Iris Varsoviana.	[Sydney; J. R. Clarke, 1857].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement]: "THE FASHIONABLE DANCE. Published THIS DAY. THE IRIS VARSOVIANA", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (1 September 1857), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13000056 ; named after the ship <i>H.M.S. Iris</i> , then in port [Advertisement]: "VARSOVIANA, <i>The Iris</i> ", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (21 September 1857), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13000788 ; "The <i>Iris</i> Varsoviana by Roekel", in [Advertisement]: "RECENTLY PUBLISHED", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (10 April 1858), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13008552 .
700.	1857-09-12	NELSON, Sidney (England 1800-1862) {1853-61}	The Grenadier (musical burlesque).		[Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (12 September 1857), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7138581 this work must date from even decades earlier.	
701.	1857-09-16	RUTTER, George O. (England 1819-?) {1856-69}	And I saw that Great City (recitative and vocal quartet; words: Revelation of St. John; probably later included in the cantata <i>Second Advent</i>).		"Amusements", <i>The Argus</i> (16 September 1857), 6: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7138784 ; "Melbourne", <i>The Musical Times</i> 8/179 (1 January 1858), 175.	

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
702.	1857-09-17	THORNTON, George (Australia 1819-1901)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ① The Cornstalk Polka; ② The Cornstalk Polka; ③ The Cornstalk Polka; ④ The Cornstalk Polka. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ① Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1857]; ② also [Sydney: J. R. Clarke, after 1858, as No 6 of Clarke's "Colonial Polkas"]; <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⑤ "New edition": Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1862], ⑥ also in Clarke's <i>The Australian Musical Album for 1863</i>; Also in [?: E. Rich & Co., 1906; in <i>Our Quarterly Review</i>]. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ① Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark (title): http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/12726737; item: http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-an6340858 ② NO COPY IDENTIFIED; ③ Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark (title): http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/12726737; item: http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-vn3604088; ④ Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark (album): http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/12718246; item: http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-an5350560-s27. 	George Thornton was the Lord Mayor of Sydney in 1857; "MAYOR'S BALL", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (17 September 1857), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13000666 ; ① [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (26 September 1857), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13001086 ; "PREPARING for PUBLICATION, By permission of the Worshipful the Mayor, the Cornstalk Polka"; "CITIZEN'S RETURN BALL", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (8 October 1857), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13001295 ; ⑤ "MUSIC", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (3 September 1862), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13233733 ; <i>The Brisbane Courier</i> (13 June 1906), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article19454428 .
703.	1857-09-30	LINGER, Carl Ferdinand August (Germany 1810-1862) {1849-62}	King Alfred (opera); <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ① Triumphal Procession; ② Air de Ballet. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ① [Advertisement]: "ADELAIDE CHORAL SOCIETY", <i>South Australian Register</i> (30 September 1857), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49209042; "ADELAIDE CHORAL SOCIETY", <i>South Australian Register</i> (1 October 1857), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49209786; ② [Advertisement], "GRAND CONCERT", <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (17 February 1859), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article789171. 	
704.	1857-10-12	TRANTER, W. {fl.1854-57}	The Veno Galop ("Dedicated to G.T. Rowe, Esq. [owner of Veno] by the publisher") (with cover illustration of the horse, Veno, by S.T. Gill).	Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1857].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16432179 .	"FIRST RACE: MATCH FOR THE CHAMPIONSHIP. VICTORIA V. NEW SOUTH WALES", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (8 October 1857), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13001270 ; [Advertisement]: "NEW MUSIC", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (12 October 1857), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13001476 ; "NEW DANCE MUSIC", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (31 October 1857), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28633347 .
705.	1857-10-30	CALLEN, (George) Douglas (Ireland c.1814-1879) {1854-79}	Overture, Lara [also mentioned as overture to the opera <i>Lara</i>].			"Gardeners' and Amateurs' Horticultural Society", <i>The Courier</i> (30 October 1857), 1s: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2461014 .
706.	1857-11-03	RUTTER, George O. (England 1819-?) {1856-69}	Ye meads and groves (partsong).			At concert on 3 November 1857; "THE MELBOURNE PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY: II", <i>The Argus</i> (13 January 1879), 6: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5928151 .
707.	1857-11-09	WRAY, W. B. {1857-58}	The Morning Light Polka.	Melbourne: Joseph Wilkie, [1857].	Copy at SL-VIC; Permalink: Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/28152949 .	[Advertisement]: "MR. WRAY'S MORNING LIGHT POLKA", <i>The Argus</i> (9 November 1857), 6: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7141714 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
708.	1857-12-03	PACKER, Charles S. (<i>England</i> 1810-1883) {1840-83}	Exchange Ball Schottische.	[Sydney: ?, 1858 or 59].	Copy at SL-NSW; http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/record=b2531472~S2 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/32079259 .	Probably for 3 December 1857; see [Advertisement]: “THE EXCHANGE BALL”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (18 November 1857), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13003170 ; the recently opened Exchange Hall, on the corner of Pitt and Bridge Streets, Sydney, was also venue for several concerts in which Packer appeared in 1858 and 1859; for the first, see [Advertisement]: GRAND CONCERT. EXCHANGE HALL”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (3 December 1858), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13019792 .
709.	1857-12-12	MOSS, Lewis (<i>England</i> 1805-1875) {fl.1854-67}	Rigoletto, a new Polka Masourka (“introducing that favourite melody La Donna e Mobile [Verdi], by L. Moss”).	[Sydney: Lewis Moss, 1857].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement]: “RIGOLETTO”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (12 December 1857), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13003881 .
710.	1857-12-16	HAUSER, Miska (<i>Hungary</i> 1822-1887) {1854-58}	Adagio (violin solo, “from the New Concerto”).			[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (16 December 1857), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13004029 .
711.	1857-12-17	CAVALLINI, P. (<i>Italy/England</i> ?-?) {1857-58}	Clarinet Solo.			[On his first appearance at Miska Hauser’s Concert]; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (17 December 1857), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13004073 ; “THE BAND OF THE 77TH”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (18 March 1858), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28634428 .
712.	1858-	HORN, Charles (?UK/Germany ?-1887) {fl.1858-87}	Tell me not (“Glee [by] Dr Horn”).			[Advertisement]: “BENEFIT CONCERT”, <i>The Maitland Mercury</i> (18 November 1858), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article18654886 .
713.	1858~	PACKER, Charles S. (<i>England</i> 1810-1883) {1840-83}	O come again tomorrow (words: R. R.).	[London: ? 1858].	Copy at London, British Library, Music H.1771.o.(1.) [004565777], dated “1858” in catalogue.	
714.	1858~	ANONYMOUS	<p>❶ God preserve our Sovereign’s Viceroy;</p> <p>❷ God preserve our Sovereign’s Viceroy (“composed for <i>The Illustrated Journal of Australasia</i>”);</p> <p>❸ God preserve our Sovereign’s Viceroy (“The Australian National Anthem”).</p>	<p>❶ In <i>Illustrated Journal of Australasia</i> (?);</p> <p>❷ In <i>Williams’s Musical Annual and Australian Sketchbook for 1858</i> (Melbourne: W. H. Williams, 1858), 30-33.</p> <p>❸ [Melbourne: Wilkie, 1859].</p>	<p>❶ Copy at NLA (journal); Trove Bookmark (journal): http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/27592686; item not yet identified;</p> <p>❷ Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark (album): http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/12773468; item: http://www.nla.gov.au/apps/cdview?pi=nla.mus-vn961407-s40-e;</p> <p>❸ NO COPY IDENTIFIED.</p>	<p>❹ [Advertisement]: “THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL ANTHEM”, <i>The Argus</i> (21 April 1859), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5679929.</p>

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
715.	1858~ (before)	WILSON, Marmaduke Henry (<i>Scotland</i> ?-1871) {1859-71}	<u>L'amour et l'amitie: vales</u> ("Composed and respectfully dedicated to Mrs. John Lancaster (Broughton) by Marmaduke Henry Wilson").	London: Cramer, Beale, [n.d.; before 1858].	Copy at SL-NSW; Permalink: http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/record=b2217776~S2 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/17982568 .	5 other printed works by Marmaduke Henry Wilson, formerly "professor of music, Kilmarnock", in British Library; probably son of composer Marmaduke Charles Wilson; see "SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS", <i>The Jurist</i> 4/2 (27 February 1858), 102: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=Ym9MAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA102&v=onepage&q&f=false ; "Maitland", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (18 May 1871), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13239063 ; "Marmaduke Wilson, professor of music, died last night".
716.	1858-00-00	WEINRITTER, George M. (<i>Poland</i> ?-?) {fl.1856-84}; BONWICK, Walter (<i>England</i> 1824-1883) {?1854-83}	<u>Thirty-Three Easy Songs</u> ("in two or more parts (principally original): compiled for the use of the Australian youth").	Melbourne : W.H. Williams, 1858.	Copy at SL-VIC; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/28419517 .	
717.	1858-02-01	EIGENSCHENCK, Charles {fl.1858, 1862}	<u>The New Pantomime</u> ("new music, composed by Charles Eigenschenck [sic]").			"PRINCE OF WALES THEATRE" <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (1 February 1858), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13005687 ; came from the USA as musical director on Lola Montez's Australian tour; he stayed on; see also [Advertisement], "ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (1 December 1862), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13070230 .
718.	1858-02-04	ADDISON, Glentworth (<i>England</i> 1831-1903) {by 1855-1903}	<u>Heartsease</u> ("Ballad; The words by Geraldine. Composed and dedicated to Mrs. M. Hanbury").	Sydney: Sandon, [1858].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19203999 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (4 February 1858), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13005820 ; on the discrepancy of publisher, Sandon, Sherriff, and Clarke sometimes advertised the same item on the same day, e.g. <i>Louisa Polka</i> , as see below); ? On Addison, see Jacqueline Abbott, "MacKinnon, Eleanor Vokes Irby (1871-1936)", <i>Australian Dictionary of Biography</i> 10 (1986), 315-316: http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A100306b.htm .
719.	1858-02-15	PAINE, Mrs.	<u>Polka</u> ("New Original, composed by Mrs. Paine").			[Advertisement]: "MRS. PAINE'S GRAND CONCERT", <i>South Australian Register</i> (15 February 1858), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49773991 .
720.	1858-02-22	NELSON, Sidney (<i>England</i> 1800-1862) {1853-61}	<u>Mary of Argyle</u> ("ballad"; "favourite song"; words: Charles Jeffreys) (as sung by Catherine Hayes).	Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1859].	Copy at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/32074829 .	"ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE", <i>The Courier</i> (24 January 1856), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2497671 ; [Advertisement]: "JUST PUBLISHED", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (22 February 1858), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13006561 ; See also (earlier?) UK edition: (London, Harry May, before 1859), Oxford, Bodleian Library, Offsite Storage Mus. 5 c.87 (22).
721.	1858-02-26	ADAMS, John (<i>England</i> 1803-1861) {1853-61}	<u>Just a smile in the face of nature</u> (words: Gerald Massey).	[Hobart/Launceston: J. Walch & Sons, 1858].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement]: "JUST PUBLISHED, New Ballad", <i>Launceston Examiner</i> (23 February 1858), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38990747 ; "LITERATURE", <i>The Hobart Town Daily Mercury</i> (26 February 1858), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3246815 ; FAREWELL CONCERT OF MADAME CARANDINI", <i>The Courier</i> (5 March 1858), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2461958 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
722.	1858-03-03	CAVALLINI, P. (Italy/England ?-?) {1857-58}	First Love Waltzes (“as played by the 77th Regimental Band, arranged for the pianoforte by Signor Cavallini, Band Master”).	[Sydney: J. R. Clarke, 1858].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement]: “IN THE PRESS”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (3 March 1858), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13006929 .
723.	1858-03-03	CAVALLINI, P. (Italy/England ?-?) {1857-58}	The 77th Galop (“as played by the Military Band, composed and arranged for the pianoforte by Signor Cavallini”) (“Most respectfully dedicated to Colonel Straton, C.B. and the officers of H.M. 77th Regt.”).	Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1858].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/36576220 ; See also later English edition in British Library.	[Advertisement]: “IN THE PRESS”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (3 March 1858), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13006929 ; [Advertisement]: “SCHOOL OF ARTS”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (13 March 1858), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13007487 .
724.	1858-03-13	BARTON, Charles	From the North Sea’s Dark Waves (song; “Composed expressly for the occasion by Mr. Barton”).			“TANUNDA [...]”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (13 March 1858), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4977666 .
725.	1858-03-13	BARTON, Charles	There dwellest a spirit in yonder stream (“Mr. Barton was both the writer of the words and the composer of the music”).			“TANUNDA [...]”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (13 March 1858), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4977666 .
726.	1858-03-15	CAVALLINI, P. (Italy/England ?-?) {1857-58}	The Embarkation of the Army from Crimea (March).			[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (15 March 1858), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13007549 .
727.	1858-03-15	CAVALLINI, P. (Italy/England ?-?) {1857-58}	The Capture of Delhi Galop (“composed expressly for this occasion”).			[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (15 March 1858), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13007549 ; “BAND OF THE 77 TH ”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (18 March 1858), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28634428 .
728.	1858-04-05	HALMBERGER, J.	Violin solo (“composed and performed by J. Halmberger”).			[Advertisement]: “THIS EVENING [...] A GRAND CONCERT”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (5 April 1858), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13008353 .
729.	1858-04-19	CAVALLINI, P. (Italy/England ?-?) {1857-58}	Farewell to Sydney Polka.			“Professor PARKER’S ENTERTAINMENT”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (19 April 1858), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13008970 .
730.	1858-04-24	CAVALLINI, P. (Italy/England ?-?) {1857-58}	The Maude Waltzes ([Henri Laurent] “as played by the band of the 77th Regiment, arranged by Signor Cavallini”).	Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1858].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/32772900 .	[Advertisement]: “NEW MUSICAL PUBLICATIONS”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (24 April 1858), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13009206 .
731.	1858-04-26	PHILLIPS, Mr.	Polka (“this gentleman played a lively and spirited polka, which was understood to be his own composition”).			“EAST TORRENS INSTITUTE”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (26 April 1858), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4977121 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data
732.	1858-05-01 BOULANGER, Edward (France 1829-1863) {1854-63}	Impromptu Polka	Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1862].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/17419411 .	[Advertisement]: "PRICE OF WALES THEATRE. MISKA HAUSER", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (1 May 1858), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13009524 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (12 February 1862), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28623045 ; "SHORTLY will be published, The Celebrated Impromptu Polka, for pianoforte, by E.D. Boulanger"; but see also, [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (8 March 1862), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13225499 ; "BOULANGER'S IMPROMPTU POLKA will be published during the week; because of the elaborate character of the music the engraving thereof is somewhat delayed".
733.	1858-05-01 BOULANGER, Edward (France 1829-1863) {1854-63}	Fantasia on Airs from the Daughter of the Regiment.			[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (1 May 1858), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13009524 .
734.	1858-05-15 PACKER, Charles S. (England 1810-1883) {1840-83}	Royal Charlie Polka.	[Sydney: J. R. Clarke, 1858]; also reissued [Sydney: J. R. Clarke, after 1858; as No 1 of Clarke's "Colonial Polkas"].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	Named after the ship <i>Royal Charlie</i> , in port at Sydney in early in 1858; [Advertisement]: "NEW MUSICAL PUBLICATIONS" <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (15 May 1858), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28634755 ; <i>Supplement to the Catalogue of the Free Public Library, Sydney, for the years 1888-92: Reference Department</i> (Sydney: Charles potter, Government Printer, 1895); http://www.archive.org/details/supplementtocata00freerich .
735.	1858-05-15 ROECKEL, Armand {1856-57}	The Australian Polka Mazurka (also known as the "Souvenir du Cork").	Sydney: J. R. Clarke, 1858.	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/12840664 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (15 May 1858), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28634755 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (30 July 1859), 10: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13028547 ; previously published in London, copy at British Library, Music Collections h.975.h.(26.) [004616186].
736.	1858-05-29 CUTOLO, Cesare (Italy 1826-1867) {1858-67}	Etude de concert ("from the executant's own pen").			"SIGNOR CESARE CUTOLO", <i>The Argus</i> (29 May 1858), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7295305 ; on Cutolo's arrival in Melbourne, and first mention in the Australian press, see "SIGNOR CESARE CUTOLO", <i>The Argus</i> (6 May 1858), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7294024 .
737.	1858-05-29 CUTOLO, Cesare (Italy 1826-1867) {1858-67}	Old Dog Tray ("improvising some exquisite variations").			"SIGNOR CESARE CUTOLO", <i>The Argus</i> (29 May 1858), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7295305 ; see also "SIGNOR CUTOLO'S CONCERT", <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (16 June 1859), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article794158 .
738.	1858-06-01 CALLEN, (George) Douglas (Ireland c.1814-1879) {1854-79}	① Molly Asthore Valse ("Founded on M. Lavenu's favorite ballad. Composed expressly for Her Majesty's Birthday Ball held at Government House, Sydney, May 25 th , 1858 and most respectfully inscribed to Lady Denison"); ② The Molly Asthore Waltzes.	① Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1858]. ② Melbourne: Reading & Wellbank, [186-?].	① Copies at NLA; Trove Bookmarks: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/11355596 ; and: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16432310 ; ② Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16781904 .	"THE BOTANIC GARDENS", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (1 June 1858), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13016187 ; [Advertisement]: PUBLISHED THIS DAY [...] Shortly will appear". <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (21 August 1858), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13010974 .

<i>1st notice</i>	<i>Creator</i>	<i>Title/details</i>	<i>Publication</i>	<i>Availability</i>	<i>Comments and supporting data</i>	
739.	1858-06-12	ANONYMOUS	The Louisa Polka.	[Sydney: ?, 1858].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisements]: [by Sherriff and Armstrong; J. R. Clarke, and Sandon and Co.], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (12 June 1858), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13016619 .
740.	1858-06-15	CALLEN, (George) Douglas (Ireland c.1814-1879) {1854-79}	The Knave of Clubs Schottische.			“BOTANIC GARDENS”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (15 June 1858), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13018215 .
741.	1858-06-15	REYHER, Oscar F. V. {1854-71; 1873-1904}	Kangaroo Polka (“Polka de Concert, pour le Piano, dédiée a Madame Bentham Neales, par O. F. V. Reyher”).	[Adelaide ? : ?, 1858].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement]: “KANGAROO POLKA”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (15 June 1858), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49774882 ; [Advertisement], <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (26 July 1858), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article781549 ; “KANGAROO POLKA and EMU POLKA, by O. F. V. REYHER, to be had by all Book and Music sellers in Adelaide”.
742.	1858-06-29	WEINRITTER, George M. (Poland ?-?) {fl. 1856-84}	Rose of England, fare rhee well (song dedicated to His Excellency the Governor; sung by Octavia Hamilton; “composed on the occasion of the Princess Royal’s marriage”).	[Melbourne, Joseph Wilkie, 1858].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement]: “NEW SONG”, <i>The Argus</i> (29 June 1858), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7296750 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (30 June 1858), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7296846 .
743.	1858-06-30	CUTOLO, Cesare (Italy 1826-1867) {1858-67}	Etude Source et Torrent (piano).	[Unidentified European edition].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (30 June 1858), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7296846 ; [Advertisement]: WHITE’S ASSEMBLY ROOMS. SIGNOR C. CUTOLO”, <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (25 November 1858), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article785812 ; [...] For sale, at the above-mentioned booksellers, a few copies of Signor Cutolo’s Etude de Concert <i>Source et Torrent</i> ”; “SIGNOR CUTOLO’S CONCERT”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (27 November 1858), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49778484 ; “SIGNOR CUTOLO’S CONCERT”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (29 February 1860), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13037200 .
744.	1858-06-30	CUTOLO, Cesare (Italy 1826-1867) {1858-67}	Fantasia arranged from Lucrezia Borgia (“composed and executed by Signor Cutolo”).			[Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (30 June 1858), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7296846 ; but see also: [Advertisement], <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (12 February 1859), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article788977 : “respectfully dedicated to the Lady Amateurs of Adelaide”; “SIGNOR CUTOLO’S CONCERT THIS EVENING”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (17 February 1859), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49902954 : “his own new composition, expressly written for, and dedicated to, the lady amateurs of the colony”.
745.	1858-07-10	STIER, Charles William Ferdinand (Germany ?-?) {1845-59}	The Warrior’s Lament (“March composed for pianoforte by C. W. F. Stier”).	[Sydney: ? The composer, 1858].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	“NEW MUSIC”, <i>Bell’s Life in Sydney</i> (10 July 1858), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article59868944 ; [Advertisement]: “NEW MUSIC”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (28 July 1858), 6: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13022313 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data
746.	1858-07-13 LINGER, Carl Ferdinand August (Germany 1810-1862) {1849-62}	<u>Overture Cymbeline.</u>		Not in Trove; current whereabouts of MS unrecorded.	[Advertisement]: “[ADELAIDE] CHORAL SOCIETY”, <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (13 July 1858), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article781111 ; “ADELAIDE CHORAL SOCIETY”, <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (15 July 1858), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article781182 ; “THE CHORAL SOCIETY’S CONCERT”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (15 July 1858), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49781322 ; H. Brewster-Jones, “OVERTURE BY CARL LINGER”, <i>The Advertiser</i> (22 November 1935), 24: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36198443 ; H. Brewster-Jones, “EIGHTY-EIGHT YEAR OLD MUSICAL FIND”, <i>The Advertiser</i> (11 December 1935), 6: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36203385 .
747.	1858-07-16 SPAGNOLETTI, Ernesto snr (Italy/England c.1804-1862) {1853-62}	Woolloomooloo Polka; also Woolloomooloo Octave Polka.	[Sydney: ? J. R. Clarke, 1858].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (16 July 1858), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13021052 : “MUSIC. The Woolloomooloo Schottische, by E. Spagnoletti; also, the Companion, Woolloomooloo Polka, by Spagnoletti, R.A., will be published in a few days”; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (20 July 1858), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13012957 .
748.	1858-07-16 SPAGNOLETTI, Ernesto jnr (England ?-?) {1853-after 1864}	<u>Woolloomooloo Schottische</u> (“Respectfully dedicated to the ladies of Woolloomooloo”) (“2 nd edition”).	Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1858].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/12840691 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (16 July 1858), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13021052 : “MUSIC. The Woolloomooloo Schottische, by E. Spagnoletti; also, the Companion, Woolloomooloo Polka, by Spagnoletti, R.A., will be published in a few days”.
749.	1858-07-24 ANONYMOUS	A quartette (“expressly composed for the occasion [the birthday of Dr. Meucke] by a friend”).			“TANUNDA”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (24 July 1858), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49780119 : “A solemn dinner took place in the large saloon of the Tanunda Hotel, at Tanunda, on last Friday evening, in honour of the Rev. Dr. C. Muecke [...] The toast was heartily responded to, and accompanied by a quartette expressly composed for the occasion by a friend”.
750.	1858-07-26 REYHER, Oscar F. V. {1854-71; 1873-1904}	Emu Polka.	[Adelaide ? : ?, 1858].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement], <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (26 July 1858), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article781549 : “KANGAROO POLKA and EMU POLKA, by O. F. V. REYHER, to be had by all Book and Music sellers in Adelaide”.
751.	1858-08-03 CALLEN, (George) Douglas (Ireland c.1814-1879) {1854-79}	Marianne Polka.			“The band of the 12th regiment”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (3 August 1858), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13018477 .
752.	1858-08-23 LAGLAISE, Mons. {1856-}	Hearts and Souls (words; Byron; “Song composed in Adelaide by Mons. Laglaise”) (“English Song, composed in Adelaide by Mons. Laglaise, sung for the first time by Miss Rowe”).	[Adelaide: Penman & Galbraith, 1858].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	“HEARTS AND SOULS”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (23 August 1858), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49783080 : “MUSIC”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (23 August 1858), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49783086 ; [Advertisement]: “GRAND CONCERT”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (24 September 1858), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article783625 .
753.	1858-08-26 THATCHER, Charles (England 1831-1878) {1852-78}	<u>A Cheerful Glass</u> (original words and tune).	<i>Victoria Songster</i> (Melbourne: Chartwood and Son, 1858).	Copy of words only at NLA in later edition, <i>Victoria Songster</i> (1860); Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/28493252 .	The words of most of Thatcher’s published songs were sung to pre-existing tunes; this is a rare example of a song for which the print indicated that both words and tune were original, though the tune is now lost; [Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (26 August 1858), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7299943 : “VICTORIA SONGSTER. New number contains A Cheerful Glass [...]”.

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754.	1858-08-31	DRAEGER, (Wilhelm) Ferdinand (Germany ?-1884) {1848-84}	Advance Australia (“the words by Mr. Charles Barton, of Tanunda, and the music by Mr. Draeger”).	[? Adelaide: ?, 1858].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	“NEW MUSIC”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (31 August 1858), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49782354 ; “TANUNDA”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (6 October 1858), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49783812 ; see also Meike Tiemeyer-Schütte, <i>Das Deutsche Sangerwesen in Sudastralien vor Ausbruch des Ersten Weltkrieges zwischen Bewahrung von Deutschum und Anglikanisierung</i> (Munster: LIT Verlag, 2000); 46, 130, 200-201; http://books.google.com.au/books?id=L2HXewmnOfQC .
755.	1858-09-07	CALLEN, (George) Douglas (Ireland c.1814-1879) {1854-79}	Lady Alice Polka.			“The band of the 12th regiment”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (7 September 1858), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13018731 .
756.	1858-09-14	VARIOUS (listed separately); WILLIAMS, W.H. (ed.).	Williams’s Australian Musical Annual for 1858.	Melbourne: W. H. Williams, 1858.	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/12773468 .	[Advertisement]: “MUSIC: WILLIAMS’S AUSTRALIAN MUSICAL ANNUAL. 10 pieces [...]”. <i>The Argus</i> (14 September 1858), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7300972 .
757.	1858-09-14	TOLHURST, George (England 1827-1877) {1852-66}	O, call it by some better name (song; words: Thomas Moore).	In <i>Williams’s Musical Annual and Australian Sketchbook for 1858</i> (Melbourne: W.H. Williams, 1858), 28-30.	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark (album): http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/12773468 ; item: http://www.nla.gov.au/apps/cdview?pi=nla.mus-vn961407-s38-e .	See above.
758.	1858-09-24	LAGLAISE, Mons. {1856-}	My Native Land (“English song composed in Adelaide by Mons. Laglaise, poetry by Lord Byron. Sung for the first time by Mons. Laglaise”).			[Advertisement]: “GRAND CONCERT”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (24 September 1858), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article783625 .
759.	1858-10-07	NELSON, Sidney (England 1800-1862) {1853-61}	Jeanette’s Wedding (“Operetta”; “A new musical burletta, the music composed expressly for this theatre”).			[Advertisement]: “THEATRE ROYAL”, <i>The Argus</i> (7 October 1858), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7302346 ; ; “THE THEATRES”, <i>The Argus</i> (12 October 1858), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7302659 ; [Advertisement]: “THEATRE ROYAL”, <i>The Argus</i> (14 October 1858), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7302811 .
760.	1858-10-07	NELSON, Sidney (England 1800-1862) {1853-61}	Lone and neglected in my Sorrow (“S. NELSON’s beautiful BALLAD [...] as sung in the operetta of <i>Jeanette’s Wedding</i> ”).	[Melbourne: ?, 1858].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (22 October 1858), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7303205 : “S. NELSON’s beautiful BALLAD, <i>Lone and neglected in my Sorrow</i> , as sung in the operetta of <i>Jeanette’s Wedding</i> , on SALE at 15 Collins-street east”.

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data
761.	1858-10-27	ANONYMOUS	The Fireman's Song ("composed for the occasion [...] sung by Mrs. F. Younge").		[Advertisement]: "THEATRE ROYAL [...] UNITED FIREMEN'S BENEFIT SOCIETY", <i>The Argus</i> (27 October 1858), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7303437 ; Anna Bishop appeared "in characteristic costume" to sing another <i>Fireman's Song</i> "written expressly for her upon a similar occasion in the United States" (the music by Bochs) for the benefit of the same society in 1856; see "THEATRE ROYAL [...] UNITED FIREMEN'S BENEFIT SOCIETY", <i>The Argus</i> (30 July 1856), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7134009 ; also [Advertisement]: "MADAME ANNA BISHOP", <i>South Australian Register</i> (20 November 1856), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49758479 [prints words].
762.	1858-11-13	WINTERBOTTOM, John (<i>England</i> 1817-1897) {1853-61}	The Yellow Dwarf, or The King of the Goldmines ("Grand Musical Burlesque", "Music by Winterbottom").		[Advertisement]: "PRINCE OF WALES THEATRE", <i>Bell's Life in Sydney</i> (13 November 1858), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article59869566 .
763.	1858-11-24	CUTOLO, Cesare (<i>Italy</i> 1826-1867) {1858-67}	Selection of Airs from La Favorita ([Donizetti] "composed and executed by Signor Cutolo"); OR Selection of Airs from the favourite London Opera, La Traviata ([Verdi] "composed and executed by Signor Cutolo").		[Advertisement], <i>South Australian Register</i> (24 November 1858), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49779482 ; [Advertisement], <i>South Australian Register</i> (25 November 1858), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49779100 ; on Cutolo's arrival in Adelaide, see "VICTORIA [From our own Correspondent]", <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (19 November 1858), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article785590 "Signor Cutolo [...] proceeds to Adelaide by this steamer"; "SIGNOR CUTOLO", <i>South Australian Register</i> (20 November 1858), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49780445 .
764.	1858-11-27	CUTOLO, Cesare (<i>Italy</i> 1826-1867) {1858-67}	The Polka Mazurka.		"SIGNOR CUTOLO", <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (27 November 1858), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article785919 .
765.	1858-12-06	ELLIOTT, Joseph (<i>UK?</i> 1833-1883) {by 1858-83}	❶ Bygone Days (Colonial Melody) ; ❷ Bygone Days (Ballad) ("New Edition").	❶ North Adelaide: Joseph Elliott, 1858; ❷ Adelaide: Andrews, Thomas & Clark Printers, 1867.	Copies at NLA; Trove Bookmark (title): http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/5778602 ; ❶ item: http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-an6592497 ; ❷ item: http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-vn2972696 ; see also several later editions listed.
766.	1858-12-09	CUTOLO, Cesare (<i>Italy</i> 1826-1867) {1858-67}	Farewell to Lady MacDonnell ("melody composed expressly for this occasion").		"COMPLIMENTARY BENEFIT TO SIGNOR CUTOLO", <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (9 December 1858), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article786356 ; [Advertisement]: "A GRAND COMPLIMENTARY BENEFIT", <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (9 December 1858), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article786352 ; [Advertisement], <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (11 December 1858), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article786462 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
767.	1858-12-26	MEYMOTT, Frederick William (UK? c.1810-1883) {1850-83}	In memory of Jane Elizabeth Balcombe: who died in the eighteenth year of her age on the morning of the 26th day of December A. D. 1858 (song: "lines written by William Cornelius Uhr and set to music by Frederic William Meymott").	[Sydney]: [?]. [1859?].	Copy at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/20017223 .	"DEATHS", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (27 December 1858), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13016112 .
768.	1858-12-31	MORGAN, Thomas E.	Ballarat (choral song; Ballarat Welsh Choir, Christmas Day Eisteddfod, United Presbyterian Church, Armstrong St.).			Morgan was the choir's conductor; see <i>The Ballarat Star</i> (31 December 1858); cited in Doggett, "And for Harmony most ardently we long", vol. 2, 77.
769.	1859~	HARWOOD, C. W. [? = W. C.] (England? -?) {c.1855-59}	Thinkest thou of me ("dedicated to Miss Nina Spagnoletti").	Sydney: Printed by Alonzo Grocott, [c.1859].	Copy at SL-NSW; Permalink: http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/record=b2221854~S2 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/7565958 .	Nina Spagnoletti, daughter of Ernesto Spagnoletti senr, made her first public appearances in 1859; e.g. [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (6 July 1859), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13027253 .
770.	1859-00-00	CLEARY, William (UK? ?-?) {1843-after 1859}	The Royal Victoria Volunteer Artillery Regiment Grand Polka ("composed and arranged for the piano forte [...] by permission most respectfully dedicated to the Hon[or]able. C. Pasley, R.E. Lieut[enant] Colonel Commanding the Regiment").	Melbourne: Hamel & Co., 1859.	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16444740 .	-
771.	1859-01-04	CALLEN, (George) Douglas (Ireland c.1814-1879) {1854-79}	Overture Le Bal des fees.			"The band of the 12th regiment", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (4 January 1859), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13011089 ; "BOTANIC GARDENS", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (31 May 1859), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13025603 .
772.	1859-01-15	HENSLOWE, Francis Hartwell (England 1811-1878) {1839-64}	The Amethyst Polka and The Iris Waltz ("Composed by F.H.H., Hobart Town, Tasmania, 15 th January 1859").	London: J. H. Jewell, 1859.	Copy at SL-TAS; Permalink: http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=538643 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9854464 .	Cover lithograph of Hobart showing view of Mt. Wellington, by W. Worboyes.
773.	1859-01-24	TURNER, Austin Theodore {1857-after 1881}	The peerless rose (five part madrigal in ms; Members of Philharmonic Society, concert in aid of Christ Church); A Madrigal (Ballarat Philharmonic Society concert, Wesleyan Schoolroom).			<i>The Ballarat Star</i> (24 January 1859); <i>The Ballarat Times</i> (12 November 1859); cited in in Doggett, "And for Harmony most ardently we long", vol. 2, 93, 108; Turner was in Melbourne in 1856, and arrived in Ballarat in 1857.
774.	1859-01-24	ANONYMOUS	Emma Polka ("dedicated to E. H. M. Tod, Esq., 40th Regiment").	Melbourne: Joseph Wilkie, [1859].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement]: "EMMA POLKA", <i>The Argus</i> (24 January 1859), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7308523 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
775.	1859-02-12	WINTERBOTTOM, John (England 1817-1897) {1853-61}	In the play <i>ROLLA, or the CONQUEST OF PERU: A Trio and Chorus written for this piece and a Grand Chorus of Joy!, the music composed by Mr. Winterbottom.</i>		[Advertisement]: "PRINCE OF WALES THEATRE", <i>Bell's Life in Sydney</i> (12 February 1859), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article59870107 .	
776.	1859-02-15	LAVENU, Lewis Henry (England 1818-1859) {1853-59}	Once upon a time there were two kings ("The characteristic incidental music composed, selected, and arranged by L. Lavenu, Esq.").		[Advertisement]: "ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (15 February 1859), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13010837 .	
777.	1859-02-17	WHEATON, J. B.	Niminy Pym Polka. ("Respectfully dedicated to Miss Emma Stanley").	Melbourne: Joseph Wilkie, [1859].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/35491434 .	
778.	1859-02-02	WILSON, Marmaduke Henry (Scotland ?-1871) {1859-71}	New Polka Mazurka.	[Sydney: W. J. Johnson, 1859].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (2 February 1859), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13016825 .
779.	1859-02-02	WILSON, Marmaduke Henry (Scotland ?-1871) {1859-71}	Grand Triumphal March.	[Sydney: W. J. Johnson, 1859].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (2 February 1859), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13016825 .
780.	1859-02-22	CALLEN, (George) Douglas (Ireland c.1814-1879) {1854-79}	Le Tempete Waltz.			"The band of the 12th regiment", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (22 February 1859), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13021875 .
781.	1859-03-17	NATHAN, Isaac (England 1792-1864) {1841-64}	Overture.			[Advertisement]: "MORNING SELECTION OF SACRED AND SECULAR MUSIC [...] for the BENEFIT of the ASYLUM FOR DESTITUTE CHILDREN, The Sydney Morning Herald (17 March 1859), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13014287 .
782.	1859-04-04	MARSH, Henry (England 1824-USA after 1884) {1849-74}	Fair Australia Waltzes ("To Mrs. Edward Moriarty"); (also arranged for military band by Douglas Callen).	Sydney: Henry Marsh, [1859]; also in Marsh's <i>Australian Musical Cadeau</i> , issue 1 (May/June 1859).	Copy at NLA (lacks cover); Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/18861875 ; copy at SL-NSW; Permalink: http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/record=b2406448~S2 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (4 April 1859), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13023254 : "NEW DANCE MUSIC for the Pianoforte, by H. Marsh, Fair Australian Waltzes, Native Bouquet Waltzes, Jessamine Waltzes, Novara Galop, Boomers Polka. H. MARSH, music publisher"; [Advertisement]: "MUSIC PUBLISHED THIS DAY", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (7 May 1859), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13024644 ; "MUSIC", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (10 May 1859), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28629732 ; "BOTANIC GARDENS", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (28 June 1859), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13026945 .
783.	1859-04-04	MARSH, Henry (England 1824-USA after 1884) {1849-74}	Native Bouquet Waltzes (for the pianoforte).	[Sydney: Henry Marsh, 1859].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	See above.
784.	1859-04-04	MARSH, Henry (England 1824-USA after 1884) {1849-74}	Jessamine: Valse de Salon ("To Mrs. Francis Bennett").	Sydney: Henry Marsh, [1859].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/34794095 .	See above; also [Advertisement]: "NEW MUSIC", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (3 December 1859), 10: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13033936 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
785.	1859-04-04	MARSH, Henry (<i>England</i> 1824-USA after 1884) {1849-74}	Novara Galop (for the pianoforte).	Sydney: Henry Marsh, [1859].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	See above; named after the Austrian warship, <i>Novara</i> , and possibly for their “splendid band”; also possibly composed for the 1858 Citizen’s Return Ball, at which the band of the <i>Novara</i> played, see: [Advertisement]: “THE COMMITTEE”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (23 November 1858), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13015386 .
786.	1859-04-04	MARSH, Henry (<i>England</i> 1824-USA after 1884) {1849-74}	Boomers Polka (for the pianoforte).	Sydney: Henry Marsh, [1859].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	See above.
787.	1859-04-04	SPAGNOLETTI, Ernesto snr (<i>Italy/England</i> c.1804- 1862) {1853-62}	The Cornstalk Galop (“Respectfully dedicated to his pupils, Spagnoletti, R.A.”).	Sydney: D. Buist and Son, [1859].	Copy at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/36580128 .	[Advertisement]: “JUST PUBLISHED, CORNSTALK GALOP”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (4 April 1859), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13023254 .
788.	1859-04-12	CALLEN, (George) Douglas (<i>Ireland</i> c.1814-1879) {1854-79}	The Rosalind Schottische (“dedicated to Miss Aldis by the composer”).	[Sydney: J. R. Clarke, 1859].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19582435 .	‘DOMAIN’, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (12 April 1859), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13023621 ; [Advertisement]: “NEW MUSIC by DOUGLAS CALLEN”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (25 July 1859), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13028239 ; “NEW MUSIC”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (8 August 1859), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13028948 .
789.	1859-04-12	NELSON, Sidney (<i>England</i> 1800-1862) {1853-61}	Advance Australia (“dedicated with permission to Their Excellencies Sir W. Dennison [<i>recte</i> Denison] and Sir H. Barkly [...]words by Eliza Postle; music by S. Nelson”); (“Composed expressly for, and sung by. MONS. EMILE COULON”).	Melbourne: McCulloch & Stewart, [1859].	Copy at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/18973045 .	[Advertisement]: “GRAND OPERA. THEATRE ROYAL” <i>The Argus</i> (12 April 1859), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5679392 ; “THEATRE ROYAL”, <i>The Argus</i> (14 April 1859), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5679501 .
790.	1859-04-13	SPAGNOLETTI, Ernesto snr (<i>Italy/England</i> c.1804- 1862) {1853-62}	The Cornstalk Polka (“as played every night at the Prince of Wales Theatre by Winterbottom’s celebrated band”).	[Sydney: D. Buist and Son, 1859].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (13 April 1859), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13023648 : “JUST Published, the Cornstalk Polka, by Spagnoletti, R.A. [...]”.
791.	1859-04-13	SIEDE, Julius (<i>Germany</i> 1825-1903) {1856-1903}	Advance, Australia (“new national song”).			[Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (13 April 1859), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5679449 .
792.	1859-04-13	SIEDE, Julius (<i>Germany</i> 1825-1903) {1856-1903}	Grand Overture (“for complete orchestra”).			[Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (13 April 1859), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5679449 .
793.	1859-04-18	COMPTON, Charles Henry (<i>England</i> 1831- 1883) {1859-83}	When I was young (“composed expressly for Miss Octavia Hamilton”) (words: Henry F. Chorley).	Melbourne: Printed for the composer by Clarson, Shallard & Co., 1859.	Copy at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/28502915 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (18 April 1859), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5679740 .
794.	1859-04-18	COMPTON, Charles Henry (<i>England</i> 1831- 1883) {1859-83}	Waltz, Violante (“composed expressly for this occasion”).			[Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (18 April 1859), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5679740 ; see also, [Letter], <i>The Argus</i> (5 July 1859), 6: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5683921 ; see also poster, The Ballad Music of England .

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795.	1859-05-04	DIGGLES, Silvester (England 1817-1880) {1853-80}	Child of the Sun (vocal quartette).		[Advertisement], <i>The Moreton Bay Courier</i> (4 May 1859), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3716879 .	
796.	1859-05-07	PACKER, Charles S. (England 1810-1883) {1840-83}	The Captive's Child (ballad)	Sydney: H. Marsh, [1859]; also in Marsh's <i>Australian Musical Cadeau</i> issue 1 (May/June 1859).	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/18707331 .	[Advertisement]: "MUSIC PUBLISHED THIS DAY", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (7 May 1859), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13024644 ; "MUSIC", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (10 May 1859), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28629732 .
797.	1859-05-10	RUTTER, George O. (England 1819-?) {1856-69}	The Curfew ("Solo and Chorus"; "performed by desire").		At concert on 10 May 1859; "THE MELBOURNE PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY: II", <i>The Argus</i> (13 January 1879), 6: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5928151 ; see also [Advertisement]: "MELBOURNE PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY", <i>The Argus</i> (11 June 1861), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5700965 .	
798.	1859-05-16	TURNER, Austin Theodore {1857-after 1881}	Te Deum and Jubilate.		Christ Church, Ballarat; <i>The Ballarat Star</i> (16 May 1859); cited in Doggett, "And for harmony most ardently we long": Musical life in Ballarat, 1851-1871 (Ph.D thesis, University of Ballarat, 2006), vol. 2, 191.	
799.	1859-05-27	ANONYMOUS; ? TURNER, J. (arr).	Paddy Malone (Celebrated Comic Colonial Song); possibly the same as Paddy Malone (arr. by J. Turner).	[Sydney: J. R. Clarke, 1859].	Copy at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/7868012 .	[Advertisement]: "JUST PUBLISHED". <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (27 May 1859), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13025463 .
800.	1859-05-28	SPAGNOLETTI, Ernesto snr (Italy/England c.1804-1862) {1853-62}	Romance: Agile.		[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (28 May 1859), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13025502 .	
801.	1859-06-11	CUTOLO, Cesare (Italy 1826-1867) {1858-67}	Romance ("composed and arranged for the pianoforte by Signor Cutolo").		[Advertisement], <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (11 June 1859), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article793977 ; "SIGNOR CUTOLO'S CONCERT", <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (16 June 1859), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article794158 .	
802.	1859-06-16	CUTOLO, Cesare (Italy 1826-1867) {1858-67}	Coming through the Rye with variations.		"SIGNOR CUTOLO'S CONCERT", <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (16 June 1859), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article794158 .	
803.	1859-06-28	PECK, George (England c.1810-1863) {1833-c.40; c.1856-63}	The Australian Masonic Waltzes ("in this waltz are introduced the <i>Entered Apprentice Song</i> and the very popular airs <i>Willie we have missed you</i> [Spagnoletti] and <i>Ever of thee</i> ").	Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1859].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/12842137 .	[Advertisement]: "AUSTRALIAN MASONIC WALTZES", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (28 June 1859), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13026908 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
804.	1859-07-02	NELSON, Sidney (England 1800-1862) {1853-61}	O God protect Victoria ("national song"); National Hymn for Victoria ("words by W. W. Wardell ; music by S. Nelson; To the people of Victoria this attempt at a national hymn for our common country") ("Sung at the Theatre Royal, Melbourne, by Mr. Farquharson").	Melbourne: Sidney Nelson/Theatre Royal, [1860].	Copy at SL-VIC; Permalink: http://www.slv.vic.gov.au/shcetmusic/inter/1108556.shtm ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/28049549 .	"THE THEATRES", <i>The Argus</i> (2 July 1859), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5683805 ; [News of the day], <i>The Argus</i> (20 March 1860), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5679197 .
805.	1859-07-09	CALLEN, (George) Douglas (Ireland c.1814-1879) {1854-79}	The Illawarra Polka Mazurka.	[Sydney: H. Marsh, 1859]; in Marsh's <i>Australian Musical Cadeau</i> (July 1859).	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	"THE MUSICAL CADEAU", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (9 July 1859), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13027466 .
806.	1859-07-09	MARSH, Stephen (England ?1805-1888) {1842-46; 1849-72}	The Drunken Raggit Wean (Scottish Ballad) (dedicated to the Members of the Temperance League of Australia).	[Sydney: H. Marsh, 1859]; in Marsh's <i>Australian Musical Cadeau</i> (July 1859).	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	"THE MUSICAL CADEAU", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (9 July 1859), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13027466 .
807.	1859-07-11	CALLEN, (George) Douglas (Ireland c.1814-1879) {1854-79}	Fantasia in Molly Asthore (for pianoforte).	[Sydney: J. R. Clarke, 1859].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement]: "NEW MUSIC by DOUGLAS CALLEN", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (11 July 1859), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13027515 .
808.	1859-07-25	CALLEN, (George) Douglas (Ireland c.1814-1879) {1854-79}	Il Trovatore Galop.	[Sydney: J. R. Clarke, 1859].	Copy at SL-NSW; Permalink: http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/record=b2217378~S2 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/17973325 .	[Advertisement]: "NEW MUSIC by DOUGLAS CALLEN", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (25 July 1859), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13028239 .
809.	1859-07-25	LAVENU, Lewis Henry (arr.) (England 1818-1859) {1853-59}	THE VOCAL GEMS OF IL TROVATORE, ("arranged expressly for the publisher by the late L. H. Lavenu"); 1 Ah! I have sighed to rest me (Ah! Che la morte); 2 Home to our Mountains (Ai nostri monti); 3 Tempest of the Heart (Il balen del suo sorriso); 4 Breeze of the night (D'amor sull ali rosee); 5 Ah! Yes, thou'rt mine (Ah! Si ben mio); 6 In the combat (Mal reggendo).	Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1859].	1 Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/7945537 ; 2 Copy at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/37549753 ; 3 Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/6170218 ; 4 Copy at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/37497652 ; 5 Copy at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/18691185 ; Copy at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/37498044 .	[Advertisement]: VOCAL BEAUTIES OF IL TROVATORE", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (25 July 1859), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13028239 ; [Advertisement]: "NEW MUSIC", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (17 September 1859), 12: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13030882 ; "THE VOCAL GEMS OF IL TROVATORE, arranged expressly for the publisher by the late L. H. Lavenu. The series of six are now all published".

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data
810.	1859-07-30 WILSON, Marmaduke Henry (Scotland ?-1871) {1859-71}	The Irish Emigrant Quadrilles ("Introducing George Barker's celebrated air of the same name composed & dedicated to his friend John Drew Esq."). (5 quadrilles; and 6 "Arkansa Traveller").	Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1859].	Copy at NLA; item: http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-an5397180 .	Based on George Barker's The Irish Emigrant ; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (30 July 1859), 10: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13028547 ; "In course of publication: A new and original set of Quadrilles by Marmaduke Wilson, entitled <i>The Irish Emigrant. Quadrilles</i> , with portrait of Mr. John Drew, the Irish comedian, as the Irish Emigrant"; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (27 August 1859), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13029969 [reproduces texts of several reviews].
811.	1859-09-03 NELSON, Sidney (England 1800-1862) {1853-61}	① The Light from the Mountain ("Favorite Ballad by an Australian Lady, The Music by S. Nelson, As Sung by Miss O. Hamilton" [Octavia Hamilton]); ② The Light from the Mountain .	① Melbourne: Edward Arnold, [1859]. ② Melbourne: Edward Arnold, [186-?].	Copies at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/18988780 ; ① item: http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-vn2063658 ; ② item: http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-vn4509474 .	[Advertisement], "NEW SONG", <i>The Argus</i> (3 September 1859), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5687415 .
812.	1859-09-08 RUTTER, George O. (England 1819-?) {1856-69}	The Second Advent (a cantata).		Words survive in original concert program, copy at SL-VIC; Permalink: http://www.slv.vic.gov.au/vicpamphlets/inter/271321.shtml ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/8309324 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (8 September 1859), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5687693 ; for plans to publish it by subscription, see [Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (22 June 1860), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5684802 ; for a performance of an "anthem", <i>And there shall be no more death</i> , probably from it, in 1869, by which time Rutter was described as "late of Melbourne", see: "FUNERAL OF THE LATE HON. J.P. FAWKNER", <i>The Argus</i> (9 September 1869), 6: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5835648 ; "THE MELBOURNE PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY: II", <i>The Argus</i> (13 January 1879), 6: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5928151 .
813.	1859-09-17 SPAGNOLETTI, Ernesto snr (Italy/England c.1804-1862) {1853-62}	Your Willie has returned, Dear ("Dedicated to Mrs. F. Messiter, words by "Desda" [Mrs. Davies]; "Answer to <i>Willie we have missed you</i> [by Stephen Foster]").	Sydney: Henry Marsh, [1859].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/13522608 ; Also MS copy, "Marianne Glennie, Gosford, 1859", at University of Newcastle Auchmuty Library; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/35695684 .	[Advertisement]: CLARK'S ASSEMBLY ROOMS [...] SPAGNOLETTI'S MUSICAL SOIREE", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (17 September 1859), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13030898 ; [Advertisement]: "ANSWER TO WILLIE WE HAVE MISSED YOU, by Signor Spagnoletti", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (22 October 1859), 10: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13032081 .
814.	1859-09-19 WEINRITTER, George M. (Poland ?-?) {fl.1856-84}.	An Original Hymn in Honour of the 99th Anniversary of the birth of Humboldt (words: Dr. Migeod; for the Victorian Liedertafel).			"Victoria", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (19 September 1859), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13030976 .
815.	1859-09-26 THEOBALD, Robert Bishop {fl.1858-74; died before 1879}	The Rosella Schottische .	Sydney: Published by the Author, [1859].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/23788502 .	[Advertisement]: "ROSELLA SCHOTTISCHE", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (26 September 1859), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13031202 ; [Advertisement]: "JUST PUBLISHED", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (5 November 1859), 6: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13032745 .

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816.	1859-09-26	ANDERSON, James Henri (<i>England</i> 1823-1879) {1842-79}	Hallelujah Psalm (sung at the opening of the Macquarie Street Synagogue, Sydney).		“Dedication of the New Jewish Synagogue” [From the <i>Sydney Empire</i> , 26 September], <i>The Hobart Town Daily Mercury</i> (5 October 1859), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3258182 ; “The Opening of the New Synagogue”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (26 September 1859), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13031208 ; see also “OPENING OF THE NEW SYNAGOGUE, MACQUARIE-STREET”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (13 October 1859), 11: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13031875 .
817.	1859-09-27	CALLEN, (George) Douglas (<i>Ireland</i> c.1814-1879) {1854-79}	Minden Quadrille.		“BOTANIC GARDENS”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (27 September 1859), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28629709 .
818.	1859-10-07	SUTHERLAND, Mr. J.	<u>Aurora Australis Polka.</u>	Melbourne, Edward Arnold, [1859].	Copy at SL-TAS; Permalink: http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=538307 ; also copy at SL-VIC; Permalink: http://www.slv.vic.gov.au/shcetmusic/inter/954232.shtm ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/28084203 .
819.	1859-10-10	DRAEGER, (Wilhelm) Ferdinand (<i>Germany</i> ?-1884) {1848-84}	A grand valse (“orchestra, composed by Herr F. Draeger”).		“TANUNDA”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (10 October 1859), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49825367 .
820.	1859-10-10	DRAEGER, Carl Wilhelm (<i>Germany</i> ?-?) {1854-?}	Overture (“composed by Herr C. W. Draeger, of Adelaide, brother of Herr F. Draeger, of Tanunda”).		“TANUNDA”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (10 October 1859), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49825367 .
821.	1859-10-15	DIGGLES, Silvester (arr.) (<i>England</i> 1817-1880) {1853-80}	Home Sweet Home (Sicilian Air [Bishop]; “new version composed for the Brisbane Choral Society”) (“a new version. Words by T. Pugh”; “Harmonised by S. Diggles, Conductor, 1859”).	Lithographed copy of Brisbane Choral Society partbook, 1859; in Diggles Family Private Collection.	“Poetry. HOME, SWEET HOME. A NEW VERSION. (Composed for the Brisbane Choral Society)”, <i>The Moreton Bay Courier</i> (15 October 1859), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3721657 ; [Advertisement]: “Brisbane Choral Society”, <i>The Moreton Bay Courier</i> (30 November 1859), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3726315 ; see Rod Fisher, Boosting Brisbane: Imprinting the Colonial Capital of Queensland (Brisbane: Boolarong Press and Brisbane History Group, 2009), 167: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=SHUE5nTp_UwC&pg=PA167#v=onepage&q&f=false ; 287: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=SHUE5nTp_UwC&pg=PA287#v=onepage&q&f=false .
822.	1859-10-25	LA MONT, J. S.	<u>Our own Tasmanian Home (National Song)</u> (words: E. La Mont; “Composed and dedicated by permission to Lady Young”).	Hobart: J. Walch, [1859].	Copy at SL-TAS; Permalink: http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=538550 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9854380 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
823.	1859-10-27	WILSON, Marmaduke Henry (<i>Scotland ?-1871</i>) {1859-71}	Jeanie Deans (“By permission respectfully dedicated to Lady Denison”; “As sung with the greatest applause by Madame Carandini at the Prince of Wales Theatre”) (new ballad [sung by] Nina Spagnoletti, accompanied by the composer).	Sydney: H. Marsh and Co., [1859].	Copy at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/38111316 .	[Advertisement]: “SCHOOL OF ARTS. MARAMDUKE H. WILSON & E. SPAGNOLETTI’S SOIREE”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (27 October 1859), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13032316 ; [Advertisement]: “JEANIE DEANS (New Ballad), by M. H. Wilson, as Sung by Madame Carandini”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (31 October 1859), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13032477 .
824.	1859-10-27	WILSON, Marmaduke Henry (<i>Scotland ?-1871</i>) {1859-71}	Fantasia com’ que “Ethiopia” (piano).			As above.
825.	1859-11-01	CUTOLO, Cesare (<i>Italy 1826-1867</i>) {1858-67}	Song of the Volunteers (words: H. E. Smith).	Adelaide: printed for the S.A. Volunteers, [1860].	Copy at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/13987178 .	[Advertisement], <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (1 November 1859), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article1198764 ; “CONCERT under the PATRONAGE of the SOUTH AUSTRALIAN VOLUNTEERS [...] SIGNOR CUTOLO”; “THE VOLUNTEERS’ SONG”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (4 November 1859), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49828132 ; “SIGNOR CUTOLO’S CONCERT”, <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (8 November 1859), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article1198986 ; [Advertisement]: “SONG OF THE VOLUNTEERS”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (10 January 1860), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49896077 ; “COLONIAL MUSIC”, <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (11 January 1860), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article1201025 .
826.	1859-11-05	LINGER, Carl Ferdinand August (<i>Germany 1810-1862</i>) {1849-62}	The Song of Australia (“to which the Prize of Twenty Guineas was awarded by the Gawler Institute on the Occasion of its Second Anniversary 1859”; (words: Mrs. C.J. Carleton).	[Gawler: Gawler Institute, 1859]; Many later editions.	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/5229425 [also many later editions]; item: http://www.nla.gov.au/apps/cdview?pi=nla.musan5628716 .	“THE PRIZE SONG”, <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (5 November 1859), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article1198928 ; [Advertisement]: “THE PRIZE SONG OF AUSTRALIA”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (16 December 1859), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49830430 ; “GRAND CONCERT AT THE GAWLER INSTITUTE”, <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (20 December 1859), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article1200383 .
827.	1859-11-05	CUTOLO, Cesare (<i>Italy 1826-1867</i>) {1858-67}	Fantasia from Balfe’s celebrated opera of the Bohemian Girl (“composed by [Cutolo] ... for the first time”).			[Advertisement]: “CONCERT under the PATRONAGE of the SOUTH AUSTRALIAN VOLUNTEERS”, <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (5 November 1859), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article1198918 .
828.	1859-11-07	VARIOUS	23 entries to Gawler Prize Song Competition (3 by Linger, including winning song).			“THE GAWLER PRIZE SONG”, <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (7 November 1859), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article1198960 .
829.	1859-11-07	CUTOLO, Cesare (<i>Italy 1826-1867</i>) {1858-67}	The Song of Australia (words: Mrs. C.J. Carleton; “composed by Signor Cutolo”).			[Advertisement]: “SIGNOR CUTOLO’S GRAND VOCAL and INSTRUMENTAL CONCERT”, <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (7 November 1859), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article1198956 ; “2: <i>The Song of Australia</i> (Carleton), Composed by Signor Cutolo. Miss Bryan”; “SIGNOR CUTOLO’S CONCERT”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (9 November 1859), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49830288 ; but see also: “THE PRIZE POEMS: [Letter] To the Editor”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (1 November 1859), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49823442 ; “None of your Cutolo music, appreciated only by a few”.

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
830.	1859-11-29	RUTTER, George O. (England 1819-?) {1856-69}	O that we two were maying (words: Charles Kingsley).	[Melbourne: ?, 1859].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	“NEW MUSIC”, <i>The Argus</i> (29 November 1859), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5692659 .
831.	1859-12-03	PECK, George (England c.1810-1863) {1833-c.40; c.1856-63}	Silent Tears (words: Henry Kendall; “A song of affection”; “Dedicated with permission to Lady Stephen, Lyon’s Terrace, Hyde Park”).	Sydney: Peck’s Music Repository, [1859].	Copy at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/32058911 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (3 December 1859), 10: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13033936 : “NOW READY, <i>SILENT TEARS</i> , a new song, the poetry by H. Kendall, a Native Australian poet; & music composed by George Peck [...]”; the text was also printed in <i>The Empire</i> on 8 December 1859, see T. T. Reed, <i>Henry Kendall: a critical appreciation with brief chronology and a bibliography</i> (1960), 55.
832.	1859-12-09	ANONYMOUS	The Shaking Quaker’s Polka (“composed expressly for the Victoria Assembly”).			[Advertisement]: “OPEN THIS EVENING”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (9 December 1859), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13034180 .
833.	1859-12-14	LINGER, Carl Ferdinand August (Germany 1810-1862) {1849-62}	Fantasia on the Song of Australia (“Fantaisie brillante on the Gawler prize <i>Song of Australia</i> for pianoforte).	[Adelaide: Samuel Marshall’s Musical Repository, 1860].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	“GRAND CONCERT AT THE GAWLER INSTITUTE”, <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (14 December 1859), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article1200209 ; [Advertisement], <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (31 December 1859), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article1200724 : “Will be published on Tuesday, January 3, A FANTASIA BRILLIANTE for the Pianoforte, on the Gawler Prize Song of Australia, by HERR CARL LINGER”; [Advertisement], <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (11 January 1860), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article1201020 : “MARSHALL’S MUSICAL REPOSITORY [...] Where may be had Herr Linger’s Fantasia, on the <i>Song of Australia</i> .”
834.	1859-12-20	HUTTON, Mr.	Australia, the Queen of the South (“words of this song were written by Mr. Kemp ; the music composed by Mr. Hutton, both of Milang”).			“EXTENSION OF MILANG JETTY”, <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (20 December 1859), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article1200383 .
835.	1859-12-24	SIEDE, Julius (Germany 1825-1903) {1856-1903}	Vestibule Polka.			[Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (24 December 1859), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5694206 .
836.	1859-12-28	PACKER, Frederick Alexander (senior) (England 1814-1862) {1852-1862}	Psalm Chant (morning service, Christmas Day).			“THE ORGAN AT ST. DAVID’S CATHEDRAL”, <i>The Hobart Town Daily Mercury</i> (28 December 1859), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3260078 .
837.	1859-12-28	PACKER, Frederick Augustus (junior) (England 1839-1902) {1852-1902}	Deus Misereatur (choral canticle, at evening service, Christmas Day; “Packer jun.”).			“THE ORGAN AT ST. DAVID’S CATHEDRAL”, <i>The Hobart Town Daily Mercury</i> (28 December 1859), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3260078 .

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838.	1859-12-30 WALLER, James (England 1819-1871) {1826-71}	<p>① Australia (a patriotic song) [MS];</p> <p>② Australia (a patriotic song) (“Dedicated to the Volunteer Forces of Australia [...]written and composer by James Waller”) [print].</p>	② Sydney: W. J. Johnson, [1863].	<p>① MS at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/33539273; MS item: http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-an22747656;</p> <p>② Copy at NLA: http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-an22733820.</p>	[Advertisement]: “GRAND MISCELLANEOUS CONCERT”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (27 December 1859), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13034941 ; “AUSTRALIA: A PATRIOTIC SONG BY MR. JAMES WALLER”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (30 December 1859), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13035135 ; “PATRIOTIC SONG”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (14 November 1863), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13087206 ; “MUSIC AND DRAMA”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (21 November 1863), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13086537 .
839.	1860~ (before 1862) LINGER, Carl Ferdinand August (Germany 1810-1862) {1849-62}	Tagerchor [sic] [?Jägerchor] (“quartetto for brass instruments”).			“TANUNDA”, <i>South Australian Advertiser</i> (29 December 1865), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31856742 ; for biographical details see “THE LATE HERR LINGER”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (18 February 1862), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article40469572 .
840.	1860~ (before 1862) LINGER, Carl Ferdinand August (Germany 1810-1862) {1849-62}	Sanctus & Benedictus.			“LINGER MEMORIAL CONCERT”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (11 September 1863), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article50175449 .
841.	1860~ (before 1862) LINGER, Carl Ferdinand August (Germany 1810-1862) {1849-62}	When to our prejudiced errors (Motett).			“LINGER MEMORIAL CONCERT”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (11 September 1863), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article50175449 .
842.	1860~ (before 1862) LINGER, Carl Ferdinand August (Germany 1810-1862) {1849-62}	Liebchen Schätze and Drinking Song.			“LINGER MEMORIAL CONCERT”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (11 September 1863), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article50175449 .
843.	1860-01-30 WILSON, Marmaduke Henry (Scotland ?- 1871) {1859-71}	72 Anniversary Schottische (“dedicated by permission to His Excellency Sir W. T. Denison”).	Sydney: Henry Marsh, [1860].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/31280410 .	For the 72 nd anniversary of the Colony, 26 January 1860; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (14 January 1860), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13035484 : “MARMADUKE H. WILSON’S Newest Composition, The Anniversary Schottische, Published To-day”; “ANNIVERSARY SCHOTTISHE” <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (30 January 1860), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13036113 .
844.	1860-02-03 COBLEY, Edwin H. (England c.1830-1874) {1857-74}	Le Pillet (“Composed by Edwin H. Coblely”; “A new fashionable Spanish dance (as performed at the London and Parisian court balls); To F.H. Needs, Esq., and his pupils”).	Sydney: Charles T. Sandon, [1860].	Copy at SL-NSW; Permalink: http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/record=b2217392~S2 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/17973461 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (3 February 1860), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13036285 : ““LE PILLET [...] a new dance. C.T. SANDON, Music Warehouse [...]”;
					For dancing master F. H. Needs and his pupils; Needs, having arrived from London in 1858, was active in Sydney until his death on 22 September 1884; on “Le Pillet”, see Needs’s [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (21 January 1860), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13035809 .
					“DEATHS”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (3 July 1874), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13339826 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
845.	1860-03-05	MEGSON, Joseph {fl.1846-70}	Excelsior Polka (“Composed, and most respectfully dedicated to his friend, J. F. Jones, Esq.”) (named after the Excelsior Hotel, Melbourne).	Melbourne: J. Megson, [1860].	Copy at SL-VIC; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/31329505 .	“NEW POLKA”, <i>The Hobart Town Daily Mercury</i> (5 March 1860), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article19468404 .
846.	1860-03-07	ANONYMOUS	Australian Galop.	[Melbourne: Joseph Wilkie, 1860].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertising], <i>The Argus</i> (7 March 1860), 2 s: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5678376 : “AUSTRALIAN GALOP. Just published [...]”.
847.	1860-03-07	ANONYMOUS	Southern Cross Schottische.	[Melbourne: Joseph Wilkie, 1860].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertising], <i>The Argus</i> (7 March 1860), 2 s: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5678376 : “SOUTHERN CROSS SCHOTTISCHE, beautifully illustrated, just published [...]”.
848.	1860-04-12	“A. T. A.”	Floating Away (song; “from an incident related in <i>Little Dorritt</i> ; dedicated by the composer to Charles Dickens”).	Launceston: J. Walch & Sons, 1860.12	Copy at SL-TAS; Permalink: http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=538957 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9854557 .	“FLOATING AWAY”, <i>Launceston Examiner</i> (12 April 1860), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article39000021 .
849.	1860-05-24	SPAGNOLETTI, Ernesto jnr (<i>England</i> ?-?) {1853-after 1864}	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ① The Sydney Schottische; ② The Sydney Schottische (“author of the Madalena and Woolloomooloo Schottisches”; “Dedicated to Miss Brown of Balmain”). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ① [Sydney: Composer ?, 1860]; ② 2nd edn. Sydney: Published by the Author, [186-]. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ① NO COPY IDENTIFIED; ② Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/12840715. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ① [Advertisement]: “JUST PUBLISHED”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (24 May 1860), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13040936; “NEW DANCE MUSIC”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (27 June 1860), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13042431; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (20 October 1860), 16: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13047491; ② “MUSIC. By E. SPAGNOLETTI. Second edition of the Sydney, Woolloomooloo, and Madelena Schottisches [...] J. R. CLARK”.
850.	1860-05-24 (earlier than)	SPAGNOLETTI, Ernesto jnr (<i>England</i> ?-?) {1853-after 1864}	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ① The Madalena Schottische (“dedicated to his friend F[rederick] Ellard”); (“[by the] composer of the favourite Madelena [sic] and Woolloomooloo Schottische”); ② The Madalena Schottische (2nd edn). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ① Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [by 1860]; ② 2nd edn. Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1860]; 	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/20842716 .	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ① “NEW DANCE MUSIC”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (27 June 1860), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13042431; ② [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (20 October 1860), 16: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13047491: “MUSIC. By E. SPAGNOLETTI. Second edition of the Sydney, Woolloomooloo, and Madelena [sic] Schottisches [...] J. R. CLARKE”.
851.	1860-05-30	MURRAY, Mrs. A. J. {fl.1846-after 1870}	The Gathering (“A War Song of Australia; words by B. T. Finnis, Esq., M.P., music by Mrs. A. J. Murray, Adelaide Glee Club”).	[Adelaide: ?, 1860].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement]: “SOUTH AUSTRALIAN INSTITUTE SOIREE”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (30 May 1860), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49892575 ; “SOUTH AUSTRALIAN INSTITUTE”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (31 May 1860), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49890836 ; “REVIEW”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (3 July 1860), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article50026054 [prints full text].
852.	1860-06-16	CUTOLO, Cesare (<i>Italy</i> 1826-1867) {1858-67}	Polka Mazurka (“dedicated to his pupil Master Henry Denison”).	[Sydney: Caxton Press, 1860].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	“NEW POLKA MAZOURKA”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (16 June 1860), 6: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13041921 : “[...] the Signor intends to publish series of musical pieces of his own composition. Nocturnes, Fantasias, and Arias, &c [...]”; [Advertisement]: “TO AMATEUR PIANISTS”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (23 June 1860), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13042219 ; “ADELAIDE: NEW POLKA MAZURKA”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (30 June 1860), 6: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28625517 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
853.	1860-06-30	ELSÄSSER, Charles G. (Carl Gottlieb) (Germany 1817-1885) {1853-85}	Praise the Lord (A New Cantata) (composed in Melbourne and dedicated to the society).		[Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (30 June 1860), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5685274 ; "The Philharmonic Society's third subscription concert [...]", <i>The Argus</i> (4 July 1860), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5685499 ; "The Melbourne Philharmonic Society: II", <i>The Argus</i> (13 January 1879), 6: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5928151 .	
854.	1860-07-03	MURRAY, Mrs. A. J. {fl.1846-after 1870}	Canst thou not read the mute appeal (song; "the words by B. T. Finnis, and the music by Mrs. Murray").	[Adelaide: ?, 1860].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	"REVIEW", <i>South Australian Register</i> (3 July 1860), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article50026054 ; see also "Finniss, Boyle Travers (1807-1893)", <i>Australian Dictionary of Biography</i> 1 (1966), 377-379: http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A010358b.htm .
855.	1860-07-30	SPAGNOLETTI, Ernesto snr (Italy/England c.1804-1862) {1853-62}	Coocoy! An Australian Song ("as sung by Nina Spagnoletti. Respectfully dedicated to Madame Sara Flower, Words by an Australian Lady, Music by Spagnoletti. R.A.").	Sydney: John Davis, [1860].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/13522435 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (30 July 1860), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13043712 : COO-EY, an Australian Song, published by JOHN DAVIS, draper. Kiandra House, George-street [...] and the principal Music-sellers".
856.	1860-08-03	PRICE, Mrs. Henry F.	The Kent Rifles Polka ("dedicated to Captain Herford").	Adelaide: Penman and Galbraith, [1860].	Copy at SL-SA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/35607479 .	"MUSIC", <i>South Australian Register</i> (3 August 1860), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article50026550 ; "THE KENT RIFLE POLKA", <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (4 August 1860), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article822339 ; "ERRATUM", <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (6 August 1860), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article822416 ; this item, and some of the other Adelaide volunteer pieces mentioned below, were lampooned by Robert Harrison, <i>Colonial Sketches: or, Five years in South Australia, with hints to capitalists and emigrants</i> (London: Hall, Virtue, and Co., 1862); http://books.google.com.au/books?id=b88NAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA106&dq=#v=onepage&q&f=false : "When the Volunteer movement reached Australia it became the fashion for one or two enterprising people to publish a little music adapted to the cause, such as the Adelaide Drum Polka, dedicated to Capt. Turncoat; and the Bugle Rifle Galop, dedicated to Capt. Crawler (by special request); and a waltz [...] copied note for note from one of Strauss' the colonial composer, not taking the trouble even to alter the key or change a note of the music."
857.	1860-08-06	WILSON, Marmaduke Henry (Scotland ?-1871) {1859-71}	Our Native Clime (song) ("Miss OCTAVIA HAMILTON will sing a new ballad entitled, <i>OUR NATIVE CLIME</i> , composed expressly for her [...] a copy of which, with a lithographic portrait of Miss Hamilton, will be presented to every lady honoring the concert with her presence").	Sydney: ? Composer, [1860].	Copy at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark (album): http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/7444024 .	"FAREWELL CONCERT OF MISS OCTAVIA HAMILTON", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (6 August 1860), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13043979 ; [Advertisement]: "EXCHANGE HALL: MISS OCTAVIA HAMILTON'S FAREWELL BENEFIT CONCERT", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (6 August 1860), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13043953 :
858.	1860-08-11	PECK, George (arr.) (England c.1810-1863) {1833-c.40; c.1856-63}	Should auld acquaintance be forgot (Auld Lang Syne). Polka ("vocal Polka, newly arranged with chorus"; "newly arranged for the pianoforte with vocal accompaniment by George Peck").	Sydney: George Peck, 1860; in <i>The Australian Musical Bouquet</i> (New Series, No 1).	Copy at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/32075019 .	[Advertisement]: "NOW READY, PECK'S NEW MUSICAL BOUQUET", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (11 August 1860), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13044188 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
859.	1860-08-11	PECK, George (arr.) (<i>England</i> c.1810-1863) {1833-c.40; c.1856-63}	Sempre libera: Let me bask in every pleasure (“the celebrated air in the ballet scene of Verdi’s popular opera <i>La Traviata</i> [...] transposed and arranged for the Australian Mus. Bouq. by G. Peck”).	Sydney: George Peck, 1860; in <i>The Australian Musical Bouquet</i> (New Series, No 1).	Copy at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/32075019 .	[Advertisement]: “NOW READY, PECK’S NEW MUSICAL BOUQUET”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (11 August 1860), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13044188 .
860.	1860-08-11	MACKENZIE, Harry (<i>UK</i> ?-?) {1853-after 1865}	Volunteer’s Song (words: Henry Halloran).	[Sydney: W. J. Johnson, 1860].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement]: “IN THE PRESS, the VOLUNTEER’S SONG, by Harry Mackenzie. JOHNSON and CO., Pitt-street”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (11 August 1860), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13044188 ; [Advertisement]: “VOLUNTEERS’ SONG”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (22 December 1860), 10: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13050514 .
861.	1860-08-25	TURNER, Austin Theodore {1857-after 1881}	An Anthem (sung by Members of the Ballarat Philharmonic Society in Wesleyan Church, Lydiard St., at opening of the new organ, 1860).			<i>The Ballarat Star</i> (25 August 1860); cited in Doggett, “And for Harmony most ardently we long”, vol. 2, 76.
862.	1860-08-30	SHARPE, Robert (<i>England</i> ?-?) {1859-63}	Fare thee well (ballad).			“CONCERT IN AID OF THE ORGAN FUND”, <i>Launceston Examiner</i> (30 August 1860), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article39001851 .
863.	1860-08-30	SHARPE, Robert (<i>England</i> ?-?) {1859-63}	Volunteer Song (“a stirring composition with a cornet obligato; the words by Carpenter”, or Howard Anstead).			“CONCERT IN AID OF THE ORGAN FUND”, <i>Launceston Examiner</i> (30 August 1860), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article39001851 ; “NEW VOLUNTEER’S SONG. [To the] EDITOR”, <i>Launceston Examiner</i> (6 September 1860), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article39001930 ; “THE NEW VOLUNTEER SONG: [To the] EDITOR”, <i>Launceston Examiner</i> (8 September 1860), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article39002002 ; see also “VOLUNTEER SONG”, <i>Launceston Examiner</i> (29 April 1862), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article41452954 ;
864.	1860-09-18	CUTOLO, Cesare (<i>Italy</i> 1826-1867) {1858-67}	God bless you, farewell (words: E. Reeve): (“The music being composed in an easy style, and adapted for all voices, with accompaniment for piano or harmonium, by Cesare Cutolo”).	Sydney: Lewis Moss; Melbourne: Joseph Wilkie; Adelaide: Platts’s, 1860.	Copy at SL-NSW; Permalink: http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/record=b2156563~S2 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/28515538 .	“NEW SONG”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (18 September 1860), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13046063 ; Same words also set later by Isaac Nathan.
865.	1860-10-08	ADAMS, John (<i>England</i> 1803-1861) {1853-61}	Volunteer Song (There is a sound of war) [composer’s MS, dated 8 October 1860]; Riflemen form! [printed edition] (“Volunteer song”; “Composed and dedicated to the Officers and Volunteers of Tasmania”).	[Printed edition] Hobart: J. Walch and Son, [1861].	MS in SL-TAS; Permalink: http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=704634 ; Print Copy at SL-TAS; Permalink: http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=703988 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9855503 .	[Advertisement], “NOW READY”, <i>The Mercury</i> (18 January 1861), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8795742 ; “VOLUNTEER SONG”, <i>The Mercury</i> (26 January 1861), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8795933 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data
866.	1860-10-10 MARSH, Henry (<i>England</i> 1824-USA after 1884) {1849-74}	<p>① Home Galop; "Respectfully dedicated to Lady Denison"</p> <p>② Home (Galop for the Piano Forte) (2nd edn) ("Respectfully dedicated to Lady Denison").</p>	<p>① Sydney: Henry Marsh, [1860];</p> <p>② Sydney: Henry Marsh, [186-?].</p>	<p>① Copy at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/17981706;</p> <p>② Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/34794002.</p>	"THE HOME GALOP", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (10 October 1860), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13046955 .
867.	1860-10-20 THIRKELL, Mrs. H.W. {fl.1860}	Volunteer Waltz.	[Adelaide: Penman and Galbraith, 1860].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	"NEW VOLUNTEER WALTZ", <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (20 October 1860), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article825345 ; "THE VOLUNTEER WALTZ", <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (8 November 1860), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article826261 .
868.	1860-10-20 WILSON, Marmaduke Henry (<i>Scotland</i> ?-1871) {1859-71}	Hearts-ease ("new song").	Sydney: Ford, 1860; in <i>The Australian Musical Bouquet</i> (November 1860).	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (20 October 1860), 16: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13047491 :
869.	1860-10-22 CUTOLO, Cesare (<i>Italy</i> 1826-1867) {1858-67}	Hail fair Australia (words: "Ellie") ("Dedicated to the public of South Australia").	Adelaide: Penman & Galbraith, 1860.	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/8953035 .	"ORIGINAL MUSIC", <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (22 October 1860), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article825410 ; [Advertisement]: "HAIL FAIR AUSTRALIA", <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (25 October 1860), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article825583 .
870.	1860-10-25 SCHMITT, W[ilhelm] Carl (<i>Germany</i> 1833/4-1900) {1858-81}	Overture.			[Advertisement], <i>The Mercury</i> (25 October 1860), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8793921 .
871.	1860-10-30 CUTOLO, Cesare (<i>Italy</i> 1826-1867) {1858-67}	Remembrances of the Pyramids (Nocturne).	Sydney: Lewis Moss, J. R. Clarke; Melbourne: Joseph Wilkie; Adelaide: Platts's, 1860.	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9624995 .	"FREEDOM THE NEAPOLITAN PRESS: NOTICE OF MUSIC IN AUSTRALIA", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (30 October 1860), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13047975 ; "MUSIC AND DRAMA", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (21 November 1860), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13049104 ; "SIGNOR CUTOLO'S NOCTURNE", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (16 January 1861), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13051365 .
872.	1860-11-09 POUNSETT, Henry (<i>England</i> 1809-1891) {1839-91}	Hail to the Rifleman (Volunteer's Song) (words: Donald McLeod).	[Adelaide: W.H. Hillier, 1860].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	"VOLUNTEER'S SONG", <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (9 November 1860), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article826306 ; [Advertisement], <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (9 November 1860), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article826286 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data	
873.	1860-11-28	STANLEY, William (<i>England</i> 1820-1902) {c.1837-1902}	<p>① First New South Wales Volunteer Rifles Quick March;</p> <p>② The N.S.W. Volunteer Rifles Quick March (“Dedicated to the Volunteer Rifles, South Sydney Company”).</p>	<p>① [Sydney: ?, 1860];</p> <p>② Sydney, J. R. Clarke, [1861]; also in Clarke’s <i>Australian Musical Album for 1863</i>.</p>	<p>① NO COPY IDENTIFIED (though ② evidently used the same plates, which had at the foot of each page: “First N.S.W. Volunteer Rifles quick march”);</p> <p>② Copies at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/12840658.</p>	<p>① [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (28 November 1860), 10: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13049477: “FIRST NEW SOUTH WALES VOLUNTEER RIFLES QUICK MARCH, will shortly be published [...]”; ② [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (22 June 1861), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13065807.</p>
874.	1860-12-08	“R.G., Esq. Braidwood”	Riflemen Form (A Patrotic Song) (“Words by Tennyson—The music composed by R.G., Esq., Braidwood, and kindly presented to the proprietor of the A. M. B.”).	Sydney: George Peck, [1860] (in <i>Peck’s Australian Musical Bouquet</i> New Series No 3).	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark (album): http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/18962883 .	[Advertisement], “PECK’S AUSTRALIAN MUSICAL BOUQUET”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (8 December 1860), 12: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13049980 .
875.	1860-12-08	PECK, George (<i>England</i> c.1810-1863) {1833-c.40; c.1856-63}	The Banjo Waltzes (“founded on favourite Negro Melodies”; “Arranged by G. Peck”).	Sydney: George Peck, [1860] (in <i>Peck’s Australian Musical Bouquet</i> New Series No 3).	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark (album): http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/18962883 .	[Advertisement], “PECK’S AUSTRALIAN MUSICAL BOUQUET”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (8 December 1860), 12: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13049980 ; see also Peck’s earlier US set of Negro Melodies, The San Francisco Quadrilles (San Francisco: Atwill and Co., 1852); Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/26480924 .
876.	1860-12-15	PACKER, Frederick Augustus (junior) (<i>England</i> 1839-1902) {1852-1902}	Forget me not in absence (“an original composition for the occasion by Mr. F. A. Packer, Junior”).			“THE SOUTHERN MINSTRELS”, <i>The Mercury</i> (15 December 1860), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8795007 ; see also [News]: <i>Barrier Miner</i> (9 August 1902), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article44283134 : “Fred. A. Packer, organist and composer, died [...] among his songs, <i>Listening</i> and <i>Forget me not</i> are particularly well known”.
877.	1860-12-17	MARSH, Henry (<i>England</i> 1824-USA after 1884) {1849-74}	Jessie: A Conversation Polka (words: H. N. Montague; “To Miss Pitt of Bronte”).	Sydney: Henry Marsh, W. J. Johnson, [1860].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/12840678 .	[Advertisement]: “MUSICAL NOVELTY”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (17 December 1860), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13050260 .
878.	1860-12-17	FURLEY, James (<i>England</i> ?-?) {1860-?}	Christmas Hymn: Star of the east ([by the] “Organist of St. James”; “first time in Sydney”).			[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (17 December 1860), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13050251
879.	1860-12-21	RUTTER, George O. (<i>England</i> 1819-?) {1856-69}	A Baby Song (“composed expressly for the occasion”).			ANNUAL MUSICAL FESTIVAL OF THE DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOL CHILDREN”, <i>The Argus</i> (21 December 1860), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5695381 .
880.	1860-12-25	HORN, Charles (?UK/Germany ?-1887) {fl.1858-87}	There is a happy land (“hymn [...] composed by Dr. Horn for three voices”).			“THE NEWCASTLE SINGING ACADEMY CONCERT”, <i>The Maitland Mercury</i> (25 December 1860), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article18679383 .

Part 2: Selected later works (1861 onward) by composers previously active

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data
1860s	"A. M. C."	<u>Departed Moments</u> ("Song, with accompaniment for the pianoforte, words from the <i>Family Herald</i> ").	Hobart: J. Walch and Sons, [186-?].	Copy at SL-TAS; Permalink: http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=538809 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9854503 .	
1860s	PACKER, Frederick A. (<i>England</i> 1839-1902) {1852-1902}	<u>Oh, sing once more that parting strain.</u>	London: Jewell, [1860?].	Copy at SL-TAS; Permalink: http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=538442 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9854351 .	Also copy, printed in London, in British Library, Music Collections H.1772.y.(4.) [004565783]; catalogue incorrectly attributes it to Packer's father, Frederick Alexander.
1860s	RENDLE, F. D.	<u>Grateful Memories Schottische.</u>	Melbourne: Hamel & Co, [186-?].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/6157724 .	
1860s	REYLOFF, Edmond	<u>The Queen of the South (Australian Quadrilles).</u> (1 Queen of the south – Sydney; 2 Adelaide; 3 Hobart Town; 4 Melbourne; 5 Victoria).	London: Charles Jefferys, [186-?].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19294175 .	Not an Australian composition.
1860s	ANONYMOUS	<u>Metrical Psalm Tunes</u> (MS).			Manuscript; photographs in SL-TAS ; in same collection as MS copy of Packer's <i>The Song of the Angels</i> ; see also Keilah (CM) & Beverly (SM) ; St. Agnes & Forgiveness .
1860-	JOHNSON, William J. (<i>England</i> 1810-1866) {1836-66}	<u>Hallelujah, Amen</u> (before the gospel).			MS: Sydney, Christ Church; edition: Forsyth, 536 (540): http://ses.library.usyd.edu.au/handle/2123/2447 .
1860-	JOHNSON, William J. (<i>England</i> 1810-1866) {1836-66}	<u>Third Hymn for Christmas Day (While Shepherds Watched their Flocks).</u>			Or William Stanley; MS: Sydney, Christ Church; edition: Forsyth, 537 (541): http://ses.library.usyd.edu.au/handle/2123/2447 .
1860-	JOHNSON, William J. (<i>England</i> 1810-1866) {1836-66}	<u>Anglican Chants.</u>			MS: Sydney, chrish Church; edition: Forsyth, 545 (549): http://ses.library.usyd.edu.au/handle/2123/2447 .
1860-	WILSON, Marmaduke Henry (<i>Scotland</i> ?-1871) {1859-71}	<u>L'Amour et l'Amitie (Valse).</u>	London: Cramer, Beale, and Chappell, [1860?].	Copy at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/17982568 .	"Maitland", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (18 May 1871), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla-news-article13239063 : "Marmaduke Wilson, professor of music, died last night".
1860~	JOHNSON, William J. (<i>England</i> 1810-1866) {1836-66}	<u>Anglican Chants.</u>			MS: Sydney, chrish Church; edition: Forsyth, 545 (549): http://ses.library.usyd.edu.au/handle/2123/2447 .
1860-00-00	"A. T. A."	<u>Floating Away</u> (piano; "from an incident related in <i>Little Dorritt</i> ; dedicated by the composer to Charles Dickens").	Launceston: J. Walch & Sons, 1860.	Copy at SL-TAS; Permalink: http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=538957 ; also copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19396035 .	

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data
1860s (?)	RUTTER, George O. (<i>England</i> 1819-?) {1856-69}	Beauty, sweet beauty bright (words: C. E. Gibbs).	Melbourne: J. Wilkie, [186-?].	Copy at SL-QLD; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/8767310 .	This work must date from the 1860s; Wilkie died insane in England in 1872, see "Melbourne", <i>The Maitland Mercury</i> (26 November 1872), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article18768825 .
1861~	WILSON, (Miss) E. C.	The Gocup Polka Mazurka ("composed and dedicated to Mrs. Archer Broughton by [Miss] E. C. Wilson").	Sydney: Lewis Moss, [c.1861].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16432292 .	Mrs. Archer Broughton lived at Gocup, near Tumut, NSW, c.1860; a precise dating for this item has not been found, but Wilson had another work published by Lewis Moss in 1861.
1861 or later	PACKER, Frederick A. (<i>England</i> 1839-1902) {1852-1902}	The Volunteer Polka ("dedicated to Lieutenant-Colonel Russell [...] and the Tasmanian Volunteers").	Hobart: F. A. Packer, [1860?].	Copy at SL-TAS; Permalink: http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=538440 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9854341 .	The Tasmanian Volunteers was formed by Russell in 1860, and the Volunteer Artillery Band, directed by Camille Del Sarte, was also active that year, giving concerts in the Domain and public gardens; "THE VOLUNTEERS", <i>The Mercury</i> (2 October 1860), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8793367 ; the edition was is printed in Sydney by John Degotardi at his Robinhood-lane premises to which he moved in March 1861; see [Advertisement]: "REMOVAL", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (16 March 1861), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13054248 .
1861-11-20	COBLEY, Edwin H. (<i>England</i> c.1830-1874) {1857-74}	The Favorite Schottische.	Sydney: James C. Fussell, [1861]; in <i>Australian Musical Bouquet</i> (1861).	Copy at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16432292 .	[Advertisement]: "NEW MUSIC", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (30 November 1861), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13067111 .
1861-11-20	DAVIS, Miss (of Pyrmont)	Tapping at the Window, Peeping o'er the Blind (song; words: C. Swain).	[Sydney;]: James C. Fussell, 1861.	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement]: "NEW MUSIC", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (30 November 1861), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13067111 .
1861-00-00	COBLEY, Edwin H. (<i>England</i> c.1830-1874) {1857-74}	The Australian Bouquet Polka.	[Sydney]: [James C. Fussell], [1861 ?].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16894393 .	
1861-01-12	OLDHAM, William C. (<i>Ireland</i> 1811-1885) {1838-85}	❶ The Kapunda Rifle Volunteers' Schottische ; ❷ The Kapunda Rifles Schottische ; ❸ The Kapunda Rifle Schottische.	❶ [Adelaide: Penman and Galbraith, 1861]; ❷ Adelaide; Sims and Elliott, n.d; ❸ Adelaide: S. Marshall & Son., n.d..	❶ NO COPY IDENTIFIED; copy of ❷ at SL-SA and ❸ at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/6440418 .	"NEW MUSIC", <i>South Australian Register</i> (12 January 1861), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article50020159 ; see also "DEATH OF MR. W. OLDHAM, OF KAPUNDA", <i>South Australian Register</i> (4 July 1885), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article44945846 .
1861-01-14	LEWIS, Mr.	What Sounds are Those (song).	Melbourne: Joseph Wilkie, [1861].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (8 January 1861), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5696476 ; [News of the day], <i>The Argus</i> (14 January 1861), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5696661 ; Lewis was organist of the Philharmonic Society.
1861-01-15	MACKIE, Robert	The Birthday o' the Year (Australian Scotch Song) (words: George Linsay).	Melbourne: [n.p.], [1861].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16685261 .	[News of the day], <i>The Argus</i> (15 January 1861), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5696704 .
1861-01-23	SPAGNOLETTI, Ernesto jnr (<i>England</i> ?-?) {1853-after 1864}	The Volunteer's Polka.	[Sydney: Composer ?, 1861].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	"THE VOLUNTEERS' POLKA", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (23 January 1861), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13051755 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data
1861-02-00	ANDERSON, Alfred (Australia 1848-1876)	The Sydney Polka [Australian edition] (“Dedicated to Sir William Denison, Governor of Sydney, N.S.W.”).	Sydney: J. H. Anderson, [1861?].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/17036233 .	“THE SYDNEY POLKA”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (22 January 1861), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13051699 : “A polka, composed by Master Alfred Anderson [...] has just been published in London by Joseph Williams, of Cheapside [...]”.
1861-02-25	ADDISON, Glentworth (England 1831-1903) {by 1855-1903}	Lost Marguarite (words: Henry Halloran).	Sydney: James Fussell, [1861]; in <i>The Australian Musical Bouquet</i> .	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/35628510 .	“THE AUSTRALIAN MUSICAL BOUQUET”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (25 February 1861), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13053279 .
1861-02-25	COBLEY, Edwin H. (England c.1830-1874) {1857-74}	Volunteers’ Polka Mazurka .	Sydney: James Fussell, [1861]; in <i>The Australian Musical Bouquet</i> .	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/35628510 .	“THE AUSTRALIAN MUSICAL BOUQUET”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (25 February 1861), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13053279 .
1861-03-00	“S. G.”	The Australian Colonists’ Song (“Written to the National Music of <i>The Hardy Horseman</i> by S. G.”).	Melbourne: [?], 1861.	Copy at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/23444375 .	Dated: “Melbourne, Victoria, March, 1861”.
1861-03-07	DANIEL, (Miss) E. R. {1851-?}	Gently, Mother, Gently (“words by A. C. Judson, music by E. R. Daniel”).	[Adelaide: ?, 1861].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Editorial], <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (7 March 1861), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article831271 ; “NEW MUSIC”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (8 March 1861), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article50020605 ; “POETRY”, <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (12 March 1861), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article831525 ; the composer may be the daughter of the bass singer, Mr. Daniel.
1861-03-16	DRAEGER, Carl Wilhelm (Germany ?-?) {1854-?}	A Song for Australia (“the words by [Dr.] G. Nott, and music by C. W. Draeger”).	[Adelaide]: [?], [1861].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16850278 .	“NEW MUSIC”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (16 March 1861), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article50019645 ; [Advertisement]: “A SONG FOR AUSTRALIA”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (23 March 1861), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article831965 ; “ODDFELLOWSHIP”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (18 May 1861), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article50016128 .
1861-04-02	BANKS, T. {1857-63 or later}	Les Graces (The Graces) Three Polkas Brilliantes (“composed and dedicated to his esteemed friend, E. B. Gowland, Esq., by T. BANKS”).	Sydney; T. Banks, [1861].	Copy at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/23734954 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (2 April 1861), 10: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13056666 ; [Advertisement]: “JUST PUBLISHED, LES GRACES”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (1 May 1861), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13068947 ; Banks, who had previous compositions published in London (see Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/31634420) first appeared in concert with Sara Flower and the Howsons in 1857.
1861-04-06	SPAGNOLETTI, Ernesto snr (Italy/England c.1804-1862) {1853-62}	The Captured Lady (“Ever of thee I’m fondly dreaming”) (words: N. L. Kentish)(“Respectfully dedicated to Miss Reid and the young ladies of the Australian College”).	Sydney: Composer, [1861].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/18707032 .	The cover of the song has, incorrectly, “N.C.” Kentish; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (6 April 1861), 12: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13059380 .
1861-04-13	COBLEY, Edwin H. (England c.1830-1874) {1857-74}	Original Chaunts (“by E. H. Cobley, Esq.”).	Sydney: James C. Fussell, [1861]; in Fussell’s <i>Australian Musical Bouquet</i> .	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement]: “JUST PUBLISHED, FUSSELL’S AUSTRALIAN MUSICAL BOUQUET”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (13 April 1861), 9: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13069528 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data
1861-04-26	SCHMITT, W[ilhelm] Carl (Germany 1833/4-1900) {1858-81}	There's a time (Song).			[Advertisement], <i>The Mercury</i> (26 April 1861), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8797889 .
1861-05-01	SPAGNOLETTI, Ernesto snr (arr). (Italy/England c.1804-1862) {1853-62}	Deh Vieni alla finestra (Come shining forth) (“serenade from Mozart’s <i>Il Don Giovanni</i> , arranged by Spagnoletti, R.A, expressly for the <i>Australian Musical Bouquet</i> ”).	Sydney: A. Grocott, 1861; in Alonzo Grocott’s <i>Australian Musical Bouquet</i> (May 1861).	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	“GROCOTT’S MUSICAL BOUQUET”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (1 May 1861), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13068980 ; [Advertisement]: “MAY NUMBER NOW READY”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (1 May 1861), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13068947 .
1861-05-01	SPAGNOLETTI, Ernesto snr (arr). (Italy/England c.1804-1862) {1853-62}	The Singing Polka ([Alary] “arranged by Spagnoletti”).	Sydney: A. Grocott, 1861; in Alonzo Grocott’s <i>Australian Musical Bouquet</i> (May 1861).	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	“GROCOTT’S MUSICAL BOUQUET”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (1 May 1861), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13068980 ; [Advertisement]: “MAY NUMBER NOW READY”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (1 May 1861), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13068947 .
1861-05-02	PACKER, Frederick Alexander (senior) (England 1814-1862) {1852-1862}	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➊ Nearer to Thee (Hymn CIX) (1st edn, 1861); ➋ Nearer to Thee (Hymn CIX) (later edn.?) ➌ Nearer to Thee (Hymn CIX) (1866 edn); <p>See also W. J. Johnson’s piano transcription (“dedicated to Signor Cutolo:”), below.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➊ Melbourne: Clarkson, Shallard, and Co., [1861]; ➋ Sydney: Gibbs, Shallard, and Co., [186-?]; ➌ Melbourne & Sydney: Clarkson, Massina, 1866. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➊ NO COPY IDENTIFIED. ➋ Copy at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/18023515; ➌ Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/18215020. 	[Advertisement], <i>The Mercury</i> (2 May 1861), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8798019 ; [News]: “We have received [...]”, <i>The Argus</i> (21 May 1861), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5700377 ; also “AMUSEMENTS, FINE ARTS, &c.”, <i>The Mercury</i> (22 August 1861), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8800609 ; “ORDINATION”, <i>The Mercury</i> (26 July 1861), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8800023 ; a second edition: [Advertisement], <i>The Mercury</i> (19 December 1861), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8803058 ; “SECOND CONCERT OF THE ORPHEONIST SOCIETY”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (7 January 1862), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13068560 ; “PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY”, <i>The Mercury</i> (2 September 1884), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article9092595 .
1861-05-02	PACKER, Frederick Alexander (senior) (England 1814-1862) {1852-1862}	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➊ Mazurka (for the pianoforte) (1845 London edn.); ➋ Mazurka (for the pianoforte) (1861 Australian edition). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➊ London: R. Cocks and Co., [1845]; ➋ Melbourne: Clarkson, Shallard, and Co., [1861]. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➊ Copy at SL-TAS; Permalink: http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=538443; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9854356; copt at British Library is dated [1845]; ➋ NO COPY IDENTIFIED. 	The two works listed here may not be identical; ➊ [Advertisement], <i>The Mercury</i> (2 May 1861), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8798019 ; [News]: “We have received [...]”, <i>The Argus</i> (21 May 1861), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5700377 ; also “AMUSEMENTS, FINE ARTS, &c.”, <i>The Mercury</i> (22 August 1861), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8800609 .
1861-05-08	HEYDECKE, Theodor (Germany ?-1867) {1859-67}	Duet (for clarinet and cornet).			“THE OPERA”, <i>The South Australian Register</i> (8 May 1861), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article833774 .
1861-05-10	IMBERG, Julius Samuel (Germany ?-1863) {1846-63}	The Victorian Quadrilles (1 Melbourne; 2 Bendigo; 3 Ballarat; 4 Geelong; 5 Toorak)	Melbourne: J. S. Imberg, 1861.	Copy at SL-VIC; Permalink: http://www.slv.vic.gov.au/sheetmusic/inter/1108611.shtml ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/28051730 .	[News of the day], <i>The Argus</i> (10 May 1861), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5700073 .

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1861-05-22	NATHAN, Isaac (England 1792-1864) {1841-64}	Circumstance (words: Alfred Tennyson; “Composed expressly for the amiable and talented Lady Don and sung with classical effect at the Australian concerts, by Miss Amelia and Miss Clelia Howson, nieces of the accomplished Madame Albertazzi”).	Sydney: For the composer by J. R. Clarke, [1861].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/8817557 ; copy at SL-NSW “2 nd edn.”	“Original music”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (22 May 1861), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13061788 .
1861-05-22	NATHAN, Isaac (England 1792-1864) {1841-64}	The White Owl in the Belfy Sits (words: Alfred Tennyson; “The Music, an Impromptue, by I. NATAHN”).	Sydney: For the composer by J. R. Clarke, [1861].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/15081337 ; copy at SL-NSW “3 rd edn.”	“Original music”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (22 May 1861), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13061788 .
1861-05-22	NATHAN, Isaac (England 1792-1864) {1841-64}	The Day Dream (words: Alfred Tennyson).	Sydney: For the composer by J. R. Clarke, [1861].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16495357 ; copy at SL-NSW “2 nd edn.”	“Original music”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (22 May 1861), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13061788 .
1861-05-28	VINCENT, Mr.	March (“composed expressly for the Castlemaine Rifle Corps Band”).			“THEATRE”, <i>The Argus</i> (28 May 1861), 6: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5700557 .
1861-06-11	RUTTER, George O. (England 1819-?) {1856-69}	Claribel (“Part Song”).			[Advertisement]: “ORPHEUS UNION”, <i>The Argus</i> (11 June 1861), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5700965 .
1861-06-22	WINTERBOTTOM, John (England 1817-1897) {1853-61}	The Lady Don Valse.	Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1861]	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/12840647 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (22 June 1861), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13065821 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (22 June 1861), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13065807 .
1861-07-10	WINTERBOTTOM, John (England 1817-1897) {1853-61}	The Zoe Galop.	Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1861]	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16432215 .	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (10 July 1861), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13066952 .
1861-07-20	WILSON, (Miss) E. C.	The Australian Volunteer Galop (“composed and dedicated to the volunteers of Australia by Miss E. C. Wilson”).	Sydney: Lewis Moss, [1861].	Copy at SL-NSW; Permalink: ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/17982480 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (20 July 1861), 14: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13060665 .
1861-07-23	GOLLMICK, Carl [Charles] Frederick William (arr). (Germany ?-?) {by 1861-}	Rose of Old (Song).			[Advertisement]: “CONCERT [...] BRISBANE CHORAL SOCIETY”, <i>The Courier</i> (23 July 1861), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4600109 .
1861-08-31	SACHS, Madame F. S.	Australian Volunteers’ Song (“by Madame F. S. Sachs, of Balmain”).	[Sydney: James C. Fussell, 1861].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement]: “MUSIC. Just published”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (29 August 1861), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13059649 ; “AUSTRALIAN MUSICAL BOUQUET”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (31 August 1861), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13058244 .
1861-08-31	“E. B.”; [? BOULANGER, Edward (France 1829- 1863) {1854-63}?]	Sunbeams (“air by E. B.; “adaped from the German”; “published expressly for the Benefit of the School of Industry”).	Sydney : J. R. Clarke, [1861 ?].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16894373 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (31 August 1861), 10: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13058186 .

<i>1st notice</i>	<i>Creator</i>	<i>Title/details</i>	<i>Publication</i>	<i>Availability</i>	<i>Comments and supporting data</i>
1861-09-03	REIFF, Anthony jnr (arr.) (USA ? c.1838-1916) {1861-63}	Take this cup of sparkling wine [Wallace] (arranged by A. Reiff Jun.; as sung by Madame Lucy Escott in Wallace's opera <i>Lurline</i>).	Sydney : Henry Marsh & Co., [1861?].	Copy at SL-NSW; http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19458305 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (3 September 1861), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13063866 .
1861-09-16	REIFF, Anthony jnr (USA ? c.1838-1916) {1861-63}	Village Bells (words: L. L. Lewis) (for Lucy Escott).			[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (16 September 1862), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13234150 .
1861-09-28	DEANE, Edward S. (Australia c.1830-?)	Grand March (composed expressly for the NSW Volunteer Artillery Band).			[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (28 September 1861), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28624722 .
1861-09-28	PACKER, Charles S. (England 1810-1883) {1840-83}	The Stars are Still (Hunting Song) ("by desire").			[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (28 September 1861), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28624722 .
1861-09-28	PACKER, Charles S. (England 1810-1883) {1840-83}	In thee, O Lord (solo and chorus).			[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (28 September 1861), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28624722 .
1861-09-28	STANLEY, William (England 1820-1902) {c.1837-1902}	O Cease to Reason (new ballad; manuscript for Madame Sara Flower).			[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (28 September 1861), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28624722 .
1861-09-30	PACKER, Charles S. (England 1810-1883) {1840-83}	The Song of the Angels (1862 edn); The Song of the Angels (MS copy).	Hobart: J. Walch, [1862].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9854361 ; Photograph of MS (not autograph) at SL-TAS; Permalink: http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=NS1013-1-797 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (30 September 1861), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28624479 ; [Advertisement]: "New music", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (19 April 1862), 12: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13227309 ; but see also "Country News", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (2 January 1860), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28630016 .
1861-10-19	MACDOUGALL, William J. (Australia, fl.1854-63)	The Lurline Quadrille.	[Sydney: J. H. Anderson, 1861].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (19 October 1861), 10: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13067180 ; Vincent Wallace's recent London opera <i>Lurline</i> was first performed in Melbourne on 1 April 1861, and in Sydney on 29 August 1861.
1861-10-19	MACDOUGALL, William J. (Australia, fl.1854-63)	① La Gitana Schottische (Souvenir de Maritana) ; ② (?)	① Sydney: J. H. Anderson, [1861]; ② [Sydney: J. R. Clarke, 1861].	① Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19573955 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (19 October 1861), 10: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13067180 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (7 December 1861), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13059477 .
1861-10-22	DRAEGER, (Wilhelm) Ferdinand (Germany ?-1884) {1848-84}	A Choral Song ("the words of which were written for the occasion by our fellow-townsmen, Mr. F. Basedow, and the music by Mr. F. Draeger, and was sung by all the members of the Leidertafel, accompanied by the full orchestra").			"TANUNDA", <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (22 October 1861), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article878937 .
1861-10-22	DRAEGER, (Wilhelm) Ferdinand (Germany ?-1884) {1848-84}	A Grand Waltz ("composed by Mr. F. Draeger").			"TANUNDA", <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (22 October 1861), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article878937 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data
1861-10-22	DRAEGER, Carl Wilhelm (<i>Germany</i> ?-?) {1854-?}	The Gawler Rifle March ("composed by the leader" [of the Gawler Volunteer Band, Mr. C. W. Draeger]).			"TANUNDA", <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (22 October 1861), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article878937 ; see also Meike Tiemeyer-Schütte, <i>Das Deutsche Sangerwesen in Sudastralien vor Ausbruch des Ersten Weltkrieges zwischen Bewahrung von Deutschtum und Anglikanisierung</i> (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2000); 46, 130, 200-201; http://books.google.com.au/books?id=L2HXewmnOfQC .
1861-11-12	MACDOUGALL, William J. (<i>Australia</i> , fl.1854-63)	Watch and Wait ("New Australian Volunteer Song [...] composed expressly for the occasion").			[Advertisement]: "GRAND VOLUNTEER CONCERT", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (12 November 1861), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13065075 ; "VOLUNTEER CONCERT AT THE FREEMASONS' HALL", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (13 November 1861), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13057499 .
1861-11-19	SIMMONS, Julia {1861-85 or later}	The Ladies Polka ("Composed & inscribed to the Ladies of N.S.W.").	Sydney: Lewis Moss, [1861].	Copy at SL-NSW; Permalink: ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/17981822 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (19 November 1861), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13067304 ; "NEW POLKA", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (3 December 1861), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13063135 .
1861-11-23	PACKER, Charles S	The Garibaldi Hat ("comic song"; "words by Weston; music arranged on a popular air by C. Packer").	[Sydney: J. R. Clarke, 1861].	Copy at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/31795702 .	[Advertisement]: "J. R. CLARKE'S latest MUSICAL PUBLICATIONS", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (23 November 1861), 12: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13060196 .
1861-12-05	ELLIOTT, Joseph (<i>UK?</i> 1833-1883) {by 1858-83}	The Adelaide Schottische (composed and respectfully dedicated to the ladies of South Australia).	Adelaide: Penman & Galbraith, 1861.	Copy at SL-SA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/35632411 .	[Advertisement], <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (5 December 1861), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article880535 ; "NEW MUSIC", <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (6 December 1861), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article880619 ; "COLONIAL MUSIC", <i>South Australian Register</i> (12 December 1861), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article50081069 ; re a "Third edition", see "MUSIC", <i>South Australian Register</i> (17 February 1862), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article40467452 .
1861-12-07	MACDOUGALL, William J. (<i>Australia</i> , fl.1854-63)	The Lucy Escott Polka (composed & dedicated to Madame Escott by Mercadante ; and arranged for the pianoforte with variations by W. J. Macdougall).	Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1861].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/18587758 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (7 December 1861), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13059477 .
1861-12-07	MACDOUGALL, William J. (<i>Australia</i> , fl.1854-63)	The Lurline Polka (dedicated to Madame Lucy Escott).	Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1861]; also included in Clarke's <i>Australian Musical Album for 1863</i> .	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16497711 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (7 December 1861), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13059477 ; Vincent Wallace's recent London opera <i>Lurline</i> was first performed in Melbourne on 1 April 1861, and in Sydney on 29 August 1861.
1861-12-19	PACKER, Charles S. (<i>England</i> 1810-1883) {1840-83}	Nearer to Thee (2 nd edition).	[Hobart: J. Walch, 1861].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	But this may be confused with Frederick Packer's setting; [Advertisement], <i>The Mercury</i> (19 December 1861), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8803058 .
1861-12-30	NATHAN, Isaac (<i>England</i> 1792-1864) {1841-64}	The Winged Fate (as sung by Miss Clelia Howson [...] on the 30 th December 1861").	Sydney: Composer, [1862].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/15090324 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (23 December 1861), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13061493 ; "The Winged Fate, by Mr. Nathan", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (18 February 1862), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13224767 .

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1861--28	WILSON, Marmaduke Henry (Scotland ?-1871) {1859-71}	That young man from the country ("arranged by Marmaduke H. Wilson").	Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1861].	Copy at SL-NSW; Permalink: http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/record=b3370652~S2 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (14 May 1861), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13057103 .
1862-00-00	HENSLOWE, Francis Hartwell (England 1811-1878) {1839-64}	Tomorrow: A Farewell Song (words: Mrs. C. Meredith) ("Addressed to Mrs. Alfred Wilkins").	Hobart: [?], 1862.	Copy at SL-TAS; Permalink: http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=538631 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9854430 .	
1862-01-06	JOHNSON, William J. (England 1810-1866) {1836-66}	Good Night (terzetto; composed expressly for the society).			"OPRHEONIST SOCIETY", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (6 January 1862), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13068633 ; "MUSICAL AND DRAMA", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (21 January 1862), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13062251 .
1862-01-27	DAWSON, C. J. (England ?-1870) {before 1854-70}; MARSH, Stephen (arr.)	Le Bon Voyage Waltz (composed, and dedicated to Sir Redman Barry, by C.J. Dawson; arranged for piano by Stephen Marsh).	Melbourne: Joseph Wilkie, [1862].	Copy at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/30257470 .	[News of the day], <i>The Argus</i> (27 January 1862), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5709082 .
1862-01-30	FISHER, James Churchill (England c.1825-1891) {? 1852-91}	Good Night (partsong: "composed expressly for this occasion by Mr. J. Fisher").			[Advertisement]: "GRAND COMPLIMENTARY CONCERT [to] W. J. CORDNER", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (30 January 1862), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28623464 .
1862-02-03	MARSH, Stephen (England ?1805-1888) {1842-46; 1849-72}	The All England Eleven Polka ("dedicated to Messrs. Spiers & Pond, and the cricketers of Australia and Tasmania").	Melbourne: Joseph Wilkie, [1862].	Copy at NLA.	"Under the title of the All England Eleven Polka, Mr. S.H. Marsh has composed [...]", <i>The Argus</i> (3 February 1862), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5709393 ; "The All-England Eleven", <i>The Argus</i> (26 March 1862), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5712259 .
1862-02-18	HEYDECKE, Theodor (Germany ?-1867) {1859-67}	Dead March (played at Carl Linger's funeral).			"THE LATE HERR LINGER", <i>South Australian Register</i> (18 February 1862), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article40469572 .
1862-03-08	MACDOUGALL, William J. (Australia, fl.1854-63)	The Darling Point Polka.	Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1862]; also in <i>The Australian Musical Album for 1863</i> .	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16497796 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (8 March 1862), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13225499 .
1862-03-08	MACDOUGALL, William J. (Australia, fl.1854-63)	Star of Love Quadrilles.	[Sydney: J. R. Clarke, 1862].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (8 March 1862), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13225499 .
1862-03-29	MACDOUGALL, William J. (Australia, fl.1854-63)	Fantasia on Ever of thee I'm fondly dreaming ("by W. J. Macdougall").	[Sydney: J. R. Clarke, 1862].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement]: "JUST PUBLISHED", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (29 March 1862), 12: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28623760 .
1862-03-29	FURLEY, James (England 1831-1912) {1860-1912}	Nunc Dimittis ("by Mr. James Furley, organist and choir master, St. James' Church, Sydney").	[Sydney: J. R. Clarke, 1862].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement]: "JUST PUBLISHED", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (29 March 1862), 12: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28623760 ; "MUSIC", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (28 April 1862), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13227772 .

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1862-04-03	MACDOUGALL, William J. (Australia, fl.1854-63)	The Widow Twankay Polka ("composed expressly for this occasion"; arr. by Frank Howson Jun.).	[Sydney: J. R. Clarke, 1862] ("with a portrait of Mr. O. H. Rogers as the Widow in <i>Aladdin</i> ").	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (3 April 1862), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13226511 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (8 March 1862), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13225499 .
1862-04-19	PACKER, Charles S. (England 1810-1883) {1840-83}	Arm, Arm (Australian Patriotic Song) .	[Sydney ?]: ?, [1862].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16482649 .	[Advertisement]: "New music", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (19 April 1862), 12: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13227309 ; also "Old Australian Patriotic Songs", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (7 August 1915), 10: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article15605797 .
1862-05-25	JOHNSON, William J. (England 1810-1866) {1836-66}	An Easter Anthem: Christ being raised from the dead . ("Composed for the use of St. Paul's College Chapel").	Sydney: W. J. Johnson, [1862].	Copy at SL-NSW; Permalink: http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/record=b222558~S2 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/7691342 .	[Advertisement]: "TO CLERGYMEN AND CHOIRMASTERS", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (25 March 1862), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28622569 ; "[...] also an easy anthem for Easter, by W. J. JOHNSON, organist of Christ Church"; see also [Advertisement]: "SAINT PAUL'S COLLEGE CHAPEL CHORAL UNION", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (1 April 1862), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28623099 .
1862-06-03	BOULANGER, Edward (France 1829-1863) {1854-63}	Lurline (Caprice de salon) .	Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1862]; and in Clarke's <i>Australian Album for 1863</i> .	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16497726 .	"New Music", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (3 June 1862), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13229621 ; see also "Music", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (3 September 1862), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13233733 ; Vincent Wallace's recent London opera <i>Lurline</i> was first performed in Melbourne on 1 April 1861, and in Sydney on 29 August 1861.
1862-06-20	SIEDE, Julius (Germany 1825-1903) {1856-1903}	Overture, Faust and Marguerite ("first time in Australia").			[Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (20 June 1862), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5716837 .
1862-06-26	OLDHAM, Mary (Australia 1841-1926)	The Tasmanian Yacht Club Polka .	Hobart Town : J. Walch & Sons, [1862]	Copy at SL-TAS; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9854765 .	"COLONIAL MUSIC", <i>The Mercury</i> (26 June 1862), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8808068 ; "DEATHS", <i>The Mercury</i> (28 September 1926), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article29460170 .
1862-07-07	LODER, George (England 1816-1868) {1856-57; 1862-68}	The Matin Call (Spanish Aria) .			[Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (7 July 1862), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5717806 ; "THE MELBOURNE PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY: II", <i>The Argus</i> (13 January 1879), 6: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5928151 [recte, concert was on 8 July 1862].
1862-07-07	POLLARD, J. H. (England ?-?) {1857-?}	The Violet (Quartette; first time).			Pollard arrived in Mrs. Testar's company, 1857; [Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (7 July 1862), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5717806 .
1862-07-07	RUTTER, George O. (England 1819-?) {1856-69}	Stars of the Summer Night (words: Longfellow; first time).	London: Novello, [186-?]; <i>The Choir</i> , No 178.	Copy at British Library, Music Collections P.P.1945.hc. [004630131].	[Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (7 July 1862), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5717806 ; "THE MELBOURNE PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY: II", <i>The Argus</i> (13 January 1879), 6: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5928151 [recte, concert was on 8 July 1862]; later published in London by Novello (<i>The Choir</i> , No 178),

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1862-08-01	SIMMONS, Julia {1861-85 or later}	Lily Lee (“ballad by Miss simmons”, “ballad, music by Miss Julia Simmons, dedicated to the Orpheonist Society of Sydney”; “arranged by C. Packer”).	Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1862 or 63]; in the <i>Australian Musical Album for 1863</i> .	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16497703 .	“LANCASHIRE DISTRESS FUND: ORPHEONIST CONCERT”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (1 August 1862), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13232150 ; “As an encore [Miss Simmons] gave Lily Lee, a ballad of her own composition. Mr. [Frederick] Ellard accompanied Miss Simmons on the pianoforte”.
1862-08-16	JAFFA, Madame {fl.1857-1889}	Sweet and Low (words: Alfred Tennyson; composed expressly for the occasion for Sara Flower).	[Sydney; Mader; Wilkie, Elvy and Co., 1863].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (16 August 1862), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13232908 ; “NEW SONG”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (2 April 1863), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13076492 .
1862-09-03	NATHAN, Isaac (<i>England</i> 1792-1864) {1841-64}	God Bless You! (words: Edward Reeve).	Sydney: Composer, 1862.	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/15066375 .	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (3 September 1862), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13233733 ; see another setting of same words by Cutolo.
1862-09-03	REIFF, Anthony jnr (<i>USA</i> ? c.1838-1916) {1861-63}	To look upon her face once more (ballad; composed expressly for his friend Henry Squires).	Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1862].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/35683590 .	On Reiff, see Zoltán Román, <i>Gustav Mahler’s American Years, 1907-1911: a Documentary History</i> , 239 note 92; “MUSIC”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (3 September 1862), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13233733 .
1862-09-18	MACDOUGALL, William J. (<i>Australia</i> , fl.1854-63)	The Wail from England (song; from “Australian Melodies”; words: J. Sheridan Moore).			Words only survive: “THE WAIL FROM ENGLAND”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (18 September 1862), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13234293 ; see also note on genesis of Moore’s “Australian Melodies”, J. Sheridan Moore, <i>Spring-Life: Lyrics</i> (Sydney: Reading & Wellbank, 1864), vii; http://books.google.com.au/books?id=V_INAAAYAAJ .
1862-09-30	HENSLOWE, Francis Hartwell (<i>England</i> 1811-1878) {1839-64}	Flowers (words: P.V. De Montgomery) (“Hobart Town, 30 th September 1862”).	Hobart: [?], 1862.	Copy at SL-TAS; Permalink: http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=538639 .	
1862-10-21	PACKER, Frederick Augustus (junior) (<i>England</i> 1839-1902) {1852-1902}	An Anthem (“selected from the 71st psalm, the music by F. A. Packer”).			“THE NEW ORGAN OF ALL SAINTS’ OPENING SERVICE”, <i>The Mercury</i> (21 October 1862), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8811807 .
1862-11-29	COBLEY, Edwin H. (<i>England</i> c.1830-1874) {1857-74}	Four Waltzes .	Sydney : James C. Fussell, [1862]; in <i>Australian Musical Bouquet</i> .	Copy at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9626117 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (29 November 1862), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13070157 ; “Double number for Christmas” Fussell’s <i>Australian Musical Bouquet</i> ; “DEATH OF MR. E.H. Coblely”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (25 June 1874), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13346094 .
1863-	ELSÄSSER, Charles G. (Carl Gottlieb) (<i>Germany</i> 1817-1885) {1853-85}	Wedding Cantata (in honour of the Prince of Wales’s marriage, performed at the banquet given Sir Henry Barkly; words: E. Exon).			[News], <i>The Argus</i> (6 January 1885), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article6064485 ; text only: “Royal Marriage Rejoicings: The Banquet”, <i>The Argus</i> (25 May 1863), 2s: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article6486000 .
1863~	BUCK, Frederick (<i>Germany</i> 1827-1901) {c.1850-1901}	The Young Recruit March (“Introducing Kucken’s favorite air, for the pianoforte”).	Hobart: J. Walch, [1863 or after ?].	Copy at SL-TAS; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9854516 .	For a Hobart performance of Kucken’s <i>The Young Recruit</i> , see [Advertisement], <i>The Mercury</i> (19 December 1863), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8823294 ; “OBITUARY”, <i>The Mercury</i> (30 December 1901), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article9577046 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data
1863~	NATHAN, Isaac (<i>England</i> 1792-1864) {1841-64}	The Song of Freedom (“Composed and, with every sense of loyalty, respectfully dedicated to Prince Alfred Ernest Albert, Lieutenant in the British Navy”).	[Sydney : Wilkie, Elvy and Co. ; Melbourne : Wilkie, Webster & Co., [1863?].	COPY AT ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/15608129	The prince’s promotion to the rank of naval lieutenant was first reported locally in “ENGLISH AND EUROPEAN INTELLIGENCE”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (15 August 1863), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13083062 ; Nathan died in January 1864.
1863-00-00	WILSON, Marmaduke Henry (<i>Scotland</i> ?-1871) {1859-71}	The Aberglasslyn Schottische.	West Maitland: J. W. Hillcoat, 1863.	Copy at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/38092749 .	
1863-00-00	JOHNSON, William J. (<i>England</i> 1810-1866) {1836-66}	O Lord God (anthem).	Sydney: [W. J. Johnson], [1863].	Copy at British Library.	Also ? MS: Sydney, Christ Church; edition: Forsyth, 546 (550): http://ses.library.usyd.edu.au/handle/2123/2447 .
1863-00-00	SPAGNOLETTI, Ernesto jnr (<i>England</i> ?-?) {1853-after 1864}	St. Leonard’s Schottische.	Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1863]; in <i>The Australian Musical Album for 1863</i> .	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16497790 .	
1863-01-16	POUNSETT, Henry (<i>England</i> 1809-1891) {1839-91}	The Herald Polka.	In <i>The Adelaide Musical Herald</i> 1/2 (16 January 1863), 13.	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19410668 .	On the composer, see “THE LATE MR. H. R. POUNSETT”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (4 August 1891), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article48243900 .
1863-01-22	REIFF, Anthony jnr (<i>USA</i> ? c.1838-1916) {1861-63}	Funeral Ode in Memory of the Deceased Explorers of Australia, Burke and Wills (“Back from the Lonely Grave”) (words: James Smith) (in 6 movements: Chorale; 4 solos; Quartette).			[Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (22 January 1863), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article6482880 ; “THE OPERA”, <i>The Argus</i> (22 January 1863), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article6482875 ; “THE FUNERAL ODE”, <i>The Argus</i> (23 January 1863), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article6482911 ; words only: <i>The Illustrated Melbourne Post</i> (24 January 1863), 15.
1863-01-24	MACDOUGALL, William J. (<i>Australia</i> , fl.1854-63)	John the Baptist (new and unpublished oratorio).			[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (24 January 1863), 12: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13073197 .
1863-04-10	PACKER, Charles S. (<i>England</i> 1810-1883) {1840-83}	❶ I.N.R.I—The Crown of Thorns (1863); ❷ The Crown of Thorns (or, Despair, penitence, and pardon: an oratorio) (Novello edn); wordbook 1880: The Crown of Thorns .	Sydney: A. & C. Huenerbein, [1880?].	Vocal score copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/6307625 ; wordbook, copy at SL-VIC; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/28466442 .	[Incomplete] “THE NEW ORATORIO”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (10 April 1863), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13076828 ; first complete performance: [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (15 October 1863), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13090308 .
1863-05-04	ANONYMOUS	The Song of the Cattle Hunters (song with chorus; words: Henry Kendall; as sung by Christy’s Minstrels; dedicated to the squatters of NSW).	[Sydney: J. R. Clarke, 1863].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (4 May 1863), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13078015 .
1863-05-04	CALLEN, (George) Douglas (<i>Ireland</i> c.1814-1879) {1854-79}	The Sydney Herald Polka.	Supplement to <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (4 May 1863).	Copy at NLA.	
1863-05-23	CALLEN, (George) Douglas (<i>Ireland</i> c.1814-1879) {1854-79}	Manly Beach Galop (“for the 1 st Sydney Volunteer Rifles”).	Sydney: Wilkie, Elvy & Co., [1863].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/33787463 .	[Advertisement]: “WILKIE, ELVY, and CO.”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (23 May 1863), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13078935 .
1863-05-23	SPAGNOLETTI, Ernesto jnr (<i>England</i> ?-?) {1853-after 1864}	The Marion Schottische.	Sydney: Wilkie, Elvy & Co., [1863].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement]: “WILKIE, ELVY, and CO.”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (23 May 1863), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13078935 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data
1863-06-01	GOLLMICK, Carl [Charles] Frederick William (arr.) (Germany ?-?) {by 1861-}	The Martha Galop (“by Bilse; arranged by Gollmick”)(“From the celebrated opera, performed by the Lyster Company on the opening night of the new Prince of Wales Theatre, May 23, 1863”).	Sydney: Lewis Moss, [1863].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/17419427 .	[Advertisement]: “JUST PUBLISHED”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (1 June 1863), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13079315 .
1863-06-05	COMPTON, Charles Henry (England 1831-1883) {1859-83}	To horse, to horse, the standard flies: A patriotic song (“Composed and dedicated to the Volunteers”) (words: Walter Scott).	In <i>Adelaide Musical Herald</i> 1/12 (5 June 1863), 92-93.	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19410668 .	
1863-06-08	MACDOUGALL, William J. (Australia, fl.1854-63)	The beauty that blooms in Australia (song; words: J. Sheridan Moore) (“No 1 of <i>Australian National Melodies</i> ”).	Sydney: Wilkie & Elvy, 1863.	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/8822882 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (8 June 1863), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13079650 ; “THE BEAUTY THAT BLOOMS IN AUSTRALIA”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (9 June 1863), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13079706 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (31 July 1863), 6: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13082421 ; words published separately in J. Sheridan Moore, <i>Spring-Life: Lyrics</i> (Sydney: Reading and Wellbank, 1864); http://books.google.com.au/books?id=V_INAAAAYAAJ ; on the genesis of the “Australian Melodies” see also: vii.
1863-06-11	MARSH, Henry (England 1824-USA after 1884) {1849-74}	Australia’s Wedding March (orchestra; composed expressly for this occasion).			[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (11 June 1863), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13079847 ; on the occasion of the marriage of HRH Prince of Wales.
1863-06-11	ROBINSON, C. E. {fl.1852-68}	Bridal Ode (words and music: C.E. Robinson).			[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (11 June 1863), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13079847 ; on the occasion of the marriage of HRH Prince of Wales; words only survive: “COMMEMORATION ODE”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (11 June 1863), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13079888 .
1863-06-15	ELLARD, Frederick (Ireland 1824-1874) {1832-74}	I’m listening for thy voice love (serenade; words: Charles D. O’Connell).	Sydney: Wilkie, Elvy & Co, [1863].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9069467 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (15 June 1863), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13080068 .
1863-07-03	TOLHURST, George (England 1827-1877) {1852-66}	Ruth (A Sacred Oratorio)	London: ?, 1867.	Copy at British Library, Music Collections H.1066 [004705091].	[Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (3 July 1863), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article6487012 ; FP: [Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (20 January 1864), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5742755 ; “The production of a new Oratorio at the antipodes [...]”, <i>The Musical Times</i> 11 (1 April 1864), 260: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=B28PAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA260#v=onepage&q&f=false .
1863-07-25	AKHURST, William Mower (England 1822-1878) {1849-70}	The Rose of Denmark (for the Caledonian Society’s Fete in honour of the Royal Wedding).	In <i>The Illustrated Melbourne Post</i> (25 July 1863).	Various copies; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19044529 .	On Akhurst’s Australian career, see “MR. W. M. AKHURST”, <i>The Argus</i> (27 January 1870), 6: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5810769 .
1863-08-25	AKHURST, William Mower (England 1822-1878) {1849-70}	The Darling Polka (composed expressly).	In <i>The Illustrated Melbourne Post</i> (25 August 1863).	Various copies; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19044529 .	

<i>1st notice</i>	<i>Creator</i>	<i>Title/details</i>	<i>Publication</i>	<i>Availability</i>	<i>Comments and supporting data</i>
1863-10-31	GOLLMICK, Carl [Charles] Frederick William (arr.) (Germany ?-?) {by 1861-}	Europa Galop.	[Sydney: J. R. Clarke, 1863].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement]: “NEW DANCE MUSIC”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (31 October 1863), 6: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30936834 .
1863-11-10	SPAGNOLETTI, Ernesto jnr (England ?-?) {1853-after 1864}	<u>Our Australian Christmas Song.</u>	Sydney: Alonzo Grocott, [1863].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/23881529 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (10 November 1863), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13095801 .
1863-12-29	SIEDE, Julius (Germany 1825-1903) {1856-1903}	Overture (composed especially for the Festival of the German Association).			The Festival of the German Association”, <i>The Argus</i> (29 December 1863), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5741573 .
1864-00-00	GOLLMICK, Carl [Charles] Frederick William (Germany ?-?) {by 1861-}	Riflemen Form (words: T. C. Cooper) (“Dedicated to Charles Ogilvy, Esq., (Captain) and the Members of the Maldon Company of Volunteer Rifles”).	Melbourne: W.H. Williams, 1864.	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19585743 .	“NEW INSOLVENTS”, <i>The Argus</i> (13 September 1863), 6: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article6483401 : “Charles Frederick William Gollmick, Castlemaine, professor of music”.
1864-01-00	ROBINSON, W. C. (the Rev’d) {fl.1862- }	<u>Anthem (Hundredth Psalm)</u> (composed for the Bible and singing class meeting at Brisbane Street Chapel, Hobart by the Rev W.C. Robinson, [...] January 1864”).	Hobart: J. Walch & Sons, [1864].	Copy at SL-TAS; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9854296 .	
1864-02-00	SCHMITT, W[ilhelm] Carl (Germany 1833/4-1900) {1858-81}	<u>Kyneton: Fancy Fair Valse.</u>	[?] : Printed by John Andre Offenbach & Co., [1864].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/6312193 .	Dated: Febr. 1864; [Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (28 December 1864), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5740576 .
1864-02-25	RUTTER, George O. (England 1819-?) {1856-69}	<u>Mass in D.</u>	London: Novello, 1866; paid for by local subscription, Melbourne: Lee & Kaye, 1867.	Presentation copy, dated “September 18 th , 1866”, at archives, St. Francis Church, Lonsdale St, Melbourne.	[Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (25 February 1864), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5744696 ; “GOOD FRIDAY CONCERT”, <i>The Argus</i> (26 March 1864), 6: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5746264 ; [Advertisement]: “MR. RUTTER’S MASS”, <i>The Argus</i> (19 October 1867), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5781159 ; Josphe Wilkie had earlier advertised a subscription for its publication, [Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (10 September 1863), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article6488878 .
1864-03-02	DRAEGER, Carl Wilhelm (Germany ?-?) {1854-?}	Polka (“composed by Mr. Draeger”).			“TANUNDA”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (2 March 1864), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article39118768 ; “TANUNDA”, <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (2 March 1864), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31833837 .
1864-03-02	DRAEGER, Carl Wilhelm (Germany ?-?) {1854-?}	Ewige Liebe (vocal quartet/quintet; “the prize composition”).			See above.
1864-03-02	DRAEGER, Carl Wilhelm (Germany ?-?) {1854-?}	The German Colours (“a grand chorus, vocal and instrumental [...] composed by Mr. Draeger”).			See above.

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1864-03-07	EMANUEL, Abraham (<i>England</i> 1814-1907) {1841-1907}	The Desert (song; “composed expressly for Mr. Farquharson”).			“TELEGRAPHIC”, <i>The Courier</i> (7 March 1864), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3168968 .
1864-03-24	AKHURST, William Mower (<i>England</i> 1822-1878) {1849-70}	The Acacia Waltz .	In <i>The Illustrated Melbourne Post</i> (24 March 1864).	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/18590235 .	
1864-04-05	SIEDE, Julius (<i>Germany</i> 1825-1903) {1856-1903}	Grand Overture.			“The Head-quarters Band [...] at St. Kilda Park”, <i>The Argus</i> (5 April 1864), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5747025 .
1864-06-25	TOLHURST, George (<i>England</i> 1827-1877) {1852-66}	The Post Galop .	In <i>The Illustrated Melbourne Post</i> (25 June 1864).	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/18592341 .	
1864-06-27	CALLEN, (George) Douglas (<i>Ireland</i> c.1814-1879) {1854-79}	God bless the dear old land (Patriotic Song and Chorus).			[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (27 June 1864), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13095870 .
1864-07-25	HARWOOD, C. W. (<i>England</i> ? -?) {c.1853-55}	Only of Thee, Love! (song) (words: F. S. Wilson).	Sydney: Elvy & Co., [1864].	Copy at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/7444024 .	“ONLY OF THEE”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (25 July 1864), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13099043 .
1864-08-06	CUTOLO, Cesare (<i>Italy</i> 1826-1867) {1858-67}	Come where my love lies dreaming ([by Stephen Foster], arranged for the pianoforte by Cutolo).	Sydney: Elvy & Co., [1864].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16894435 >	As sung by Christy’s Minstrels: [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (26 December 1863), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13090031 ; ass arranged for piano by Cutolo: [Advertisement]: “POPULAR MUSIC”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (6 August 1864), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13101890 .
1864-09-17	MARSH, Henry (<i>England</i> 1824-USA after 1884) {1849-74}	The New Prince Imperial Quadrilles (“composed expressly for the new figures as danced at the public halls”).	Sydney: Henry Marsh, [1864].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19204088 .	“THE PRINCE IMPERIAL QUADRILLES”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (17 September 1864), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13110448 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (10 June 1864), 6: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13084747 .
1864-09-24	PACKER, Frederick A. (<i>England</i> 1839-1902) {1852-1902}	Nearer to Thee [Packer] (transcribed for pianoforte by W. J. Johnson).	Sydney: W. J. Johnson, [1864].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16894313 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (27 September 1864), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13105786 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (7 October 1864), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13107514 .
1864-10-14	CUTOLO, Cesare (<i>Italy</i> 1826-1867) {1858-67}	O gently breathe (a souvenir of the Christy Minstrels; arranged for pianoforte).	[Sydney: Elvy and Co, 1864].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	NEW MUSIC”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (14 October 1864), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30934820 .
1864-10-14	CUTOLO, Cesare (<i>Italy</i> 1826-1867) {1858-67}	Canst thou not read this mute appeal? (words: The Hon. B. T. Finnis, M.L.C., of South Australia).	[Sydney: Elvy and Co, 1864].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	“NEW MUSIC”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (14 October 1864), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30934820 .
1864-12-17	SPAGNOLETTI, Ernesto jnr (<i>England</i> ?-?) {1853-after 1864}	The Garibaldi Polka (dedicated to Signor Cutolo).	Sydney: W. J. Johnson & Co., [1864].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/18988771 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (17 December 1864), 12: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13102439 .
1864-12-24	HERZ, Richard F. {? 1859-65}	Christmas Quadrille (composed for the <i>Illustrated Post</i>).	In <i>The Illustrated Melbourne Post</i> (24 December 1864).	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/18592477 .	

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1864-12-24	TOLHURST, George (<i>England</i> 1827-1877) {1852-66}	Christmas in Australia (prize song) (words: "J. B. T.").	In <i>The Illustrated Melbourne Post</i> (24 December 1864).	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/18592419 .	
1864-12-28	SCHMITT, W[ilhelm] Carl (<i>Germany</i> 1833/4-1900) {1858-81}	Kyneton (Romance sans paroles).	[?: ?, 1864].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (28 December 1864), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5740576 .
1864-12-28	SCHMITT, W[ilhelm] Carl (<i>Germany</i> 1833/4-1900) {1858-81}	I've a welcome for thee (ballad).	[?: ?, 1864].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (28 December 1864), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5740576 .
1864-12-28	SCHMITT, W[ilhelm] Carl (<i>Germany</i> 1833/4-1900) {1858-81}	Spanish Evening Song.	[?: ?, 1864].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (28 December 1864), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5740576 .
1865~	WILSON, Marmaduke Henry (<i>Scotland</i> ?-1871) {1859-71}	Australia, The Land of My Birth.	Maitland: J. W. Hillcoat, [1865-?].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/6077325 .	
1865-01-25	MACKENZIE, Harry (<i>UK</i> ?-?) {1853-after 1865}	Good Bye (words: Walter Allen).	[Sydney: W. J. Johnson, 1865].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	"New Music", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (25 January 1865), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13101760 .
1865-02-18	ELLARD, Frederick (<i>Ireland</i> 1824-1874) {1832-74}	Yelverton Hall (ballad).	[? Sydney: ?, 1865].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED	"MUSIC AND DRAMA", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (18 February 1865), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13107828 .
1865-03-13	ELLARD, Frederick (<i>Ireland</i> 1824-1874) {1832-74}	The winds that sigh at dead of night (Romaunt) ("composed expressly for his friend Mr. J. Bushelle [jun.]").			[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (13 March 1865), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13106637 ; "MR. JOHN HILL'S FIRST CONCERT", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (14 March 1865), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13108034 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (4 October 1869), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13187855 .
1865-03-21	HORN, Charles (? <i>UK/Germany</i> ?-1887) {fl.1858-87}	Magnificat ("composed by Dr. Chas. Horn, conductor of the choir, and produced on this occasion for the first time").			"SACRED AND SECULAR CONCERT", <i>The Maitland Mercury</i> (21 March 1865), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article18702640 .
1865-04-20	MARSH, Henry (<i>England</i> 1824-USA after 1884) {1849-74}	Kathleen: Morceau de Salon par Henry Marsh, Op. 22 ("To Lady John Taylour").	Sydney: Elvy & Co., [1865].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/5968010 .	"NEW MUSIC", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (20 April 1865), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13108740 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (14 October 1865), 9: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13120284 .
1865-05-03	LODER, George (<i>England</i> 1816-1868) {1856-57; 1862-68}	Solo for bass-clarionette (composed expressly for Herr Lundberg).			[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (3 May 1865), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13102724 .
1865-05-23	POUNSETT, Henry (<i>England</i> 1809-1891) {1839-91}	Wedding Hymn (words: James Fawcett).	Adelaide : B. Sander, 1865.	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/20873760 .	"MUSICAL", <i>South Australian Register</i> (23 May 1865), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article39133635 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data
1865-08-25	MARSH, Stephen (<i>England</i> ?1805-1888) {1842-46; 1849-72}	<u>The Stockman's Last Bed (An Australian Song).</u>	In <i>The Illustrated Melbourne Post</i> (25 August 1865).	Various copies; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19044529 .	
1865-10-03	WILSON, Marmaduke Henry (<i>Scotland</i> ?-1871) {1859-71}	<u>The Infidel Knight</u> (opera); including ① <u>Contance, Sweet Constance (Serenade)</u> (song); ② <u>Remember'st thou a sunny bower</u> (song)	①& ② No publication details known.	①& ② Copies in SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/7444024 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Maitland Mercury</i> (3 October 1865), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article18696175 .
1865-10-14	MARSH, Henry (<i>England</i> 1824-USA after 1884) {1849-74}	<u>The Vice-Regal Galop.</u>	[Sydney: Elvy and Co.?, 1865].	NO COPYIDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (14 October 1865), 9: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13120284 .
1865-10-14	MARSH, Henry (<i>England</i> 1824-USA after 1884) {1849-74}	<u>The Silver Start Waltzes.</u>	[Sydney: Elvy and Co., 1865 or 67].	NO COPYIDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (14 October 1865), 9: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13120284 ; possibly not issued until 1867; see [Advertisement]: "NOW READY", <i>The Sliver Star Waltz</i> (12 January 1867), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13141695 .
1865-11-25	HERZ, Richard F. {? 1859-65}	<u>The Victoria Galop.</u>	From <i>The Illustrated Melbourne Post</i> (25 November 1865).	Various copies; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19044529 .	
1865-12-16	WILSON, Marmaduke Henry (<i>Scotland</i> ?-1871) {1859-71}	<u>Nervous Cures Quadrilles.</u>	[Maitland: J. W. Hillcoat, 1865].	NO COPYIDENTIFIED.	<i>The Maitland Mercury</i> (16 December 1865), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article18712473 ; [Review], <i>The Maitland Mercury</i> (4 May 1867), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article18722499 .
1866-02-18	LODER, George (<i>England</i> 1816-1868) {1856-57; 1862-68}	<u>The Return of Spring (Arietta for the Pianoforte).</u>	From <i>The Illustrated Melbourne Post</i> (18 February 1866).	Various copies; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19044529 .	
1866-08-22	PACKER, Frederick A. (<i>England</i> 1839-1902) {1852-1902}	<u>Curacoa Valse.</u>	Hobart: J. Walch & Sons, [1866].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/22416986 .	"NEW MUSIC", <i>The Mercury</i> (22 August 1866), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8841189 .
1866-08-23	JOHNSON, William J. (<i>England</i> 1810-1866) {1836-66}	<u>Te Deum and Jubilate in D.</u>	[Sydney: W. J. Johnson, 1866]		[Advertisement]: "W. J. JOHNSON AND CO.", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (24 November 1866), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13145711 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (23 August 1866), 16: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13135739 .
1866-10-05	CUTOLO, Cesare (<i>Italy</i> 1826-1867) {1858-67}	<u>March and Chorus</u> (for the opening of the First Intercolonial Exhibition).	Melbourne: Charles Troedel, 1866.	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/12851251 .	"Members of the Exhibition Chorus [...]", <i>The Argus</i> (5 October 1866), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5775151 .
1866-10-17	RUTTER, George O. (<i>England</i> 1819-?) {1856-69}	<u>The Wish</u> ([vocal] "quartette").			"A very pleasant amateur concert was given at Prahran Town Hall [...]", <i>The Argus</i> (17 October 1866), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5776151 .
1866-11-19	HERZ, Julius (<i>Germany</i> ? 1841-1898) {1866-98}	<u>The Mill (Impromptu)</u> (dedicated to Miss Manners-Sutton).	Melbourne: Charles Troedel, [1866].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/7316436 .	[News], <i>The Argus</i> (19 November 1866), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5778978 .

<i>1st notice</i>	<i>Creator</i>	<i>Title/details</i>	<i>Publication</i>	<i>Availability</i>	<i>Comments and supporting data</i>
1866-11-20	ELSÄSSER, Charles G. (Carl Gottlieb) (Germany 1817-1885) {1853-85}	<u>Joy (Galop Brilliant).</u>	Melbourne & Sydney: R.J & W.H. Paling, 1866.	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/35684224 ; also later edition: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/30410529 .	[Advertisement]: “NEW MUSIC”, <i>The Argus</i> (20 November 1866), 2s: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5779074 .
1866-11-22	COMPTON, Charles Henry (England 1831-1883) {1859-83}	<u>The Miller’s Daughter</u> (song; words: W. Brailsford).	In <i>The Illustrated Melbourne Post</i> (22 November 1866).	Various copies; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19044529 .	Several pre-Australian prints by Compton in the British Library; on Compton, see David Shield, “Charles Henry Compton: Championing the Hill”, Organ Historical Trust of Australia, archived at: http://pandora.nla.gov.au/pan/22444/20070528-0000/www.ohra.org.au/doc/articles/Shieldessay.html .
1866-12-00	DRAEGER, Carl Wilhelm (Germany ?-?) {1854-?}	<u>Flora Australis Galop</u> (“Composed expressly for the <i>Illustrated Post</i> ”).	? Supplement to <i>The Illustrated Melbourne Post</i> (December 1866).	As above.	
1866-12-00	CUTOLO, Cesare (Italy 1826-1867) {1858-67}	<u>The Victorian Christmas Waltz.</u>	? Supplement to <i>The Illustrated Australian News</i> (December, 1866).	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/18560972 .	
1866-12-00 (?)	“W. H. B.” [?BONWICK, Walter (England 1824-1883) {?1854-83}]	<u>The Christmas Polka.</u>	Source unknown.		Reported in a bookseller’s catalogue
1866-12-06	HEYDECKE, Theodor (Germany ?-1867) {1859-67}	<u>Finnegan’s Wake Polka</u> (arranged for the pianoforte by George Loder).	Adelaide: G. H. Egremont-Gee, [1867?].	Copies at SL-NSW and NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/7578988 .	BEFORE: [Advertisement], <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (6 December 1866), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28793489 .
1866-12-06	LODER, George (England 1816-1868) {1856-57; 1862-68}	<u>Our United Fatherland</u> (Grand March for full orchestra).			“Composed expressly for this occasion”; [Advertisement], <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (6 December 1866), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28793489 .
1866-12-29	HEYDECKE, Theodor (Germany ?-1867) {1859-67}	<u>Dirge.</u>			Possibly same as Slow March (1866-12-29); “SOUTH AUSTRALIA: FUNERAL OF THE LATE MR. G. LODER”, <i>The Mercury</i> (28 July 1868), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8853638 ; also possibly the march by Heydecke played at Carl Linger’s funeral in 1862.
1866-12-29	HEYDECKE, Theodor (Germany ?-1867) {1859-67}	<u>Slow March.</u>			“On Christmas Day the Regimental Band [...]”, <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (29 December 1866), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28794013 .
1867~	FURLEY, James (England 1831-1912) {1860-1912}	<u>The Pilgrims of the Night</u> (“sacred song written by F. Faber; for four voices with accompaniment of the organ or harmonium arranged by James Furley, Organist of St. James Church”).	Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1867 or later].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19203973 .	Compare an earlier edition of the same by Clarke, without Fussell’s arrangement; copy at SL-NSW: http://acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/album/albumView.aspx?itemID=861699&ACMSID=0 .
1867-01-05	MOSS, Lewis (England ?-1870) {?1856-70}	<u>Adon Gnomom: A Hebrew Hymn</u> (“for four voices with an accompaniment for the organ, harmonium, or piano forte, composed by Lewis Moss”).	Sydney: Lewis Moss, [1867].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/18561036 .	“A NEW HEBREW HYMN”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (5 January 1867), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13151006 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data
1867-01-24	HEYDECKE, Theodor (Germany ?-1867) {1859-67}	My Angel (March).			"The Adelaide Regimental Band", <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (24 January 1867), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28794649 .
1867-01-24	HEYDECKE, Theodor (Germany ?-1867) {1859-67}	God Bless the Prince of Wales.			See above.
1867-01-24	HEYDECKE, Theodor (Germany ?-1867) {1859-67}	Parade March.			See above.
1867-02-22	COBLEY, Edwin H. (England c.1830-1874) {1857-74}	Fantasia on the Harp.			"CONCERT", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (22 February 1867), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13139573 .
1867-04-13	ANDERSON, Alfred (Australia 1848-1876)	① (1 st edn); ② The Challenger Galop (6 th edn).	① Sydney: J. H. Anderson, [1867]; ② Sydney: J. H. Anderson, [186-?].	② Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/11196662 .	"In the press" (6 April), "Just published", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (10 April 1867), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13148067 ; "THE CHALLENGNER GALOP", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (13 April 1867), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13150873 ; also, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (22 June 1867), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13142228 ; "We have received ...", <i>The Argus</i> (30 September 1867), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5779265 .
1867-09-30	ANDERSON, Alfred (Australia 1848-1876)	The Queen's Own Galop.	[Sydney: J.H. Anderson & Son., 1867].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/17036201 .	"We have received ...", <i>The Argus</i> (30 September 1867), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5779265 .
1867-10-14	PACKER, Frederick A. (England 1839-1902) {1852-1902}	① Alfred of England (Choral March) (SL-TAS); ② Alfred of England (Choral March) (MS Treble voice part only, SL-TAS) (words: Mrs. C. [Louisa A.] Meredith).	① Hobart Town : J. Walch & Sons, [1867]; ② MS.	① Copy at SL-TAS; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9855539 ; ② MS at SL-TAS.	"THE CHILDREN'S ODE OF WELCOME", <i>The Mercury</i> (14 October 1867), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8848433 ; Also copy at SL-VIC: Alfred of England (The Children's Song of Welcome) .
1867-10-22	DRAEGER, Carl Wilhelm (Germany ?-?) {1854-?}	Welcome Chorus ("composed expressly for the occasion by Mr. C. W. Draeger [...] should [Tanunda] be honoured with a visit of the Prince [Alfred] [...] the words by the Rev. Dr. [Carl] Muecke").			"TANUNDA", <i>South Australian Register</i> (22 October 1867), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article39189527 .
1867-10-22	DRAEGER, Carl Wilhelm (Germany ?-?) {1854-?}	A Sailor Chorus ("by the same composer [Mr. C. W. Draeger]").			"TANUNDA", <i>South Australian Register</i> (22 October 1867), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article39189527 .
1867-11-04	LODER, George (England 1816-1868) {1856-57; 1862-68}	The Prince Alfred Waltz.	Adelaide: G.H. Egremont Gee, 1867; [? Melbourne: Elvy & Co., 1867].	Copy at SL-TAS; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9854419 .	[News], <i>The Argus</i> (4 November 1867), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5782479 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (6 November 1867), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13161382 .
1867-11-06	ELLARD, Frederick (Ireland 1824-1874) {1832-74}	The Galatea Polka (Brillante).	Adelaide: G. H. Egremont Gee, 1867.	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/14425160 .	Prince Alfred and the Galatea arrived in Adelaide on 30 October 1867; "THE SUBSCRIPTION BALL", <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (6 November 1867), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28802271 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data
1867-11-26	ANDERSON, Alfred (Australia 1848-1876)	The Royal Visit Quadrilles [second edition only extant].	Sydney: J. H. Anderson, [1867].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/17036266 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (20 November 1867), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13161673 ; "THE ROYAL VISIT QUADRILLES", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (26 November 1867), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13159219 ; "NEW MUSIC", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (23 November 1867), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13157300 .
1867-11-28	MARSH, Henry (England 1824-USA after 1884) {1849-74}	<i>The Royal Visit Souvenir, An Australian Keepsake of 1868:</i> No 1 The Royal Visit Waltzes ; No 2, Guiding Star Waltz ; No 3 Prince Alfred March ; No 4 Silver Star Waltzes (for this and the following reissues, see above); No 5 Fair Australian Waltzes ; No 6 Vice Regal Galop ; No 7 Jessamine Waltz .	Sydney: W. H. Paling, [1867].	Copy of No 2 only at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/5958804 .	[News of the day], <i>The Argus</i> (28 November 1867), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5784583 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (28 December 1867), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28608489 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (31 December 1867), 6: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28608555 ; Of the contents, Nos 4, 5, 6 and 7 had been previously issued; see above.
1868 (before)	LODER, George (England 1816-1868) {1856-57; 1862-68}	Oh! Boyhood's Days ("as sung by T. H. Rainford", of the Weston and Hussey's Minstrels).	Melbourne: W. H. Glen, [1869?].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/21931019 .	
1868-01-16	STANLEY, William (England 1820-1902) {c.1837-1902}	Prince Alfred Waltzes.	[Sydney, Stanley, 1868].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	"QUEEN'S OWN BAND", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (16 January 1868), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13159156 (a program by Gassner's band conspicuous for its Australian content, works by Gassner, Rayner, Fisher, and Stanley); [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (1 February 1868), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28609085 .
1868-02-01	STANLEY, William (England 1820-1902) {c.1837-1902}	Thomasine Quadrilles.	[Sydney, Stanley, 1868].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (1 February 1868), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28609085 .
1868-02-13	CALLEN, (George) Douglas (Ireland c.1814-1879) {1854-79}	Ocean Prince Galop.			"THE QUEEN'S OWN BAND", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (13 February 1868), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13158647 .
1868-02-27	DIGGLES, Silvester (England 1817-1880) {1853-80}	Welcome to the Prince (Ode) (words: J. H. Nicholson).			[Advertisement], <i>The Brisbane Courier</i> (27 February 1868), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article1321843 ; [News], <i>The Brisbane Courier</i> (28 February 1868), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article1323102 ; "A FEW WORDS ABOUT THE ODE", <i>The Brisbane Courier</i> (25 March 1868), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article1295025 .
1868-04-04	ANDERSON, Alfred (Australia 1848-1876)	The Belmore Galop ("composed and respectfully dedicated by permission to her Ladyship, the Countess of Belmore").	Sydney: J. H. Anderson, [1868].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16393341 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (4 April 1868), 9: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13157407 .

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1868-04-09	SIEDE, Julius (Germany 1825-1903) {1856-1903}	A New and Original Overture (composed for W. M. Akhurst's new Burlesque Extravagazna, <i>Paris the Prince and Helen the Fair</i> , or <i>The Giant Horse and the Siege of Troy</i>).			[Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (9 April 1868), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5813189 .
1868-07-11	DEL SARTE, Camille (France c.1817-1877) {1852-77}	My tears for thee (ballad; words: George Linley).	Sydney: [Elvy & Co.], [1868].	Copy of fifth edition at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/33256811 .	"NEW MUSIC", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (11 July 1868), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13169282 .
1868-09-12	DEL SARTE, Camille (France c.1817-1877) {1852-77}	Marceau Galop.	[Paris]: [?], [before 1852].	Copy at SL-NSW; trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19751912 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (12 September 1868), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13172734 .
1868-10-17	MARSH, Stephen (England ?1805-1888) {1842-46; 1849-72}	Victoria Grand Quadrilles (arranged and produced under the direction of Mr. S. H. Marsh).			[Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (17 October 1868), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5830138 .
1868-10-19	MARSH, Stephen (England ?1805-1888) {1842-46; 1849-72}	The Victoria Grand Quadrilles.			[Advertisement], <i>The Argus</i> (19 October 1868), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5830156 .
1868-11-12	MASSETT, Stephen; HORSLEY (arr.)	Sunset (song; "accompaniment newly arranged; as sung by Madame Anna Bishop").	[Sydney: J. R. Clarke, 1868].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[Advertisement]: "PUBLISHED THIS DAY [...]", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (12 November 1868), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28422819 ; "NEW AND CHOICE MUSIC", <i>The Maitland Mercury</i> (24 December 1868), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article18739140 .
1868-11-12	MASSETT, Stephen HORSLEY (arr.)	My Bud in heaven (words: Spencer W. Cone; "pianoforte accompaniment newly edited by C. E. Horsley"; as sung by Madame Anna Bishop").	Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1868].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/11025334 .	[Advertisement]: "PUBLISHED THIS DAY [...]", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (12 November 1868), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28422819 ; "NEW AND CHOICE MUSIC", <i>The Maitland Mercury</i> (24 December 1868), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article18739140 .
1868-11-13	ANDERSON, Alfred (Australia 1848-1876)	Star of love (valse de salon on favourite themes from Lurline) [W. V. Wallace] ("dedicated, by permission, to Lady Young").	Sydney: J. H. Anderson, [1868].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/11355098 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (26 October 1861), 12: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13061997 ; <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (13 November 1861), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13057502 .
1868-12-15	POUNSETT, Henry (England 1809-1891) {1839-91}	Faust ("operatic burlesque [...] written by Mr. A. Diamond, the music being composed and arranged by Mr. Pounsett).		For only identified survival, see below.	"THE ORIGINAL AMATEUR CHRISTY MINSTRELS", <i>South Australian Register</i> (15 December 1868), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article41407616 ; [Advertisement]: "THEATRE ROYAL", <i>South Australian Register</i> (9 February 1869), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article41391478 .
1868-12-15	POUNSETT, Henry (England 1809-1891) {1839-91}	You'll remember me; or The magic cup ("song from the burlesque opera <i>Faust</i> ").	Adelaide: Sims & Elliott, 1869.	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/23917429 .	"NEW MUSIC", <i>South Australian Register</i> (16 August 1869), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article41396474 .
1869-03-06	MARSH, Henry (England 1824-USA after 1884) {1849-74}	Welcome again our Sailor (Australian National Song; words: Mrs. Selkirk).	[Sydney: ?, 1869].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	"New Music", <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (6 March 1869), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13180076 .

<i>1st notice</i>	<i>Creator</i>	<i>Title/details</i>	<i>Publication</i>	<i>Availability</i>	<i>Comments and supporting data</i>
1869-04-08	MARSH, Stephen (<i>England</i> ?1805-1888) {1842-46; 1849-72}	<u>In thee O Lord have I put my Trust</u> (“The Much Admired Sacred Cantata so effectively sung by Madame Anna Bishop, words taken from the Seventy First Psalm”).	Melbourne: Charles Troedel, [1869].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/22548914 .	[News of the day], <i>The Argus</i> (8 April 1869), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5816781 ; “Madame Bishop’s Farewell Concert”, <i>The Argus</i> (13 April 1869), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5825790 : Marsh’s “clever cantata, on words from the 71st Psalm, was again sung by Madame Bishop with the same effect as on a former occasion”.
1869-04-12	RUTTER, George O. (<i>England</i> 1819-?) {1856-69}	Year to Year (song; “sung for the first time in Melbourne by Mr. Wilkie”).			[News], <i>The Argus</i> (12 April 1869), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5818188 .
1869-04-12	RUTTER, George O. (<i>England</i> 1819-?) {1856-69}	To the Night (partsong; words: Shelley).			[News], <i>The Argus</i> (12 April 1869), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5818188 .
1869-08-12	ELLIOTT, Joseph (<i>UK</i> ? 1833-1883) {by 1858-83}	<u>Unforgotten, Though Afar!</u> (song; words: “Clotilde”).	Adelaide: Walter C. Sims & Joseph Elliott, 1869.	Copy at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/14391745 .	Musical Supplement No 14 to <i>The Adelaide Miscellany</i> (12 August 1869).
1869-09-09	ELLIOTT, Joseph (<i>UK</i> ? 1833-1883) {by 1858-83}	<u>The Song of the Bell</u> .	Adelaide: Walter C. Sims & Joseph Elliott, 1869.	Copy at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/11351640 .	Musical Supplement No 15 to <i>The Adelaide Miscellany</i> (9 September 1869).
1869-12-18	TURNER, Austin Theodore {1857-after 1881}	<u>When the roses bloom again</u> (“an aria composed expressly for the singer by Mr. Austin Turner, of Ballarat) by Miss Bosina Carandini”).	Melbourne: Printed by C. Troedel, [1870].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/23386708 .	“The afternoon musical performance of the Madame and the sisters Carandini [...]”, <i>The Argus</i> (18 December 1869), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5809113 ; [Advertisement]: “NEW SONGS”, <i>The Argus</i> (4 February 1870), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5811455 ; see also US edition, San Francisco: M. Gray, 1876), copy at Library of Congress: http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.music/sm1876.07083 .
1870-02-04	TURNER, Austin Theodore {1857-after 1881}	<u>The Land o’ the Leal</u> (“composed by Austin Turner, Ballarat”).	Melbourne: Printed by C. Troedel, [1870].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/19774305 .	[Advertisement]: “NEW SONGS”, <i>The Argus</i> (4 February 1870), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5811455 ; see also US edition, San Francisco: M. Gray, 1875), copy at Library of Congress: http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.music/sm1875.04497 .
1870~	MOORE, Andrew (<i>UK</i> ?-1876) {1850-76}	<u>Irene Waltz</u> .	Melbourne: C. Troedel, [c.1870].	Copy at NLA: http://nla.gov.au/nla.cs-ma-an45523025 .	
1870~	STANLEY, William (<i>England</i> 1820-1902) {c.1837-1902}	<u>Why seek ye?</u> (Easter anthem).			MS at Christ Church, Sydney.
1870~	STANLEY, William (<i>England</i> 1820-1902) {c.1837-1902}	<u>Nicene Creed</u> (harmonized on the tonic).			MS: Sydney, Christ Church; facsimile: Forsyth, 500 (504): http://ses.library.usyd.edu.au/handle/2123/2447 .
1871-00-00	BONWICK, Walter (<i>England</i> 1824-1883) {?1854-83}	<u>The Australian School Song Book</u> (containing sixty-six original songs composed by Walter Bonwick).	Melbourne: Clarson, Massina, 1871.	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/34644636 .	
1871-01-20	STANLEY, William (<i>England</i> 1820-1902) {c.1837-1902}	<u>We Beseech thee, almighty God</u> (anthem: words: Collect for the 3 rd Sunday in Lent).			Facsimile: Forsyth, 505 (508): http://ses.library.usyd.edu.au/handle/2123/2447 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data
1871-02-10	OLDHAM, William C. (Ireland 1811-1885) {1838-85}	The Marion Waltz (“composed by Mr. W. C. Oldham, of Kapunda”).	[Adelaide: For private circulation, 1871].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	“NEW MUSIC”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (10 February 1871), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article39255348 ; [Advertisement]: “THE MARION WALTZ”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (17 February 1871), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article39245922 ; see also “DEATH OF MR. W. OLDHAM, OF KAPUNDA”, <i>South Australian Register</i> (4 July 1885), 7: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article44945846 .
1871-07-08	MARSH, Henry (England 1824-USA after 1884) {1849-74}	Zavistowski Waltz (“To the sisters Zavistowski”).	Sydney & Melbourne: ?, [1871].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/18246141 .	Alice and Emmeline Zavitowski in Sydney in July 1871; [Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (8 July 1871), 9: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13241450 .
1871-08-11	MARSH, Stephen (England ?1805-1888) {1842-46; 1849-72}	Fantasia on the waltz in The Gentleman in Black (for harp).			[News], <i>The Argus</i> (11 August 1871), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5853094 .
1871-08-5	PACKER, Charles S. (England 1810-1883) {1840-83}	Little Jack Horner (nursery rhyme).	[Adelaide ? : ? , ?].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16574817 .	“Concert at the Town Hall”, <i>The Mercury</i> (10 May 1871), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8868529 ; [J.C., possibly son of Charles]; “VISIT OF THE EARL OF BELMORE [...] TO THE FORT STREET SCHOOL”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (5 August 1871), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28416077 .
1871-09-02	ELLARD, Frederick (Ireland 1824-1874) {1832-74}	Dieu sauve la France! (invocation et priere pour soprano et chœur paroles par Monsieur Tocchi).	Adelaide: Penman & Galbraith, [1871].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/30287224 .	“Sold for the benefit of the French Relief Fund Bazaar”; “French Relief Fund Concert”, <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (17 June 1871), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28602368 ; “TOPICS OF THE DAY”, <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (2 September 1871), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28604299 .
1871-11-28	REYHER, Oscar F. V. (Germany ?-?) {c.1858-71; 1873-1904}	“The whole of his music ... nearly 2,000 pieces”.			Possibly his musical collection included some of his own compositions; [Advertisement], <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (28 November 1871), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28606376 : “We have purchased from Herr Reyher, who is leaving the colony, the whole of his Music, consisting of NEARLY 2,000 PIECES [...]”.
1872-01-26	COBLEY, Edwin H. (England ?-1874) {1857-74}	Grand Overture.			[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (26 January 1872), 6: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13251359 .
1872-01-26	COBLEY, Edwin H. (England c.1830-1874) {1857-74}	Spring Blossoms (words: Thomas Moser).	Sydney: J. R. Clarke, [1872].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/11355670 .	“New Song”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (26 January 1872), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13251386 .
1872-04-12	MOORE, Andrew (UK ?-1876) {1850-76}	They calls me Molly Mopps (comic song).			[Advertisement], <i>The Brisbane Courier</i> (12 April 1872), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article1323719 .
1872-08-30	PACKER, Charles S. (England 1810-1883) {1840-83}	Honor the Hero (“Song in Memory of our lamented patriot, the late W.C. Wentworth”) (words: Henry Kendall).	[Unidentified print].	Copy at SL-NSW (Mitchell Library).	[Advertisement]: “MASONIC HALL”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (30 August 1872), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13262778 ; see also Thomas Thornton Reed, <i>Henry Kendall: A Critical Appreciation</i> (Rigby, 1960), 56.
1873-00-00	STANLEY, William (England 1820-1902) {c.1837-1902}	Te Deum & Jubilate in E flat (1873).		MS at Christ Church, Sydney.	Facsimile, Forsyth, 511 (515): http://ses.library.usyd.edu.au/handle/2123/2447 .

1 st notice	Creator	Title/details	Publication	Availability	Comments and supporting data
1873-02-15	TURNER, Austin Theodore {1857-after 1881}	Adoration (cantata).	[Ballarat: Composer, ? before 1877; released in Britain by Novello, Ewer and Co.].	NO COPY IDENTIFIED.	[News], <i>The Argus</i> (15 February 1873), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5848319 ; [Advertisement]: <i>The Musical Times</i> (1 November 1877), 566: "Australian Music.—Song, <i>The Lord is my Shepherd</i> , and duet, <i>Early in the Morning</i> from the Cantata, <i>Adoration</i> , sung by the Melbourne Philharmonic Society, composed by Austin T. Turner".
1873-03-29	PACKER, Frederick A. (England 1839-1902) {1852-1902}	Little Nell (ballad by George Linley, arranged for vocal quartet).			"THE CARANDINI COMPANY", <i>Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle</i> (29 March 1873), 2: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&cl=search&d=NENZC18730329.2.11& ; <i>The Mercury</i> (21 April 1873), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8919048 .
1873-10-11	ROYAL, Creed {fl. 1853-73}	The Governor Musgrave Schottische.	Adelaide: J. Woodman, [1873].	Copy at SL-SA; Permalink: http://www.samemory.sa.gov.au/site/page.cfm?c=3337 ; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/27967631 .	"New Music", <i>South Australian Register</i> (11 October 1873), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article39295700 .
1877-00-00	TURNER, Austin Theodore {1857-after 1881}	The Lord is my shepherd.	London: ?, [1877].	Copy at British Library, Music Collections H.1784.a.(50.) [004710850].	
1878-03-02	PACKER, Frederick A. (England 1839-1902) {1852-1902}	Eleven Songs: Listening (Song); Is my Lover on the Sea; The Little Blue Shoes; Come Back to me Sweetheart; My Star in Heaven; The Legend of the Cross-bill ; The Death of Cock Robin; Loved and Lost ; Two Little Hands; Long, long years Ago; When the Yellow Wattle was in Bloom.	Hobart: J. Walch and Sons, 1878.	Various at NLA and SL-TAS.	[Advertisement], <i>The Mercury</i> (2 March 1878), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8960653 ; [Advertisement]: "ELEVEN SONGS COMPOSED BY MR. F. PACKER", <i>The Mercury</i> (28 August 1878), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8967286 .
1878-05-01	TOLHURST, George (England 1827-1877) {1852-66}	Song (words: George John Pizey).			<i>The South Australian Advertiser</i> (1 May 1878), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article29601887 .
1878-08-06	JACOBS, Coleman {1853-1879 or after}	The Young Hero Schottische (in aid of the <i>Loch Ard</i> fund).	Melbourne: Roberts, [1878?].	Copy at SL-VIC; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/28052094 .	"PUBLICATIONS," <i>The Mercury</i> (6 August 1878), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8966321 .
1879-09-09	PACKER, Frederick A. (England 1839-1902) {1852-1902}	Tasmanian National Anthem ("All hail the land we love so well").	Hobart: J. Walch & Sons, [1879]	Copy at SL-TAS; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9854978 .	[Advertisement], <i>The Mercury</i> (9 September 1879), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8981084 ; [Advertisement], <i>The Mercury</i> (11 October 1879), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8982223 .
1880~	ELSÄSSER, Charles G. (Carl Gottlieb) (Germany 1817-1885) {1853-85}	My Hope is in thee (sacred song).	Melbourne: Allan, [?1880s].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/17655612 .	On Elsasser's death, see [News of the day], <i>The Argus</i> (6 January 1885), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article6064485 .
1882-03-18	PACKER, Charles S. (England 1810-1883) {1840-83}	David ("a new oratorio").			[Advertisement], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (18 March 1882), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13507369 .

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1882-08-20	PACKER, Frederick A. (<i>England</i> 1839-1902) {1852-1902}	<u>Withered (Sunshine through Rain)</u> (song).	Hobart: J. Walch & Sons, [1882].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/33198374 .	“NEW MUSIC”, <i>The Mercury</i> (20 August 1882), 1s: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article9015080 ; the last of Frederick Packer’s compositions given here, this list of his documented works is far from complete.
1882-08-30	PACKER, Frederick A. (<i>England</i> 1839-1902) {1852-1902}	<u>True love never dies</u> (words: M. F. Tupper); plus several other titles listed in the review.	Hobart: J. Walch and Sons, [186-?].	Copy at SL-TAS; Permalink: http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=539258 ; also copy at NLA, Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/17116100 .	“REVIEW: NEW MUSIC”, <i>The Mercury</i> (30 August 1882), 1s: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article9015080 .
1883-00-00	PACKER, Charles S. (<i>England</i> 1810-1883) {1840-83}	<u>Reminiscence of the Garden Palace Schottische.</u>	Sydney: A. Huenerbein, [1883].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/12304061 .	
1883-00-00	PACKER, Charles S. (<i>England</i> 1810-1883) {1840-83}	<u>A Song for the Queen’s Birthday</u> (words: Henry Halloran).	Sydney: Anthony Horden, [1883].	Copy at SL-VIC; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/28051098 .	
1883-00-00	PACKER, Charles S. (<i>England</i> 1810-1883) {1840-83}	<u>Loyalty! (or God save our Queen)</u> (words: C. et A.).	Sydney: C. T. Sandon, 1883.	Copy at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/33692188 .	
1883-04-09	PACKER, Charles S. (<i>England</i> 1810-1883) {1840-83}	<u>Paddy’s Polka.</u>	Sydney: A. Huenerbein, [1883].	Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/18603275 .	[News], <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (9 April 1883), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13532176 .
1884-02-09	STANLEY, William (<i>England</i> 1820-1902) {c.1837-1902}	<u>David and the Philistines</u> (“new and original oratorio”).			[Advertisement] , <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (9 February 1884), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13552693 ; “SACRED CHORAL ASSOCIATION”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (30 April 1884), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13561925 ; “THE SACRED CHORAL ASSOCIATION”, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (9 July 1884), 10: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13570328 .

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