1999

A guide to dating music published in Sydney and Melbourne, 1800-1899

Prue Neidorf

University of Wollongong

Recommended Citation

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A Guide to Dating Music

Published in Sydney and Melbourne,

1800-1899

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree Master of Arts (Hons) from the University of Wollongong

1999

by

Prue Neidorf, Mus Bac, Dip Lib

Volume One
Parts One and Two
Frontispiece *Far O'er the Sea* by S. H. Marsh, publisher J. R. Clarke, topographical artist E. Thomas
Dedication

To Alan Walker

Without whose support and encouragement
this may never have seen the light of day,
although I did decline to use his suggested subtitle,
La Triviata,
which was a working title for a while.
Acknowledgments

Long dead composers of the nineteenth century, their publishers and printers; family and friends for their generous support and forbearance; Barry Conyngham, Andrew Schultz, Houston Dunleavy, Olena Cullen, several other staff members in the Faculty of Creative Arts and Pame Epe in the Library at the University of Wollongong; National Library of Australia Special Materials Cataloguing Team and Petherick Room staff, Mitchell Library staff in the State Library of NSW, Art Music and Performing Arts (AMPA) Library and La Trobe Library staff in the State Library of Victoria

IAML and HOBA members, in particular Maria Calderisi in Canada, Laurel Dingle and Mary O’Mara in Brisbane, Paul Bentley and Tony Green in Sydney, Georgina Binns, Eve Portek and Ian Morrison in Melbourne. Individual scholars who helped mightily were Hugh and Dawn Anderson, Patricia Baillie, Ros Maguire, Graham Pont, Terry Radic and Katherine West.

Particular thanks are due to Ross Harvey, who provided much needed support at crucial times, with his unfailing good humour and informed suggestions. The same very special thanks to Bill Phippard, Susan Rintoul and Miranda Roccisano of Professional Editing Services. Miranda’s keen editorial eye sorted out my inconsistencies of style, clarified many a sentence, corrected errors great and small, and located just about every unwanted dot, comma and space. Further errors and inconsistencies alas are all my own work, or lack of it.

Several others, too many to thank personally, helped with vital snippets of information and frequent words of encouragement.
Preface

When I was first appointed Music Librarian at the National Library of Australia in 1973, I did not realise how important IAML (International Association of Music Libraries) was going to be in my professional life, firstly in Australia, where the Australian Branch had been active for several years, and then overseas, when I took every opportunity to go to IAML / IASA (International Association of Sound Archives) conferences. These conferences helped shape priorities for IAML in Australia; to guide Australia’s contributions to international efforts such as the three Rs - RISM (Répertoire International des Sources Musicales), RIDIM (Répertoire International d’Iconographie Musicale), and RILM (Répertoire International de Littérature Musicale), all of which were also of national as well as international significance.

The IAML / IASA conferences also served to stimulate Australian music libraries and sound archives to collect and catalogue Australiana. The National Library of Australia in particular was guided by the efforts of other national libraries which were also collecting materials from their own heritage.

One project which the IAML Commission for Bibliographical Research had undertaken was the Guide for Dating Early Music, edited by D W Krummell which was published in 1974. I realised that one day Australia would contribute towards this project, little knowing that it would be my own task. It was Maria Calderisi’s work Music Publishing in the Canadas 1800-1867 and her personal encouragement which encouraged me to put this project forward as a MA topic, as her work had also begun as an MA thesis.

Australia’s early music in its notated form surfaced in the 1830s, and so this study deals with the nineteenth century repertoire. The National Library of Australia already had a small but significant collection of nineteenth century Australian music in the Ferguson Collection and there is also a handful of items in the Nan Kivell Collection.

From 1973 to 1993 when I was Music Librarian, I was dependent on collectors and dealers such as Kenneth Hince, Ken Snell (dec), Kathleen Brady (dec) and Patricia Baillie in Australia for building up the collections in the National Library of Australia which form the basis of this work. They and many others responded to my requests for nineteenth century materials, both published in Australia and those materials published overseas, which we needed so that we could put Australian music into a wider context. All of these people were always ready to help me with my myriads of inquiries, and so I’m
greatly indebted to them for this as well as for all of the music they found for the Library. Everett Helm in Italy also provided the library with an extensive range of nineteenth century music from England and Europe. The Helm Music Collections, when added to the similar materials acquired from Kenneth Hince, Kathleen Brady and Ken Snell, has notably enriched the scope of the wider nineteenth century musical context.

The Australian music collections relevant to this work in the National Library now consist of over 2,000 items, which were fully catalogued by the Special Materials Cataloguing Team during the period 1987-1997. Cataloguing of later additions to this component of the collections is still being undertaken. The support of members of this team for this study has been highly appreciated. It is primarily for music cataloguers such as these that this work has been undertaken.

This thesis has been long in gestation, and as yet covers only Sydney and Melbourne. I have done preliminary work to cover all of Australia, and will continue with this work. This thesis is the first part of A Guide to Dating Nineteenth Century Music in Australia.

I am particularly interested in adding to the information in this thesis, and would welcome any suggestions, inclusions, corrections or any kind of information that will assist in making the final guide more authoritative. It is all too easy to overlook something obvious, and one is always conscious in research of what is a blind spot, elusive or simply not yet known.

All assistance is welcome, and it will be acknowledged with considerable gratitude.
Abstract

In 1974 The International Association of Music Libraries (IAML) published Guide for Dating Early Music, edited by D W Krummel. In 1981 Maria Calderisi's Music Publishing in the Canadas 1800-1867 was published. Both of these publications have prompted me to embark on A Guide to Dating Nineteenth Century Music in Australia. Maria Calderisi produced her publication as a result of an MA project, and gave me every encouragement to do the same for Australia. For the MA, I have covered only the cities of Melbourne and Sydney, and the rest of Australia will be covered in a further study.

Music in the nineteenth century was almost never dated in any country, and as this represents Australia's 'early music,' this is the period covered, from 1800 to 1899.

For the purpose of this study, music refers to printed music which is published and which has as its raison d'etre music in a notated form - that is music which is intended for performance and is called a musical score for bibliographic purposes. This study excludes other forms of music, such as music manuscripts, sound recordings and texts of musical works without music notation, such as some song books, hymn books and librettos. It also excludes music printed in other publications such as newspapers, periodicals, programs, educational and church publications.

The study tends not to emphasise music which is already dated, although it often furnishes essential information about its participants which in turn helps with the dating process of other items. Australian music in the nineteenth century which was dated often refers to specific events, some of which generated a flurry of musical works not all of which were dated. As elsewhere, music reflected the social, historical and recreational activities of the time.

Information from the music itself is the primary source for dating purposes, and so every element needs to be examined to see if it can assist in this process. The elements which help most in this work are not only those found in major bibliographic descriptors, such as composers' and authors' names, the title, place of publishing and publisher's name but also other elements which are frequently omitted in the cataloguing process, such as the printer's name and address, the publishers' address, and the names of illustrators, lithographers, engravers, photographers, performers, dedicatees and any other people associated with the item. By building up a matrix of all these variables, we can possibly narrow down the period in which a work emerges. Guides to dating music frequently have at their core a directory of all or most of these major participants in the publishing and printing process, with names, descriptors, dates, addresses and changes of addresses.

The directories for both Sydney and Melbourne form the core of this study. As well as using the music itself, the directory elements have been expanded from other sources such as city directories, newspapers and periodicals. They also contain a short biography of the
major firms and a selection of the titles associated with each entry. Once these directories for both Sydney and Melbourne were completed, information from them and other sources was used to develop a narrative of the development of music publishing and printing in both Sydney and Melbourne.

A short Chronology provides not only the sequence of events, but also the juxtaposition of those participants who were working at the same time.
List of Abbreviations Used  
in Parts One and Two

Note:
Abbreviations used in Part Three, which contains the Sydney and Melbourne Directories will be found at the head of each directory. Full citations for works which are cited here are in the General Bibliography at the end of Part Three.

ABN  Australian Bibliographic Network (superseded by NBD)
ADB  *Australian Dictionary of Biography*
AMM  *Australian Men of Mark*
ANU  Australian National University
BA  Bachelor of Arts
BR  *Biographical Register 1788-1939*
DAA  *Dictionary of Australian Artists, Painters, Sketchers, Photographers and Engravers to 1870*
DAB  *Dictionary of Australian Biography*
F1234  Ferguson Bibliography of Australia number
HOBA  *HOBA [History of the Book in Australia] Bibliography*
IAML  International Association of Music Libraries, Archives and Document Centres
IASA  International Association of Sound Archives
MMUS  Master of Music
NBD  National Bibliographic Database
OCAM  *Oxford Companion to Australian Music*
PhD  Doctor of Philosophy
PICA  *The Publishing Industry in Colonial Australia; a Name Index to John Alexander Ferguson's Bibliography of Australia, 1784-1900*
RIDIM  Répertoire International d'Iconographie
RILM  Répertoire International de Littérature Musicales
RISM  Répertoire International des Sources Musicales
SOFI  Supersearch Online Friendly Interface (Supersearch is an ABN online search protocol)
VMT  *Men of the Time in Australia; Victorian Series* (also known as *Victorian Men of the Time*)

Library sigla used in this thesis:

ACSM  ACT  Canberra School of Music
AMPA  Arts, Music and Performing Arts Library, State Library of Victoria
ANL  ACT  National Library of Australia
NAMC  NSW  Australian Music Centre
NML  NSW  Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW
NU  NSW  University of Sydney
QSL  Queensland  State Library of Queensland
QU  Queensland  University of Queensland
VPAM  Victoria  Performing Arts Museum
VSL  Victoria  State Library of Victoria
VU  Victoria  University of Melbourne
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Introduction

It was a review in a magazine called *The Magpie* that put the development of a guide to dating Australian music into sharper focus. *The Magpie* described itself as 'a first class periodical published every Friday' by Humphries & Harcourt in Melbourne for about eighteen months in 1865 and 1866. The review is headed 'Frightful innovation,' and it states:

Mr W H Williams has had the courage to print and publish the well known tenor song in *Masaniello*, and the audacity to date it. In future the name of W H Williams will be remembered as that of the bold innovator who fixed a date to music. It was a good idea in an advertising point of view, but withal a somewhat snobbish one. We however congratulate Mr W H Williams upon the effort he has made in this instance, to remove his name from oblivion. At the same time we beg to inform him that *My Sister Dear* was composed and sung before 1865. Messrs Squires and Herbert may not have interpreted it earlier, but the greatest of French tenors did. There is no law of copyright here, so that Mr W H Williams is quite at liberty to appropriate the music of other people, and to immortalise himself by dating it, as though he were the first to think of publishing it.

*The Magpie* 15 December 1865

To address all of the issues raised by these comments would be beyond the scope of this study. Enough to say that these comments are a timely reminder that dating music was seen in a negative light by commentators and of course by music publishers in the period that this study covers. It is fair to say that publishers in colonial Australia preferred not to date music and some music publishers in Australia still resist doing so today.
PART ONE

Chapter one

Scope of this study

Defining the scope of this study

This study aims to provide Australia with a preliminary guide to the resources in nineteenth century printed music in Sydney and Melbourne, to assist in the bibliographic process of dating music, and to assist in the scholarly process of locating this music in place and time. It is confined chronologically to the colonial period of the nineteenth century, from 1800 to 1899. These cut-off dates are chosen for pragmatic reasons, rather than the historical dates of 1788 to 1901. Although Australia was settled in 1788, there is no evidence of music being printed before 1800 (in fact the first music seems to have been printed in 1834), and 1899 is chosen rather than the Federation date of 1901 for bibliographic reasons. In current music cataloguing practice, the date 18--- is used to signify an unknown date between 1800 and 1899. This study is confined geographically to the two major cities, Sydney in the colony of New South Wales and Melbourne in the colony of Victoria. The other colonies (Tasmania, South Australia, Queensland and Western Australia) and other centres outside these two cities will be included in a later study.

Very little of the music published in the nineteenth century was dated. This is by no means unique to Australia. The various copyright acts in the colonies that came into effect after 1869 have provided a limited backstop to this lack of dating by way of registration or legal deposit for printed music in libraries or other institutions. Before this, the Copyright Act of England in 1842 did apply to the colonies, but it was difficult to enforce. Some works state 'Entered at Stationer's Hall', but again this seldom eventuated. Relatively little music published in Australia found its way into the British Museum, predecessor to the British Library. Some works were eventually deposited in both the Public Libraries of New South Wales and Victoria towards the end of the nineteenth century, and in the Attorneys General Departments, but by no means comprehensively. Many collections of relevant materials in many Australian libraries remain uncatalogued. Perhaps this study may assist this much needed work. Once some basic bibliographical work is done with these resources, they will be accessible for further study, performance, publication and recording.
Commercial considerations are probably paramount in decisions not to date music. A publisher cannot advertise that he always has the latest if the date on the music indicates otherwise. Advertisements in newspapers placed by the publishers can list new music just published for as long as six or eight months after the first advertisement appears, and lists on the back covers seem to advertise new music titles for much longer. Different impressions, editions and reprints may occur, with no clear evidence of the sequence of events.

Unless musical works are able to be dated, we cannot track an individual composer’s creative output, the relationship of one work to another, the composer’s relationship to his peers, who and what influenced him and whom he influenced. Other trends are similarly difficult to define, for example when particular dances were introduced or were most popular. These are the concerns of musicians, musical scholars, historians and editors.

The bibliographer is interested in ascertaining the output of a composer, author and/or publisher, and in describing the physical form of a musical document. Dating provides the evidence of the sequence of publishing events.

The cataloguer dates music, usually on general principles, for no specific audience or immediate use, but knowing that a variety of users will find the dating helpful. Often internal library practices are determined by the dating process, for example shelving in particular areas such as Rare Books, reporting items to agencies like RISM (Répertoire International des Sources Musicales), and determining preservation policies for example photocopying and microfilming.

**Overview of previous activity**

**Overseas**

As well as D W Krummel’s *Guide for Dating Early Published Music; a Manual of Bibliographic Practice* published in 1974 (Krummel) and *Music Publishing in the Canadas, 1800-1867* by Maria Calderisi, published in 1981 (Calderisi), there is another work that extends these guides and it was published in 1992. It is *The Literature of Music Bibliography; and Account of the Writings on the History of Music Printing and Publishing* compiled by D W Krummel (Krummel). In this work there are citations and abstracts for all of the works that fall into this category of guides for dating music for a wider range of countries, and also guides to similar music bibliographic works.
A Music Meeting was held in the National Library of Australia in 1984 to develop strategies for dealing with new priorities after the National Film and Sound Archive was established. One of these priorities was to put an emphasis on Australian music, to acquire it more actively in several major libraries, and to bring it under better bibliographical control. Until this time, music from the European concert repertoire that supported the current curricula in conservatoriums and universities and that met the programming needs of performers and teachers, was being acquired. With this new emphasis on Australiana, a Special Materials Cataloguing Team in the National Library was finally set up in 1987, and it was very effective for the next ten years in cataloguing most of the backlog of Australian music, which had been acquired in the previous fifteen years, both that published in the nineteenth century and in the twentieth. The problems of dating music became a significant issue early on in the cataloguing, and the need for a more focused study was recognised. A card file of publishers and printers was developed, and became the first source for this study. Work also began in other libraries, both in acquisition and processing of Australian music, although this was still a minor component for their own constituencies.

Some state libraries began to catalogue the music received under legal deposit. Few attempts were made to process any backlogs, and in some cases these had been built up over many decades and longer. State centres farthest from Sydney or Melbourne, such as Tasmania and Western Australia, have probably looked after their own music imprints more actively, and some university libraries have put a sustained effort into cataloguing Australian music such as the University of Queensland and the University of Western Australia. However there is still more Australian music in backlogs than there is in fully processed collections, particularly in the larger libraries in Sydney and Melbourne. The Australian Music Centre has always been notable in acquiring and processing Australian music, but its efforts are all confined to the twentieth century, and so are outside the parameters for this study.

Notes


Chapter two

Relationship of this study to other work in Australia

IAML Australian Branch

IAML Australian Branch has compiled and sent bibliographic entries to RISM, an international centre that gathers and publishes information relating to music materials published and in manuscript form created before 1800. As this project predates music published or printed in Australia, the RISM items held in Australia are all published or originate overseas. This includes music manuscripts, printed books and printed music.

IAML Australian Branch has been compiling a union list of orchestral sets held by Australian libraries, but so far none published in Australia in the nineteenth century have been located through this project. This is now published and available from the State Library of Queensland.

Other related music bibliographic studies in Australia

Ken Snell included nineteenth century music in his *Australian Popular Music Index* (Snell). This work is helpful, but there are some problems of determining his inclusions and exclusions, as these were never explicit and there are inconsistencies.

Georgina Binns' MMUS thesis *Patriotic and Nationalistic Song in Australia to 1919: A Study of the Popular Sheet Music Genre* (Binns) and Dianne Gome's paper *Australian Hymnody, 1821-1901: an Annotated Checklist of Sources Located in Australian Libraries* (Gome) are both particularly useful studies. Gillian Harding's BA Hons paper, *Music for the Tour of His Royal Highness Prince Alfred to the Australian Colonies 1867-1868* is another noteworthy study (Harding).

General publishing practices in Australia

Mainstream publishers of books and periodicals have usually been quite thorough in providing significant information on the title pages and elsewhere in their works, and they have also been liaising with libraries in bibliographic matters for a considerable length of time. John A Ferguson's *Bibliography of Australia [1784-1900]* (Ferguson) and Ian Morrison's name index to this, *The Publishing Industry in Colonial Australia*;
a Name Index to John Alexander Ferguson's 'Bibliography of Australia, 1784-1900' (Morrison) are both useful, particularly the Name Index, which I refer to as PICA in this study. It has been of considerable use for crosschecking publishers. Publishers, particularly in the twentieth century, are generally aware of the deposit provisions of copyright acts, and are mostly amenable about providing the appropriate copies in a timely fashion to all the deposit libraries. These publishers are also aware of the significant role their works play in libraries' collections and services. National bibliographies and similar bibliographical compilations have long been an accepted source of information for dating purposes, as well as for acquisition and cataloguing purposes.

Music publishers and libraries in Australia
The world of music publishers in Australia has always been very different, with the idea of legal deposit being actively resisted by some publishers, ignored by others, and generally little understood. These publishers are often oblivious to libraries and it is hardly surprising that this is often reciprocated. Many libraries in Australia have actively discarded copyright deposit music on receipt, and most have simply allowed it to remain unprocessed. This is hardly conducive to fruitful liaisons with music publishers. Up until the late 1960s, music was excluded from the Australian National Bibliography. The nineteenth century equivalent to Australian National Bibliography, John Ferguson's Bibliography of Australia also specifically excluded music. The Australian music publishers have always directed their music and their attention to the music retailers, which were often linked to them. Providing adequate information on the item itself has always been a minor consideration and dating items has been resisted, even up to the present.

Studying music bibliography in Australia
Studies, both practical and musicological, in Australian music are still a minority interest in Australian conservatoria and university music departments, with some honourable exceptions such as Melbourne University and Australian National University emerging in the 1990s. Bibliographical studies in music are even less visible in Australia. For twentieth century materials, the Australian Music Centre has been very active, but there is relatively little for the period before 1970. The picture is equally bleak in institutions teaching librarianship and information studies. Little attention is paid to music bibliography in either undergraduate or postgraduate studies. Projects that are multi-disciplinary, like HOBA (History of the Book in Australia) are willing to include music in their activities, but are also finding it difficult to find people specialising in this area.
Notes


p 5 Morrison, I S. *The Publishing Industry in Colonial Australia; a Name Index to John Alexander Ferguson's Bibliography of Australia, 1784-1900*. Melbourne: Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand, 1996
Chapter three

Music materials in this study

Notated music
Publications are included that have music in a notated form (including Sol-Fa notation) as the primary reason for their publication. This study is confined to music published in Melbourne and Sydney. It includes music printed in Australia and also music that is published in Melbourne and Sydney but printed overseas. Music from composers resident in or visiting Australia is included, as is music originating overseas, but published in an Australian edition. Occasionally a composer normally resident in Sydney or Melbourne may publish work(s) in another Australian colony. These works are not included in this study.

Formats that are included in this study
Music formats in this study include sheet music published and/or printed in Australia; more substantial works, for example cantatas, oratorios and masses (ie printed from more than one sheet); compilation albums (compiled before publication, or compiled from works previously published by the same publisher); post-publication compilations, often bound by an owner or a library; and works with scores and parts, such as chamber and instrumental music.

Formats that are not included in this study
A publication that would not be defined as a music score for bibliographic purposes is not included. Excluded from this study are the following materials: notated music published in books, newspapers and periodicals; music published in printed programs for specific events like festivals, exhibitions and openings; music published in educational publications; music published in church or religious literature; words-only publications such as song-books without notation; most hymn books; librettos for operas, pantomimes, oratorios and similar genres; and ballads or other song texts without music.
Formats that are not excluded, but are not well covered

Music formats that are relatively secondary in the way some musical genres are practised are often hard to find in libraries. Several music traditions are transmitted orally rather than through printed materials. Folk song texts and ballads are more frequently found without notated music, particularly in nineteenth century Australia. Folk songs with music and music for folk dancing were printed in such small print runs, that they are relatively elusive. For similar reasons it is difficult to locate some hymn and chant books, popular instrumental forms like brass band music, early jazz forms such as cakewalk and vamping, and choral sheet music, both secular and sacred.

Music materials as mentioned above may be known to exist, through references in books, journals and newspapers or because current day practitioners of these genres refer to their existence, but they are yet to be adequately represented in libraries and archives. There is also the problem of collections in libraries and archives that are so poorly controlled that for the purposes of this study they are currently inaccessible. Music materials that are still in the keeping of private collectors and organisations such as choirs, churches, bands and orchestras, are also not included.

Australian music held in overseas collections has not been used in this study, but there are collections in several research libraries, particularly in England and the United States of America.
Chapter four

Methodology

Major sections of this study
There are several major sections in this study, that provide different approaches to the materials being studied. The first six chapters outline the scope, methodology and materials used in developing this study. Chapters Seven and Eight contain a narrative that outlines the development of music publishing and printing in Sydney and Melbourne. Chapters Nine to Twelve highlight the aspects of printing techniques, illustration, and repertoire, and Chapter Thirteen consists of the Conclusion and Further Research. The narrative (Chapters Seven to Twelve) was the last section written and is largely derived from the other components and from the resources described in the section Sources.

The core of the work resides in the Sydney and Melbourne Directories in Part Three. There was to be another section, a biographical dictionary, but it is not included in this study. Information from the entries in the biographical dictionary relating to the printers, publishers and those musicians or composers associated with them has now been incorporated into the Sydney and Melbourne directories. There is also a brief Chronology that interleaves entries for both Sydney and Melbourne into one chronological sequence.

Components of the Sydney and Melbourne Directories
Each entry in the directories may have the following components: a biographical component, examples, a directory component and a bibliographical component. The criteria for inclusion in the directories are all based on some direct association with the printing and publishing of music.

Methodology for the compilation of the directory components
The directory components of the Sydney and Melbourne Directories, (that part of the entry that contains the sequence of names, designation(s), dates, addresses, sources) were compiled first. It began from a skeletal state, as no related work had been done for printers and publishers in Australia generally when this study began. In the 1980s, the Special Materials Cataloguing Team in the National Library of Australia had compiled a card file of music publishers and printers predominantly from the
nineteenth century city directories published by Sands and Sands companies (Sands & Kenny, Sands & McDougall). This and similar information in the Snell Collection was invaluable for the initial framework of the directory components. All of the information in the card file and also all of the Snell information was double-checked as well, particularly by scanning against the city directories again. The next step was to include all printers and publishers listed in the city directories, whether they had published music or not, and the related professions of engravers, lithographers, artists and photographers. All musicians, including performers, teachers, composers and conductors, and all music trades such as the organ builders, piano tuners and music sellers etc, were also included at this stage. In nineteenth century Australia, the boundaries between any of these designations were never clear-cut. The first matrix of people and companies, their designations, dates and addresses and most significantly, their changes of addresses, was compiled from this comprehensive sweep through the nineteenth century city directories.

The directory components began with the names, designations and addresses as found in the city directories and were then added to by information from other sources. The designations are those found in both the city directories and the music, with some also taken from newspaper advertisements and biographical dictionaries. The designations from the publishing and printing industries include engravers, lithographers, printers and publishers. Artists, photographers, compositors and bookbinders have not been included. The music trades are more diffuse, as many individuals pursued a wide variety of occupations as well as their involvement with printed music. Only those composers or their families who were directly involved with the printing or publishing of music are given their own directory entries. The same could be said for other musicians, music teachers, piano tuners and instrument sellers, makers and repairers. Some relationship with publishing or printing music had to be evident for these professions or trades to be included.

The dates and addresses were first taken from city directories, then modified if necessary from newspaper advertisements or other sources. The source of each address is given in the right hand column. The abbreviations used in the source are at the beginning of the Melbourne and Sydney Directories. There are some conflicting dates, for example when a change of address is cited at different times in two sources. Most of the city directories were compiled from October to December in the year preceding the year of publication. The newspaper dates and addresses have usually been preferred where there is a conflict, as the information was probably supplied closer to its publication date to that in city directories. The 1830s and early 1840s in
Sydney are not well served by directories, and some newspaper scanning has been done for this period, but it is by no means comprehensive. Music publishing in this period was mostly undertaken by a few music publishers such as Francis Ellard, George Hudson and James T Grocott, and by those general publishers who published Isaac Nathan's works (qv). There is also a gap in the city directories published between 1847 and 1851 in Sydney. The beginning dates of 1847 and 1851 for printers and publishers in Sydney are therefore approximate, and should be used with caution until further work can be done to fill this gap. There was another gap in the Sydney city directories between 1851 and 1855. This period was covered to some extent by newspaper scanning between 1851 and 1856, as this was a particularly voluminous period for music publishing in Sydney. This scanning was only for the Sydney Morning Herald (1851-56) and the Illustrated Sydney News (1853-55). The scanning produced more changes of names and addresses for publishers who were advertising their latest publications than for printers or musicians. After the 1855 Sydney city directory, the next one published was in 1857, and then from 1858/59 on, the Sands directories were published annually, but were not published in 1860, 1862, 1872, 1874, 1878 and 1881. In Melbourne, all available city directories were checked between 1839 and 1859. The Sands directories were published annually from 1857-1900, and all of these were checked. Almost no other sources were used for the directory components of the Melbourne Directory. From 1857 to 1899, only the Sands directories were used in the compilation of both the Sydney and Melbourne Directories, although other city directories like the Post Office and Wise directories could have been used.

A note of warning about relying solely on the dates provided by the city directories and PICA for dating the active lives of the firms or individuals included. Scope dates (active dates) for companies are not definitive, as few resources outside the city directories and PICA were used for this study. Occasionally there would be information about the formation or dissolution of a partnership or company and this is usually made clear, with its newspaper or other authoritative source. It is frequently not known when a firm began before it was first listed, or how long it continued after it was last listed in the city directories. Most dates should be considered scope dates unless there is more reliable information provided. The scope dates for individuals are particularly questionable, as few attempts were made to go beyond the dates provided in the city directories. Sources are given for each entry in the directory components, denoting changes of address or name. The abbreviations used for the sources can be found at the beginning of each directory.
The next step was to survey as much of the music itself as possible. Information was plucked from as much relevant music as could be found, naturally enough with constraints on time and access. Names of printers were eagerly looked for, as they seldom appear on cataloguing records. From time to time, the chance to name the otherwise unnamed or unknown would arise, mostly with the usual failures and frustration, but with the occasional sweet success. Brief citations were initially included for each music item sighted that would provide a picture of the relationships between the publishers and printers; the technical aspects, for example whether it was engraved or lithographed; whether illustrated and by whom, and what addresses were used on the music itself for both the publisher and printer. These citations were mostly added to the publishers' and printers' entries in the directories. Almost all of these citations have subsequently been omitted from the final version for this study, apart from citations for works of minor publishers and printers, publishing up to three items (i.e. which have been located so far). Significant titles, examples and summaries of works published, appear with the biographical information at the beginning of the entries for the more prolific publishers and printers.

The next step was to remove entries for all of the printing and music trades for which no connection with printed music could be established. Publishers, printers, lithographers and engravers not yet known to be directly connected with printed music were eliminated from the directories, and may be found in PICA or some future HOBA study. Artists' entries were removed and some of the information from entries for artists illustrating sheet music have been brought together in the chapter on illustration (see below). Artists' names associated with particular printers can be found in the biographical notes for the printers and frequently in the examples cited for the printers.

There are now entries in the directories only for those musicians and composers who were directly involved with printing, publishing and retailing music, or whose family members were doing so. Entries for all other composers, musicians, music teachers, piano tuners et al have also been eliminated from these directories. Their names may appear in the biographical notes and examples for publisher entries. They may reappear with their own entries in a future directory of music trades and professions in colonial Australia.
Methodology for the biographies

The biographical components were compiled after the completion of the directory entries with all their possible dates, addresses and music. The biographies were compiled from all of the above and similar sources, with a selection of these sources being cited in the bibliographies for each entry and in the general bibliography. The choice of names used was often based on ABN authority files, encyclopaedias and biographical dictionaries as well as the city directories and the music itself. There is sometimes conflicting evidence for when 'and Co' or 'Co Pty Ltd' was first used and when they were no longer used. Some attempt has been made to eliminate the worst of these inconsistencies, but no company records or archival resources have been used.

There are some life dates for individuals, but these have mainly been culled from biographical dictionaries, and so are not comprehensive. The general designation (printer, publisher, lithographer, engraver, professor of music et al) was frequently that used by the persons or firms themselves, found in biographical dictionaries, on the music or in advertisements, and in the alphabetical component of the city directories, where the entrants seem to have chosen their own designations. In the trade sections of the city directories, the designations were often formulaic (ie 'engraver and lithographer' or 'printer and publisher.') I have used these designations in the accompanying biographical and directory entries when there was no entry in the alphabetic component in the city directory. I have also used these formulaic designations for entries after 1870 for both Sydney and Melbourne, when searching through the trade components of the city directories was already labour intensive, and the searching through the alphabetic sequences would have been too time consuming.

The stories in the biographies are as brief as possible, with an emphasis on providing information to assist in the dating of printed music. The historical narrative of the firms and individuals also focuses on the musical activities, with very limited information about wider activities that may be found in other sources. An overview of the works published or printed is usually embedded in the biographies, with lists of examples only used for the major publishers and printers.

Reference to composers is mostly found in the publisher rather than the printer entries, where title information of the works is usually given. For the major publishers and printers, examples and summaries of works are given below the biographical component. These are relatively comprehensive, but by no means complete. There are reciprocal references between publishers and printers, but references to artists,
works referred to in the biographies are in libraries with cataloguing records on the National Bibliographic Database, and so can be accessed readily. Works cited not on the NBD are probably in the Mitchell Library of the State Library of New South Wales or the Arts, Music and Performing Arts Library of the State Library of Victoria.

Selection of sources for the bibliographies in the directories
The bibliographies for most of the directory entries are highly selective, listing major reference tools first, in acronyms of the title, for instance ADB, HOBA, PICA and so on. Each of these is spelt out in the list of abbreviations and in the general bibliography. PICA x items in the bibliographies refers to the number of Ferguson items printed or published. The Ferguson numbers are in PICA and so these materials can be readily identified. A wider range of materials that include maps and pictorial materials for many of the publishers and printers can be found by searching on ABN, but these are not included in this study.

Specific citations of works used for the compilation of the entry may follow, and further citations may also be found in the reference sources. Few of the newspaper citations used to compile the biographies are here, but relevant ones appear as sources in the directory component of the entry.

Compilation of the Chronology
The chronology for both Melbourne and Sydney is combined. It was compiled from the accompanying Sydney and Melbourne Directories, the music itself, periodical articles and general reference sources. Where the name of a firm changes as company status or partnership members changes, there is usually one entry for the year the firm first appears in the directories, followed by subsequent names and scope dates in the same entry.

The decade markers of composers and musicians are those who were in some way associated with printed music, and not necessarily from the wider musical community. Summaries of entries for some of the pre-1851 Sydney city directories are given, to provide some idea of those people who were working concurrently. Information from later periods is more widely accessible, and so is not given in the Chronology.
Chapter five

Sources used throughout the thesis

Nineteenth century sources

Newspapers, periodicals, books and other nineteenth century publications

Newspaper scanning was very selective, and mostly confined to the period before 1847 when *Low's Directory for the City and District of Sydney for 1847* (Low) was published. Few city directories were published before then, and they were not comprehensive. *The Sydney Morning Herald* and the *Illustrated Sydney News* were scanned between 1851 and 1856, as this was a particularly active period for music publishing and there was another gap in the publication of city directories. The main focus of scanning newspapers was to find addresses, changes of addresses and names for directory entrants and also information about published music. Any biographical or other useful information garnered in this process would be included, but it was not the main reason for scanning.

Periodicals scanned have been a selection of those listed in Stuart that contain information about music and many of the music periodicals of the period (Stuart). Again, in scanning for music-related information, the period before 1850 has been emphasised. Periodicals relating to printing and publishing in the nineteenth century were scanned as comprehensively as possible, but these were mostly published towards the end of the century. Some monographic and ephemera resources were used, but not extensively.

Twentieth century sources

*History of the Book in Australia (HOBA)*

The HOBA bibliography was issued in mid-1997 in a computer disc format, and it has been very helpful, particularly for information about general printers and publishers. Individuals connected with HOBA have often provided valuable information.
The Publishing Industry in Colonial Australia (PICA)
The Publishing Industry in Colonial Australia; a Name Index to John Alexander Ferguson's Bibliography of Australia 1784-1900 by Ian Morrison was published in 1996, and this was crosschecked for every relevant entry. It is referred to as PICA in the directories, and can be found in the directory and bibliography components of the Sydney and Melbourne directories.

Reference materials, other publications
Twentieth century reference sources such as encyclopaedias, national biographies, bibliographies, chronologies, dictionaries, indexes and catalogues have been invaluable, particularly for authoritative information relating to names, dates and biographical information.

A brief selection of relevant twentieth century newspapers, periodicals, books and pamphlets has been used, particularly those dealing with the music publishing and printing trades.

Library networks and catalogues
The Australian Bibliographic Network (ABN), now known as the National Bibliographic Database, and individual libraries' catalogues, both card and on-line have been used extensively.

Notes

p 15 Low, Francis. Low's Directory of the City and District of Sydney for MDCCCXLVII. Sydney: Alonzo Grocott, 1847


p 16 PICA Morrison, I S. The Publishing Industry in Colonial Australia; a Name Index to John Alexander Ferguson's Bibliography of Australia, 1784-1900.' Melbourne: Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand, 1996
Access to collections and catalogues

Access to nineteenth century music

For the purposes of this study, only music in major libraries was seen, and then not comprehensively. The problem of access and control is one of the factors prompting this study.

Libraries scanned for music

The National Library of Australia allowed generous access to its collections, and through the Petherick Room, unlimited access to ABN. This enabled me to locate music not seen personally, particularly if the music is held in libraries not visited or has been received or catalogued more recently than my last visit. The Mitchell Library in the State Library of New South Wales and the Art, Music and Performing Arts (AMPA) Library of the State Library of Victoria were also used extensively, but by no means comprehensively. There were fruitful visits to the State Library of Tasmania, the State Library of South Australia, the State Library of Queensland, the Performing Arts Museum in Melbourne, the Sydney Opera House Library before it closed in 1996, and the libraries in the Universities of Sydney, Melbourne, Monash and Queensland.

Access to cataloguing data for nineteenth century music

Card catalogues

Much of the relevant music is controlled by card catalogues in some of the major libraries. The amount of information varies from the inscrutable to the minimal, with a preponderance of hand-written cards. Sometimes there is composer access, sometimes title, but rarely a publisher statement.

Access to the music itself was often difficult from these entries. The control in the stacks was equally inscrutable and minimal.
On-line catalogues

Australian Bibliographic Network (ABN)

The National Library of Australia is the only library surveyed that had a sustained cataloguing program to catalogue its backlogs of Australian music and to put all of the bibliographic records on ABN. Other libraries' coverage on ABN for currently received materials is often adequate, particularly in the state libraries, but the backlogs are often daunting in the face of other priorities, cataloguing expertise and the lack of resources to address the issue. There are often decisions to withhold or delay putting the bibliographic records on ABN, and of course not all libraries are ABN members. It was possible to search ABN through three interfaces: directly, by SUPERSEARCH or by SOFI. Each of these have different searching strategies, but only ABN and SOFI were used for this study. SOFI enabled a wider range of fields to be searched than ABN. ABN and its interfaces has now been superseded by the NBD, with searching now available through Kinetica. In 1999, Kinetica was still not as powerful for searching as SUPERSEARCH or SOFI.

In-house on line catalogues

Although many of these are accessible through the Internet, the cataloguing practices and search strategies vary. Some interim and minimal records are almost as impenetrable as card catalogue entries. This is also the case with ABN.

Selection policies for Australian music

Related to the lack of accessibility of cataloguing information is the lack of active selection policies for Australian music, particularly for retrospective materials. This is being rectified by the State libraries in particular for their own state's imprints, but it is not being addressed in any really fruitful way by other libraries, with all of them providing meagre resources for Australiana in comparison to their expenditure on overseas resources.

Manuscript collections

Of greater concern, but unhappily peripheral to the scope of this project, is the paucity of unpublished music and related materials in archives and libraries and the minimal control of what can be found. Allan and Co and their twentieth century printer, Kynoch are the only music publisher's archives in public institutions. There were two major fires in Allan's, one in 1889 and the other in 1955, and so the resources relating to the nineteenth century are minimal. The Troedel collection in
the State Library of Victoria and the J R Clarke collection in the Mitchell Library have almost no materials relating to their activities in publishing and printing music.

The Snell Collection in the National Library of Australia's Manuscripts Section (Snell) has been a rich resource for this project, even though it consists of secondary sources only built up over a 20-year period from the early 1970s until Ken Snell's untimely death in 1993. Some resources relating to nineteenth century composers and musicians are held in archives and the manuscript or rare book sections in libraries, but there are relatively few manuscripts of the musical texts themselves.

Notes

PART TWO

DEVELOPMENT AND CONCLUSIONS

Chapter Seven

The development of music publishing in Sydney

Preamble

The historical perspective in this study focuses on that of the tradesmen and professionals engaged in the emergence of the music publishing and printing industries in Australia. It is one that wends its way mainly through colonial newspaper notes and advertisements, through the occasional article, review or book of the period, through the city directories and of course, through the printed music itself. Twentieth century sources have also been used extensively. The broader narrative of the development of musical performance and reception is best left to others, past and future, although it is the underpinning of all other musical achievements of the period. Information about the performance of any of the works that reach the printed page is the icing on the cake, the proof of the pudding and a delight to the dater. It keeps the researcher burrowing in newspapers endlessly for evidence of the reception of the work, of contemporary opinion. This study is a purposely lopsided view of our musical history, particularly as it appears to ignore the performance, teaching and reception of music originating overseas, that has always played a dominant role in our musical life, whatever the genre.

Events in the chronology are chosen to give some pointers to the story, and are not really attempting to chart 'firsts,' although they may be found there.

There is only a summary of the activities for almost all of the individuals and firms mentioned in this part of the narrative. More information may be found in the individual entries in both the Sydney and Melbourne directories.
CITY OF SYDNEY POLKA,

Composed by

CHARLES PACKER.

RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED, BY PERMISSION,

TO

WILLIAM CHARLES WENTWORTH, ESQ., M.L.C.

By the Publishers.

WOOLCOTT AND CLARKE, MUSICSELLERS, PRINTSELLERS, AND PUBLISHERS.

10 NEW GROVE STREET.

City of Sydney Polka by Charles Packer (published by Woolcott & Clarke, artists F Terry, W G Mason)
The development of music publishing in Sydney 1800-1899

Australia's settlement as a penal colony in January 1788 brought professional bandsmen with the various British regiments that served here between 1788 and 1870. In the early years these musicians provided music for every occasion. The first events recorded that used music in February 1788 were ceremonial and disciplinary ones, and used drummers and fifers. For the next thirty years and more, anniversaries, dinners, concerts, race meetings and church services were provided with music by these bands. Gradually these musicians made their way into civilian life, often at the end of their tour of duty, but also during it. They became music teachers (the first recorded in 1818), music instrument repairers and sellers, and entrepreneurs providing music for balls and private functions, and then in the 1830s for theatrical entertainments. Multifunctional and multiskilled, today's buzzwords, were the qualities that enabled musicians and tradesmen to develop their professions throughout this first century of settlement. In the 1810s and 1820s there are several references of songs and music created for and performed at various events. Sometimes a title or a tune is mentioned, occasionally the words are printed and sometimes the author's or composer's name is to be found. There were three hymn books published before 1830, but none of them contain music notation.

The most tantalising advertisements are those that offer to provide manuscript copies of music. There are two examples in the mid-1820s, the first being as follows:

Australian quadrilles. Mr Reichenberg, music master of the 40th Regt., 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 them, for the piano forte, flute or violin; as also for a full band. The same may be had in manuscript form from Mr Reichenberg, at the Military Barrack; or at Mr Campbell's, No 93 George St, by giving one day's notice - Price 6s (Reichenberg p.1)

The second example is this:

Mr Kavanagh, Master of the Band of the 3rd Regiment, begs leave 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 Barracks, where copies may be had: General Ralph Darling's Australian slow march; General Darling's quick step; Mrs Darling's waltz; His Honour Colonel 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 sounds Australia's fame - song.; Mr K in submitting to the Australian public, this specimen of national music, trusts he will meet with your encouragement he will always be studious to merit. (Kavanagh p.3)

None of the music for either of these examples has yet been located, although the Australian Quadrilles arranged by W Ellard and published in Dublin in 1834 are sometimes referred to as Reichenberg's Quadrilles, as this has been pencilled on to a copy in the Mitchell Library. The Mr Campbell referred to in the first advertisement above set up Sydney's first music warehouse in 1824 (Campbell, 1824). He had come from the piano manufacturer and music house, Clementi and Co. Campbell's warehouse contained organs, pianos, violins, harps and printed music of every description. This pattern of previous experience with British and European music houses continued throughout the century and underlines the success of many an Australian music house and music publisher. Campbell soon went on to other pursuits and did not in fact publish music, but he provided resources for a growing music teaching and performing community.

In 1826 between June and December there was a series of public concerts called Amateur Concerts, given by a small group of musicians. Among them were Messrs Kavanagh, mentioned above, Edwards, Mackie, Clare, Scarr, Levey, George Sippe and Joshua Josephson (Hall p 421-7). These last two we shall meet again shortly.

By the late twenties, several engravers and printers had set up businesses and two of these, John Gardner Austin and John Carmichael were later to engrave music.

One interesting facet of Australia's musical development was the early fascination with the music of the Australian Aborigines. There were two strands to this, the interest of scientists and the adoption of melodies by musicians. The first music published from Australia was of the first kind, and was collected by scientists on the French expeditions lead by Nicolas Baudin between 1803 and 1806. Three melodies collected were eventually published in Paris in the second edition of the Atlas volume published in 1824 (Peron, plate 32). These melodies were transcribed by the scientists Lesueur and Bernier and engraved by Melle Honne Aubert. They include the first coo-ee in musical notation, described as a Cri de Ralliement a rallying cry.
There is another early example of a transcribed Aboriginal melody in Barron Field’s *Geographical Memoirs of N.S.W.* This also contains a description of a corroboree and it was published in 1825 (Field p 465-6). Most of the other examples of this genre published in the nineteenth century were in periodicals, both Australian and from overseas.

The first sheet music printed in Australia was also a transcription of an Aboriginal melody collected by the Austrian scientist, Dr John Lhotsky in 1834. One of the first advertisements for it runs as follows:

> Shortly will be published *A Song of the Women of Menero, near the Australian Alps*, arranged, with the assistance of several Musical Gentlemen, [James Pearson, Joshua Josephson and George Sippe] for the Voice and Pianoforte, most humbly inscribed as the first specimen of AUSTRALIAN MUSIC to Her Most Gracious Majesty, Adelaide, Queen of Great Britain and Hanover by Dr J. Lhotsky, Colonist, New South Wales. To be sold by John Innes, Pitt St. This song has been declared by the most competent judges as very pretty; by others, even as a sublime production. Subscription List 2s 6d per copy, to be found at the Banks etc. (Lhotsky p.3)

There are copies of *A Song of the Women of Menero* (illus p 25) in several libraries, and it was reproduced in *The Lone Hand* in 1907 (Lhotsky p 690-691). The original music was lithographed by J G Austin.

Austin was also responsible for producing the next locatable item of music, W V Wallace’s *Echo’s Song* (illus p 26), which was performed at a concert by Wallace and John Deane in February 1837 (Wallace p 3). This is now held in the National Library of Australia. Another composition by Wallace was published about the same time, *Waltze Favoritie de Duc de Reichstadt* (illus p 27). This work exists in two editions, one lithographed by WH Fernyhough and the other engraved by W Baker.

One of the most talented musicians to emerge in the 1830s was the native-born Thomas Stubbs, who advertised himself in 1832 as follows: 'Professor of the Royal Patent Kent Bugle, and Teacher of the Flute, violin and French horn. Pianos tuned. Lessons for young gentlemen.' (Stubbs 1832). One of the earliest contenders for the first item of popular sheet music published and printed in Australia is his work *The Minstrel Waltz*. 
Song

WOMEN OF THE MENERO TRIBE

Near the
Australian Alps.

ARRANGED
with the assistance of several Musical Gentlemen

To the Tune and Harmonie,
most handsomely inscribed as the first specimen of
Australian Music,

To Her Most Gracious Majesty
ADELAIDE,
Queen of Great Britain and Hanover.

By J. Lhotsky, Engraver to H. R. H. the Prince of Wales.

London,
1834.

A Song of the Women of the Menero Tribe by Dr J. Lhotsky (first sheet music published in Australia, 1834) engraved by J. G. Austin.
Echo's Song by Wm Wallace (first locatable sheet music song which was composed in Australia in 1837 by Wm Wallace, engraved by J G Austin)
Waltze Favorite de Duc De Reichstadt by W V Wallace (printer W Fernyhough)
It is referred to in the *Sydney Gazette* of 1836 as follows:

*The Minstrel Waltz* - Rarely 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 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* (Stubbs 1836).

So far Australia seems to be without this waltz, as no copies are known to have survived. Stubbs' next known piece is the *Australian Jubilee Waltz*, composed by Thomas Stubbs with the pianoforte arrangement by William [Vincent] Wallace and published in 1838 (Stubbs 1838). This was engraved and published by WH Fernyhough. Both of the above works were composed for and performed at Foundation Day (January 26) celebrations. His next two compositions that have been located were written much later: *Lady O'Connell's Waltz*, published by H C Jervis in 1845 and *Australian March*, published by J B Fussell in the late 1850s. These two are both in the Mitchell Library. Thomas Stubbs was certainly multi-skilled. He was a vigneron for a time, a surveyor and he was an auctioneer for most of his working life. He published maps and plans for various land transactions. At the time W Baker painted his portrait in 1848, Stubbs was the Inspector of Public Nuisances. Stubbs moved to Melbourne in the 1850s to set up a real estate business with his son. Towards the end of the century, his daughter-in-law, Maud Fitz-Stubbs, composed and published several pieces of music.

During the 1830s, Sydney's musical life continued to expand, with more music businesses established. In March 1833, Francis Ellard set up one in Hunter St, and he and his family had a significant role to play in publishing, engraving, composing and performing music in Australia for the next twenty-five years or more (Ellard, Francis 1833). Francis Ellard came from a music house in Dublin, then being run by his father, Andrew Ellard and his (Francis') brother William. In Sydney, Francis Ellard set up a shop, selling imported music and making, repairing, tuning and selling musical instruments. He soon became a major focal point for musical life in Sydney. Tickets were sold for music performances from the first week in business. Musicians and
teachers operated from his premises, and even used his premises for selling their own musical instruments. One was William Wallace (Wallace p 3). William Ellard's arrangements of the *Australian Quadrilles* were published in Dublin in 1835, and were advertised by his brother Francis Ellard in Australia shortly afterwards (Ellard, William p 2).

Francis Ellard was also an accomplished music engraver, and began publishing music in 1839. Two titles published that year were *The Lancer's Quadrilles* (illus p 143) and *We Have Lived and Loved Together*. The title pages for these and other Ellard imprints were engraved by John Carmichael. During the 1840s Ellard published five of his brother Frederick Ellard's compositions, one of Isaac Nathan's and two by Stephen Hale Marsh. Other than these, most of Ellard's imprints are of popular English and Irish songs and dances (illus p 31). In 1842, Ellard was declared insolvent and probably published fewer items from then on, although there was a steady trickle of items published throughout the forties. He continued tuning and repairing instruments and also engraved music for other publishers and printers in the 1850s. These were Woolcott & Clarke, J R Clarke, Henry Marsh & Co, W J Johnson, F Cunninghame and Kemp & Fairfax. Many of the works first published or listed by Ellard were transferred to other publishers, for example Woolcott & Clarke and Grocott's Music Saloon. J T Grocott took over Ellard's premises in 1847. Many of Grocott's titles, particularly polkas, were subsequently taken over by H Marsh.

Other music publishers in the forties were W J Johnson, T Rolfe, who published two works of Isaac Nathan, and George Hudson, who published a considerable volume of music in series. Examples are *A Selection of Favourite Quadrilles*, *A Selection of Favourite Polkas*, *... Waltzes*, *... Songs* and *... National Melodies*. Hudson's imprints were all engraved, both the covers and the music, and most have generic covers with vignettes and decorative scrolling. Hudson occasionally used the engravers C Ashton, J Carmichael and J Allan for a few of the covers. Most of the music is English, often the composer Jullien's works, and only four are Australian: *The Banner of Old England* by George Nagel, *My Lov'd, My Happy Home* by William Cleary, *The Montague Polka* by Montague Levey and *The Australian Grand Waltzes* by Arthur S Hill. Hudson's polkas in particular were also taken over by H Marsh in the fifties, but there was a great deal of cross-publishing at the end of the forties and throughout the fifties, with two or more publishers using the same plates, altering the existing title pages or printing new ones, and lithographing the musical texts that had been previously engraved. Although all these changes were more prevalent for the printing of items previously published in England, local composers S Nelson, Stephen Hale Marsh, J Mazzinghi, Charles E Horn and Henri Herz also used a variety of publishers.
"O'er the Lone Sea" by Henri Herz (publisher F Ellard)
Women composers Mrs Waylett, Marie B Hawes and Miss Murphy, were also published in the forties. A wide range of English songs and dance music was published and this fed an insatiable need for the latest and the most popular music that was being performed in England.

Isaac Nathan was the most prolific and most published composer during his time in Sydney, from 1841 to 1864. He was exceptional in every aspect of his musical life, and his publishing and printing activities deserve more attention than can be given here, or in the brief notes in his biography in the Sydney Directory (Nathan qv). Nathan's arrival in Sydney was greeted with the following:

We expect Mr Nathan shortly and we should recommend him to eschew Italian, but if we must have outlandish songs, let us have a specimen of Hebrew or High Dutch, or of the beautifully liquid Aboriginal tongues of Australia, Tahiti or Tongataboo, superior to all the smooth and oily, but feeble and strengthless Italian, which seems chiefly adapted for nursery lullabys or the puling madrigals of love-sick sonneteers. It will not be our fault, if these plain commonsense views be not so adopted so strongly by the Australian public, that we should soon have exclusively good sterling English 'rich and rare' - instead of being buffoed and bamboozled with no-sterling-about-it Italian (Nathan p 2).

Nathan may well have taken note, as he soon became interested in Aboriginal music, and although he arranged Cavatini's Lungi dal Caro Bene in 1842, it was not published until much later (this time, said to be by Sarti). Nathan brought his own letter press and music typesetting materials with him, and was his own compositor. Further information about these activities appears in the biography in the Sydney Directory. Information about his interest in Aboriginal music is also in the Sydney Directory and in Chapter Twelve.

The gold rushes of the 1850s brought considerable wealth and increasing population to Australia. The cities' growing middle classes were spending more time and money on entertainments. Visiting musicians were attracting adulation and crowds to performances that kept many an entrepreneur happy, even if one of them, George Coppin, was accused of introducing the 'pernicious starring tours of visiting celebrities.' (Coppin p 462). There were increased sales of pianos and other instruments; music teaching was being undertaken by many more musicians, both men and women. There was an outpouring of music publishing that was astonishing in its musical diversity and technical expertise, particularly in Sydney. The sheet music items published were either the latest popular songs and dances imported from
England, and these often featured local arrangers and local or visiting musicians; or they were composed by the colonies' best professional musicians. Some of these musicians must have been quite virtuosic in their own performances, if reviews can be believed, and this flowed through into their music, particularly the piano pieces. There was now a wider range of musical styles than was evident in the pieces published earlier. There was a greater understanding that Australian items had to be connected to people, events and topics that reflected life in Australia, if they were to sell readily.

There were many significant music publishers at this time. These include Woolcott & Clarke, J R Clarke, H Marsh and Co, J H Anderson, J C Fussell, W J Johnson, Kemp & Fairfax, Reading & Wellbank, L Moss and C T Sandon. J R Clarke was one of the most influential music publishers, whose career in music publishing extended from 1851 to 1856 when he was in partnership with WP Woolcott, and then from late 1856 to 1873. In 1851, J R Clarke had set up a fine art shop in George St, and was also the agent for S H Marsh's music warehouse at 555 George St. The first publication associated with him was *The Ferrolana Polka* by S H Marsh. This was also published again soon after Clarke's partnership with W P Woolcott was set up in mid 1851. In the same year Clarke (on his own) also published art works and by September, further music and art works were published by the partnership with Woolcott. These early associations with fine artists continued during this partnership in music publishing, and throughout Clarke's subsequent career as a music publisher and print seller. By mid-1854 a substantial quantity of music had been published, and so Woolcott & Clarke put together a selection of their most impressive works published so far in the first of four albums associated with Clarke. This was *Australian Presentation Album* [1854]. It contained a mixture of local and English works, several of them beautifully illustrated. The second album was *Australian Presentation Album for 1855*, similarly compiled, and after the partnership with Woolcott was dissolved, Clarke issued two further albums, *Australian Album, 1857* in which there is a quote from Frank Fowler in the preface: '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 *The Australian Musical Album for 1863*. All of these albums demonstrate a synthesis of musical content, music engraving and illustration that was rarely surpassed in Australia for the rest of the century. Some of the most complex and interesting music of the local composers can be found in these albums. This includes the works of Frederick Ellard, Charles Packer, William Stanley, Miska Hauser, Eduard Boulanger, S H Marsh, Henry Marsh and Ernesto Spagnoletti. The artists are equally famous, C H Woolcott, G F Angas, C W Andrew, W G Mason, Read, E Thomas and F C Terry. Printers represented are J Allan, Degotardi, Allan & Wigley, Reading & Wellbank, and
F Cunninghame. Clarke continued to use the same printers, engravers, lithographers and illustrators as are found in these albums and also continued to use the printer and lithographer Francis Cunninghame for the majority of his imprints.

Another family active in the musical life in Sydney at this time was the Marsh family. Stephen Hale Marsh arrived in 1842, and was soon performing in concerts with his sister. Some of his compositions had already been published in London, and his career as a musician and composer is better documented than that of his brother, Henry, who had set up a music publishing business by 1851. Henry Marsh also gave music and singing lessons, at one time in association with W H Paling and at another with C E Horsley. Henry Marsh performed regularly and was also an entrepreneur. Together with W G Mason he printed and published the *Sydney Illustrated News* in mid-1854, in which there is an extensive list of his music publications (Marsh, H p 48).

Henry Marsh was one of the more prolific publishers of the 1850s, and used all of the established engravers, printers and artists of the time. Printers included Allan & Wigley, Cunninghame and Degotardi. The artist George French Angas was often used, for titles such as *The Chusan Waltz, The Galop for Gold* (illus p 200), *Phoebe Morel* and *The Gazelle Waltz*. F C Terry (*Fair Australian Waltzes*) and Edmund Thomas (*The Pic Nic Polka*) are other artists found on Marsh's works. Composers include Miska Hauser, E Spagnoletti and C W F Steir.

It will take a major scholarly effort to unravel all of Henry Marsh's activities, as many of them overlapped with other people's, and his advertising is often misleading. Henry Marsh operated from several premises, some of which were his own residential, teaching and publishing locations, and sometimes he advertised and published from various printers' and music retailers' premises. Henry Marsh was also a composer, but his own works were published by several other publishers as well as by his own company. This was the same situation with his brother, Stephen Hale Marsh, whose works were published by several publishers. Stephen Marsh also ran a Melbourne branch of his brother's business from 1861 to 1872.

It is highly unlikely that so many music publishers could have flourished in Sydney in this period without the extraordinary professionalism of the printers and lithographers Allan & Wigley, Francis Cunninghame and John Degotardi, and the engraver Francis Ellard. They printed music for all of the publishers of the time. They also used the same pool of engravers and lithographers for the music texts and
the same illustrators for the covers. Francis Cunninghame had a huge output for all kinds of publications and this was also true for music. There are well over 100 sheet music items in this period printed by Cunninghame, many with his characteristic decorative borders on the covers. He printed large quantities of music for Woolcott & Clarke, J R Clarke, and Henry Marsh & Co, and smaller outputs for J H Anderson and W J Johnson. He frequently printed lists of available music on the back covers for all of the publishers, and these are as helpful now as they were when first published, if for different reasons.

John Degotardi arrived in Sydney in 1853, and soon established himself as a versatile printer who printed music for a wide range of publishers. There were those who were also music dealers or publishers, for example J H Anderson, D Buist & Son, W J Johnson, H Marsh (& Co), Woolcott & Clarke, J R Clarke and L Moss, and also those who were general printers or publishers, for example J C Fussell, Smith & Gordon, and John Davis. Degotardi used some of the same illustrators as Allan & Wigley and F Cunninghame. These include C W Andrews, W G Mason, F C Terry (illus p 155), Read (illus p 74) and Edmund Thomas (illus p 75, 146), although the artists are often unnamed on Degotardi's music. By 1862 Degotardi was using photolithography. One of the more interesting examples of this is the Sydney Morning Herald Polka, which has on the cover the first page of an issue of the newspaper in 1863, and which shows nineteen advertisements for the publisher, J R Clarke and one for Degotardi. Troedel in Melbourne produced a similar cover for The Argus Galop in 1880 (illus p 310). In 1867 Degotardi closed down Robin Hood Lane, and took over the photographic business established by William Hetzer at 287 George St. He continued working as a photographer until 1883.

The 1860s seemed to have been quieter on the music publishing front, and this may have been a reflection of the wider musical scene. The genres of music that were most popular, for example opera and minstrel shows, mostly used imported music. From 1861 to 1868, and then from 1870 to 1880, W S Lyster's opera companies staged over forty operas in Australia.

Several events of the time, such as the Crimean war, the development of Volunteer forces and the visit of Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh in 1867-68 also generated a musical response from local composers, many of whom wrote works commemorating these events. However for a major event requiring music such as the festival for the opening of the Great Hall of Sydney University in 1859, works by the composer/musicians, Spagnoletti, Nathan, Howson, Packer and Lavenu did not really
feature, although all of them performed in these concerts. Large scale works by Handel and Haydn performed by massed choirs and orchestras were preferred. C E Horsley, Eduard Boulanger and D G Callen, as well as the composers mentioned above, had works published during the 1860s.

During the 1850s and 1860s the foundations were laid for many music businesses that continued into the twentieth century. S Marshall in Adelaide, R H Sutton in Ballarat, W H Paling in Sydney, his brother R J Paling, L F Collin and George Leavis Allan in Melbourne were all musicians who set up businesses selling music and musical instruments, and they all then published music. Between the 1860s and 1890s the firms J Walch and Sons in Hobart, Cawthorne and Co in Adelaide, W H Glen, Nicholson and Co in Melbourne and J Albert and Co in Sydney set up businesses that also continued well into the twentieth century. Most of these music selling and publishing, and instrument selling and maintenance businesses were also the pre-eminent places for music teaching and concert promotions. All of the leading musicians, local and visiting, used these music houses as their social centres as well as their box offices. In the 1860s in Sydney, J R Clarke continued in a similar role, as did J H Anderson, W J Johnson, L Moss, G Peck and Reading & Wellbank. Their publishing output was frequently less than it was in the fifties. Other music publishers were Elvy & Co and James Fussell. Printers of the time included Degotardi, J A Engel and J N Fischer.

There were two Exhibitions, the Metropolitan and Intercolonial Exhibition of 1870 and the Sydney International Exhibition of 1879, that had significant musical components. Musician/composers prominent in these were Charles Packer, John Hill and J Churchill Fisher (1870) and Paolo Giorza, Hector Maclean and Madame Summerhayes (1879). Giorza was the musical director of the 1879 exhibition, and his Exhibition Album was published by Nicholson & Ascherberg. These events often provided opportunities for composers to write larger scale works and have them performed, but very few of the works were published, and few of them remain. All of these musicians also published some of their smaller scale compositions during this period.

Many of the famous singers of the time feature on sheet music. These include Armes Beaumont, the Simonsens, Lucy Chambers, Mrs Bushelle and Ilma di Murska. Ilma had a taste, one could say, for marrying Australian composers, first Alfred Anderson and then John Hill. She failed to mention to Anderson that she was already married, and her financial dealings were not entirely honourable, but she certainly could sing
and attracted the largest audiences. Many of the musical societies, liedertafels and choirs that flourished at this time commissioned works from their conductors and associates. Some of these works were published, and some remain in various archives.

The major music house to emerge in the 1870s was Nicholson & Ascherberg, which began in Melbourne in 1876. The Sydney office that was established in 1877, published several works, all of which were printed by Charles Troedel, occasionally from Melbourne but increasingly from Troedel's Sydney office. Several works by Paolo Giorza were published: the *Giorza's Exhibition Album* (illus p 215), *The Old Corporal Quadrille* and *Giulia Waltz*.

Elvy & Co (active 1865-99) did not have an extensive publishing output, but in nearly forty years Elvy published many of the leading composers of the day. These include Henry Marsh, Paolo Giorza, Maud Fitz-Stubbs and Alberto Zelman. He published more local than overseas composers, which was unusual, and also published many patriotic titles, for example *The Duke of Edinburgh Schottische*, *The Commonwealth Waltz*, *The Glebe Rowing Club Polka*, *The Land of Gold*, *The Land of the Sunny South* (illus p 164), *The Native Rose Waltz*, *The New Prince Imperial Quadrilles* and *Queen of the South Waltz Brillante*. Elvy used several of the printers who lithographed music during this period.

When Lyster died in 1880, J C Williamson was able to take over the role of major opera impresario, as he had already been producing opera and light opera in Sydney. Giorza conducted his Gilbert and Sullivan seasons in 1879 and 1880. Another conductor/composer, Leon Caron, also worked for Williamson. Throughout the 1880s and 1890s there was a considerable volume of sheet music published that was associated with the Williamson's and other entrepreneurs' productions, in particular the music for local revues and pantomimes. The music frequently featured the leading performers in single or multiple portraits, and different editions could feature different performers.

The centenary celebrations in Sydney in 1888 were not as extensive as those in Melbourne, but two major works by Australian composers were commissioned and performed; *Centenary Cantata* by Hugo Alpen and the *Captain Cook: a Centenial Cantata* by John Delany. As far as it can be ascertained, these works were not published. The manuscript full score of the latter is in the Sydney Conservatorium Library, as well as sets of parts for *the Overture on the Themes from the Cantata Captain Cook* and for *Australia Awakens*, which is Part No 7 from the *Cantata*. 
In the 1880s the pace of music publishing began to quicken, and several firms doubled their efforts. In 1880 the partnership of Nicholson & Ascherberg was dissolved, and the company Nicholson & Co formed to take over its operations both in Melbourne and in Sydney. Its publishing output in Sydney in the 1880s and 1890s was greater and mostly reflected the public demand for popular dances and sentimental songs. Nicholson & Co published works by the well-known composers Leon Caron, Carlmora, G de Cairos Rego, J A Delany, Hector Maclean and Auguste Wiegand. Nicholson & Co used a variety of printers, as did other publishers. Some interesting titles are *Sons of New Britannia, Melba Waltz, Mowbray Waltz, Warrandine Waltz* and *LC5 Waltz*, the last mentioned celebrating a prize-winning cow named LC5 (Elsie 5). Nicholson & Co continued the series *Australian Music Magazine* that had begun in Melbourne under Nicholson & Ascherberg and was first printed by C Troedel. These were compilation albums, mostly of piano music or songs, but often with particular topics, for example Christmas numbers, Centennial and Federation issues and Strauss waltzes. These albums must have been very popular, as all of the major publishers produced similar series and all of them had varying editions and reprints. Very few are dated, not even the Christmas ones or those relating to events, and all of the publishers varied the contents of the reprints and later editions as well as making changes in the cover, the size or the printer.

Nicholson & Co's main competitor in Sydney was W H Paling & Co. Although this firm had been in operation since W H Paling's arrival in 1855, it did not begin to publish music until the seventies. Titles published then include two items by Giorza, *The Stars that Watch our Slumber* and *Per Sempre (for ever)* and another song, *Vanity* by William D Hall. In the 1880s, Paling published *Waratah Polka Mazurka* by Daphne, *For the Old Land's Sake* by N la Feuillade and another work by Giorza in 1883, *Adieu Waltz for Piano*. Two technical works of the time are *Five Finger Exercises* by Aloyse Schmidt and *Examinations in Pianoforte Playing: Junior Grade List A* for the Sydney College of Music. These were relatively early examples of local publishing of technical works. This has always been a fringe area for Australian publishing, as most music teachers are still more confident about technical works with the imprimatur of European or English publishers. Paling's output increased from six items in the 1870s to twenty-four in the 1880s and to over one hundred items in the 1890s.

During the 1890s however, there was an outpouring of printed music. Paling's 100 items published (approximately) represented about one quarter of the music
published in the 1890s for all of Australia. There are some parallels with the 1850s that are of interest. There was greatly increased musical activity on all fronts, professional and amateur, in public and in homes, and an experienced pool of printers and publishers whose reputations had been building up through the period in question. There was an equally insatiable appetite for social dances (particularly waltzes), sentimental songs and items featuring local and visiting performers. However there were also significant differences. In the 1890s there were performances in many kinds of theatres and concert halls that attracted large audiences. These included constant performances of operas, light operas, revues, music hall, variety, music hall and pantomimes. There were growing audiences for choral and orchestral concerts, and there were even a few chamber music concerts that did not need a vocal component by a popular singer to attract an audience.

Music houses were opened by music teachers who could sell enough pianos to stay in business with some teaching on the premises, and this caused nary a ripple on the booming piano sales of the major music houses. It was these major music houses that had the better agencies for the best-selling pianos that made the most profits, and many of them branched out into selling sewing machines and bicycles on the same basis, that is on time payment. These music houses had vast premises, with many departments on different floors for selling music, instruments, repairing and tuning instruments, salons for concerts and social events, and rooms for teachers. They all had box offices and took an active part in entrepreneurial activities. One activity they did not support was the publishing of works by composers in Australia who wrote abstract and complex works. The repertoire stayed firmly in the realm of popular songs, dances such as polkas and waltzes, easy and descriptive piano works and patriotic items. An occasional choral work appeared, but few instrumental ones. Only one publisher, T E Bulch, focused on publishing band parts.

In 1895 an interesting article was written, “Musicians and Musical Taste in Australasia” (Quinn p 391-8). This outlined the views of composers in Sydney trying to foster the composition and performance of fine music. They were Henri Kowalski, J A Delany, Auguste Wiegand, Gugliemo Lardelli, Augustus W Juncker and Madame Charbonnet Kellermann. Each of them had something pertinent to say, outlining the problems they faced and their thoughts for the future well-being of music. Most of this is still relevant today, over 100 years later. One of them, the organist August Wiegand, told Quinn: [his own] compositions are not to be had. Local publishers show a reluctance to give him his price, while a few tell him plainly it is no good coming to them with pieces for the organ. 'Give us a polka or a waltz,' they say; 'that
will pay. Anything in that way for the piano, but not the organ.' His opinion of music in the colonies is not a high one. He describes it as an 'epidemic of waltzes,' and thinks there are more professors of music than pupils.

Notes

p 22 Reichenberg, J advertises quadrilles for Australia *The Australian* No 29 29.4.1825 p 1

p 23 Kavanagh advertises music pieces *Sydney Gazette* 5.1.1826 p 3

p 23 Campbell, R advertises musical instruments and printed music. *Sydney Gazette* No 1093, 20.10.1824 p 1


p 24 Lhotsky, John advertises *A Song of the Women of Menero.* *Sydney Gazette* 11.11.1834 p 3


p 24 Wallace, V W. Review of concert containing Wallace's *Echo's Song.* *Sydney Times* No 5 4.2.1837 p 3

5.1.1836 p 3

p 28 Stubbs, T 1838. Advertises *Australian Jubilee Waltz*. *Sydney Times* Vol 5 No 1
6.1.1838 p.3, reviewed *Sydney Times* Vol 5 No 4 27.1.1838 p 3


p 29 Wallace, V W. Advertises sale of musical instruments and music from F Ellard's. *Sydney Times* No 13 1.4.1837 p 3


p 31 Nathan, Isaac. Impending arrival noted. *Sydney Herald* 18.3.1841 p 2

p 31 Coppin, George. Quote from ADB v 3 p 462

p 33 Marsh, Henry. List of Marsh's music publications. *Illustrated Sydney News*
6.6.1854 p 48

The development of music publishing in Melbourne
1800-1899

The topic of music found a welcome in Melbourne's earliest newspapers, if only briefly, and it is from these and other sources that a story can be told, although somewhat sketchily. There is an impression of early concerts, of people struggling to make a living by teaching music, selling and tuning of instruments, and by providing venues and support for visiting artists like the celebrated singer, Maria Carandini who arrived in Melbourne in 1839. Joseph Gautrot, a violinist, also arrived in 1839 with his wife, a singer. He worked as a musician, teacher and composer, and as Melbourne's first piano tuner. The Gautrots struggled for a few years in Melbourne, went to Hobart Town for a while, and ended up in Sydney in poor health and dire poverty and eventually went to India. An unhappy tale for Melbourne's first professional musicians, who by all accounts provided a variety of lively performances. Gautrot's compositions tantalise us by their existence in reports (Radic MMus p 66, Brisbane p 36) but their invisibility in a notated reality. These include the titles Septet Air Russe with Variations on a Russian Melody performed in February 1841 and the Overture à la Melbourne that was performed at the opening concert of the Pavilion Theatre in April that year.

Isaac Nathan arrived in February 1841 in Melbourne during the Gautrots' sojourn there. He gave several concerts, but he soon realised there was insufficient work to sustain them all, and departed for Sydney in late March.

The patterns of a particular kind of cultural cringe emerge in the 1840s in Melbourne, with every visiting artist feted, while local musicians struggled for their existence, their music seldom heard or printed. Choral music in organisations such as the first Philharmonic Society began to flourish. It was as if safety in numbers and the tried and true European repertoire would provide musical sustenance where the local response to any local individual musician's efforts was dismissive, if not to say rejected. Only one music item printed in the 1840s has been located to date. It is The Shadow of the Heart (illus p 44) with words by W H Harrison Esq and music by Adela H Hammond. It was lithographed by H Lingham, probably between 1842 and 1843, and is inscribed 'this is the first song and music published in Melbourne prior
to 1845. It is in the McCrae family papers, MSS 12831, in the State Library of Victoria and it is one of the few examples of Lingham's lithography still extant. Melbourne's rapid growth during the fifties was attributed to the wealth generated by the gold rushes, and musical activities expanded accordingly. Musicians arrived, sometimes with visiting artists, for example Sara Flower, Catherine Hayes and Anna Bishop, and then made Melbourne their home. The talented musicians Charles Elsasser, Julius Buddee, L Lavenu and Alberto Zelman contributed to the secure development of a wide range of music. Opera performances became more frequent, often put on by musician families like the Howsons and the Carandinis. These provided employment for the singers and musicians mentioned above and of course many others. They and other entrepreneurs were able to bring to Australia not only high profile visiting artists, including the three above, but the latest promenade concerts, dances and the numerous touring minstrel companies.

See p 43 for an example of the Melbourne music printer C Troedel & Co

*The Melbourne Exhibition March* by G W Torrance
The Melbourne Exhibition March by G W Torrance
(Publisher W H Glen & Co, lithograph by C Troedel & Co)
THE SHADOW OF THE HEART

THE POETRY BY

W. W. Harrison

To whom the Music is Respectfully Inscribed

By his obliged

Johnny Friend

ADELA A. HAMMOND.

Melbourne.

This is the first song printed in Melbourne.

Miss 3d
Buy 37s 6d

The Shadow of the Heart by Adela A Hammond (lithographer Henry Lingham, the first music located so far which was printed in Melbourne, circa 1842-43)
Music trades such as piano tuning and repairs and organ building began to flourish, music teachers were available for many instruments both in the suburbs as well as in the city, and a wide range of stores were advertising music and instruments for sale. By 1853 there were four specialist music and musical instrument sellers in business in the city. One run by George Chapman flourished until the end of the century. George Peck, mentioned above in Sydney, had another store for a while, and eventually went to Sydney, after other travels. Information about the other two, Joseph Wilkie and W H Williams is below.

The major music store was that of Joseph Wilkie. There is no doubt that Joseph Wilkie's arrival in Melbourne in early 1850 provided the seeds for a very different musical world (Game p 8). He was trained as a piano tuner in London at Broadwood and Sons, a fertile ground for many of Australia's music businesses. Within two months of his arrival, Wilkie had set up his own business with a wide range of music and instruments. His first advertisement (Game p 9) was typically comprehensive, not only in describing his resources but in its references to his Friends 'both in town and the bush' and to the range of services he could provide. If all this was achieved in just two months, it is not surprising that he went on to develop a business that has always been at the forefront of music retailing and publishing in Australia. With the goldfields nearby, Melbourne became the centre for spending this new-found wealth, and Wilkie responded to this enthusiastically, increasing his resources to meet this growing market. He also branched out into concert promotions, to the benefit of cultural and charitable activities. Two works performed in 1850 and subsequently published by Wilkie were The Separation Polka and the Railway Galop.

Throughout the next decade and more, Wilkie published a blend of traditional old faithfults from England, that is popular songs and operatic excerpts by composers Balfe, Henry Bishop, Stephen Foster and Verdi, and local pieces by composers S H Marsh, G O Rutter, G M Weinritter and W F Wrighton. These pieces mirrored the daily concerns of life in Melbourne. Among these were the evocative titles All England Eleven Polka, The Melbourne Varsovienne, The Pic-nic Point Polka, The Yarra Vale Polka and The Kangaroo Hunt Polka. This last named was reviewed as follows in the Journal of Australasia:

Mr Weinritter has produced a very original and spirited polka called The Kangaroo Hunt Polka - very different to the namby pamby imitations of worn-out themes that have sometimes passed for colonial productions (Weinritter p 282).
Wilkie seldom named the printers used although occasionally W H Williams printed music for him, and although many pieces had illustrated covers, only a few artists are named. In this first period, Cyrus Mason illustrated at least two covers for Wilkie, The Melbourne Varsovienne and The Pic-nic Point Polka.

Other music publishers and printers emerged in the fifties. The boundaries between the two were not clearly defined, as many firms published and printed music themselves, occasionally used other printers, printed music for other publishers and published music directly for individual composers.

One of them, W H Williams printed music for Wilkie and his subsequent companies, and also published music himself. He was known as 'Musical Williams,' (Work p 2) not only for his printing and publishing of music, librettos and programs, but he also sang tenor solo in twenty-five of the Melbourne Philharmonic Society concerts, and was involved with many of the committees and boards running Melbourne's musical organisations.

He published and printed several periodicals, three of which contained printed music. These were W H Williams' Illustrated Australian Annual, Williams' Musical Annual and Australian Sketchbook for 1858, and Journal of Australasia. One of the more interesting items is The Native Wren by the composer J Summers, the second piece based on an Australian bird-song (Summers p 52-3). This was published in W H Williams Illustrated Annual, 1869-70. The first Australian music based on Australian bird song was Frederick Ellard's The Australian Bird Waltz, published in Sydney in 1854.

Other composers living in Australia whose works are buried in these journals include S Nelson, Stephen C Massett, J Tolhurst, Walter Bonwick, G O Rutter and Elizabeth Philp. Other music published by Williams, mostly in the fifties, are A Collection of Thirty Standard Psalm Tunes in Vocal Score selected by George L Allan, Blue Mountains Polka by R E V, The Irish Peasant Girl by Walter Bonwick (illus p 319), Ever of Thee by Foley Hall, Gentle Annie by S Foster, Riflemen Form by C F W Gollmick and The Australian Colonists Song by S G. Another music journal published by Williams, but without printed music in it was Australian Musical and Dramatic Review, published in 1866.

Williams also printed music for McCulloch & Stewart as well as Wilkie. Several of these items were published at the same time in both Sydney and Melbourne with some
of the rare examples of Melbourne and Sydney publishers using the same plates. It is interesting that Williams often dated his music, even though he got a caustic review for doing so (Magpie No 9.12.15 1865, p 5 also quoted above in full in the Introduction, p xv). This was for My Sister Dear, which has yet to be located.

A similar company to W H Williams was Clarson, Shallard & Co. They also published and printed similar materials for themselves, other publishers and for each other. It was the first of several companies that were set up by the principals, Clarson, Shallard, Gibbs and Massina, in varying combinations with each other both in Melbourne and Sydney from the end of the 1850s into the next century. Clarson, Shallard & Co printed music from 1859 to 1866 for the publishers McCulloch & Stewart and R J Paling (Both published The Opera Schottische by William Youens); Excelsior Polka for J Megson, Toorak Polka for Robert Mackie and Willie We Have Missed You by Stephen C Foster for J Wilkie. They also published for individual composers. Examples are Mary Richardson and Charles H Compton, and for Frederick A Packer, a version of Nearer to Thee Hymn CIX that was typeset rather than lithographed, as was the rest of their music.

Another company blurring the boundaries between publisher and printer in this period was Fergusson & Mitchell. They printed music for McCulloch & Stewart from the mid-fifties and for R J Paling, G C Evans (Ballarat) and T L Hood (Hobart). They also printed music for W H Glen for twenty years from the mid-1870s. Fergusson & Mitchell published music for the composers L H Lavenu and G F Root and they also published a version of Willie We Have Missed You by Stephen Foster.

There was other music published in the late fifties, some by minor publishers. One was Edward Arnold, whose two music pieces, The Aurora Australis Polka by J Sutherland and The Light from the Mountain by S Nelson, were printed by De Gruchy & Leigh.

There is a recurring pattern of a business being established through the sale and maintenance of pianos, selling imported music, then publishing a few pieces of music, and finally often reverting to the original trades, of tuning pianos or teaching music. McCulloch & Stewart are one such example. Both men were piano tuners. They published about twelve items between 1859 and 1863 and then both resumed their own piano tuning businesses separately. They mostly published the standard popular songs, with two Australian works, The Opera Schottische by William Youens and Advance Australia by S Nelson. This patriotic song was referred to frequently in the
press at the time, and was popular in both Sydney and Melbourne. There is another example of publishers in Melbourne and Sydney using the same plates, this time the work is *Molly Asthore*. The music and the illustration of the McCulloch & Stewart edition are identical to the J R Clarke edition.

We often associate the name Paling with music selling and publishing, particularly in Sydney towards the end of the century and throughout much of the twentieth century. This usually refers to William Henry Paling. His brother, Richard John Paling ran a similar music store in Melbourne from 1857 to 1886. Their father was a piano manufacturer in Holland, and both sons were accomplished musicians (William a violinist, Richard a pianist) as well as both being competent tradesmen. Richard John Paling actually published music twenty years before his brother did. Some titles from the sixties are *The Silver Lake Varsoviana* by W H Montgomery (illus p 49), *The Opera Schottische* by William Youens, *Ever of Thee!* by Foley Hall and *Ring the Bell, Watchman* by H C Work. Music of the composer W St John Caws was published in the 1870s.

In the sixties, Melbourne's general musical life seemed to be overshadowed by the vitality and popularity of opera, particularly after the advent of W S Lyster. From 1861 to 1868, and then from 1870 to 1880, W S Lyster's opera companies staged over 40 operas in Australia (Love). Australian music publishers, both in Sydney and Melbourne, were quick to capitalise on the popularity of opera. They published arias, arrangements and excerpts from the major operas from the mainstream European repertoire that were produced by Lyster. The librettos published in Australia are also a rich source of information for relating to the printed music. Many of the opera singers who sang in Lyster's productions are featured in portraits or mentioned as performers on sheet music. They include the singers Armes Beaumont, Ilma di Murska, Lucy Escott, Henry Squires, the Simonses, Nellie Stewart, and Lucy Chambers. There are also many musicians, composers and conductors associated with Lyster who published music. These include George Benjamin Allen, Paolo Giorza, John Hill, Henry Ketten, George Loder, Alfred Montague, Julius Siede, James Schott, Anthony Reiff, Alberto Zelman and Stephen Hale Marsh. Marsh's opera *The Gentleman in Black* in 1861 was Lyster's only production of a local opera. Unfortunately only the libretto remains, as the score and parts are believed to have perished in a fire in San Francisco.
The Silver Lake Varsoviana by W H Montgomery (publisher R J Paling, printer Fergusson & Mitchell, artist unknown)
By 1862, Joseph Wilkie's firm was now so successful that he formed a partnership with John Campbell Webster, who had also worked at Broadwood and Sons in London, and who had taught music at the same school as George Leavis Allan in Melbourne. The firm was then known as Wilkie & Webster. In the following year G L Allan joined them, and the name changed to Wilkie, Webster & Co. It became Wilkie, Webster & Allan from 1869 to 1876. These companies published fewer items than Wilkie had in the fifties, but mention can be made of *Seeking Rest* by Wm St John M Caws and sung by Madame Anna Bishop (illus p 316), *Sea Grove* by George Pringle and *The Child and the Wattle Blossom* by George B Allen. It was not until the firm was solely under the direction of G L Allan that music publishing began to pick up, and then slowly, under Allan & Co (Wilkies) from the mid-seventies and then under Allan & Co from 1881 onwards (illus p 52). It was also under Allan that the companies began to use Troedel as their printer.

Two major figures in music publishing and printing in Melbourne emerged in the sixties. They were to dominate the field and to set very high standards for the remainder of the century. They were William H Glen, music seller and publisher and Charles Troedel, lithographer and printer. W H Glen came from Edinburgh to work for J Wilkie in 1853, set up his own business in 1858, and after several moves set up shop in Collins St near Wilkie's. Glen's and Wilkie's firms seem to operate on parallel lines, with similar retailing, instrument maintenance, teaching, entrepreneurial and publishing activities. Troedel arrived in 1860 and set up his own business in 1863. From the mid-sixties to the end of the century Glen and Troedel produced some of the most outstanding examples of printed music to be found in Australia (illus p 55). Technically, the music layout and clear lithography is a delight to the eye (and no doubt to the fingers for pianists), and the covers are all designed to embody the ideas expressed in the titles and music. The covers are either decorative, with a great variety of typefaces, decorative features and layouts, or illustrated by one of the many artists employed by Troedel. Musically Glen's first publishing ventures were centred conservatively in popular musical tastes, with a sprinkling of local composers' works, particularly on local themes. One of the first published was the *Intercolonial Exhibition March 1866* by the composer Charles E Horsley, who was the musical director for the Exhibition. Glen continued to publish works commissioned for events, and music featuring local and visiting artists from then on.

Troedel printed music for all of Melbourne's music publishers. Perhaps he lithographed the music texts himself, as he was an active participant in musical activities, and perhaps he also employed Thomas Lamble, a music teacher who
advertised in the seventies that he was a music engraver. None of the musical texts and very few of the illustrations are signed. Charles Turner and Richard Wendel are two artists who did sign or initial some music covers for Troedel and other printers. In the sixties, Troedel printed music for Wilkie, Webster & Co, and for the individual composers Cesare Cutolo, S H Marsh, J Schott and T W L Martyr. In the seventies Troedel printed music for the publishers Wilkie Webster & Allan, Allan & Co (Wilkies), Allan & Co, J C W Nicholson, Nicholson & Ascherberg and composers A Charbonnet and C A White. By the seventies almost all of the music was illustrated.

See over p 52 for illustration of Allan & Co’s premises from a back cover

And p 53 for illustration of Glen’s Don’t Forget to Write Me Darling
ESTABLISHED TWENTY-SIX YEARS

ALLAN & CO.

(WILKIE'S)

17 & 19 COLLINS STREET EAST, MELBOURNE.

TIME-PAYMENT SYSTEM

IS APPLIED TO ALL INSTRUMENTS.

SOLE AGENTS FOR THE FAMOUS

SMITH AMERICAN ORGANS

THE FINEST CABINET ORGANS IN THE WORLD.

A MAGNIFICENT STOCK OF

GRAND AND COTTAGE PIANOS

BY ALL THE BEST MAKERS IN EUROPE.

ALL SHEET MUSIC HALF-PRICE.

Allan and Co (back cover with premises in Collins st)
Don't Forget to Write Me Darling by Lettie Lauder (publisher W H Glen & Co, printer Charles Troedel, artist unknown)
Other events in the sixties that prompted a flurry of music compositions were the growth of the volunteer forces and the visit of Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh (Harding). His visit in 1867-68 lead to about eighty works been written in all the cities he visited. Published in Melbourne and printed by Troedel were *The Alfred March*, *The Prince Alfred Galopade* (illus p 311), *The Royal Galatea Waltz* (illus p 55) 'and *Galatea Secunda*.

One interesting publisher in the late sixties and seventies, following on from Clarson, Shallard & Co was Clarson, Massina & Co. They published more substantial works, for example the albums *The Drawing-room Casket Book 1* and *The Weston and Hussey Minstrels' Book of Songs: Nos 1 & 2* and the compositions *Nearer to Thee; Hymn CIX* by Frederick A Packer, *Victoria; a School Cantata* by Samuel McBurney, *The States Valse* by Paolo Giorza and *The Christmas Greeting* by S McBurney. In 1869 they began the monthly publication of *The Australian Melodist*. These were song-books with texts only, but were immensely popular and sold nearly 100,00 copies by 1884. Clarson, Massina & Co also published the periodical *Humbug*. In September 1869 it published a review of a song *Wilt Thou be Mine* by Henry Benjamin that stated that is an 'almost literal copy of the ballad *Bird Roving Wild and Free.*' This is one of the few indications of music plagiarism in early Melbourne.

During the 1870s, opera was again dominant. Lyster returned in 1870 with new companies and new artists, many of whom were important in the promotion of opera and concerts. Lyster's conductors Paolo Giorza, Alberto Zelman, John Hill, John Delany and George B Allen also composed and published music. Other musicians who performed with Lyster and also composed music were Julius Siede, Fred Lyster, George Loder, Frank Howson and J Schott.

Wilkie's had also provided a thorough training ground for another tradesman turned music retailer. J C W Nicholson had worked for his father's organ building firm in Yorkshire for nineteen years before becoming a salesman at Wilkie's from 1859 to 1873 when he set up his own business.

See over for illustration of *The Royal Galatea Waltz*, published by C Troedel
The Royal Galatea Waltz by Edith Annie Roberts (publisher and printer by Chas Troedel)
A few years later Nicholson was in partnership with Elman Ascherberg, with the firm Nicholson & Ascherberg, running from 1875 to 1880. Nicholson then formed Nicholson & Co after the partnership had dissolved and Ascherberg had returned to England. In 1876 Nicholson set up his business in Collins St with enlarged and renovated premises. An article in the journal *The Australasian Sketcher* of November that year commented favourably on all the music retailers in splendid premises in Collins St (Nicholson p 135). By this time Wilkie, Webster & Allan and W H Glen were next door to each other and Nicholsons not far away. One innovation of Nicholson's was to have a circulating library of printed music. This was eventually taken over by E W Cole when Nicholson & Co moved to Sydney. The library contained 12,000 works, both vocal and instrumental, to which the latest works were regularly added. Nicholson published the same range of materials as the other music houses, and the composers of the day moved freely between them all, so that there was not the kind of relationship between composer and publisher that one sees elsewhere at the time. Nicholson also had most of his music printed by Troedel, but also used Clarison, Massina & Co. Many of the works printed by Troedel for Nicholson's companies have plate numbers but further work needs to be done to establish how reliable they are for dating purposes. Like the other music houses, Nicholson also had teaching rooms, a box office and a concert salon on the premises, particularly for chamber music.

In 1877 George L Allan built new premises (illus p 52). He soon had the largest stock of music and musical instruments in the southern hemisphere, there was a suite of offices on the upper storey for professors of music, and he was the agent and legal representative for the principal music publishing houses of England and the musical instrument factories in Europe. At the Melbourne International Exhibition of 1880-81, the firms represented by Mr Allan took a large number of first prizes. His son George Clark Allan became a partner in 1881, when the form of the name was altered to Allan & Co. It was George Clark Allan who was responsible for bringing Frederick Cowen to Australia for the 1888 Centennial Exhibition and the festival of music afterwards.

One of Melbourne's most versatile musicians from the seventies on, William Furlong, had a career that moved back and forth between teaching, performing, composing, selling music and instruments and being organist and director of music at St Francis' Church. His own compositions were published by his own company, Furlong & Co, some of them as late as the 1920s. Some of his works were published by other publishers, and by his own company and that run with W F Dixon, named Furlong,
Dixon & Co. They also published music by the composers Alfred Blannin, T J Farron and W St John M Caws. Furlong's work at St Francis' Church and of other composers like Giorza is found in *Echoes of Home; Music at St Francis, 1845-1995* by John H Byrne (Byrne). When Furlong resumed his career as teacher and organist, Dixon's company Dixon & Co continued publishing music between 1877 and 1886, with additional works by W St John Caws. De Gruchy & Co were the printers used by these companies.

In 1880 the Melbourne International Exhibition was held in the new Exhibition Building. There were several choral and orchestral concerts held, and Leon Caron's cantata *Victoria* was commissioned and performed for this Exhibition. *The Melbourne Exhibition March* by G W Torrance was also adopted by the Exhibition Committee. The impetus given to music in Victoria by this building over the next few decades was considerable. With the Melbourne Town Hall that was opened in 1870, and the Exhibition Building, choral and orchestral music flourished. They provided an alternative for audiences to the works performed in Melbourne's theatrical venues. After Lyster's death in 1880, J C Williamson and similar companies mostly put on lighter fare. This included Gilbert and Sullivan and other operettas, vaudeville, revues and pantomimes.

In 1888 Melbourne hosted another exhibition, the Centennial International Exhibition, again centred on the Exhibition Building. Frederick Cowen, a London conductor and composer was commissioned to conduct the orchestra, for which he brought with him from England fifteen instrumentalists to add to the local ones who had been in rehearsal for the event under George Clark Allan. The orchestra gave 250 orchestral concerts, with all of the works from the standard European repertoire and an occasional local one. This provided a stimulus to orchestral music, and for the next few years, there were attempts to provide a permanent professional orchestra in Melbourne. The Victorian Orchestra was formed in 1889 and continued for a few years, and on the arrival of G W L Marshall-Hall, George Allan provided financial backing for the Marshall-Hall Orchestra, that continued into the next century. Although these events brought a wider range of professional musicians and large audiences to the performances, the local composers' works were seldom included in these programs and they found considerable resistance from the music publishers to publish any of their more extended or complex works. The situation was the same in Melbourne as it was in Sydney (see above).
In the late eighties and throughout the 1890s, Allan & Co and W H Glen & Co, like other Australian music publishers at the time, increasingly used English and German printers for their sheet music. Often the printers were unnamed, particularly for Allan's imprints. In this period W H Glen & Co used a variety of printers as well as Troedel & Co. There were John Andrew & Co, Fergusson & Mitchell, Hamel & Co, Fergusson & Co, McCarron, Bird & Co and Hamel Bros.

Another area of publishing where all of the music houses competed with each other was that of the compilation albums. Glen published two titles. The Colonial Musical Cabinet began in 1875 and continued to at least no 38 in the early 1900s. It contained works by the local composers Alberto Zelman, H J King, Charles Lee, C J Miers, Siede and WJ Turner. Three issues between 19 and 23 have portraits of Nellie Stewart, Frederick Cowen and J Hamilton Clarke in them. Federal Music Books began in 1890, were printed in Germany, and contain portraits and brief notes on the performers Melba, Armes Beaumont and Rosina Carandini.

Nicholson's titles, published from 1881 to about 1907, were Australian Music Magazine and then Nicholsons Musical Magazine, with some issues having their own distinctive titles.

It was not until Allan and Co's Australian Music Books were published from 1892 onwards that there was real competition. These albums from Allans proved to be the most popular (illus p 60). Thousands sold with editions, reprints and every variant known to the hapless bibliographer. All of the publishers were shy about dating these albums or indicating that the contents varied when the titles or numbers did not and so on.

Notes


p 46 Work, T L. The Early Printers of Melbourne. Australian Typographical Journal Vol 29 No 344 Feb 1899 p 2
p 46 Summers, J. The Native Wren. W H Williams Illustrated Annual, 1869-70
p 52-53


p 54 Harding, Gillian. Music for the Tour of His Royal Highness Prince Alfred to the Australian Colonies 1867-1868. BA Hon thesis, Canberra School of Music 1996


p 57 Byrne, John H. Echoes of Home; Music at St Francis, 1845—1995. Melbourne: St Francis' Choir, 1995

See over for Allan & Co advertisement for The Australian Music Books
The Australian Music Books have not only completely crowded out all colonial competitors, but have virtually secured the monopoly of the Australian Market against the publications of the world and are now

The Standard SHILLING BOOKS of the Music Trade.

49 NUMBERS READY—containing an average of 18 well-known compositions in each number.

LIST OF CONTENTS POST FREE ON APPLICATION.

ALLAN & Co. Ltd. The Block, Collins Street, MELBOURNE.
Chapter nine

Printing techniques

Music printing techniques in Australia

There are three kinds of music printing that can be found in nineteenth century Australia: music typesetting, or letterpress, in which the impression is taken from a raised surface of typematter or blocks; engraving, which uses an intaglio process when the marks to be printed are etched, engraved or punched into a metal plate so that they are lower than the non-printing parts and lithography. There were four methods of lithography used for the printing of music; writing in reverse with lithographic ink on stone or metal plates; writing the normal way round on transfer paper with special lithographic writing ink, taking proofs from engraved plates and transferring them to stone, and working with a point through a ground of gum arabic layered onto the stone. There are also other lithographic methods used for the pictorial and decorative work on title-pages, such as crayon drawing, tinted lithography and colour printing (Twyman p.1130)

The technical aspects of music printing in Australia mirror the developments in England and Ireland, where most of the early engravers and lithographers received their training, such as Ellard (illus p 63), Carmichael and the Grocotts. Towards the middle of the century, the talented lithographers Degotardi and Troedel arrived from Europe. Both engraved and lithographed music items were produced, with only a gradual elimination of engraving music during the 1860s in Sydney. As far as it can be ascertained, engraving was not used in Victoria.

Music typesetting was seldom used by printers, but Isaac Nathan produced most of his own compositions with his own music type and letter press materials that he would then provide to printers and publishers (illus p 64). More details about Nathan’s music typesetting can be found in his entry in the Sydney Directory. Typesetting was sometimes used for choral and sacred music, particularly in the 1880s and 1890s. One earlier example is Nearer to Thee by Frederick A Packer, published in about 1866 by Clarson Shallard & Co. Another example is Rise! Australia, published by Andrews and Cook in 1899.
The music publishers and printers of the 1840s, such as Ellard, Grocott and Hudson, mostly used engraving, but the printers Thomas Liley and Thomas Bluett, who set those of Nathan's works that he had not typeset himself, lithographed the music. This had less than satisfactory results, from either the musical or visual point of view. During the 1850s, the musical texts were still frequently engraved, with Francis Ellard still the only one signing the works he engraved. One example of Ellard's music engraving style is *I'm a Merry Laughing Girl* published by Woolcott & Clarke (illus p 63).

It is clear from the various styles that other engravers were also engraving music. There are three items of engraved sheet music with the initials T L under the music text. These are *Why do I weep for Thee?* by Vincent Wallace (*Australian Presentation Album for 1855*), *Volunteer March, Polka and Galop* (*Australian Presentation Album for 1855*) and *Fading Away* by Anne Fricker. It is highly likely that these are all by Thomas Liley. He was one of the lithographers who produced three works for Isaac Nathan, *Koorinda Braia, Mable MacMahon* and *Star of the South*.

See p 63 for an example of engraved music *'I'm a Merry Laughing Girl'* (published by Woolcott and Clarke, music text engraved by F Ellard).

See p 64 for an example of typeset music *'The White Owl'* by Isaac Nathan (published by J R Clarke, music typeset by Nathan, in 5/4 time)

See p 65 for an example of lithographed music *'All Ready and All One'* by Austin T Turner (music lithographed by W Akhurst & Co)
I'm a merry merry laughing girl, And o'er the hills I rove, Singing.

I'm a Merry Laughing Girl (publisher Woolcott & Clarke, music text engraved by F Ellard, printer Kemp & Fairfax)
THE WHITE OWL

IN THE BELFRY SITS.

Written by

ALFRED TENNYSON, ESQ., D.C.L.,

POET LAUREATE.

The Music, in Juprangoet, by

I. NATHAN.


Published for the Composer by J. R. CLARKE,

85, GEORGE STREET, SYDNEY.

Price, 2s.

When dawn some light is come,
And dew is cool upon the ground;
And the
AN AUSTRALIAN PATRIOTIC SONG:

"All Ready and All One."

Poetry by Gerald Masson.

Music by Austin T. Turner.

1. What is the news to-day, boys? Have they tried the big sail?

2. They shall see why we boast of Ulus deeds that would be

All Ready and All One by Austin T Turner (lithographed by W Akhurst & Co, Sydney)
Allan and Wigley continued using engravers for the musical text into the 1860s, when *The Heliotrope Mazurka* was published in *The Australian Musical Album for 1863*, but by this time they were also using lithography for the music as well as the covers, as several examples in this same volume attest.

By the 1850s, lithographed covers were now prevalent and almost none of the lithographed musical texts was specifically signed (illus p 65). One could assume that the printers of the covers also lithographed the musical text, but they may have employed external lithographers in the same way that they often seemed to have employed external engravers. The covers are frequently decorative or illustrated, and many of the colonies' most famous artists are now illustrating music. There are well over 100 items in this period printed by Cunninghame, many with his characteristic decorative borders on the covers. The music text was sometimes engraved, and at least one is signed by F Ellard, and several more are also probably his, but Cunninghame gradually lithographed the musical text as well as the covers. Degotardi used engravers infrequently for music printed for J R Clarke, but there are several examples. By the time that Clarke was using the printer J A Engel, all the music, and of course all of the covers were lithographed. The only person to advertise his occupation in the Sands' directories as a music engraver and lithographer was T J Lamble in Melbourne, and he used this designation from 1874 to 1876, when he resumed being a professor of music. It is highly likely that he lithographed a great deal of music, particularly for Troedel, but this has to be further investigated. Photolithography and chromolithography were adopted with considerable skill by the printers Degotardi in Sydney and Troedel in Melbourne.

There are some examples of music in Sol-Fa notation published in Australia. One advertised as such was *Under the Holly: a Cantata* by James C Fisher for the Sydney Tonic Sol-Fa Association. It was published in 1865 by Reading and Wellbank, but only the libretto version without the Sol-Fa notation has been located so far.

In the 1880s and 1890s the major music publishers such as Allan and Co and W H Glen and Co in Melbourne, and Nicholson and Co and W H Paling in Sydney used English and German printers for some of their music. Roder in Leipzig produced some outstanding covers for them. These include *Dance des Enfants Gavotte, Nebraska Schottische, Elva Waltz, Australia Waltz, Toccata in A minor* (by Lardelli) and *Tandem Waltz*. 
Most of the Australian music publishers avoided the standard European concert repertoire for copyright reasons, but in the 1870s and 1880s there appeared the Hanover editions, which were printed overseas (the piano music frequently revised and fingered by J T Treckell). These were taken up by all of the major publishers, no doubt to meet the teaching demands of myriads of music teachers, teaching music in all parts of the colonies.

Further systematic study need to be undertaken to trace the changes in the sizes of music, the papers and the inks used, and to elucidate the variety of and changes in lithographic processing.

Lists on back covers
Lists on the back covers are frequently of great use in dating music, and often provide additional information about the items not found elsewhere on the items themselves (illus p 68, 69). However lists published on the back covers of items are particularly complex and often misleading, and should be treated with caution. Items appear on several listings in almost any sequence, and often the information on the item itself not only may differ from that on the list on its own back page but also from advertisements and reviews in newspapers and magazines. Fortunately some printers are systematic and relatively reliable, but several are particularly complex.

Notes:


See over p 68 for List on back covers (example of Woolcott & Clarke)
and p 69 for List on back covers (example of WH Glen & Co)
FAVORITE SONGS, VOCAL DUETS, PIANO SOLOS, Quadrilles, Polkas, Waltzes, and Overtures.

PUBLISHED AT THE MUSIC WAREHOUSE, 555, GEORGE STREET.

Songs.

A Rose in the Mountain Brow
A Rose Tree in Full Blowing
Beautiful Blue Violets
Beautiful Younghusband of the Blue Moselle
Cora's Farewell
Come Drawl with Me
Do not mistake me for an angel
England, Ireland, and Friends, farewell
Four-Loved Shamrock
Farewell to the Mountain Brow
England, Horn, and Friends,
Come Dwell with Me
Four-Leaved Shamrock
Do not mingle one human feeling
Corsair's Farewell
Beautiful Venice
A Roman Tree in full bearing
Farewell, but whenever you wel-
Fairy Boy
Beautiful Blue Violets
Farewell to the Mountain Brow
Forget thee! it to dream by night, and rise on thee by day,
Harp chat once chxo' Tiro* Harls
I dreamt time X dwelt in Marble Halls
I love but Thee
Ivy Green.
Ida
I'm a,
I met her in the Crystal Halls
Jenny Jones
I see other Days
Light Bark
Lonely Harp
Meet Me by Moonlight Alone
Love Not
As it fell upon a Day
All's Well'
Tell Me if to dream by night and rise on thee by day,
Still so kindly over me stealing
She is far from the Land
She is far from the Land
Song of Promethoe
Miller and his Men
Tristan and Isolde
Schottiches
Bavarian
German
New Year's Gift
Victoria
Walzer.
Odes
Prelud.

Vocal Duets.

As it fell upon a Day
All's Well'
Tell Me if to dream by night and rise on thee by day,
Still so kindly over me stealing
She is far from the Land
She is far from the Land
Song of Promethoe
Miller and his Men
Tristan and Isolde
Schottiches
Bavarian
German
New Year's Gift
Victoria
Walzer.
Odes
Prelud.

A choice selection of the Classical Works of—

Schubert, Burgmuller, Wallace, Raven, Liszt, Halberstadt, Osborne, Richards, Hare, Drydench, Roselle, Hunten, Goria, Bejer, &c., always kept on hand, and regularly received from the first London and Continental Publishers.

The latest Dance Compositions of—

Julien, D'Albert, Koech, Wagner, &c., &c., many superbly illustrated.

NEW AND POPULAR SONGS AND DUETS BY BARKER, LEE, GLOVER, BALFE, &c., &c., many superbly illustrated.

VIOLIN STRINGS, English and Roman, of the best description-

GUITAR STRINGS, and VIOLONCELLO STRINGS.

Woolcott and Clarke,

Music Sellers, Print-sellers, and Publishers,

555, George Street, next to the Bank of Australasia.

First Musical Publications.

VOCAL.

The celebrated duet BEAR ME, NORMA! Bellini.
The beautiful duet WHAT ARE THE WILD WAVES SAYING! Glauer.

The four most popular Songs of the Season, viz.,

A YOUNG LADY'S DREAM
I'VE A MERRY LAUGHING GIRL
YOU ASK ME IF I LOVE YOU! and I MET HER IN THE CRYSTAL HALLS.
A delightful song, "IDA"—commencing—Forgets thee! it to dream by night, and rise on thee by day,

THE LOVELY HARP
Poetry by Hon. Mrs. Norton.

INSTRUMENTAL.

Roseliea's classical Piano Solo—"THE REVERIE."
"THE LAST ROSE OF SUMMER," with brilliant variations by Herr.
Julien's admired "OLOA, WALZT."

A pleasing Set of Quadrilles, "LE CHEVALRESQUE," by Schubert.

The RATS QUADRILLES.

Julien's celebrated BANJO QUADRILLES DUES, introducing the air—'Take your time, Miss Lucy; Glaser Blue; De Sugar

Close Greens: Come Darkies, sing; Buffalo Girls.

The HARMONIA GALOP or DUUX TEMPS VAUSE.

Beyer's brilliant CAMPELLA POLKA.

THE DEVONSHIRE POLKA.

JUNE POLKA.

The GREAT BRITAIN POLKA, by Mr. F. Elgair, in honor of the Great Britain's arrival, and illustrated with a fine Wood Engraving by Mr. Mason.

The GEORGIANA POLKA, by Mr. C. Bonnington, dedicated to Miss Richmond of Nelson, New Zealand.

The MATRIMONIAL GALOP, by Gungl.

The INDESTRUCTIBLE POLKA.

Lists on back covers (example of Woolcott & Clarke)
The Leading Music Warehouse in Australia.

W. H. GLEN & CO.,
Music Sellers & Publishers,
(Wholesale & Retail).

Invite attention to their MAGNIFICENT STOCK OF MUSIC, which, for Variety and Excellence, is not equalled by any house in Australia. Their stock comprises the LARGEST COLLECTION OF ANY ESTABLISHMENT OUT OF EUROPE.

To which is constantly added ALL THE LATEST NOVELTIES IN

SONGS,

Piano Pieces and Dance Music

Immedeately after their publication in London.

W. H. GLEN & CO. are continually Publishing Lists of all the Newest and Most Popular Music, which they will be glad to Forward to any address, free of charge. Country Customers, and those Ladies and Gentlemen who are unable to favour us with a personal visit, are respectfully informed that we continue to select Parcels of the Newest Music, which our long experience enables us to do in such a manner that we can guarantee satisfaction.

ALL SHEET MUSIC SOLD AT HALF-PRICE. POSTAGE CHARGED ON ALL MUSIC SENT THROUGH THE POST.

NEW & POPULAR MUSIC, Published by W. H. Glen & Co.

Every Song or Piece on this List can be Recommended for its musical merit and will be forwarded to any address, on receipt of 2d. for the Price of each Sheet, with 2d. added for Postage.

NEW AND POPULAR SONGS.

Unfurl the Flag.     Price half 2d.
These are the Times.  Price half 2d.
Golden Moments.     Price half 2d.

Where is My Love?     (Duet).  Price half 2d.
Believe in My Love?    (Chorus).  Price half 2d.
Believe in My Love?    (Chorus).  Price half 2d.
The Day When You'll Forget Me.  Price half 2d.
The Minstrel.         Price half 2d.

All the World's a Stage.  Price half 2d.
Silver Bells of Memory.  Price half 2d.

NEW & POPULAR DANCE MUSIC.

Le Tragédie Waltz.    2d.
The Homespun Waltz.   2d.
The Bower Waltz.      2d.
The Fugue Waltz.      2d.
Dancing Bagatelle.   1d.

Glen's Highland Schottische.  2d.

NEW & POPULAR DANCE MUSIC.

Le Palais Waltz.      2d.
The Soccorgelig Waltz.  2d.
The Christmas Waltz.  2d.
The Bohemian Waltz.  2d.

Queen of the Woods Waltz.  2d.
Queen of the Woods Waltz.  2d.

W. H. GLEN & Co., 21 & 23 Collins-st, E.
Chapter Ten

Illustration and design of printed music and its artists

Illustrations on the covers or title pages of sheet music in Australia followed the trends that were evident in Europe and England at the time. There are some interesting illustrations on engraved covers from the 1840s, in particular those by John Carmichael for Francis Ellard. Two of his earliest covers, The Lancer's Quadrilles (first published in Sydney in 1839, illus p 143) and the Second Set of the Royal Irish Quadrilles had illustrations that were based on the English editions of the same works. One of Carmichael's most lively illustrations is on The Banner of Old England, published by G Hudson (illus p 71). Examples of Carmichael's decorative scrolling are Hart's Seventh Set of Quadrilles and The Lays of the Hebrews.

Another early woodcut illustration can be found on the title page of The Catadon Polka, published by Hudson (illus p 72). This music was dedicated to a curator at the Australian Museum, presumably responsible for catadons (whales). Several of Hudson's imprints had attractive vignettes and illustrations, but the artists are seldom named. One who did so was John Allan who produced the cover for The Australian Grand Waltzes. John Allan, engraver and printer, used the artist George French Angas to design and illustrate the covers for music published by Henry Marsh in the early 1850s. These included The Marian Waltzes, The Chusan Waltz, The Gazelle Waltz, The Galop for Gold (illus p 200), The Nuggett Schottische and Phoebe Morel. John Allan formed a partnership with William Wigley in 1854, when Woolcott & Clarke had already been publishing a stream of music titles.

When J R Clarke teamed up with W P Woolcott in 1851 there was further improvement in the design of music and its covers. The best artists of the day were commissioned by them. One of the first was W G Mason, who designed The Great Britain Polka (This image of the steamship Great Britain was used on both The Great Britain Polka and The Great Britain Galop, two different music titles published by Woolcott & Clarke, and also in The Picture Pleasure Book, published later by J R Clarke.) The City of Sydney Polka (illus p 21) designed by F C Terry and executed by W G Mason was another early Woolcott & Clarke woodcut illustration. This work was also published in Australian Presentation Album, [1854]. This image also appeared in W G Mason and H Marsh's journal, the Illustrated Sydney News (Sept 9, 1854).
The Banner of Old England

Dedicated to

The Blue and Red Jackets
of The Old Fighting School

by
An Australian Emigrant Old Soldier.

The Banner of Old England (publisher G W Hudson, artist J Carmichael)
The Catodon Polka by George Strong (publisher G W Hudson, artist unknown)
In 1855 Woolcott & Clarke produced another compilation album of their recently published sheet music, *Australian Presentation Album for 1855*. There are two works with portraits of Catherine Hayes, one by G F Angas and the other by C W Andrew and W G Mason; Sydney landscapes by C H Woolcott and F C Terry and a cartoon by Read. Read engraved the cover for *Volunteer March, Polka and Galop* (first edition) that was first printed by Degotardi for Woolcott & Clarke in 1854. It commemorates (or lampoons) a sham battle in the Domain known as 'The Battle of the Bull.' It is one of the few political cartoons on sheet music in Australia (illus p 74). This illustration is in the *Australian Presentation Album for 1855* and also on a sheet music copy in the National Library. As well as *Raindrops in Australia* in the 1855 album (illus p 155), Terry also illustrated *Darling Point Polka, Fair Australian Waltzes*, published by H Marsh & Co and *The Maude Waltzes*. All of these covers show a sensitivity to Sydney landscapes. Angas illustrated another work for Woolcott and Clarke, *The Anniversary Polka* by Henry Marsh. The Pictorial Collection of the National Library has a pencil drawing and sketches of the image used for this that is dated 26th Jan 1853, and one edition of the music was advertised for sale in February 1856.

After the partnership with Woolcott was dissolved in late 1856, Clarke continued publishing music, and commissioned the topographical artist Edmund Thomas (1827-1867) to illustrate covers. There are fifteen illustrations by him in the two subsequent albums Clarke published, *Australian Album, 1857* and *The Australian Musical Album for 1863*. There are portraits of Anna Bishop (coloured), Catherine Hayes and Miska Hauser in the 1857 album and of Henry Squires (illus p 75) and Lucy Escott (illus p 146) in the 1863 album. Almost all of the other Thomas's illustrations in these albums are scenes or images of Sydney. One of them, *The Pic Nic Polka* by Henry Marsh in the 1855 album, is the only sheet music illustration in the recently published *Dictionary of Australian Artists* (Kerr p789). Thomas's work also appears on music published by J Degotardi, Wilkie, Elvy & Co, and McCulloch & Stewart. It was most frequently printed by Allan & Wigley, but later work was printed by Degotardi. Not only did Thomas frequently sign or initial his drawings, but many are dated, with a stroke and year. Examples are *The Cricket Match Schottische* (/57), *The Star of Love* (/61) (illus p 75), *Far O'er the Sea* (/56) and *Impromptu Polka* (/62). Other portraits are of L H Lavenu, E Boulanger, Hermione and M Carandini. More images of note by Thomas are to be found on *The Australian Masonic Waltzes, Hermione Valse, Manly Beach Galop, Oft in the Stilly Night*, and *When the Moon on the Lake is Beaming*. 
Volunteer March, Polka and Galop by Frederick Ellard
(in Australian Presentation Album 1855, Death or Glory on cover,
publisher Woolcott & Clarke, printer J Degotardi & Co, artist Read)
The Star of Love by W V Wallace (publisher J R Clarke, printer J Degotardi, artist E Thomas, portrait of Henry Squires, in The Australian Musical Album for 1863)
One other artist Clarke commissioned to illustrate music was S T Gill, with dance music *La Favorita Polka*, *The Royal Charlie Polka* and *The Irish Emigrant Quadrilles*. and the song *Garibaldi's Hat*. Two of Gill's covers featured race horses, *The Zoe Galop* and *The Veno Galop*. According to the article on Gill in the *Dictionary of Australian Artists* by Joan Kerr:

Gill's reputation was severely set back over the Veno Case of 1858 when a rival newspaper, *Bells Life in Sydney*, claimed that illustrations for the finish of a horse-race produced by Gill for the *Era* had not been drawn from life. The proprietors of the *Era* sued, and were embarrassed when Gill admitted in court, under cross-examination, that he had seen neither the race nor one of the horses. (Kerr p 298)

The court case and attendant publicity gave the enterprising J R Clarke an opportunity, and he commissioned Gill to make a drawing, this time with Veno winning, for a sheet music cover for *The Veno Galop* (illus p 77).

F C Terry also illustrated music for Clarke, including *The Maude Waltzes*. Clarke also used tipped-on photographic portraits on his music covers. Titles include *My Bud in Heaven, Come Home Father* (illus p 78), with a portrait of Anna Bishop, and *Tell me Mary How to Woo Thee*, with either one or several portraits of Armes Beaumont. (Different copies have variant covers).

Degotardi's printed music is among the best designed of the century, both in his illustrated or decorative covers and in the musical text itself. Several of the works in the above albums were printed by him and he also used the same artists as other publishers of the time. *The Cornstalk Polka* is a fine example of his chromolithography. He also used photolithography to good effect, one example being *The Sydney Morning Herald Polka* in 1863. There are also a few tipped-in photos, but not as many as one would expect from someone who spent the rest of his working life as a photographer.

Throughout the 1850s and 1860s Francis Cunninghame printed numerous music title pages with decorative typographical borders that are very well designed, frequently intricate and occasionally in two or three colours. *The Balmain Polka* (illus p 80), *The Australian Cadeau series* (illus p 151) published by Henry Marsh & Co and *The Moonlight Polka* (illus p 79) published by Woolcott and Clarke are fine examples.
The Veno Galop by W Tranter (publisher J R Clarke, printer Allan & Wigley, artist S T Gill)
MADAME ANNA BISHOP.

SYDNEY:
J. R. CLARKE, MUSIC AND PRINT ART DEPOSITORY,
22, HUNTER STREET.

Come Home Father by H J Work (publisher J R Clarke, printer J A Engel, tipped-in photo of Anna Bishop)
FAVORITE DANCE MUSIC

MOONLIGHT
POLKA.

Price, 2d. net.

SYDNEY:
WOOLCOTT & CLARKE, PUBLISHERS, PRINT AND MUSIC SELLERS.
GEORGE STREET.

Moonlight Polka (publisher Woolcott & Clarke,
decorative cover printed by Francis Cunninghame)
THE
BALMAIN
POLKA,
RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED TO
The Ladies of Balmain,
BY
ERNESTO SPAGNOLETTI.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHOR, AND SOLD BY ALL MUSIC SELLERS.

The Balmain Polka by Ernesto Spagnoletti
(printer F Cunninghame, border probably by C H Fairland)
SECOND EDITION.

BUD IN HEAVEN.

Admired Ballad,
Sung by
MADAME ANNA BISHOP.

Words by
SPENCER W. COLE.

Music by
STEPHEN MASSETT.

Price 2s.

J. READING & Co.,
Music Dealers & Publishers,
22, George Street,
SYDNEY.

My Bud in Heaven by Stephen Massett (publisher J Reading & Co, with embossed cover)
The lithographic designer C H Fairland probably provided the border for Cunninghame's print of The Balmain Polka (illus p 80). Fairland also worked for Woolcott and Clarke, with Prima Donna Waltz and I'm Leaving Thee Annie as other examples of his decorative borders.

There are also embossed title pages at this time. Two examples are My Bud in Heaven published by J Reading & Co (illus p 81) and Terence's Farewell to Kathleen published by J R Clarke.

One artist of note in the 1860s is Archibald Park, who illustrated music for J J Moore. Lilly Dale, The Postman's Knock (illus p 84) and Annie Laurie (illus p 206) are examples of their collaboration. One other of Park's is on The Last Rose of Summer.

Music certainly continued to be illustrated after Clarke and Degotardi virtually stopped publishing music at the end of the sixties, but very few artists signed their works for the remainder of the century. In Sydney all of the major publishers of the 1880s and 1890s used illustrations on almost all of their music. Photos (by now lithographed) of favourite performers abounded, and often in various roles and costumes. The craze for descriptive titles for virtually all of the piano music published ensured that it would be suitably illustrated. Naturally enough the titles of songs elicited the same pictorial response.

The development of music publishing in Melbourne was not really influenced by Sydney's activities, and there is relatively little interaction in printing and illustrating music until later in the century. In the beginning, many of the works published by J Wilkie were illustrated, but the artists were mostly unnamed, as were the printers. Cyrus Mason printed and signed two, The Melbourne Varsovienne and The Pic-nic Point Schottische (illus p 85), both by the composer G M Weinritter.

Melbourne's great fortune was to be the home for over forty years to Charles Troedel. He arrived in 1860, together with Robert Wendel to work for Schukrafft, a printer and paper bag manufacturer. When Troedel set up business for himself, he commissioned and encouraged the finest artists available. Streeton and Lionel Lindsay were among these, although their work is yet to be found on music.

The images, illustrations, designs and techniques place Troedel's music printing in the forefront of world developments at the time. Many of the well-known artists designed music covers for him, but few of them are signed. One exception is Charles Turner,
who appeared in the Melbourne Sands directories from 1869 to 1883, during which time he was one of the major artists working for Troedel to illustrate music. He also produced illustrations for music printed by Turner & Gill, and Hamel & Ferguson. Troedel and WH Glen were the major publishers using Turner's illustrations.

Turner's early images for Troedel are *Intercolonial Exhibition March 1866*, *Prince Alfred Galopade*, *Flying Squadron Galop*, *The Mill*, *Tommy Dodds Galop* and *The Victorian Volunteer Waltz*. Later images are *In Her Little Bed We Laid Her* (two separate images both drawn by Charles Turner, one illustrated on p 86), *Put Me in My Little Bed* and *The Geelong Skating Rink Galop*. Charles Turner designed *The Victorian Volunteer Waltz* and *The Cockatoo Waltz* for Turner & Gill, and *Evaline Valse* for Hamel & Ferguson. Chromolithographs of note are *Glen's Highland Schottische* and *L'Erskine Grand Valse de Concert*. Portraits can be found on *The Child and the Wattle Blossom*, and on *My Darling Mignonette*, which has a portrait of the singer Harry Rickards.

Charles Turner moved to Sydney in 1883 and worked there at least until the turn of the century as an artist and lithographer. One item, *Love's Philosophy*, lists the Sydney publisher Elvy & Co before the Melbourne one, WH Glen, but it was published about 1875 before Turner moved to Sydney. For some reason, as yet unknown, he did not illustrate music in Sydney until the mid-1890s. He provided illustrations for many of the major music printers and publishers, such as WH Paling & Co, Geo Murray & Co and W M Maclardy & Co. Titles of interest are *Katoomba Waltz*, *The Cycling Schottische*, *Federation Polka*, *Katherine Waltz*, *Naval Waltz*, *The Silver Stream Waltz* and *Le Train de Diable*.

Robert Wendel also produced some fine music covers for Troedel & Co in Melbourne. These are *Barn Dance*, *The Knights of the Road* (illus p 88), *Love in a Ballroom*, *La Tosca Waltz*, *When Thou art Near*, and *A Lover's Vow*.

It is particularly tantalising that throughout the 1880s and 1890s in Melbourne, when almost all of the music was illustrated, that so few artists are named, as there is an abundance of innovation, humour and liveliness in the illustrations that can only enhance the music itself.

**Note**

The Postman's Knock (publisher J Moore, artist/lithographer A Park)
THE

PIC-NIC POINT

SCHOTTISCHE

Composed by
G.M. WEINRITTER.

MELBOURNE;
Published for the Author by J. Wilkie, Collins S.W.

The Pic-nic Point Schottische by G M Weinritter (publisher by J Wilkie, artist Cyrus Mason)
In her little bed we laid her
Song

In Her Little Bed We Laid Her by C A White (publisher Wilkie, Webster & Allan, lithographer C Troedel, artist Charles Turner)
Dedicated to the Commercial Travellers Association of Victoria.

The Knights of the Road

Song

Music by A. Armstrong.
Words by F. Joseph.

To be had at all Music Sellers.

The Knights of the Road (publisher and printer C Troedel & Co, artist Richard Wendel)
Chapter Eleven

Repertoire: a brief overview

'Scattered through these howling wildernesses of inanity were numbers of songs of uncertain origin and even more uncertain merit' (Grey p 148).

The extent of this nineteenth century Australian published music repertoire is not large. There are probably about 4,000 music items published in Australia between 1800 and 1899. As a very rough guide, half are songs, almost half is piano music, and less than one tenth includes all other categories such as choral music, instrumental music and other miscellaneous works. These proportions are derived from analysing the relevant items catalogued on the Australian Bibliographic Network in 1998 (2,812 items). As well as acknowledging that a great amount of music in libraries remains to be catalogued, there are other factors that skew these proportions. In particular there is the music that can be found outside the institutions cataloguing music, for example choral and sacred music. The same can be said for published band music. Nevertheless, the proportions are reasonably valid. There seem to be about 25% of items that are cited in lists, newspapers and so on, which remain to be located, or which of course may never surface.

Locally composed songs include popular songs similar in content, if not in musical style, to today's pop songs. They are mostly love songs; descriptive and topical songs, patriotic and national items, items relating to people, places and events, and sacred songs.

Piano music of this period is the non-verbal equivalent of the songs, with at least 90% being dance music and items with descriptive titles. Many of the dance genres like waltzes were not necessarily meant to be danced to, but in the main, most of the galops, schottisches, quadrilles, polkas and similar dances were meant for social dancing.

The use of descriptive titles reflects the publishers' and composers' knowledge that these items were mostly performed by amateurs, often young adults, of limited
musical horizons or expectations. The piano after all was, and still is, a status symbol of upward mobility. No composer, then or now, sneers at using descriptive titles for children's music. They help develop an imaginative response to music. This was also appropriate for the intended performers of the day. This was a world-wide trend, and not confined to Australia. To emphasise this point, of the 1,300 Australian piano items of this period on ABN in 1998, there are very few typical piano genres of an abstract nature without a descriptive title published by composers in Australia. There is one sonata, one etude, one rondo and one piano method - and this is for vamping. As is the case today, budding professionals would explore the European repertoire and use European and English editions. There were very few Australian editions of this repertoire until the end of the century.

Works composed and published in colonial Australia do not necessarily reflect any lack of imagination or skill, but a pragmatic response to the commercial realities of the day. Publishers even recommended that composers used pseudonyms, particularly European sounding names to enhance their publishing and selling prospects. Similar functional priorities continue throughout this current century. Several of the composers in the 1890s were unhappy with this situation, and voiced their concerns in an article in the *Review of Reviews* (Quinn 1895). Auguste Wiegand has been quoted above in the Sydney component of the narrative. Another composer, Aug W. Juncker said:

Mr Juncker has, on the whole, a favourable opinion of music in Australia. For a young country he thinks the standard is very high, though he frankly admits the taste for high-class music is not great. 'But this,' he continues, 'is not peculiar to Australia. In Southern Europe the taste is mainly for music of a light variety, while everywhere there is the same craze for dance music.' He deplores what he calls the 'snobocracy in music in the colonies.' If a work comes from England, with the hallmark of European approval, it is accepted without question, but let a local artist produce something, be it ever so good, the 'snobocracy' ask if there is 'anything in it' and without taking the trouble to find out, conclude at once that it cannot be 'up to much.' It was this mental attitude of the average Australian which had driven away such novelists as Mrs Humphry Ward, Mrs Campbell Praed and others. Madame Melba was amongst those who were not appreciated in her own country (Quinn p.397).
A very high proportion of music sold was (and still is) imported from England, and so music published locally could not compete with the major repertoires in all genres. To be seen to be different, composers frequently chose local themes. Nationalism of the 'Hail to thee blithe wombat' kind (Stirling p 64) was evident from the first items referred to in the 1820s. Many of Australia's musicians have published music with references to local people, place names, flora, fauna, and events.

Music was often dedicated to local dignitaries, with expectations of patronage that was essential to the furthering of careers in music. There are examples from the musician Kavanagh in 1826, who used titles such as the names of General and Mrs Darling, Colonel Stewart and Sir Thomas and Lady Brisbane. Examples from the end of the century include The Right Hon G H Reid, The Right Hon. Sir John Young and Earl Beauchamp. Many governors of the colonies seem to have music dedicated to them, as well as members of parliament, several mayors and functionaries such as captains of visiting ships, the Superintendent of Mails of the Victorian Post Office, the NSW Railway Commissioner (Sydney Railway Waltz illus p 92) and the owner of a racehorse (The Veno Galop illus p 77). Performers were frequently named in titles or dedications. Some titles representing individuals include the Melba Valse (illus p 93), The Ketten Galop (illus p 312), Lola Montez Polka, Leichhardt's Grave. Beauchamp Waltz, Fitz Roy Schottische, Leichhardt's March, Lucy Escott Polka (illus p 146), La Hayes Quadrilles, Lady O'Connell's Waltz, Homage a Beauchamp and Sir Joseph Banks Polka.

Patriotic music relating to wars, from the Crimean in the 1850s (Crimea, Alma, Inkermann, Balaklava. illus p 94), the Sudan (The Soudan March, illus p 126) and the Boer wars are represented, as well as several items celebrating the volunteer forces that can be found from the 1850s to the 1880s. This extensive body of national and patriotic music is worthy of further serious investigation, to follow on from Georgina Binns' pioneering work. (Binns, 1988 and 1996)
Over seventy items were written to celebrate the visit of the Prince Alfred in 1867-68 and these can be found in the thesis by Gillian Harding (Harding 1996). Many other events were celebrated in music and can usually be dated readily. They cover a wide range of historical, political, social, religious, sporting and commercial events. There are openings of railways, buildings, organs, festivals and exhibitions. Some titles are Australian Jubilee Waltz, Sydney Railway Waltz Centennial Waltz, Intercolonial Exhibition March 1866, The Melbourne Exhibition March, The Exhibition Waltzes, Centennial Cantata, The Geelong-Melbourne Railway Polka, The Regatta Waltzes (illus p 121), Australian Exhibition Schottische, Commonwealth Waltz, Federation Polka, Centennial Ode, Anniversary Polka, The Corporation Polka


The arrival of ships was frequently celebrated in music. Titles include Hygeia Valse, The Chusan Waltz, The Great Britain Polka, The Royal Galatea Waltz, The Flying Squadron Waltz, The Oneida Polka, The European March, The Columbia Mazurka, The Paget Quadrilles (illus p 97) and Konoowarra Polka. These can usually be dated fairly easily, but many of the ships made frequent visits to Australia, and it was not necessarily the first visit that generated the musical response.
Sydney Railway Waltz by W H Paling (published by Woolcott & Clarke, dedicated to Wm Randle, New South Wales Railway Commissioner)
To: MADAME, MELBA.

MELBA

WALTZ

BY

G. de CAIROS REGO.

Composer of
"Voice des Adieux."
"Valse Waltz."
"Dreaming" Romance.
"Imromptu," "Intermezzo; Lilien.
"En Route." "Imromptu Polka.

NICHOLSON & CO.
GEORGE STREET, SYDNEY.

BRISBANE.
NICHOLSON & CO.

PERTH.
NICHOLSON & CO.

Copyrighted 1898 by Nicholson & Co.

Melba Waltz by G de Cairo Rego (published by Nicholson & Co., lithographic portrait of Nellie Melba, photographer unknown)
Crimea, Alma, Inkermann, Balaklava

A Musical Composition,

Written in Honour of our Brave Defenders in the Crimea, by an Old Soldier,

Composed by Frederic Ellard,

And Dedicated by Him to The Sydney Philharmonic Society.

Presented to the Committee to be Sold in Aid of the Patriotic Fund for the Wives and Orphans.

Price, 5s.

Sydney:

H. Marsh and Co., Importers of Piano-Porter, Music Sellers, &c.,
171, George Street.

Crimea, Alma, Inkermann, Balaklava by Frederic [sic] Ellard (published by H Marsh & Co, printed by F Cunninghame)
THE CRICKET MATCH SCHOTTISCHE.

Dedicated to the Elephants of Victoria & New South Wales.
The West Bourke Plate Galop by Alfred Plumpton (published by Nicholson & Ascherberg, a song celebrating greyhound racing and a trainer/owner)
The Paget Quadrilles by S H Marsh, (publisher F Ellard, artists E Winstanley and Thomas Bluett)


There are many items that have unusual titles. A brief list could include *Rydalmere a Polka Song* (illus p 100), *Lisgar March* (illus p 233) (both real estate advertisements), *The Bile Bean March* (illus p 242), *Electro-biological Schottische* (illus p 101), *Biological Polka*, *Nervous Cures Galop*, *The Shoo Fly Galop*, *I Don't Know Polka*, *Don't Vex Mama*, *The Civil Service Waltz*, *The King's Highway*, *The Argus Galop* and *The Sydney Morning Herald Polka*.

There are many ways of describing and interpreting this repertoire, and putting it into its social, historical and musical context. This is really beyond the scope of this current work. I have only used examples above that locate this repertoire in a particularly Australian context. Suffice to say that there is evidence in many of the titles above of a liveliness and a sense of humour that is perhaps common to many similar popular music genres of the time. It is possibly not too far-fetched to find these typically Australian and not only because of the obvious Australian themes.
Notes

p 88 Grey, Steele. Pantomimes *The Australasian Critic* Vol 1 No 6 1 March 1891 p 148


p 90 Stirling, Lorna. The Development of Australian Music. *Historical Studies, Australia and New Zealand* Vol 3 No 9 Oct 1944 p 58-72 ('Hail to thee blithe wombat': Phrase from Professor Murdoch, p 64)


See over p 100 for an illustration of *Rydalmere a Polka Song*

and p 101 for an illustration of *The Electro-biological Schottische*
On the New Main Road from Sydney to Parramatta, via Ryde, is a beautifully-elevated block of land, suitable for growing ORANGES, LEMONS, GRAPES and ALL SUMMER FRUITS.

It is the first subdivision in this part of the FIELD of MARS, and is divided into good-sized allotments.

Only three minutes' walk from Shepherd's Wharf, Parramatta River, Fifteen minutes from Parramatta, and Thirty minutes from Ryde Railway Station.

NEVER FAILING FRESH WATER SUPPLY.

Rydelmere a Polka Song (printed by Jarrett & Co, a commercial for selling real estate)
The Electro-biological Schottische by E S Deane (publisher W J Johnson & Co, printer F Cunningham)
Chapter twelve

Aboriginal music

Aboriginal music as notated in the nineteenth century

In the nineteenth century, there were two streams of interest in the music of the Australian Aborigines, scientific and creative. The first known published record of music notated from Australia was a transcription of three Aboriginal items that were published in the Atlas volume of the Baudin expeditions, which took place from 1800 to 1804. These items did not appear in the 1811 edition of the Atlas, but in the second edition of 1824 published in Paris (Peron plate 32). The third of these items is the well known Coo-ee, transcribed in French as Cou Hé.

The next transcription, published by Barron Field in 1825 (Field p 433) also has a description of a 'corrobory.' There are transcriptions of three melodies in L de Freycinet's *Voyage autour du monde 1817-20*, Paris 1839 (Freycinet p 774). Charles Wilkes, in the Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the years 1838-42, publishes four transcriptions in 1845 (Wilkes p 199-200). In the Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland in 1887 there are two articles on Aboriginal music, the first 'Notes on songs and songmakers of some Australian tribes' by A W Howitt, followed by 'Music of the Australian Aboriginals' by Rev G W Torrance that is an appendix to Mr Howitt’s paper (Howitt p 327, Torrance p 335). Both papers have lively descriptions of the songs and music, and the Torrance article has three transcriptions of the melodic lines, with words and rhythmic accents marked. There is a reply to these articles in the next issue of the journal (Roth p 425) that quotes the transcription of Barron Field (see above). This is very similar to the third of the Torrance transcriptions.

Carl Lumholtz in his work *Among Cannibals* (Lumholtz 1889) has several descriptions of dances, singing and corroborees, and interweaves transcriptions of various Aboriginal melodies in his narrative.
The first specimen of Australian music,' the scientist Dr John Lhotsky called his transcription of an Aboriginal melody, *A Song of the Women of Menero, near the Australian Alps*, arranged, with the assistance of several Musical Gentlemen, [James Pearson, Joshua Josephson and George Sippe] (illus p 25). This was lithographed by J G Austin and published in 1834 (Lhotsky 1834). Aboriginal words appear in the musical text itself, with English and German translations at the end. This was the first Aboriginal music arranged in sheet music form for performance.

Isaac Nathan often referred in disparaging terms to this arrangement of the music collected by Dr Lhotsky. Nathan arranged the same melody himself under the title *The Aboriginal Father* (Nathan [1844]). He also claimed that *Koon-gi-Karwel-gho*, which is in *The Southern Euphrosyne* (Nathan [1849]), is another arrangement of the same melody. His comments about the melody can be found on *The Aboriginal Father* and in *The Southern Euphrosyne*. There are also several transcriptions and descriptions of Aboriginal music and customs in *The Southern Euphrosyne*. Aboriginal music titles in this work are *Koon-gi-Karwel-gho, Coo-ees, War-goorn-da min-ya-rah, AH! wy-a-boo-ka, Dital Dital baloonai, and Koorinda Braia*. Of particular interest are all the variants of the coo-ee set out by Nathan. Nathan also published sheet music with Aboriginal origins. Two sheet music items using Aboriginal melodies and words are *The Aboriginal Father* and *Koorinda Braia* (Nathan [1842?]). The latter in the sheet music version is a different arrangement to the one in *The Southern Euphrosyne*. Nathan’s songs *The Aboriginal Mother* (Nathan [1841]) (illus p 107) and *The Eagle Chief* (Nathan [1842]) both have poems by E H Dunlop, based on Aboriginal stories, as does the song *A Good Black Gin* (Nathan 1845) with words by J W Dent.

**Colonial music using Aboriginal references**

Ernesto Spagnoletti wrote *Cooey! An Australian Song* as sung by Nina Spagnoletti. Respectfully dedicated to Madame Sara Flower, words by an Australian Lady [Louisa Atkinson] and published in the 1860s (Spagnoletti 1860?). This song makes no attempt to portray any Aboriginal origins, either in the music or the text and it demonstrates how much the word coo-ee had become completely incorporated into the everyday language of the time. Captain Hunter had noted the use of the word coo-ee by whites for hailing Aboriginals as early as July 1789 (Morris p 95). Two other works similarly inspired by Aboriginal themes were composed later in the nineteenth century by W J Turner, *Danse Aboriginale* (illus p 108) and *Coo-ee!* (Turner, 189-).
Notes


p 102 Wilkes, Charles. *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition During the Years 1838, 1840, 1841, 1842.* Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard, 1845 p 199-200 (F4210)

p 102 Howitt, A W. Notes on Songs and Songmakers of Some Australian Tribes. *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland,* Vol 16 1887 p 327-335


p 103 Lhotsky, John. *A Song of the Women of Menero*. Sydney: John Innes, [1834]


p 103 Spagnoletti, Ernesto. *Cooey! An Australian Song*. Sydney, John Davis, [1860?] (also published by J Reading & Co)
p 103  **Morris, Edward E.** *Austral English: a Dictionary of Australasian Words, Phrases and usages.* London: Macmillan, 1898 p 95 (early uses of coo-ee, for example Hunter in 1789)

p 103  **Turner, W J.** *Danse Aboriginale.* Melbourne: W H Glen & Co, [189-]

p 103  **Turner, W J.** *Coo-ee! An Australian Ballad.* Melbourne: W H Glen & Co, [189-]

See p 107 for an illustration of *The Aboriginal Mother* by I Nathan (advertised as published by T Rolfe)

and p 108 for an illustration of *Danse Aboriginale* by W J Turner (published by W H Glen & Co, printed in Germany)
The Aboriginal Mother by I Nathan (advertised as published by T Rolfe)
Performed with great success by the Victorian orchestra.

DANSE ABORIGINALE

by

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Danse Aboriginale by W J Turner (publisher W H Glen & Co, printed in Germany)
Chapter thirteen

Conclusion and further research

Conclusion

Australian resources for its own early music history are isolated, fragmentary and relatively underdeveloped. So are its publishing and printing history resources. Books and articles about mainstream printers and publishers seldom mention their music printing or publishing activities even when these are quite extensive - for example Penfolds, Sands, Angus and Robertson, and Cole. Commercial histories are also uncommon in Australia, particularly for the music industry. There are only three monographs about nineteenth century (and twentieth century) Australian music businesses, Allans, Palings and Suttons, none of which have much information about their publishing side.

This thesis is the most extensive work on Australian music publishing and printing undertaken so far, and yet it is still a preliminary study, with only Sydney and Melbourne included. It focuses on strategies to assist in dating musical works known to exist and for mapping other stories yet to be written. The aim of developing a definitive guide for dating Australian colonial music is yet to be fully realised, even for Sydney and Melbourne. The story of the development and history of music printing and publishing in Australia is also awaiting a more detailed examination than can be provided here. The major aim of this work is not to reach too many conclusions of its own, but to lead the way for other journeys. However, some preliminary conclusions are presented in order to open up possibilities for further research.

Although this study is located solely within Australia, it could be useful to look at the wider context. It would be interesting to assess what was being published in Europe or England at the same time, whether the composers who published here had published music elsewhere before or after coming here (examples are Nathan, Bochsa, Stephen Hale Marsh and Lardelli), how soon works known in Europe were performed or published here, and what were the parallel and divergent paths taken in the performance and reception of music. Comparisons with music developments in the
Americas and other colonies of the period, for example South Africa and New Zealand, would also be worthwhile. How all of these developments in music related to the music publishing activities could be explored, both in Australia and overseas. Similar studies could be undertaken to assess the differing publishing patterns in Melbourne and Sydney and what links there were between them.

The commercial perspective in Australia is particularly complex. Most of the practitioners in the printing and publishing of music in Australia had few connections with similar businesses elsewhere, and it is difficult to trace those that did. There were almost no Australian branches of overseas firms until after 1900, but some individuals in the publishing, printing and music trades learnt their skills in apprenticeships overseas, and came out or were brought out here to exercise them. Compared to Europe and England, there were no publishers solely concerned with publishing music. Most of the major music publishers, such as Wilkie, Allan and Glen in Melbourne and Woolcott & Clarke, Henry Marsh and W H Paling in Sydney maintained music and musical instrument warehouses as well as publishing music. Nor did the printers of music print only music. Even the most prolific music printers Cunninghame, Degotardi and Troedel produced a wide range of materials for which they are currently better known. Francis Ellard was probably the only engraver who did not engrave or print general materials, but he was similar to the other major music publishers in that he ran a successful music and instrument salon, and was an accomplished piano technician.

The dominant commercial demand for printed music in Australia was, and to some extent still is, centred on the piano. A music business would flourish when it could import, tune and repair pianos and could provide both imported and locally published music. These businesses often provided music teachers who would in turn ensure how and where their pupils' musical needs were met. The more diverse a music publisher's activities, the more likely it was that it could weather the commercial hazards of the day. Those firms run by people trained in either the musical trades of piano tuning, manufacturing and selling, or in the musical professions of teaching and performing, generally flourished longer than those businesses run by general publishers, who were attracted to music publishing for limited commercial reasons and then for limited periods.

As most music publishers in Australia were also importers of music and instruments, there were commercial as well as cultural reasons for their music publishing not competing with music being imported. Many of the businesses (often called music
warehouses) had agencies for particular British music publishers, and so took an active part in maintaining the colonial equivalent of the cultural cringe for contractual reasons as well as cultural ones. These circumstances also had an influence on the kind of music published in Australia. Not only were there copyright and contractual considerations, but also commercial ones. These forces are still prevalent in the Australian music retailing industry today.

This situation has had a lasting impact on the development of more difficult, complex or abstract genres of music in Australia. The composers published in the mid-1850s probably had more artistic freedom than they and their successors did later, not only in the nineteenth century but also in the twentieth century. Many Australian publishers today still will not publish difficult or complex music, and a woman composer, still living, was told to write under a man's name, preferably foreign if she wished to be published. Men were not free from this prejudice either - one Australian composer of the late 1890s, Thomas Bulch used Laski as one of his pseudonyms. In the nineteenth century Bulch as Laski published more sheet music works in Scotland than in Australia. (eg Postman's Parade illustrated on p 112)

Australian publishers did not develop firm loyalties with individual composers. There are no examples of a composer choosing to be published only by one publisher. Even family members (Frederick Ellard, A Johnson, Henry Marsh, S H Marsh) were published by other publishers as well as those run by their own family members.

One important question from this bleak picture is, what happened to all the more difficult works? We know many of them were performed and reviewed; where is all or any of this unpublished music? Who is looking for it? who has it? Publish or perish has more than academic overtones!

Music published in colonial Australia often promoted local and visiting performers and highlighted the top of the pops in ways that are still prevalent today. Fashions and trends were followed from overseas with local musicians vying to be the first to perform the latest, whether these were songs, dances or operatic excerpts. The repertoire remained firmly within the accepted norms from overseas, and local publishers frequently reproduced this music as well as publishing local equivalents.
Postman's Parade by T E Bulch (publisher James S Kerr, Glasgow)
The predilection for publishing what can charitably be called teaching pieces came later in the century and is still prevalent today. This was in part prompted by the growing demand for pianos and music lessons. As soon as students showed any serious talent, they were steered towards the standard European repertoire, as they are today. The commercial reality of music publishing in Australia is much the same as it was last century. It is still cheaper and more expedient to import music published overseas than to publish it locally.

The fact that so much music composed and published in colonial Australia has been functional allows us to find its social and historical context more readily. It probably reflects an Australian cultural inclination to the pragmatic, the things that work and that have a concrete reason to exist. These values rest more readily with the commercial values of what will be popular, will sell and make profits. More complex musical values will no doubt emerge with greater familiarity with this relatively elusive repertoire. Perhaps it is here that it can be said somewhat sadly that only a handful of these nineteenth century pieces are well known today, and they are all patriotic songs, with aspirations official and unofficial as national anthems. They are *Advance Australia Fair* (the present national anthem) by Peter Dodds McCormick, *The Song of Australia* by Carl Linger and *Waltzing Matilda* by Christina Macpherson.

**Further research**

Some future directions are indicated above. The most immediate task is to complete the guide for the rest of Australia, and to further refine the Melbourne and Sydney directories. These directories need more research beyond the Sands city directories to provide more detailed information for designations, dates, addresses and changes of addresses. Further research is required to verify and date changes in partnerships, firms' names and incorporations, and to include more reliable information for individuals for whom these directories have only the sketchiest of information. More individuals, for example artists, composers and performers could readily be incorporated, as some information for these are in entries that have been left in the original biographical dictionary, and so are not to be found in the accompanying directories. There is also further information about the music, publishing and printing trades that may see the light of day in expanded directories, particularly for the other colonies.
When more Australian music is catalogued and made known, a wider range of research possibilities will open up. There are several repositories with resources not used in this study, and many piles of music unexamined, not only for this study but often virtually unknown to those holding them.

As well as continuing with work on a guide to dating colonial music, there is a need to develop similar guides for the twentieth century. There is also a pressing need for a wide range of music reference works to complement this kind of work. There are as yet no directories or biographical dictionaries for a wider range of music trades and professions for both the colonial and later periods. Thematic catalogues of individual composer's works are a rarity in Australia, guides to specific music genres are yet to stretch back beyond the work of the Australian Music Centre, and topical bibliographies are quite scarce in Australian music or library studies.

Musicologists are finally turning their attention to Australia's own musical history. There have been several books, papers and theses coming from this research in the last ten years or so, most of which are cited in the General Bibliography where they impinge on the dating of music. The more works that are published gives confidence and encouragement to those scholars whose work follows on, and so there is now more academic acceptance of the significance of Australian music studies. The future looks very bright for the continuation of Australian music research.

Music bibliography is still in its infancy in Australia, and has yet to attract as much acceptance in universities as Australian music research does. As it straddles several disciplines, it is often overlooked, and it is not seen as a priority by those who would gain most from developing a greater awareness of its usefulness. It is also a field that would struggle to find publishers willing to support it, and it may have to depend on the vagaries of the Internet for its promulgation.