

EARLY MELBOURNE THEATRICAL EPHEMERA*

BIBLIOGRAPHY IN ITS TAXONOMIC ASPECT is sometimes concerned with authors, sometimes with genres, sometimes with publishers, sometimes with presses, sometimes with collectors, and sometimes with periods, but not often with social institutions, unless these happen to be libraries. The present paper is an attempt to survey the range of printed materials associated with one such institution, the Melbourne stage. To make the topic more manageable, and because the particular area of dramatic history is one that interests me for other reasons, I propose to concentrate on the third quarter of the nineteenth century. This was very much a golden age of performance in Australia, with artists of the calibre of Gustavus Vaughan Brooke, Avonia Jones, Joseph Jefferson, Barry Sullivan, Charles and Ellen Kean, Lucy Escott, James Anderson, Madame Celeste and Walter Montgomery playing to enthusiastic and knowledgeable audiences in the large gold-boom theatres. It was also a period when entertainments relied for publicity almost solely on the printed word and picture. The result was that a number of printing firms in the general vicinity of Bourke Street seem to have been very largely kept in business by theatrical jobbing: particularly Abbott and Company of 10 Little Bourke Street East which became Azzopardi Hildreth and then Azzopardi and Company; Robert Bell of 97 Little Collins Street; and, from the mid-seventies, William Marshall of Royal Lane.

In discussing theatrical ephemera, I intend to restrict myself to printed material which was actually offered for sale, or put on display, in theatres. Normally the term makes us think of programmes; but today I will not be saying much about these because the period was one in which the functions of the programme were usually performed by the cast-list and by the theatrical newspaper, the one humbler and the other somewhat grander. The kinds of ephemera I will be concerned with are as follows, arranged, for want of any better way of arranging them, in descending order of size: posters, handbills, programme newspapers, cast-lists, word and libretto books and play-texts.

The first of my categories is posters, beginning with large-scale display posters. If you care to look at the photograph of the Theatre Royal reproduced on p. 57 of Alan Sierp's *Colonial Life in Victoria*¹ you will see two separate copies of a very large printed poster, probably 5 or 6 feet high and about 2' 6" wide, advertising the performance for that night. From the photograph one discovers that the programme was a complimentary benefit to Richard Younge, that the other principal performers were Gustavus Brooke and Avonia Jones, and that the works to be performed were *The Hunchback*, Sheridan Knowles's famous drama, and an after-piece, *The Chimney Corner*. There was only one night during the 1860s on which those two works were performed together, 17 May 1861, which, interestingly, was only a few days before Gustavus Brooke and Avonia Jones eloped together for England, leaving Mrs Gustavus Brooke behind in Melbourne to cope with her husband's unsatisfied creditors. The gentleman in the black top hat under the 's' of 'vestibule' has a decided look of Brooke about him, so this may be the company's farewell photograph.

* A paper read to members of the Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand, Sydney, 19 August 1978.

It is not clear whether these large posters were printed as one sheet: they may represent two sheets pasted one above the other. But they are clearly printed, and they are certainly ephemera. They must also have been produced in quite large numbers. I imagine each of the major theatres would have issued at least two or three a week, say 100 to 150 per theatre per year; moreover they were not only on display in front of the theatres — if you look closely at early photographs of Melbourne streets you will sometimes see them in other locations. For instance on p. 58 of Sierp's book, which is a view of the south side of Bourke Street, looking towards Swanston Street, you can see two theatre posters fixed to the awning supports of number 62, Mrs Benjamin's male and female labor office. The nearer advertises a performance by the Marsh troupe of Juveniles of *The Bottle Imp* given on 17, 18 and 19 December 1860. In *The James Flood Book of Early Melbourne*,² there's a different view of the same scene, taken from the Swanston Street intersection looking west, which reveals that there are actually three posters, not one, two level with the street and one just to the right of Mrs Benjamin's front door. An examination of the original in the La Trobe Library has established that these advertise programmes given on 9 April 1861. The Coppin collection in the La Trobe Library includes three splendid two-colour posters of scenes from a Bland Holt vehicle, *Flint and Steel*, approximately 200cm square, one on a single large sheet and the other on two; but these are a little late for our study, and besides, were printed in Chicago, not Melbourne. Whether for reasons of cost or quality, American printers seem to have been preferred for theatrical display work: the accounts sent to Coppin by his San Francisco agent Andrew Birrell during the 1870s contain numerous items for the printing costs of American performers embarking for Australia.

The Coppin Collection also contains several hundred smaller posters and play-bills, among them some masterpieces of typographical exuberance. A knowledge of the fundamentals of lay-out was one of the first skills acquired by an aspiring manager, and Coppin had been able to develop his through friendship with the Nottingham printers Ingram and Cooke who were later co-founders of the *Illustrated London News*. (There is even a story that he helped them select the weather for their almanacs by the ancient and infallible method of tossing a coin.)³ In Geelong he ran a small printery in association with his theatre, producing a trade circular as well as bills and posters. On a return visit to England in 1854, he bought not only a pre-fabricated theatre, to be known unofficially as 'the Iron Pot', but a new steam press and large quantities of type, which had their first use on the voyage back, when he personally helped set the bills for some shipboard theatricals.⁴ Among his uncatalogued correspondence in the La Trobe Library is a letter of 6 May 1870 to his stepson Charley Hilsden giving instructions for the distribution of bills in the Geelong area. This allows us to distinguish three categories of poster: normal display posters, woodcuts (i.e. large illustrated posters), and programme posters. The term 'woodcut' is a little suspicious here, as one would expect that by 1870 lithography would be the preferred medium. An article in *The Theatrical Journal* for 18 April 1855, speaking of an influx of self-proclaimed 'eminent' into Australia at the time of the gold discoveries, remarks: 'It is true that the features and histrionic triumphs of the individuals were depicted and set forth in elaborately got-up lithographs; carefully extracted and arranged.'⁵ On the other hand, as late as 1880, William Marshall, Melbourne's leading theatrical printer, was still advertising himself in his *Lorgnette* as 'Show Printer, Wood Engraver, &c.'

The disparity is partially resolved by a passage in Joseph Jefferson's account of his arrival in Sydney at the close of 1861:

In due time our printing was posted on the walls, and the lithographs — a novel feature in those days — were placed in the shop windows. I passed my time in wandering about the streets, observing the startled inhabitants as they scanned the pictures, stopping from time to time to listen to their remarks.⁶

The implication here would seem to be that lithography was reserved for relatively small illustrations in sheltered display positions. No doubt size of run also played a part.

The programme posters were the smaller printed cast-lists distributed inside the theatres. For special occasions programme posters would be printed on silk with a border of tasselled embroidery — examples being four Lyster opera company programmes for Vice-Regal performances in Adelaide in 1879 which are also part of the Coppin collection. Silk cast lists, by the way, should never be allowed to come into contact with plastic sheeting.

The origins of the programme newspaper in Melbourne seem to lie in the late fifties.⁷ The first to establish itself on a permanent basis was *The Entr'acte and Playbill*, which survives chiefly in two nonce collections of scattered numbers, one in the La Trobe Library and the other in the British Library. The earliest copy so far located is one in the Mitchell Library dated 17 January 1861. The latest, which is in the State Library of South Australia, is for 8 January 1875. There are only two leaves. The recto of the first contains the playbill, with a different version being set every day for each of the theatres, while the verso offers one or two columns of theatrical news, usually of the puffing variety, and replaced only at weekly or sometimes longer intervals. The rest of the second page, and the entire second leaf, were devoted to advertisements, most of them permanencies. (In view of the large amount of standing type involved, it would be a difficult matter to establish what precisely comprised an edition.) During the early sixties, a thousand copies were printed every night; however, in February 1866 an arrangement was reached with the managers by which *The Entr'acte* became the official programme of the theatres, after which daily circulation was enlarged to 2000 or a little over 600,000 a year. Distribution was gratis.⁸ At least two rivals attempted to challenge its supremacy, the *Green Room; or, Theatrical Advertiser* and the *Magpie Interlude*. The first of these appeared at the beginning of August 1863, but attracted little advertising and only seems to have survived a few weeks. There are copies in the La Trobe Library and the British Library. The existence of the second is known only from a prospectus in the *Magpie* for 12 January 1866 and a mention in a review by J.E. Neild in the *Australasian* for 27 January which I will quote, as it also contains a reference to *The Entr'acte*:⁹

The doctrine of metempsychosis has lately received practical illustration in the circumstance of the *Magpie* — a funny periodical which lived to its thirteenth number — having become translated into the *Interlude*, a sort of rival of an absurd print [i.e. *The Entr'acte*] which has circulated in our theatres for some years past, soiling the fingers — or gloves,

as the case might be — of its readers, and irritating their tempers by its ridiculously inane articles or stale jokes. I have long been of opinion that a play-bill of this kind, circulating among the audience, and conveying really useful information on theatrical matters, would be a boon in its way; but the exasperating perversity with which the right thing has long been done in the wrong way, has almost made me conclude it was impossible to produce anything but a caricature of the genuine article. Before all things, in such a publication there ought to be *no* opinion given of the performances. The circumstances under which it is issued effectually prevent anything being inserted but what is favourable; and need I say that nothing is so nauseating as the constant recurrence of feeble, fulsome praise. There is abundant opportunity to furnish readable matter concerning the pieces produced; and if the conductors of the *Interlude* will give a really correct bill of the play, and such information as they can gather about it, they will do an excellent service to the theatre-going community. In one thing they have certainly begun well — their little sheet is admirably printed. (p.9)

This was in the month before the publishers of *The Entr'acte* negotiated their monopoly arrangement with the managers, so one can only assume that the *Maggie Interlude* was crowded out in the process.

The Entr'acte seems finally to have been killed by the bankruptcy of the Azzopardi firm in 1876. It was succeeded by a second long-running programme newspaper, originally called *The New Idea*, but soon renamed *The Lorgnette*. The pattern of volume numbers would seem to place its inception in the second quarter of 1876, though only one (undated) copy from this year is currently known to survive.¹⁰ This identifies its then proprietor as John J. Liddy's theatrical agency — Liddy later pops up as a theatre manager in Brisbane. In June 1878 it was taken over by its printer, William Marshall, who seems to have inherited the business of the Azzopardi company, and who placed the paper in the care of the journalist W.H. Waters, formerly 'Call Boy' of *The Australasian*, who used it to publish much valuable material concerning the early history of the Melbourne stage and some delightful theatrical short stories by R.P. Whitworth, the author of *Catching a Conspirator*. *The Lorgnette* originally followed *The Entr'acte*'s formula of a separate four-page issue for each theatre, but soon began to appear in two daily editions, each carrying playbills for two theatres, but so arranged that it could be folded to make either bill its front page. This meant in effect that Marshall held four pages of standing type, two with a space for the playbill within a frame of advertisements, and two with letterpress supplied by Waters and more advertisements. Each day he would set up four new play-bills — one each for the Royal, the Opera House, the Princess's and the Academy of Music (later the Bijou) — and would then run off one edition for the Royal and the Academy and another for the Princess's and the Opera House. Each of these editions would in turn be issued in two different foldings. This pattern continued until January 1889 when, probably coinciding with Waters's retirement, a change was made to a weekly four-page *Lorgnette* costing 2d. with a nightly four-page supplement which

remained gratis. The weekly *Lorgnette* was a refurbished version of *The Theatrical Courier*, another Marshall enterprise, which had begun publication as a fortnightly in November 1887. Marshall's printery was among the casualties of the Bijou fire of Easter Monday, 1889; however, he seems to have survived this with the aid of a benefit organised by his theatrical friends.

By now longer runs were destroying much of the rationale of the nightly programme newspaper. Recognising this, *The Lorgnette* began to issue an additional 'dress circle supplement' on yellow paper which was a cast list of the conventional style. In January 1891, following a gap in publication, a fourth series began circulating to the Bijou, the Opera House, the New Princess's and the Alexandra; but this seems to have been a fairly marginal operation. The latest copy held by the La Trobe Library is number 287 of a fifth series, and is dated March 1900. During its long life, *The Lorgnette* had outlived several rivals, among them *The Call* and *Figaro*, about which I know no more than that their names appear at *The Lorgnette's* masthead, like scalps on the belt of a Red Indian chief, along with those of *The New Idea* and *The Theatrical Courier*. Another rival, *The Thespian*, claimed an annual circulation of over 313,000, but is known to me only in a number of 19 May 1886 folded in at the back of a volume of Alexandra Theatre programmes in the La Trobe Library.¹¹ The library holds some quite good fragmentary runs of *The Lorgnette* but lacks most of the numbers for the early 1880s which contained W.H. Waters's most valuable historical material. Fortunately, I have been able to recover some of this from a collection of scrap books in the possession of Mr Warren Mann of Monash University.

It is a saddening thought that of the tens of millions of copies of programme newspapers printed in Melbourne during the second half of the nineteenth century only a few hundred at the most should be in existence today; but this is hardly an exceptional level of destruction where theatrical ephemera are concerned. Some categories of printed materials — one thinks in particular of box plans, prospectuses, tickets, and stage biographies¹² — have virtually vanished without trace. William Lyster issued printed prospectuses for his opera seasons whose text is sometimes quoted in the newspapers, but the only two examples I have been able to discover are in the State Library of South Australia and pertain to his Adelaide season. The reason for these losses is, of course, that there was no incentive to preserve material unless it cost money and the theatregoer might possibly want to use it again. This was, fortunately, sometimes the case with the last category of ephemera I wish to discuss, that of printed word-books, embracing play-texts and opera libretto books.

The repertoire of the Melbourne stage was still at this period an imported one, very little different from those of the English and American theatres, except perhaps in lagging fractionally behind the times. Where the bulk of the stock plays were concerned, there was no need to print locally, as copies were available very cheaply from overseas in such series as Lacy's, Duncombe's, Webster's, Cumberland's, French's, the American Acting Editions, or Spencer's Boston theatre. When one encounters these in Melbourne, they almost invariably bear a bookseller's stamp, usually that of Charlwood & Son at 7 Bourke Street East or Charles Muskett at 78 Bourke Street East, both only a short walk from the Royal. There is no evidence to suggest they were sold in the theatres, though they will certainly on occasions have been brought to performances.

As far as locally written plays were concerned, one finds that the legitimate drama — tragedies, dramas and three act comedies — was not often attempted, and even less often enshrined in print, though there were such exceptions as Finnamore's tragedy, *Francesca Vasari*, which was published in 1865 as an octavo of 36 leaves (A⁸ B–D⁸ E⁴) and subsequently, with the energetic support of the local wits, given three performances at the Theatre Royal in April 1867. (The two State Library of Victoria copies show an interesting variant on p. 33.) What the successful Melbourne dramatists concentrated on were the topical and profitable genres of burlesque, extravaganza, and pantomime, many examples of which were published, apparently for sale within the theatre. The reason for this escaped me for quite some time. I was aware that the language of these pieces was packed with puns of immense ingenuity, but had assumed that the Victorian theatregoer was mentally attuned to this style of dialogue and found no difficulty in following it. This, however, seems not to have been the case, and, on 31 December 1862, we find *The Entr'acte*, in praising the performances of Georgia Hodson and Charles Young in an Akhurst burlesque at the Royal, complaining that not all the jokes had been appreciated and asking: 'Might not the English practice of supplying the doorkeepers with libretto-books for sale be adopted with advantage to all persons interested in the matter?' This soon became an established custom, and quite a number of burlesques and pantomimes by W.M. Akhurst, Garnet Walch, Marcus Clarke and others survive in printed form, forming our most important heritage of original dramatic writing from the theatre of the gold-boom era. It is high time that this material was properly searched out and described. Today I will content myself with a single example, Akhurst's *Tom Tom, the Piper's Son, and Mary Mary, Quite Contrary, or Harlequin Piggy Wiggy, and the Good Child's History of England*, first produced at the Theatre Royal on Boxing Day 1867 and printed by Robert Bell as a pamphlet of sixteen leaves gathered in twelve and four — I won't speculate about sheet size or format. My copy measures 179 x 105mm and is in a yellow wrapper side stitched with a sewing machine. Page 32 contains an advertisement for Charlwood & Son, who claim to hold a stock of 30,000 acting editions of plays — copies, of course, not titles, but still an impressive total for Melbourne in 1867.

I come finally to opera libretto books, which turn out to be fairly prolific survivors. This is because theatregoers tended to preserve them in anticipation of return visits to the same opera, and because they tend to survive in batches, not just singly: a regular patron of the opera would want to have libretto books for all his or her favourites. One should also bear in mind that the auditorium was still lit during performances, so that it was quite a practicable matter to follow the singers word by word, and that the operas were frequently performed in foreign languages. (The locally printed libretto books were invariably in English.) The books were sold in the theatres at a shilling each, and must have been quite a significant source of managerial income. As specimens of printing they are not terribly exciting, but they have value for the theatre historian in that they indicate the precise form in which the operas were performed in Australia, besides sometimes containing marginalia relating to the performance.

What makes them of bibliographical interest is the astonishing prevalence of variant states and issues. At a guess, a good half of the three hundred or so copies I have examined possess some bibliographical singularity either in the text or the wrappers.

Indeed text and wrappers tended to live lives of their own, and it is not uncommon to find that librettos with identical wrappers have texts which come from separate settings of type, or that librettos from the same setting of type have quite different wrappers, often carrying the names of different printers.

I will give just one example of this variety by surveying the libretto books I have encountered of a single opera, which is chosen for no better reason than that it comes first in the alphabet. Meyerbeer's *L'Africaine* had its Australian première in Sydney on 21 May 1866 by William Saurin Lyster's first opera company.¹³ The first edition of the libretto may be described as follows:

Wrapper title: [within compartment, 164 x 89.5 mm] L'AFRICAINNE | OPERA IN FIVE ACTS | [shaded rule, 34 mm] | MUSIC BY G. MEYERBEER, | WORDS BY E. SCRIBE, | AS GIVEN BY | W.S. LYSTER'S | GRAND | OPERA COMPANY [small pica two-line pointed Tuscan] | [rule 12.5 mm] | SYDNEY AND MELBOURNE: | PRINTED BY GIBBS, SHALLARD, & CO., 140 PITT STREET. | [rule 8 mm] | 1866. 12° (182.5 x 104 mm) pp. 1 2–23 24.

Contents: no t.p. 1 HT] L'AFRICAINNE: | [orn. dash 17.5 mm] | ACT I. SCENE I. [53 11. text] | 24 [37 11. text] | THE END. | [plain rule 75.5 mm] | Gibbs, Shallard, & Co., Printers, Sydney and Melbourne.

Of five copies of this libretto book I have seen, each represents a distinct state. The variants are as follows:

- (a) green wrapper, no advs. HL
- (b) green wrapper with adv. [Stanford and Co. Sydney with sewing machine] on wr. 2^v and brown-orange insert leaf following wr. 1 containing advs. for W.H. Paling's pianoforte warehouse (r) and music warehouse (v) HL
- (c) as (b) but with yellow wrapper and green insert leaf W. Kirsop
- (d) yellow wrapper, no insert leaf, adv. [Stanford and Co., Melbourne, with illustration of shop] on wr. 2^v [re-impression by Abbott and Co., Melbourne] VSL
- (e) yellow wrapper, no insert leaf, adv. [Stanford and Co., Melbourne, with illustration, as (d), but text reset] on wr. 2^v [re-impression by R. Bell, Melbourne] HL

Hand-sewn, single stitch.

A possible explanation of this is that Lyster printed the first batch of wrappers in Sydney before he had arranged an advertisement for wr. 2^v; then had another batch printed or overprinted with the Sydney Stanford advertisement; then sold two more pages of advertising to Paling (but only for the Sydney season); then returned to Melbourne, either with several crates of wrappers in the first state without the advertisement, or, more likely, with a set of stereotypes from Gibbs, Shallard; then at two different times in Melbourne placed orders for a new impression or an overprint with different printers. Other explanations are also possible.

I add descriptions of two subsequent editions, the first of which also exhibits variation:

- (2) *Wrapper title*: [within narrow foliate border with corner pieces] L'AFRICAINNE | OPERA IN FIVE ACTS. | [orn. dash 11 mm] | *MUSIC BY G. MEYERBEER*, | WORDS BY E. SCRIBE, | AS GIVEN BY | LYSTER & SMITH'S | GRAND | OPERA COMPANY. | [double fine rule 32 mm] | MELBOURNE: | R. BELL, STEAM PRINTER, 97 LITTLE COLLINS STREET EAST.

12° (182 x 106 mm) pp. 12–24.

Contents: no t.p. 1 HT] L'AFRICAINNE. | [orn. dash 25.5 mm] | ACT I. SCENE I. | [53 11. text]. 24 [37 11. text] | THE END. | [ornament: lyre crossed with aulos over open music book with leaves and flowers, 45 x 20 mm] | [plain short rule 25 mm] | R. Bell, Printer, 97 Little Collins Street East, Melbourne.

Variants:

- (a) blue wrapper, no advs. HL
 (b) blue wrapper, hand stamped adv. [A.B. Lyster & Co., 'Excelsior' motif, variant with text in box] on wr. 2^v VSL
 (c) green wrapper, hand stamped adv, as (b), on wr. 2^v HL
 Machine-sewn along side. A page-for-page reprint of the 1866 edition but with page-numbers at the top of the page instead of the foot. Probably 1870.

- (3) *Wrapper title*: [within double rules (outer wavy) with corner pieces] The Opera Libretto [rimmed gothic] | [wavy rule 20 mm] | MEYERBEER'S | GRAND OPERA, | IN FIVE ACTS, | OF | L'AFRICAINNE; | AS PERFORMED BY THE | GRAND OPERA COMPANY. | [royal arms, 24 x 8.5 mm] | Melbourne: | PRINTED BY AZZOPARDI, HILDRETH & CO., | 10, 12 & 14 POST-OFFICE PLACE. | [dash 5.5 mm] | 1873. 12° (182.5 x 109 mm) pp. 1 2–23 24.

Contents: 1 HT] L'AFRICAINNE. | [rule 29 mm] | ACT I. SCENE I. | [51 11. text]. 24 [55 11. text]

Pink wrapper with slight grey tinge. Hand-sewn through wrapper with single stitch. Page numbers at foot. HL

It seems obvious that libretto books were produced in a large number of small impressions – or possibly in a large number of large impressions (for we can have no clear idea of the quantities involved). Lyster's first opera company usually performed between 150 and 200 nights per year and if we assume that, say, 500 libretto books were sold at every performance, this could add up to as many as 100,000 items per year, which, at a shilling a time, would amount to £5,000 worth of sales. The printers would keep the stereos carefully stored and reimpress whenever necessary. I need hardly say that not all issues and impressions would be signalled by the very obvious kind of variant I have just been discussing.

There remains one more category of theatrical printed ephemera, the smallest and most ephemeral of all. I refer to tickets. But I do not think there is much point in pursuing this topic, as the only ticket surviving from our theatrical golden age that I have so far encountered is a very lonely example in a scrap book in the State Library of South Australia. So I would rather turn the tables and appeal to your own knowledge

and experience to suggest further categories of ephemera that might be worth looking for, and further sources for the kinds I have already discussed.

Harold Love,
Monash University.

- 1 Adelaide, 1972.
- 2 *The James Flood Book of Early Melbourne*, ed. H.H. Paynting (Melbourne, n.d.), p.18.
- 3 See Alec Bagot, *Coppin the Great* (Melbourne, 1965), p. 43.
- 4 Bagot, p. 178 5 XVI, 124.
- 6 '*Rip Van Winkle*': *The Autobiography of Joseph Jefferson* (London, 1949), p. 182.
- 7 For a discussion of this and some related publications, see Harold Love, 'More Melbourne Theatrical Newspapers', *Nineteenth Century Theatre Research* 4 (1976), 41-6. Sydney, Adelaide and Launceston also had *Entr'actes*, and Bendigo a *Lorgnette* (subsequently *Pasquin*).
- 8 The Sydney *Entr'acte* was left with the ticket-takers who supplied it gratuitously on request.
- 9 Lurline Stuart has kindly informed me that the records of the Victorian Registrar-General's Office name the publishers of the *Maggie* as Humphreys and Harcourt, i.e. H.R. Morin Humphreys and Durant Harcourt. The La Trobe Library holds all thirteen fortnightly issues of the parent publication.
- 10 For an account of the earliest surviving issues of *The Lorgnette*, see Alan Hughes, 'A Melbourne Theatrical Newspaper', *NCTR* 3 (1975), 23-7.
- 11 Lurline Stuart has drawn to my attention that *The Thespian* is listed in Gordon and Gotch's periodical directory for 1886 but not in later editions. The earlier Alexandra programmes are printed by Marshall and carry the heading 'SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT TO "THE LORGNETTE"'.
12 Stage biographies were compiled by touring performers for distribution to the press. Wallace Kirsop has kindly informed me of an example in the State Library of Victoria's collection, J.E. Carnegie's *Noticia biografica de Madame Ana Bishop* (1857), evidently prepared for the great cantatrice's South American tour of 1857-8, which followed her first visit to Australia.
- 13 For the Lyster company, see my 'Henry Squires: an American Tenor in Australia', *La Trobe Library Journal* 15 (October 1975), 89-95; 'A Lesson from Lyster; or, How to run an economical opera company', *Meanjin* 36 (1977), 209-15; 'Lyster's 1862 "Huguenots": A Milestone of Musical Theatre in Australia', *Studies in Music* 11 (1977), 49-59.

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