

Adelaide Ristori's Friends and Admirers in Sydney in 1875: The Story of an Illuminated Address

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In 1961 I bought from Tyrrell's Bookshop in George Street, Sydney, a somewhat battered leather-bound album containing photographs of the address sent to Adelaide Ristori (1822–1906), the great Italian actress, after her Australian tour in 1875. She figures, of course, in Harold Love's "Summary of Theatrical Events" for the period 1854–1900 in the survey of the Australian stage he edited a quarter of a century ago.¹ Later, remembering the find languishing on my shelves, I discussed it with him and received both encouragement to present it to the appropriate readership and guidance in ways to find the necessary documentation. The following pages are, therefore, the last and, alas, posthumous tribute to decades of collaboration and interchange in the Monash bibliographical community and to Harold's mastery of the nineteenth-century theatrical history of this country.

What first attracted me to a volume bearing the name RISTORI in gilt letters on its upper board was the fact that it had the bookplate of Eccleston Du Faur inside with the manuscript inscription "E. du Faur Turrumurra N.S.W." Frederick Eccleston Du Faur (1832–1915), "public servant and patron of exploration and arts" in the words of the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*,² was by virtue of his claimed descent from Guy Du Faur de Pibrac (1529–84), author of the famous and much reprinted *Quatrains*,³ a person of interest to someone whose professional business it was to teach Renaissance French literature. Although in recent years there has been more interest in Du Faur's mountaineer daughter Freda (1882–1935),⁴ his long

¹ *The Australian Stage: A Documentary History*, ed. Harold Love (Sydney: New South Wales University Press in association with Australian Theatre Studies Centre, School of Drama, University of New South Wales, 1984), 56, 96–97. See also his entry "Adelaide Ristori" in Philip Parsons, ed. with Victoria Chance, *Companion to Theatre in Australia* (Sydney: Currency Press in association with Cambridge University Press, 1995), 503.

² *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, 17 vols. (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1966–2007), 4:108–9. Hereafter cited as "ADB." All ADB articles referred to in this paper are also available online at <http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/adbonline.htm>.

³ First edition 1574. See Guy Du Faur de Pibrac, *Les Quatrains. Les Plaisirs de la vie rustique et autres poésies*, textes édités, introduits et commentés par Loris Petris (Geneva: Droz, 2004). See also *Quatrains de Pibrac by Gui du Faur – Seigneur de Pibrac translated into English verse by E. Du Faur* (Turrumurra, NSW: the author, 1907). On the tradition into which the *Quatrains* fit, see Wallace Kirsop, "La Réception de la poésie gnomique de la Renaissance: lecteurs et collectionneurs," in Gabriel-André Pérouse, *Études sur Étienne Dolet, le théâtre au XVI^e siècle; le Forez, le Lyonnais et l'histoire du livre publiées à la mémoire de Claude Longeon* (Geneva: Droz, 1993), 275–84. The Australian Pibrac connection was evoked by Marcel Chicoteau, "La descendance australienne du poète Pibrac," *AUMLA* 7 (November 1957): 50–52.

⁴ See Sally Irwin, *Between Heaven and Earth: The Life of a Mountaineer, Freda Du Faur* (Melbourne: White Crane Press, 2000); ADB, 8:349–50.

service managing Ku-ring-gai Chase National Park and presiding over the National Art Gallery of New South Wales marked him out as a substantial contributor to the amenity and civilisation of his adopted country. At the time of Ristori's visit he was reported in *Sands' Sydney & N. S. W. Directory* for 1875 as living at "9 William st, Upper," but he must have moved fairly soon thereafter to the Western Suburbs. In 1889–90 John Horbury Hunt designed for him a Turramurra (Warrawee) house named Pibrac.⁵

A further attraction of the volume for me, as a student of subscription publication, especially as it was practised in eighteenth-century France, was that Du Faur clearly organised the whole enterprise and incorporated in his personal copy the accounts for its production and financing. Here was an invitation to look once again at the role of personal networks in ventures of this kind. Indeed it is this aspect that will be explored after a proper account of the illuminated address and of the circumstances of its presentation to Adelaide Ristori.



The four-month tour of Australia in 1875 by Ristori and her company was the subject late last century of a useful monograph containing translated documents from the Italian side—notably Bartolomeo Galletti's *Il giro del mondo colla Ristori. Note di viaggio* (Rome, 1876)—as well as extracts from the local press, including texts by James Smith and James Edward Neild.⁶ The most recent general study of Ristori in English indicates that her archive in Genoa has been exploited for material on the American and British tours, but not, apparently, on the Australian one.⁷ We know from Galletti's travel diary that the company made a profit of 45,500 francs "from selling books of translations of the plays every evening, during the entire tour."⁸ Some of these have survived in the State Library of Victoria, partly as a gift from one of Alfred Deakin's grandsons. All but one of the texts—with Italian and English side by side—were printed in the United States in the 1860s and 1870s for the global venture or for earlier visits to North America.⁹ On the

⁵ See Peter Reynolds, Lesley Muir and Joy Hughes, *John Horbury Hunt, Radical Architect 1838–1904* (Sydney: Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales, 2002), 140–41.

⁶ *High Art in a Foreign Tongue: Adelaide Ristori's 1875 Australian Tour. Selections from Bartolomeo Galletti's "Around the World with Ristori" and Australian Reviews of Ristori's Performances*, trans. and ed. with an introduction by Tony Mitchell (n.p.: Australasian Drama Studies Association Academic Publications, 1, 1995).

⁷ See Michael R. Booth, John Stokes and Susan Bassnett, *Three Tragic Actresses: Siddons, Rachel, Ristori* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 192–94.

⁸ Mitchell, *High Art in a Foreign Tongue*, 92.

⁹ A bound volume of pamphlets in the State Library of Victoria—Rare s 809.92 D 79 (v. 27)—with date stamps from 4 September 1894 contains Carlo Marengo, *Pia de Tolomei* (New York: John A. Gray & Green, 1866), Paolo Giacometti, *Judith* (New York: John A. Gray & Green, 1866), Paolo Giacometti, *Elizabeth Queen of England* (New York: Metropolitan Print, 1875), Paolo Giacometti, *Marie Antoinette* (New York: Théâtre Français, 1867), Luigi Camoletti, *Sor Teresa; or Isabella Suarez* (New York: John

other hand a biography of Ristori printed in Sydney was also part of the legacy from Deakin.¹⁰ Although Ferguson's *Bibliography of Australia* (no. 14938) assigns the date "c. 1871" to a pamphlet very obviously translated from Italian, this has to have been on internal evidence. The Caxton Printing Office was functioning under that name till 1876,¹¹ and publication of a slightly outdated text would still have served the essential advertising need around the 1875 tour.

What is lacking in the documents and extracts edited by Mitchell is any mention of the address being presented to Adelaide Ristori by leading Sydney citizens. The simple and most obvious reason for this is that it happened after the actress and her party had left the country. By contrast the tributes paid by Sydney's Italian community on 19 August and by a Melbourne committee on 13 November are given ample attention and space.¹² Indeed the latter occasion attracted some unwelcome publicity because of the drunken performance by James Gatehouse, Mayor of Melbourne, in his incompetent reading of the testimonial.¹³ That text itself, which was composed by Neild,¹⁴ makes an interesting comparison with the later Sydney one reproduced below. The perennial rivalry between the two colonial capitals is abundantly evident in the commentary on the seasons in both places. It is possible to speculate that the later Sydney address was an attempt to outdo the Melbourne gala of November 1875.



In the absence of the Sydney illuminated address to Adelaide Ristori,¹⁵ researchers have to be content with the photographic copy in the Mitchell Library¹⁶ and with

A. Gray & Green, 1868), Victor Hugo, *Lucretia Borgia* (New York: Metropolitan Print, 1875), Ernest Legouvé, translated into Italian by Joseph Montanelli, *Medea* (New York: Metropolitan Printing and Engraving Establishment, 1875) and Friedrich Schiller, adapted by André Maffei, *Mary Stuart* (Paris: Morris and C^o, 1873). The items from Deakin via Kenneth Rivett in 1977 are additional copies of *Elizabeth Queen of England*, *Judith* and *Marie Antoinette*. The *National Union Catalog pre-1956 Imprints* records a volume in the Detroit Public Library containing *Marie Antoinette*, *Elizabeth Queen of England* and *Pia de Tolomei* in 1875 editions.

¹⁰ See State Library of Victoria LTF 792.028092 R 49 B, from the K. Rivett donation of 1977. The only recorded North American copy is quite predictably at Stanford. See *Australiana in Leland Stanford Junior University Library: The Gift of Thomas Welton Stanford* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University, 1901?), 121.

¹¹ See Ian Morrison, *The Publishing Industry in Colonial Australia* (Melbourne: BSANZ, 1996), 25, 129.

¹² Mitchell, *High Art in a Foreign Tongue*, 31–33, 76–79, 109–13, 158–66.

¹³ See the *Melbourne Punch* cartoon reproduced by Mitchell, 32.

¹⁴ See Harold Love, *James Edward Neild, Victorian Virtuoso* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1989), 267.

¹⁵ An effort is being made to discover whether it is held in the Ristori archive of the Museo Biblioteca dell'Attore di Genova.

¹⁶ QA 927.92 C. I am grateful to Richard Neville, Mitchell Librarian, for answering my questions about this item and for supplying images from it, notably the binding. There is no clear provenance,

Du Faur's (which will soon be transferred to a public collection). The latter is bound in black sheep over heavy boards, has decorated-paper endleaves, six thick cardboard sheets preceded and followed by single plain binder's leaves and six interleaves hinged to the recto of each cardboard sheet. The photographs of the original address are in the form of albumen prints pasted to the rectos of the cardboard sheets. The measurements vary slightly—from 267 to 273.5 mm in height and from 204 to 212 mm in width, i.e. approximately 10½ inches by 8 inches. An oval photograph of Ristori is on the verso of the upper free endpaper. Various cuttings are pasted on the free endpapers and on the verso of the last cardboard sheet. The statement of accounts is pasted on the recto of the first interleaf. The versos of interleaves two to six carry a "Descriptive Schedule" in Du Faur's hand setting out the scientific and common names of the flora and fauna illustrated in the margins of the relevant pages of the address.

The text is perhaps more conventional than Neild's, and it certainly has the flavour of an oratorical style practised by more than one of the signatories, Charles Badham for example.¹⁷ None the less it expresses a cultural and intellectual aspiration that was far from absurd and unjustified in the major Australian cities of the second half of the nineteenth century:

[page 1]

ADDRESS
To
Adelaide Ristori,
Marchesa G. del Grillo
FROM
Friends and Admirers
IN SYDNEY, NEW SOUTH WALES
On Her departure from their Colony
1875

[page 2]

To
Adelaide Ristori

Madame

[page 3]

WE should not have presumed to offer you this public expression of our sentiments, had we not felt assured That the sympathies of our fellow-citizens are with us in our endeavour to make a suitable acknowledgment of the services for which this Colony must ever be your debtor.

and the album lacks the additional matter—cuttings, statement of accounts and MS descriptive interleaves—present in the Du Faur copy.

¹⁷ See *Speeches and Lectures delivered in Australia by the late Charles Badham, D.D., Professor of Classics in Sydney University* (Sydney: William Dymock, 1890).

When we first heard of your intended visit to us, we were proud of the compliment, and rejoiced to think that you had such an opinion of the culture and intelligence of our community as to expect from it a suitable audience for the display of your wonderful art. And even if your estimate of us was above, what we then deserved, it is quite certain that our deficiencies have become less and our perceptions have been quickened under your influence. We now perceive that it is the province of genius, or rather of that consummate art which is the combination of genius with study, not only to give pleasure, but to make us capable of receiving it—not only to inform the mind, but to open it for the reception of truth.

[page 4]

Madame—We should pay you a compliment which would make you blush for the simplicity of Your admirers if we only thanked you for the delightful hours which we have spent in listening to you. Nor, though our delight has been very great indeed—so great that men in describing it have exhausted every kind of rapturous expression, and, finding them all inadequate, have settled down into the sober language of deep satisfaction—the pleasure of seeing and hearing you is the least of the claims which you have upon our gratitude. No one knows better than yourself that true dramatic art, like every other art, is founded wholly upon Nature: that the connection between the workings of the soul and the utterances of them, in voice and face and gesture, are not conventional contrivances, but the results of a deep natural harmony: and one who exhibits this truth to us in a series of splendid examples educates us out of the love of mannerisms and false glitter and ‘sound and fury’ into the appreciation of that real art which is the deep and untroubled mirror of Nature—the art of Adelaide Ristori.

[page 5]

It is as an acknowledgment of such services that we beg you, illustrious lady, to bear with you in your departure from this Colony a loving remembrance of Sydney as a place not insensible to kindness, nor indifferent to intellectual improvement, but as one that will ever cherish your memory, and, whilst it prizes the genial lessons and the new insights into Nature which it has acquired, will never forget from whose genius they were derived.

Allow us
Madame
To subscribe ourselves
Your Sincere Friends and Admirers.

[page 6]

[two columns of subscribers' signatures]

The fact that the artist dated her work on the borders from 1876 suggests that the address was not ready for transmission to Italy in the year of Ristori's visit. An unsourced and undated cutting in Du Faur's copy—verso of upper binder's leaf—states that a version of it had been presented to the actress at her farewell benefit in Sydney on 22 October 1875. However, some details reported contradict the statement of accounts, so the article has to stand essentially as a general description of an artifact now lost from sight in its authentic form:

ADDRESS TO MADAME RISTORI.—We have been afforded an opportunity of inspecting an illustrated and illuminated copy of the address presented to Madame Ristori at the Victoria Theatre, on the occasion of her farewell benefit in October last. This work of art, as it may truly be called, has been prepared by a few of the great actress's warm admirers and personal friends, and we can congratulate them on having succeeded in procuring a specimen of tasteful design and execution such as has not, in our judgment, been equalled in the colony, and which we doubt not will be fully appreciated even in Rome. It is to be regretted that, owing to the delicate nature of the work, it has been found impracticable to exhibit the address in public before its dispatch by the outgoing Suez mail. Its special character is that, while but little illumination has been used except on the title page and a few prominent words and initial letters, the four principal sheets, comprising the address itself, are bordered on the left-hand and above the lettering, with the most delicate etchings of the flora and fauna peculiar to Australia, enlivened with little bits of local scenery charmingly executed. These are from the pen of Mrs. Forde, whose talents in portraying and grouping such subjects, as well as intimate acquaintance with them as a naturalist, are well known; but she certainly appears in the present instance to have exercised more than her usual skill and patience, and to have far surpassed any of her former efforts which have come under our notice. The first page is headed with a distant view of Government House, peeping out from a most artistic group of foliage, amongst which the

waratah, white hibiscus, Sturt's desert pea, Blandfordia, cianthus, eucalyptus, blossoms. Ferns and other native plants are conspicuous, leading down to a view of Middle Harbour, and a life-like delineation of the kangaroo (*macropus major*) in the left hand foreground. The second page is bordered in a similar manner with the large pink lotus, white orchids, red epacris, *Kennedya*, native yam, and ferns, enlivened with a group of emus in the foreground, and palms (*Seaforthia elegans*) in the distance. The third page is varied by the introduction of Tasmanian tigers (*Thylacinus cynocephalus*) in the left hand foreground, while the flock they have disturbed is collected on the rising ground behind them; the foliage includes the red cedar, lilly-pilly berries (*Acmena elliptica*), adiantum, gleichenia, ferns, &c., among which are seen the native bear and its young, fruit pigeons, and a distant view of Sydney harbour. The fourth, and perhaps choicest page of all, gives us the wombat, cabbage tree palm, Tasmanian opossum, native parrots on blossoms of eucalyptus, the wooden pear (*Xylomelum pyri*), native currant, white jasmin and ferns, and is headed with a view on the Hawkesbury River, near Dangar's Island. The concluding page, which contains about forty signatures, is bordered with a simple grouping of Sturt's desert pea and native raspberry vines, &c., while a group of black swans at its foot must have almost exhausted the talented artist's *repertoire*. Of the illuminated portions of the address, and of the lettering we may also speak in unqualified praise; these were entrusted to Mr. G. Relph, of Elizabeth-street, who, by carefully avoiding the use of bright and gaudy colours which so frequently disfigure such designs, has succeeded in thoroughly harmonizing his work with its accompanying etchings. The six sheets are enclosed in a handsome portfolio of light blue morocco, without any ornamentation other than the coronet and monogram of La Marquise, in oxidized silver, with plain studs of the same metal in each corner; this portion of the work was executed by Mr. John Sands, and in good taste and workmanship is in every respect worthy of its contents. There can be no doubt that Madame Ristori will be highly gratified in receiving a souvenir so thoroughly emblematical of the colony with her visit to which, it has been stated, she intended concluding her professional career.

Du Faur's transcription of the various items of expenditure and of the names and contributions of the subscribers is quite obviously the most precious aspect of his record of the event entitled "*Ristori Address Accounts*" and written on a folded sheet 203 mm x 127 mm (see Table opposite). Some elaboration and expansion of the information given are in order.

The artist Helena Forde is more commonly referred to now under her maiden name of Scott.¹⁸ She and her sister Harriet, cousins of David Scott Mitchell, played a major role in scientific illustration in Sydney for some decades in the second half of the nineteenth century. Straitened circumstances meant that Helena was forced to seek and accept commissions like the Ristori address. It is her participation, of course, that creates an intrinsic interest in the album going beyond its status as a sample of the Victorians' modes of cultivating celebrities.

The part played by the jeweller and watchmaker Hermann Finckh,¹⁹ of "Finckh and Bockemann, 6 Hunter st" according to the 1875 *Directory*, needs to be noted alongside the work done by the Sands firm on the binding. George Relph, "law stationer, 97 Elizabeth st; p[ri]vate r[esidence] 7 Randle's terrace, Newtown," also did the illumination of an address with borders by Harriet Scott to be sent to the Prince of Wales in 1880.²⁰

The layout of the receipts page makes it clear that there was a shortfall and that three people had to make extra contributions to cover the residue of the expenditure. These three were, it has to be argued, the likely organisers of the whole enterprise: Du Faur himself; Eliza Wentworth, at this stage the only surviving unmarried daughter of W. C. Wentworth;²¹ and Emmeline Woolley (1843–1908; *ADB* 12: 572), pianist, organist and composer, and, more important perhaps, sister of Du Faur's future second wife, Blanche. The last three entries are in reddish ink, as are the W initials alongside certain names (shown in open face type in the Table). Dare we assume that these were contributions collected by Eliza Wentworth or, more likely, Emmeline Woolley, whose name—in pencil—appears at the top of the leaf to which the statement is pasted?

The photograph of the signature page leaves a few names quite indistinct, thus creating an obstacle for full identification of all the subscribers. Wives whose husbands also signed and contributed made no monetary payment. Otherwise Blanche Woolley, J. B. Watt (*ADB* 6: 365–66) and Eugène Simon were the only additional non-payers. Simon was the French Consul and, at the time, Acting Italian Consul.

¹⁸ See Marion Ord's entry in Joan Kerr, ed., *The Dictionary of Australian Artists: Painters, Sketchers, Photographers and Engravers to 1870* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1992), 707–8, and Roger Butler, *Printed Images in Colonial Australia 1801–1901* (Canberra: National Gallery of Australia, 2007), 187–91, 195, 198.

¹⁹ See *ADB* 14: 164–65 on Hermann's son Alfred Edmund Finckh (1866–1961).

²⁰ See *The Dictionary of Australian Artists*, 706.

²¹ See Andrew Tink, *William Charles Wentworth: Australia's Greatest Native Son* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2009), *passim*.

<i>“Expenditure”</i>				
Cardboard	10	—	—	—
Mrs Forde – Etching	10	—	—	—
Monogram – Finck	1	—	—	—
Relph – Illumination	10	—	—	—
Sands – Binding.	6	12	6	—
Photograph –	—	12	—	—
Binding do	1	10	—	—
Cardboard.	—	3	—	—
Case & packing	1	7	—	—
Freight	2	9	6	—
£	35	5	—	—

<i>“Receipts”</i>						
Sir W. Manning	1	1	Brought Forward	18	14	—
W B Dalley	1	1	J R Fairfax	1	1	—
F M Darley	1	1	W W Stephen	1	1	—
John Hay	1	1	Dr Bennett	1	1	—
G W Allen	1	1	W J Stephens	—	10	—
W H Paling	—	10	Mrs Hay	—	—	—
Mrs Macleay	—	10	Mrs Irving	W	10	6
“ Sutor	—	10	Sir E. D Thomson	W	—	6
Miss Gilder	—	10	J B. Watt	—	—	—
“ Wentworth	—	10	T. S. Mort	W	1	—
Mrs Moore	—	10	Mrs Mort	—	—	—
J Street	—	10	G Knox	W	1	—
P A Jennings	1	1	W Windeyer	—	1	—
C Sahl	—	10	A Moore	W	—	6
G Labertouche	—	10	Lady Manning	—	—	—
W A Duncan	—	10	J S. Mitchell	W	1	—
Sir A Stephen	1	1	Mrs Windeyer	—	—	—
E Simon	—	—	Miss B Woolley	—	—	—
Sir G. L. Innes	1	1	E Du Faur	W	1	—
S Samuel	—	10	Miss Woolley	W	1	—
J Rae	—	10	Miss Wentworth	W	1	—
J Joubert	—	10	Miss Woolley 2nd Set do	do	1	19
Dr Laure	—	10	E Du Faur	do	2	—
H Austin	1	1	—	—	—	—
R C Want	1	1	—	—	—	—
Dr Badham	—	10	—	—	—	—
EL Monrefoire	—	10	—	—	—	—
£	18	14	£	35	4	—

Galletti gives some information about the help given by this official to Adelaide Ristori during both her visits to Sydney.²² Beyond this he was an interesting person in his own right, notably as the author of an influential book on China.²³

Many of the names are those of prominent citizens—parliamentarians, judges, lawyers, professors, newspaper proprietors, merchants, public servants—familiar to Australian readers and listed in the *ADB*.²⁴ Two signatories, having missed out on *ADB* proper, are included in the complementary *Biographical Register*: Louis Laure (1830–1912), a medico with a French background, and James Sutherland Mitchell (1819–93), a businessman with family links to the Morts and to the Allens.²⁵ Connections were all-important in a tightly-knit society that was at the same time extremely quarrelsome.

The place of the other subscribers is for the most part less obvious. Carl Sahl, the Consul of the German Empire, is hardly surprising. But what are we to make of Angela Gilder, presumably a member of a family listed with a fashionable address in Woollahra, or of George E. Labertouche of New South Head Road, Paddington? Two inclusions are at present quite mysterious: H. Austin and the Moore couple. The former's signature is not discernible on the photograph, whereas Ashley and Elizabeth do not match Moores in the usual reference works.

²² Mitchell, *High Art in a Foreign Tongue*, 44–45, 47–48, 62.

²³ *La Cité chinoise* (Paris: Éditions de la Nouvelle Revue, 1885); English translation *China: Its Social, Political, and Religious Life* (London: S. Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, 1887). See Gilbert Gadoffre, *Claudiel et l'Univers chinois* (Paris: Gallimard, 1968), *passim*. My thanks go to Ivan Barko for sharing with me information about a figure who deserves further study.

²⁴ See *ADB* entries on George Wigram Allen (3: 24–25), Charles Badham (3: 68–71), George Bennett (1: 85–86), William Bede Dalley (4: 6–9), Frederick Matthew Darley (4: 17–19), William Augustine Duncan (1: 335–37), James Reading Fairfax (8: 460–62), John Hay (4: 361–62), George Long Innes (4: 459–60), Patrick Alfred Jennings (4: 477–79), Jules Joubert (4: 493–94), William Montagu Manning (5: 207–9), Eliezer Levi Montefiore (5: 269), Thomas Sutcliffe Mort (5: 299–301), William Henry Paling (5: 389–90), John Rae (6: 1–2), Saul Samuel (6: 84–85), Alfred Stephen (6: 180–87), William Wilberforce Stephen (6: 192–93), William John Stephens (6: 197–98), Edward Deas Thomson (2: 523–27), William Charles Windeyer (6: 420–22) and Mary Elizabeth Windeyer (12: 537–39). On Eliezer Levi Montefiore and John Rae see also *The Dictionary of Australian Artists*, 543–45 and 652–54.

Spouses and family members also occur incidentally in articles on those already listed or on other persons. Mary Hay, Eliza Anne Manning and Elizabeth Mort are subsumed in their husbands' entries. Adelaide Irving was the widow of Clark Irving (4: 462), while George Knox was the son of Edward Knox (5: 38–39). Susan was both the wife of William John Macleay (5: 185–87) and the daughter of Edward Deas Thomson. John Rendell Street, merchant, was the father of Philip Whistler Street (12: 118–19) and thus of a dynasty of chief justices and lieutenant-governors of New South Wales. Charlotte Augusta Ann Suttor was the wife of William Henry Suttor (6: 228–29) and the mother of Francis Bathurst Suttor (6: 227–28). Randolph Want was the son of Randolph John Want (6: 349–50).

²⁵ *A Biographical Register 1788–1939. Notes from the Name Index of the "Australian Dictionary of Biography,"* compiled and edited by H. J. Gibbney and Ann G. Smith (Canberra: *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Australian National University, 1987), 2: 10, 109.

How were such groups of friends and admirers brought together? We know from Galletti that—in addition to Eugène Simon—Jennings, Joubert and Montefiore helped in welcoming and entertaining the Ristori party.²⁶ Can the others be explained simply as contacts of the Du Faur–Woolley–Wentworth nexus? If this were the subscriber list of a published work, it would be tempting to advance this hypothesis, which means, amongst other things, that similar subjects may attract quite different buyers. Illuminated addresses could have had a somewhat more constant clientele: people who needed to prove they had paid obeisance to the celebrity—artistic, musical, theatrical, intellectual, or merely princely—of the hour. More such documents emanating from the Sydney Establishment of the late nineteenth century need to be investigated.

A few comparisons show how diverse the parallel book enterprises could be. Du Faur's Horace translation of 1906—three decades later—was supported by G. W. Allen's son Arthur, by Darley, by J. R. Fairfax, by a member of the Knox family, by a Stephen, by Mrs. Suttor's son, by Mary Elizabeth Windeyer and by Emmeline Woolley. Their names are swamped by the politicians, governors and judges of a later generation, but there is an intellectual element led by H. C. L. Anderson, J. F. Archibald and Louisa Macdonald.²⁷ There is even less overlap with the "List of Subscribers" to Badham's *Speeches* in 1890: G. B. and Reginald Allen, Dalley and Professor Stephens.²⁸ As for the huge subscription to selected works of Marcus Clarke in 1890, "Mr Justice Windeyer" is the only common element.²⁹ Once again we are reminded that Melbourne and Sydney were foreign countries for each other.

A study of the mechanisms at work should not lead us too far into cynicism. Even the "usual suspects" of petitions are driven by their passions and enthusiasms. The reactions to Adelaide Ristori, as they are set out in the reviews of the Australian press of the time, are genuine and not without critical acumen. There is a tinge of false modesty in the address. Some of the signatories—for example Badham, Duncan and Emmeline Woolley—were quite at home in Italian. In any case the remoteness and the rawness of the colonial capitals can be exaggerated, however much the municipal vulgarity of the Gatehouses can offend our sensibilities. There are, and were, many Australias, some of them living no doubt a sort of *innere Emigration* as one can discover from Ada Cambridge's *Thirty Years in Australia*.³⁰ If one looks at the ethnic, religious, linguistic and educational diversity of the address's

²⁶ See the references in note 22 above.

²⁷ Horace: "The Odes," "Epodes"—(selected) and "Carmen Saeculare." Translated into English Verse by Eccleston Du Faur, F. R. G. S. (Sydney: William Brooks & Co. Ltd, 1906), xv–xvii. The same work has an extensive notice of Du Faur's career by Edward J. Sievers, iii–xiii.

²⁸ P. viii.

²⁹ *The Austral Edition of the Selected Works of Marcus Clarke, together with a biography and monograph of the deceased author*, compiled and edited by Hamilton Mackinnon (Melbourne: Ferguson & Mitchell, 1890), iii–viii.

³⁰ Ada Cambridge, *Thirty Years in Australia* (1903; revised ed., Sydney: Sydney University Press, 2006), passim.

signatories, one sees something of a cosmopolitan and multicultural society that was already confident and at ease long before 1945. The input of the University of Sydney into the venture is a reminder that the city could be one of scholarship and collecting. Charles Nicholson and George Salting had gone back to Europe, but Macleay was still there, as was—discreetly in the background—the incomparable David Scott Mitchell. A tribute emanating from this milieu was not something to be neglected and despised.

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