AUSTRALIAN COMPOSERS AND ARRANGERS OF EARLY COLONIAL SYNAGOGUE MUSIC: NEW LIGHT ON ISAAC NATHAN, JAMES REICHENBERG, AND HERMAN HOELZEL

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The British Jewish settler Isaac Nathan (1792-1864) has traditionally been regarded as the founding father of synagogue music in Australia. However, while he played a leading role in the music at the consecration of Sydney's York Street Synagogue in 1844/5604, others also made significant, and more to the point surviving, contributions to colonial Jewish music. Notably, the observant Jewish pianist and composer James Henri Anderson later published a set of melodies sung at the Sydney service, *The Lays of the Hebrews*, and was involved as a composer and musical director in other consecrations and dedications in Launceston, Hobart, and at Sydney's Macquarie Street Synagogue. Meanwhile, the Italian-born Roman Catholic Joseph Reichenberg directed the music at the dedication of Hobart's Argyle Street Synagogue in 1845/5605, and published his own set of arrangements of traditional chants, as *Ancient Hebrew Melodies*. Both Anderson's and Reichenberg's published sets, as well as a pair of arrangements of 1857 by Rabbi Herman Hoelzel, are significant survivals of the work of colonial composers, important contributions to the small roll-call of early colonial ritual music for various settler religious denominations, and interesting colonial Australian successors of Nathan's earlier (British and non-Liturgical) *Hebrew Melodies*. In Australia, Nathan, on the other hand, arguably made a more sustained contribution to the music of other spiritual traditions: Christian (notably in his several musical labours on behalf of St. Mary's Catholic Cathedral in Sydney), and—memorably—Indigenous Australian.

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EARLY SETTLER COLONIAL COMPOSERS AND ARRANGERS OF RITUAL AND LITURGICAL MUSIC

From the mid-1820s until at least the late 1850s, local composers played a more significant role in the growth of the wider Australian musical economy than they have ever since.[1] Australia was still a captive local retail music market, perpetually kept waiting and hungry by its geographical isolation for new imported, usually printed, musical product from homeland Britain and Europe. Imagining how limited the available musical repertoire was is not hard; emigrants—professional and amateur—may well have brought their own music collections with them on the voyage out (some, as happened to Isaac Nathan, lost a box of music *en route*); but, once here, they were literally stuck with their 'desert island' selection, save for periodic arrival of shipments of 'new music' from home (always prominently advertised by music-sellers). Into this context, any new music composed, performed, and printed, or otherwise supplied on-shore was, therefore, far more highly valued than it was at any later stage in Australian history.

Local composers not only produced original works, but they were also responsible for making new arrangements of melodies, and for orchestrating (or often re-orchestrating) whole works for locally available musical forces. In 1844, Nathan owned the only copy in Australia of Rossini's opera *Cinderella*, but it was only a vocal score, with a reduced piano accompaniment, in a format already adapted for the English stage by Rophino Lacey.[2] According to Nathan, for the work's Australian premiere at the Royal Victoria Theatre in Sydney, he himself re-orchestrated the second-act finale, while his colleagues in the theatre orchestra Joseph Gautrot, Spencer Wallace, and John Gibbs (all also active composers) did the rest.[3] Arranging was, thus, one of a colonial composer's key roles, and when such local productions went on to be issued in print (whether arrangements or original compositions), they were often validated in the press more highly than imported music. In 1842, for instance, The *Sydney Herald* complained:

> Our music press has again been to work, and has issued, not an Australian composition calculated to undeceive those who imagine that we can only deal and barter, but a reprint of a very trashy piece for the pianoforte, called *Prince Albert's Band March*—the catchpenny title of which would be sufficient to deter any common-sensed amateur […] But are these the things we are to have reprinted in Australia? Certainly not.[4]

But in contrast to this 'trashy import', the same review noted with approbation:

> It has lately been our good fortune to notice several pieces of excellent music, of not only colonial 'getting up', but of composition, by musicians resident amongst us; and our duty has, in many instances, been the most agreeable that a reviewer can have, viz.:—that of awarding praise—praise being due.

The earliest documentary evidence of locally composed, arranged, or otherwise 'got up' ritual music for any of Australia's several imported settler-colonial faiths dates from the late 1820s. In March 1827, the Sydney *Monitor* reported that 'The choir of St. James's Church, will chaunt on Sunday evening next, the *Magnificat*, arranged by Mr. Pearson',[5] and in 1830, the *Gazette* revealed: 'That beautiful piece of sacred music adapted to the responses in the Communion Service, and sung by the choir of St. James's Church, is the composition of Mr. PEARSON, the Organist.'[6] Meanwhile, Australia's very first named settler composer, Joseph Reichenberg (c.1789/92-1851), the Italian-born master of the Band of the 40th Regiment, was actively involved in music making for the Roman Catholic congregations in Sydney in the mid-1820s, and later in Hobart where he remained as a free settler when his regiment left the colonies in 1829.[7] As we shall see, the faithful Catholic Reichenberg also went on to make an important contribution to early Australian synagogue music.

In May 1839, a Scottish Catholic settler, Dr J. A. Reid was appointed 'Organist and Musical Composer' at St. Mary's Cathedral in Sydney and in October, fellow Scot, the journalist William Augustine Duncan (1811-1885), welcomed one of Reid's compositions in his recently-founded Sydney Catholic newspaper, the *Australasian Chronicle*:

> On Sunday, a solemn Mass was celebrated in the Cathedral [...] The new choir and orchestra of the Cathedral performed publicly for the first time on this occasion, and we have pleasure in adding in a style which surprised and delighted every body. The Mass was Reid's No. I in C, which is, upon the whole, a charming composition [...] We venture to predict that the succession of sounds of which this piece consists, will be speedily heard resounding in all parts of our capital [...].[8]

Duncan himself was musically well educated, and if not strictly a composer, was a dedicated musical arranger. In late March and early April 1841, he released the first ever colonial liturgical music

publication, two numbers of a projected twelve-issue series of music for use in Catholic churches, *The Sacred Minstrel*, 'being a collection of APPROVED HYMNS, arranged and adapted to the choicest movements of THE MOST CELEBRATED COMPOSERS', including Haydn, Gluck, Mozart, Pergolesi, and Cramer.[9] As Duncan explained: 'The musical works from which the airs are extracted have cost the compiler the labour of many years in collecting', and the task of fitting them to English hymn texts, and arranging them in simple choral format can hardly have been less laborious. Already by issue two, Duncan was forced to 'confess the slow demand' for the publication, and release of a third issue, 'now in the hands of the printer', was never advertised.[10] Significantly, there is now not even a single copy of the *Sacred Minstrel* listed in the Australian bibliographic record, though a slightly later Duncan arrangement, a *Kyrie Eleison* ('adapted to a *morceau* in A minor of Karl Heinrich Graun, and arranged for four voices and chorus, with An Accompaniment for the Organ or Pianoforte') was published in 1842, and a copy has survived.[11]

Duncan's *Kyrie* is the earliest of only a handful of extant colonial liturgical imprints dating from before 1860. The others include two (Christian) compositions by Isaac Nathan, a setting of The *Lord's Prayer* (1845) dedicated to the (Anglican) 'Lord Bishop of Australia',[12] and *The Names of Christ* (1853) to a text by the Presbyterian minister James Laughton.[13] The former convict and composer, Charles Packer (1810-1883), published another work called *The Names of Christ* (1856), though to an entirely different text;[14] while a still-serving, though evidently free-to-roam convict, John Charles Tapp (1824/5-1875) composed his *Tasmanian Sacred Melodies* (1855), a collection of original Wesleyan Methodist hymn tunes.[15] Packer, notably, found his librettist in the eccentric religious enthusiast Samuel Elyard. Though now better remembered as a talented amateur painter, according to his biographer, Michael Saclier, Elyard was also an avid pamphleteer who aimed:

> [...] to convert the Jews to Protestantism. In mid-1857 he started a journal, the *Salem Standard*, and imported a press with Hebrew type. He suffered from prophetic and royal delusions, but moderated after his retirement and became an Anglican lay preacher and a justice of the peace.[16]

Beside these few Christian survivals, four colonial Jewish musical publications also survive from before 1860, thus representing—way beyond Judaism's population representation—a good half of the extant colonial liturgical music from this period.

JAMES HENRI ANDERSON AND ISAAC NATHAN AND THE CONSECRATION OF SYDNEY SYNAGOGUE (1844/5604)

Nathan has traditionally been regarded as the founder of Jewish music in Australia, and there is no doubt that his *Hebrew Melodies*, as set to words by Byron, and which first began to be published in London in 1815-16,[17] made a significant local impact. Thus, Nathan had already made his Sydney press debut in 1830, eleven years before he himself arrived in the colony, in an article under the guaranteed eye-catching headline, 'Lord Byron'. Its mostly favourable portrait of Nathan was lifted verbatim, as was much of the literary content of early Sydney papers, from an English journal:

> Mr. Nathan, the musical composer, has just published a pleasant volume of *Fugitive Pieces and Reminiscences of Lord Byron*, with a new edition of the celebrated *Hebrew Melodies*, and some never before published [...].[18]

The *Gazette* reprinted three of the 'new' Bryon lyrics, with Nathan's reminiscences of his and Bryon's collaboration, and recollections of Walter Scott and Thomas Moore:

> When the *Hebrew melodies* were first published, Sir Walter, then Mr. Scott, honoured me with a visit at my late residence in Poland-street: I sang several of the melodies to him—he repeated his visit, and requested I would allow him to introduce his lady and his daughter; they came together, when I had the pleasure of singing to them *Jephtha's Daughter* and one or two more of the most favourite airs; they entered into the spirit of the music with all the true taste and feeling so peculiar to the Scotch.[19]

The 1830 review concluded: 'Altogether, Mr. Nathan's is just the book for the season'; though, in due course (as hinted in the obituary quoted above), other books read in Sydney recorded Byron's much-circulated exasperated complaint to Thomas Moore: 'Sunburn Nathan! Why do you always twit me with his 'Ebrew Nasalities?'[20]

After Nathan's arrival in Sydney in 1841, *Jephtha's Daughter* indeed went on to become one of his most enduring Australian hits. The colonial soprano diva, Eliza Bushelle (sister of the composer William Vincent Wallace), better known locally for her not always welcome advocacy of 'foreign' (Italian) arias, had already sung it several times, before her performance in a concert in September 1841 received this extraordinary, and admonitory, press notice:

Then came the sublime piece of the night—JEPHTHA'S DAUGHTER, in which Nathan has in so masterly a manner 'married the immortal verse' of one of Lord Byron's splendid lyrics, to most exquisite and appropriate music, and Mrs. Bushelle, with her powerful voice and no less powerful pathos, caused every word to thrill to the hearts of those who heard her. Not only every word, but every letter was enunciated so clearly and forcibly, that the poetry was felt in all its agonising force as strongly as the music; an argument from fact—unanswerable—unassailable—indestructible, by any sophistry or quibbling logic which can be brought forward, of the gross absurdity of thrusting unintelligible Italian on an English audience. To all such logic we reply: produce one single Italian piece, that with its poetry and its music, even if sung by our *Prima Donna*, Mrs Bushelle, will speak home to the heart like the electric and thrilling pathos of the great master piece of *Jephtha's Daughter*, and we will give up the task for ever of opposing Italian vocalism [...].[21]

Even though it was sacred and Hebrew in subject and content, *Jephtha* was neither a liturgical setting; nor, of course, had it been composed in Australia. In fact, as we shall shortly see, there is documentation of only a couple of Australian Jewish liturgical compositions by Nathan, neither of which, sadly, is thought to have survived; whereas another settler Jewish pianist-composer-arranger, James Henri Anderson (?1823-1879)—moreover, an observant practising Jew—seems to have made a more sustained contribution to music in the colonial synagogue.

Anderson was not yet twenty when he arrived in the colonies, probably sometime in 1840-41,[22] after studies at the Royal Academy of Music, London, 'during the same period (seven years) being the constant pupil of Cipriani Potter',[23] the 'English Beethoven', and more recently with the late Professor John Thomson (d.1841) of the University of Edinburgh. He was certainly in Hobart at New Year 1842, advertising that he would give, in Campbell Town on 11 February, 'a GRAND CONCERT of the most popular music, as now performed in the principal places of fashionable report in London', and that on 'return from his tour', it was his intention 'to give occasional Concerts in Hobart Town as advertised'.[24] In April, he begged 'leave most respectfully to inform the inhabitants of Hobart Town' of his intention to give instruction in Music, Pianoforte, English Singing, and Thorough Bass,[25] though by July, either pleasantly surprised at their quality, or pandering to their pretensions, he had taken to addressing his advertisement to 'the

Nobility and Gentry of Hobart Town'.[26] However, having given a concert in Launceston in March 1843 with John and Eliza Bushelle,[27] by September he moved there, and advertised his availability to give instruction 'in the various branches of composition, the theory of music, singing, and the piano-forte'.[28]

Anderson moved on to Sydney by March 1844,[29] and was again looking for pupils, as our Catholic journalist-arranger W. A. Duncan noted with evident interest in his new paper, the *Register*:

> A late arrival has brought to our shores a Mr. Anderson from the Royal Academy of Music, who is stated to be a pianist worthy of his talented instructor Cipriani Potter. *Nous entendrons.*[30]

Anderson's arrival (possibly intentionally) coincided with the consecration of the new synagogue in York Street, for again according to Duncan (his antiquarian interest in the ritual evidently piqued), Anderson and Isaac Nathan shared responsibility for the musical part of the ceremony:

> The music consisted partly of ancient Hebrew chaunts—not unlike Gregorian chaunt, but less solemn—and partly of light, pleasing melodies and choruses, by Louis Leo and Nathan, the last composed expressly for this occasion.[31]

In addition to the imported items composed in Britain by Leo (a former pupil of Nathan),[32] Nathan contributed two newly composed colonial pieces, *Blessed is he who cometh in the name of the Lord*:

> [...] harmoniously sung by the choir, who had been trained by Mr. Nathan; the music composed expressly by him was exceedingly appropriate. The melody—in common time—is simple, yet bold and energetic, whilst the modulations are natural and elegant [...].[33]

At the conclusion of the service, a new *Hallelujah Chorus*:

> [...] composed expressly for the occasion by Mr. Nathan. It is set in G major, common time, and is a delightful composition. There is in it a solo movement, sung with much spirit by Mr. Anderson, and replete with classical modulations and harmonious combinations and dispersion of chords. The hand of a master is visible throughout, and we hope Mr. Nathan will be induced to publish it.[34]

In addition, there were two imported psalm settings by another English cantor-composer, Matthew Moss (1795-1868). While Moss never set foot in Australia, one (and possibly more) of his sons later did.[35]

Curiously, Nathan never published either of his new synagogue settings. However, in September 1844, the local publisher Francis Ellard did advertise publication of *The Lays of the Hebrews: A Selection of Hebrew Melodies*, 'as Sung at the Consecration of the Sydney Synagogue [...] Arranged for the Piano Forte by J. H. Anderson'.[36] According to *The Australian*, Anderson had undertaken the task of making the piano arrangements 'at the desire of several families',[37] and the four items he thus reworked included the two psalm settings (Psalms 91 and 24) attributed elsewhere to Moss, and two other chants (*Awake! Awake!*, 'Sung on Sabbath Eve'; and *Come my beloved*, 'Introductory Chant on the Sabbath Eve'), though all four are unattributed in the print.

Come my beloved, 'Introductory Chant on Sabbath Eve', No 4 of The Lays of the Hebrews: A Selection of Hebrew Melodies as Sung at the Consecration of Sydney Synagogue arranged for the Piano Forte by J. H. Anderson (Sydney: Francis Ellard, [1844]); original in the Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW, Permalink: http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/record=b2140776~S2; online image reproduced by permission.

The new issue was also reviewed in the *Register* by W. A. Duncan:

> The Hebrews were always a musical people, and this character they have carried into every country in which, since their dispersion, they have settled [...] Many of the traditional melodies of the Jews, as collected and published by Martini, Marcello, Burney, and latterly by Nathan, are truly beautiful. Of those used at the opening of the Sydney Synagogue, a portion of which are now before us [...] [i]n their present shape they are placed by Mr. Anderson within the power of the youngest pianoforte player, being arranged in a very easy manner. We are bound to say, however, that in some of his harmonies the composer has widely departed from what we should assume to have been the lessons of his instructor in the science (Cipriani Potter, we believe).
> We would merely point to bars 3, 21, and 22 in page 1 as examples to eschew in his next publication; which, though they may not be visible to the vulgar eye, or noticed by the uncultivated ear, yet greatly detract in the estimation of the dilettanti from the merits of an otherwise beautiful and characteristic melody.[38]

A month or so before the appearance of the *Lays*, a letter to *The Australian* suggested that it was to be the first of a series 'to be continued at intervals, should sufficient encouragement be afforded to those interested',[39] and so perhaps Nathan's newly composed items, along with the rest of the music from the York Street consecration, would have appeared later, duly arranged for piano by Anderson.

As it was, although Anderson's *Lays* never progressed beyond a single issue (probably more a sign of the straightened times economically, than of a lack of interest), they contributed considerably to the young man's reputation. When, early the next year, a synagogue was about to be opened in Hobart, another letter to the Sydney press noted that Anderson was again in demand:

> It appears to be the general desire of the Hebrew communities in both these places, that the services of our townsman, Mr. Anderson, who took a leading part in the consecration of the York-street Synagogue, should be secured to conduct the musical department at the opening of the new 'Houses of Israel', but I am given to understand that it is doubtful whether it will be in this gentleman's power to accept their joint invitation.[40]

JOSEPH REICHENBERG AND THE CONSECRATION OF
HOBART SYNAGOGUE (1845/5605)

Anderson must indeed have been unavailable to direct the music for the Hobart synagogue opening in July 1845,[41] for another friendly Catholic, the composer Joseph Reichenberg, instead stepped in to provide the music. As later printed, the music for the Hobart consecration, on 4 July 1845, is Reichenberg's sole extant work. Its peculiar genesis created some interest, as explained in the *Colonial Times*:

> In answer to numerous enquiries as to whether the gentlemen composing the choir at the opening of the Jewish Synagogue last Friday were professionals, we can inform our readers that the whole of them (consisting of Messrs. M. S. Simeon, treble; D. Allen, tenor; E. Isaacs, counter tenor; Isaac Solomon and H. Nathan, bass) were young men of the Hebrew religion, one of whom (Mr. Simeon) had assisted in a similar ceremony at home, and remembering the melodies, sung them to Mr. Reichenberg, who most felicitously melodized them. Mr. R attempted, and it must be admitted, accomplished the teaching five persons to sing in parts, and acquiring himself sufficient Hebrew to comprehend what he had to teach, in a manner which must increase the already high opinion entertained by the Tasmanian public of his professional superiority. [...][42]

An earlier report had gone into detail, noting also the participation of another Catholic, violinist-composer Joseph Gautrot (1775-1854):

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

the choir to say that their performances would have done credit to any London Concert of Sacred Music. [43]

There was evidently a plan to publish nine of Reichenberg's settings immediately 'if a sufficient number of subscribers will patronise them'. [44] In the event (again perhaps for economic reasons), his *Ancient Hebrew Melodies* did not appear until two years later, 1847, published by Thomas Browne. [45] As 'harmonized and arranged for the pianoforte' by Reichenberg, these colonial *Hebrew Melodies* were greeted by the press as an:

> [...] invaluable addition to the musical gems of Tasman's Land [...] heightened by the recollection of the masterly performance of the several pieces at the consecration of the Synagogue in Argyle-street. [46]

These Hebrew settings for piano solo are, thus, the sole musical artefact from settler Australia's 'first composer'. Reichenberg had been naturalised in 1844, [47] and died in Hobart on 31 January 1851. [48]
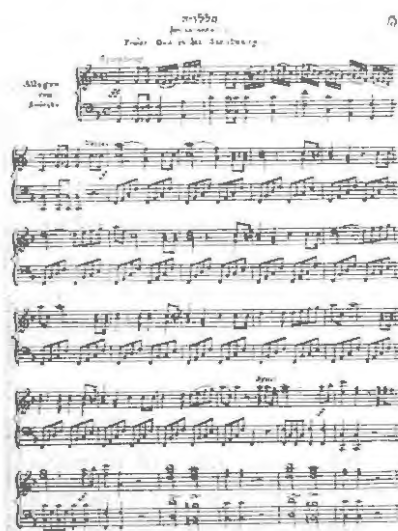
The opening of the final item, Hallelujah, from Ancient Hebrew Melodies sung at the consecration of the Synagogue, Argyle Street, Hobart-Town V.D.L. [...] harmonized and arranged for the pianoforte by J. Reichenberg (1847); copy at W. L. Crowther Library, Tasmanian Archive and Heritage Office; State Library of Tasmania Permalink: http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=945363; online image reproduced by permission .

THE CONSECRATION OF LAUNCESTON SYNAGOGUE (1846/5606), ANDERSON'S LATER CAREER, AND HERMAN HOELZEL

Though there is no press record of his having participated, Anderson was, however, back in Tasmania at the time of the Hobart synagogue opening. In June 1845, the Launceston *Examiner* had noted his accession to that city's musical profession: 'Mr. Anderson [...] having received an appointment from the members of the Jewish persuasion to conduct the music of the new synagogue.'[49] Indeed, in March 1846, at the dedication of the Launceston synagogue, the *Examiner* reported: 'The greater part of the solos and chorusses [sic] were, we believe, composed by Mr. Anderson'.[50] His presence in Launceston has also led, recently, to some confusion as to his identity. In his entry on 'John Henry Anderson' [sic] in *These are the Names*, John Levi seems to have spectacularly elided the careers of the musician James Henri, and that of another Launceston Jewish identity, the swindler and former convict John (alias 'Aaron the Bolter') Anderson.[51] According to a press dossier complied on him in 1846, 'the active, enterprising, dapper little Jack Anderson was a transported offender to Van Diemen's Land for seven years', the last part of which was spent on a road gang, before—having served his term—he embarked on a career as a serial 'fraudulent insolvent', in Launceston and Adelaide.

Our Anderson, James Henri, meanwhile settled in Melbourne in 1848, having arrived there not direct from Tasmania, but from Mauritius.[52] In 1850, he composed his first documented secular composition, *The Fitzroy Quadrilles*, dedicated to Charles Fitzroy on the occasion of his first visit to Melbourne in his new capacity as first Governor-General of the Australian colonies.[53] They were published later that year in Sydney, and were favourably noticed in both Launceston,[54] and Hobart, where Anderson was clearly well-remembered:

> The votaries of Terpsichore have the opportunity of testing Professor Anderson's abilities, by purchasing a copy of these quadrilles for the pianoforte [...] The quadrilles are on sale at Messrs. Walch & Son's, and would make very suitable vacation presents.[55]

While there were no Melbourne or Sydney reviews, it is tempting to imagine that Anderson's quadrilles might have appealed to his co-religionists. According to a visiting English author, while Christian Sydney was at its evening prayers, certain musical Jews found a way of punctuating the Sunday evening hush by adding their own note to colonial Sydney's lively musical economy:

The Sydney people are very musical. I heard pianos played in every part of town, and very loud ones too; and was rather surprised one Sunday evening to hear a number of polkas, waltzes, &c., loudly performed, so as to be heard more than one hundred yards from the house; and the same evening, in another part of the town, more polkas saluted my astonished ear. I thought this very strange, and on further inquiry I ascertained that the musical individuals were Jews. [56]

The much-travelled Anderson was back in Hobart in 1852, having meanwhile spent some time in Launceston.[57] In April he established a music and instrument retail business,[58] and in July gave a concert with Charles Packer, at which it was also advertised that his son, possibly the future composer Alfred, 'Master Anderson, the juvenile Ethiopian [...]'sang 'the *Pretty Little Dark Eyed Maid, My Old Aunt Sally*, and *Sing, Sing, ye Darkies Sing!*'[59]

In June 1853, he directed the music at Hobart Synagogue for a ceremony to welcome the new presiding rabbi, Mr. Hoelzel,[60] recently arrived in the colonies. In 1857, Herman Hoelzel himself would become a figure of colonial compositional interest,[61] when, as an appendix to his *Lecture on the History and Use of Music*, printed by Jacob Clarke in Sydney, he published two of his own piano arrangements of Jewish liturgical chants, 'The music of the celebrated *Hosannah Hymn*, ascribed to King David' and 'The music of *The hymn of the dead*, composed in time immemorial'.[62]

Anderson moved on to Sydney yet again by December 1853, advertising as a professor of music.[63] In September 1859, he was also again in business as an 'Importer of Music and Musical Instruments',[64] and that month presided at the harmonium and directed the choir at the dedication of the new Macquarie Street synagogue. On the occasion, according to the *Empire*, the choir sang 'a very melodious *Hallelujah Psalm*, composed by Mr. J. H. Anderson, who himself sang the solos'.[65]

In October 1861, Anderson published *The Star of Love Waltzes*,[66] on favourites theme from William Vincent Wallace's opera *Lurline*, the first of several works he would issue that were composed, not by himself, but by his barely teenage son, Alfred Anderson, then in London studying at the Royal Academy of Music. Anderson junior returned to have a brief but significant Australian career as a composer and pianist,[67] until his early death in 1876, aged 28.[68] Anderson senior was still associated with Macquarie Street Synagogue in 1868,[69] but during the 1870s moved to Melbourne. Only shortly before his death, young Alfred Anderson had married the touring Hungarian singer Ilma de Murska. Her manager, De

Vivo, much later went into print in the New York *Sun* claiming that, during Alfred's final illness, the Anderson family had effectively swindled Murska of £2000. According to De Vivo, when she last tried to see her husband:

> [...] she found the old Jewish father sitting at the door, a bottle of wine at his side, and when she attempted to enter the door he stretched out his cane and told her his son was too ill to receive her. [70]

Thus, any confusion with John Anderson 'the Bolter' notwithstanding, this last—possibly prematurely aged, and sadly archetypal—pen portrait of Anderson senior, sadly depicts him as a swindler after all. His dates of birth and death are yet to be unequivocally established, but our man—arguably one of the founding fathers of Australian synagogue music—is probably the J. H. Anderson who died in Melbourne in 1879, reportedly aged just 56. [71]

A MUSICAL ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF COUNTRY: JEWISH COLONIAL COMPOSERS AND INDIGENOUS MUSIC

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

When, in this poem of 1835, the young native-born settler patriot Charles Harpur contemplated the beginnings of a lasting school of Australian song, it was significant that one of his preconditions was wresting the figurative 'Harp of Australia' from Indigenous hands, and from an oral tradition that he believed—quite wrongly—destined Indigenous song to be written only 'on the wind'. [72] In this, he was typical of a settler colonial culture that, even before it had even reached its fiftieth anniversary in 1838, had already turned its back decisively on the Indigenous culture it was displacing. Notably, one of the last systematic attempts at salvaging something of Indigenous oral musical traditions for early settler colonial culture was—now famously—made by Isaac Nathan, in what seems of have been a conscious emulation of his own series of *Hebrew Melodies*, which first began to be published in London in 1815-16, [73] had earlier represented an act of cultural reclamation of the European Jewish oral tradition. Unfortunately, Nathan's series of 'Aboriginal Melodies' published in Sydney during the 1840s—transcriptions and arrangements into Western musical notation of some half-dozen

Indigenous chants—had no apparent successors, and little immediate influence. In fact, Nathan's harshest critics seemed to have had the longest memories of his venture. A still strong residue of anti-Indigenous and anti-Jewish rhetoric stands behind an unsympathetic obituary, penned by the Sydney correspondent of the Brisbane *Courier* a week after Nathan's tragic death (run over by a Sydney tram) in 1864, at the age of 73:

> [...] Whether rightly or wrongly I cannot say, there has always been a strong impression of late years that Mr. Nathan's intellect was impaired. On his first arrival in the colony he did some very ridiculous things [...] composed music for the Australian nigger melody, *Coreenda Braia*, as he called it, and, if I mistake not, got a whole chorus to chant it somewhere, like a lot of blackfellows. Then, when he became disgusted at what he considered want of appreciation, he wrote and composed what was meant to be a suitable song for Sydney, or Botany Bay, the burden being a complimentary remark and injunction us to the manner of succeeding in this part of the world:-
> *Knavery is sure to thrive,*
> *   And flattery's an estate,*
> *So live by your wits,*
> *and mind your hits,*
> *   To hum the rich and great!*
> The language and the sentiment [...] were not taken in very good part here at the time. [74]

Nathan's advocacy of Indigenous ritual song—in transcriptions and creative arrangements like his *Koorinda Braia* [75]—can be celebrated in a slightly more positive manner today, even as an early example of a musical 'Acknowledgment of Country'. Nor was he the first, or only, early Jewish-Australian settler to pay such a tribute. In 1834, the young German Jewish musician Joshua Frey Josephson (1815-1892)—later Lord Mayor of Sydney, member of the New South Wales parliament, and district court judge (and, despite his heritage, a committed Anglican)—contributed an original and inventive piano accompaniment to what was, fittingly, the very earliest locally published piece of music of any sort, a transcription of an Indigenous chant, *A Song of the Women of the Menaro Tribe*. [76] Thus, if alas all too fleetingly, Indigenous ritual music also formed a part of the early colonial Australian record of 'sacred' music.

It is tempting to speculate that Nathan's and Josephson's interest in Indigenous music was inspired by a native Jewish recognition of the plight of other outsiders. This may be so; but the well-being of

Indigenous peoples was also a cause taken up by a small but vocal group of thoughtful, well-educated urban settlers, notably our Catholic journalist-musician W. A. Duncan. Duncan's clear interest in, and sympathy with, the ceremonies performed at the consecration of Sydney synagogue might, for the matter, be construed as a further case of one outsider (a Catholic among a largely Protestant ascendency) making common cause with another outsider community. Historians, notably Manning Clark, have regretted that early colonial Australian society, in its worship of mammon, did little to foster intellectual curiosity and cultural sympathy. Nevertheless, the ecumenical instincts of some of the musicians discussed here suggests that seeds of a more equitable and just society were being sown during this early period of colonial history.

ENDNOTES

1. This article is based on material first presented in the author's *Toward a General History of Australian Musical Composition: First National Music 1788-c.1860* (Ph.D thesis, University of Sydney, 2011); the full work may be consulted online at University of Sydney Library, eScholarship repository: http://hdl.handle.net/2123/7264

2. 'ROYAL VICTORIA THEATRE', *The Australian* (8 February 1844), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37120151.

3. 'CINDERELLA: To the editor', *The Sydney Morning Herald* (12 February 1844), 2s: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12412733.

4. 'Music', *The Sydney Herald* (5 May 1842), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12875009.

5. James Pearson (c.1794-1841), see [News], *The Monitor* (9 March 1827), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31758255; 'chaunt' is the then regular, now obsolete, spelling of 'chant'.

6. [News], *The Sydney Gazette* (6 July 1830), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2195472.

7. The first documented colonial compositions, Reichenberg's (lost) *Australian Quadrilles* were announced in [Advertisement], *The Sydney Gazette* (28 April 1825), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2183967.

8. [News], *Australasian Chronicle* (29 October 1839), 1s: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31726755.

9. [Advertisement], *Australasian Chronicle* (27 March 1841), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31731282; [Advertisement], *The Sydney Herald* (30 March 1841), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12868457; 'NEW PUBLICATIONS', *Australasian Chronicle* (30 March 1841), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31731328.

10. [Advertisement], *Australasian Chronicle* (8 April 1841), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31731402; 'NEW PUBLICATION: THE SACRED MINSTREL NO. II', *Australasian Chronicle* (10 April 1841), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31731426.

11. Copy at SL-NSW; Permalink: http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/record=b2198584~S2; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/17314438.

12. Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/16497174; 'THE LORD'S PRAYER', *The Australian* (11 October 1845), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37156786; 'NEW MUSIC', *The Sydney Morning Herald* (13 October 1845), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12882794.

13. Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/15072837; [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (7 April 1853), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12944888; see also a broadside copy of Broughton's text at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/8324145.

14. Copy at SL-NSW; Permalink: http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/record=b1707177~S2; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/7577334.

15. Copy at SL-VIC; Permalink: http://www.slv.vic.gov.au/sheetmusic/inter/871740.shtml; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/28085849.

16. M. J. Saclier, 'Elyard, Samuel (1817-1910)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 4 (1972), 139-140: http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A040580b.htm; Jonathan Watkins, 'Samuel Elyard' [1817-1910], *Dictionary of Australian Artists Online*: http://www.daao.org.au/main/read/2422; on one of Elyard's more delusional claims, 'O Heavenly Father! [...] if it be proper, grant that [...] Samuel Elyard may be [...] Emperor of Australia', see 'AN EMPEROR AND EMPRESS WANTED', *Launceston Examiner* (17 December 1857), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36303319.

17. A copy of a later edition, viewable online via the National Library of Australia's Trove, is *A Selection of Hebrew Melodies: Ancient and modern, newly arranged [...] by I. Nathan* (London: J. Fentum for the Proprietor, [1827-1829]); Trove Bookmark: http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-vn902136.

18. 'LORD BYRON', *The Sydney Gazette* (13 May 1830), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2195106; from *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction* 13/373, Supplementary Number: http://www.gutenberg.org/files/11338/11338-h/11338-h.htm; for the book under review, see Isaac Nathan, *Fugitive Pieces and Reminiscences of Lord Byron* (London: Whittaker, Treacher, and Co., 1829); http://books.google.com.au/books?id=24OO7x4wErcC.

19. Ibid.

20. See *The Works of Lord Byron Complete in One Volume* (London: John Murray, 1842), 463, footnote 1: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=TWxAAAAAYAAJ&pg=RA1-PA463&#v=onepage&q&f=false; but noted that Byron is said to have pronounced his own name: 'burn'.

21. 'BUSHELLE'S CONCERT', *The Sydney Herald* (24 September 1841), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12871293.

22. He may have been the James Anderson whose arrival, on the *Lady Emma*, on 29 June 1840, was noted in the *Launceston Advertiser* (2 July 1840), see Archives Office of Tasmania, index of arrivals; see also [Advertisement]: 'The advertiser has been advised of a case of BOOKS addressed to Mr. James Henry Anderson [...]', *The Sydney Herald* (24 April 1841), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12868810.

23. [Advertisement], *The Melbourne Argus* (6 June 1848), 3:

http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4763989.

24. [Advertisement], *The Courier* (4 February 1842), 3:
    http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2954905; he later added Launceston
    to his schedule, [Advertisement], *Colonial Times* (8 February 1842), 1:
    http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8752417; for Anderson's concert
    program, given with singer and guitarist 'Mons. De La Martini of the
    Italian Opera, Paris', see, [Advertisement], *Colonial Times* (22
    February 1842), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8752455.

25. [Advertisement], *The Courier* (8 April 1842), 1:
    http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2954531.

26. [Advertisement], *The Courier* (15 July 1842), 1:
    http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2954058.

27. [Advertisement]: 'GRAND CONCERT', *Launceston Examiner* (29 March
    1843), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36233098.

28. [Advertisement], *Launceston Examiner* (27 September 1843), 1:
    http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36234765.

29. [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (7 March 1844), 1:
    http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12425565.

30. 'The Musical Register', *The Weekly Register* 2/32 [recte 33] (9 March
    1844), 476
    http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18440309/e0020032/9-12.pdf.

31. 'OPENING OF THE SYNAGOGUE', *The Weekly Register* 2/37 (6 April
    1844), 519:
    http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18440406/00020037/5-
    8.pdf; see also: H. N. Kirwan, 'HEBREW SERVICES: THE FIRST
    SYNAGOGUE', *The Sydney Morning Herald* (18 March 1933), 9:
    http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article16985725; the printed order of
    service contains no composer attributions, see *Order of service
    arranged for the consecration of the New Sydney Synagogue, 'House
    of Israel', 'Beth Yisrael', York street, city of Sydney, New South Wales,
    on Tuesday, April 2nd, (13th day of Nissan, 5604.) : = Seder Hanukat
    ha-bayit shel Kahal Kadosh bet hakneset ha-hadash 'Bet Yisrael'*
    (Sydney: Printed for the synagogue, 1844); copy at SL-NSW; Trove
    Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/37528220.

32. English composer Louis Leo published a set of *Hebrew Melodies*
    (London: Mori, Lavenu & Co, [?1844]); copy in British Library, Music
    Collections   H.1698.(5.)   [004478512],   microform copy in Sydney,
    University of NSW: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/34745795; see also
    'Hebrew Melodies', *The Literary Gazette and Journal of the Belles Lettres*
    (20 January 1844), 43:
    http://books.google.com.au/books?id=uMZLAAAAYAJ&pg=PA43#v=
    onepage&q&f=false; also, report from London press, in 'MUSIC OF THE
    JEWS',   *The   South   Australian   Register*   (13   July   1844),   4:
    http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article27447601: 'A very interesting lecture
    on the subject of the Music of the Jews was delivered on the 17th
    January last, by Mr. H. Phillips, at the Music-hall, Store-street [London],
    being illustrated as he proceeded by specimens executed by himself,
    assisted by Miss Lucombe, Mr. Ansel Leo, and Miss Leo, with a piano-
    forte accompaniment by Mr. Louis Leo [...]'.

33. 'CONSECRATION   OF   THE   NEW   SYDNEY   SYNAGOGUE',   *The
    Australian*   (3   April   1844),   2-3:   http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-
    article37118533.

34. Ibid.
35. Matthew Moss's son was Joseph Moss of Melbourne, see [Advertisement]: 'QUADRILLE PARTIES ATTENDED', *The Argus* (27 November 1855), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4824336, and [Advertisement], 'Messrs. R. and J. Moss, Professors of Piano-forte', *The Argus* (16 May 1856), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4838014; in March 1861 he reportedly performed his father's compositions on the harmonium at the opening of the Ballarat Synagogue, see Goldman, *The Jews in Victoria* (1954), 169; another son may have been the Sydney pianist, publisher and occasional composer, Lewis Moss; a Mr. J. and L. Moss arrived with Mr. and Mrs. P. Solomon and family, from San Francisco on the *Crishna* on 23 February 1852; 'SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE: ARRIVALS', *The Sydney Morning Herald* (24 February 1852), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12934589; Lewis Moss was active from 1854, see [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (7 January 1854), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12958917; in 1867 he composed and published his *Adon Gnolom: A Hebrew Hymn*, copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/18561036; see also 'A NEW HEBREW HYMN', *The Sydney Morning Herald* (5 January 1867), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13151006.
36. [Advertisement] *The Sydney Morning Herald* (17 September 1844), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12418309; copy at SL-NSW; Permalink: http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/record=b2140776~S2; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/23533289.
37. 'THE LAYS OF THE HEBREWS', *The Australian* (23 September 1844), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37119610.
38. 'LITERARY NOTICES', *The Weekly Register* 3/61 (21 September 1844), 148:
   http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18440921/00030061/1-4.pdf; also [Advertisement], *The Weekly Register* 3/61 (21 September 1844) 155: http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402548/18440921/00030061/9-12.pdf.
39. 'ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE: HEBREW MELODIES: To the Editor', *The Australian* (19 August 1844), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37120411.
40. 'JEWISH SYNAGOGUES', *The Sydney Morning Herald* (30 January 1845), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12877054.
41. He was still in Sydney a year later, see: 'DINNER', *The Sydney Morning Herald* (19 April 1845), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12878895. 'About sixty members of the Hebrew Faith dined together [...] The town band was in attendance, assisted by Mr. Worgan at the piano, and charmed their hearers with some sweet music [...] Messrs. Lazar, Simmons, Anderson, and several others, whose sweet voices and humourous songs need only to be heard, assisted materially in detaining their co-religionists till so late an hour.'
42. 'THE SYNAGOGUE', *Colonial Times* (11 July 1845), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8756924;
43. [News], *Colonial Times* (8 July 1845), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8756909; according to John S. Levi & George F. J. Bergman, *Australian Genesis: Jewish Convicts and Settlers, 1788-1850* (Adelaide: Rigby, 1974), 237, 'the music was written by the Jewish immigrant John [sic] Henry Anderson, and orchestrated and conducted by Joseph

Reichenberg'; but there are no composer attributions at all in the printed order, see *Order of service at the dedication of the synagogue, Argyle Street, Hobart Town, van Diemen's Land, on Friday, the 4th July, a.m., 5605-1845*, copy at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9801095.

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

45. Copy in SL-TAS; Permalink: http://catalogue.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/item/?id=945363; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/37015413.

46. 'NEW MUSIC', *The Courier* (28 April 1847), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2972015; 'LITHOGRAPHY—HEBREW MELODIES', *Colonial Times* (23 April 1847), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8760488; interestingly, however, Reichenberg's music was not specifically mentioned among that sung at the re-consecration (after renovations) of the Hobart synagogue in 1848, reportedly on that occasion 'the music being composed by the Reader of the Berlin Synagogue, [and] John Barnett [(1802-1890) British, and a former pupil of Matthew Moss], and other Hebrew composers', 'RE-CONSECRATION OF THE JEWISH SYNAGOGUE', *The Hobart Town Daily Mercury* (4 May 1858), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3247917.

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

48. 'DIED', *Colonial Times* (31 January 1851), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8768673.

49. 'MUSICAL PROFESSION', *Launceston Examiner* (4 June 1845), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36240128.

50. 'CONSECRATION OF THE NEW SYNAGOGUE', *Launceston Examiner* (26 March 1846), 6: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36244260; Anderson is credited on the cover of the printed order of service: 'THE MUSIC COMPOSED EXPRESSLY FOR THE OCCASION BY MR. ANDERSON', and later 'I. H. Anderson' is also listed as 'honorary secretary' of the Launceston congregation; see *Order of service performed at the consecration of the new synagogue, St. John Street, Launceston, Van Diemen's Land, on 5606-1846* (Launceston: Printed for the synagogue, 1846); copy at SL-NSW; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/20361962.

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

52. [Advertisement]: 'MR. J. H. ANDERSON', *The Melbourne Argus* (6 June 1848), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4763989; but, curiously— perhaps even a little suspiciously after all—apropos the confusion over Anderson's identity noted above, the swindler John Anderson disappeared to Mauritius in 1846, and the musician James returned from there in 1848; a George Anderson was governor of Mauritius in

1848, perhaps more likely to be a relative of James, than of John; on John's being tracked to Mauritius, see [News]: 'Many of our readers [...]', *South Australian Register* (22 July 1848), 2:http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article48728235.

53. Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/18588440.

54. 'FITZ ROY QUADRILLES', *Launceston Examiner* (25 September 1850), 6: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article36267077.

55. 'THE FITZROY QUADRILLES', *The Courier* (21 December 1850), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2961634.

56. John Shaw, *A Tramp to the Diggings: Being notes of a ramble in Australia and New Zealand in 1852* (London: Richard Bentley, 1852), 202-03:

57. 'MUSIC', *The Courier* (1 May 1852), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2959114;'Mr. J. H. Anderson [...] has recently arrived from Launceston, where he has for some time past successfully practised as a teacher on the pianoforte, and vocal instructor'; also 'MUSICAL', *Colonial Times* (7 May 1852), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8771362; 'MASCONIC: ST JOHN'S DAY', *The Courier* (29 June 1850), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2962585: 'Mr. J. H. Anderson exercised his professional talents [...]'.

58. [Advertisement], *Colonial Times* (27 April 1852), 1s: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8771293: '[...] on sale at the Musical Repository, of J. H. Anderson, Professor of Music [...] the cheapest and best collection of Standard Publications of [...] printed in music folio [...]'

59. 'GRAND CONCERT', *The Courier* (28 July 1852), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2958694.

60. 'THE HEBREW CONGREGATION: INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF THE NEW RABBI', *The Courier* (9 June 1853), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2247364: '[...] At the commencement of the ceremony, a voluntary, adapted to the occasion was performed by Mr. J. H. Anderson on the seraphine, who was assisted by an efficient choir [...]'; the article has further specific information on music sung.

61. See I. Porush, 'Rev. Herman Hoelzel, the first qualified Jewish Minister in Australia', *Journal and Proceedings of the Australian Jewish Historical Society* 2/4 (1945), 172-200.

62. *The Lecture on the History and Use of Music: delivered in the hall of the School of Arts, on the 25th August, 1857* (Sydney: J. R. Clarke, 1857); copy at SL-VIC: http://www.slv.vic.gov.au/vicpamphlets/inter/223995.shtml; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/8309123.

63. [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (17 December 1853), 9: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12960312.

64. [Advertisement], *The Sydney Morning Herald* (14 September 1859), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13030751.

65. 'DEDICATION OF THE NEW JEWISH SYNAGOGUE' [From the *Sydney Empire*, 26 September], *The Hobart Town Daily Mercury* (5 October 1859), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3258182; 'THE OPENING OF THE NEW SYNAGOGUE', *The Sydney Morning Herald* (26 September 1859), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13031208; see also 'OPENING OF THE NEW SYNAGOGUE, MACQUARIE-STREET', *The Sydney Morning Herald* (13 October 1859), 11: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-

article13031875: '[...] The consecration service was performed by their minister, the Rev. Solomon Phillips [...] assisted by a numerous and well-selected choir, Mr. J. H. Anderson presiding at the harmonium, and directing the musical department. The opening symphony, by Mozart, was played in the most effective style by the conductor. The service was performed in the ancient style of the Hebrew faith [...]'; article includes further specific information on music sung.

66. Copy at NLA; Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/11355098.
67. [Advertisement] 'A CARD. MR. ALFRED ANDERSON', *The Sydney Morning Herald* (7 July 1869), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13180506: '[...] is expected to arrive in the course of a few days, and will be prepared to give LESSONS on the Pianoforte and Composition, in the most modern style.'
68. [Obituary] 'Death has put an end to the career of Mr. Alfred Anderson [...]', *The Argus* (23 March 1876), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7435256.
69. 'HEBREW', *The Sydney Morning Herald* (29 April 1868), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13165367: 'At the Synagogue, Macquarie-street [...] Mr. Anderson, sen., presided at the harmonium.'
70. 'THE LOVES OF A CANTATRICE', *Kalgoorlie Western Argus* (11 March 1897), 10: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article32343749; see also J. H. Anderson's letter to editor answering the claim made in the *Argus's* obituary (cited above) that Murska was prevented from seeing Alfred, 'THE LATE MR. [ALFRED] ANDERSON', *The Argus* (25 March 1876), 5: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7435415.
71. Levi has the death of 'John Henry Anderson' on 19 February 1892, aged 65, but his birth year as 1823; whereas, 'DEATHS', *The Sydney Morning Herald* (9 May 1879), 8: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13434295: 'ANDERSON. May 1, Melbourne, J. H. Anderson, 56', thus also born c.1823; his wife died two years earlier, aged 46, see 'DEATHS', *The Argus* (25 December 1877), 1: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5949904. *
72. 'MELODY: TO THE HARP OF AUSTRALIA', *The Sydney Monitor* (19 September 1835), 4: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article32149736; most of the primary source material cited in this article is freely viewable online, and web addresses are provided should readers wish to consult the sources themselves.
73. A copy of a later edition, viewable online via the National Library of Australia's *Trove*, is *A Selection of Hebrew Melodies: Ancient and modern, newly arranged* [...] *by I. Nathan* (London: J. Fentum for the Proprietor, [1827-1829]);Trove Bookmark: http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-vn902136.
74. 'NEWS & NOTES BY A SYDNEY MAN', *The Courier* (23 January 1864), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3168164.
75. Copy at NLA, available online, Trove Bookmark: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/21236841.
76. Copy at SL-NSW; Trove Record: http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/33504891; [Advertisement], *The Sydney Gazette* (11 November 1834), 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2217523; see also 'Domestic Intelligence', *The Australian* (7 November 1834), 2: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article42007225.