A Temporary Moment Of Feminization:
Theatre Work/ers in 1920s’ Brisbane

Candidate: Leah Gwenyth Mercer, BA (Hons 1) - The University of Queensland, Brisbane, Australia.

Department of English, University of Queensland.

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I, Leah Gwényth Mercer, declare that the work presented in this thesis is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, original and my own work, except as acknowledged in the text. This thesis has not been submitted, either in whole or in part, for a degree at this or any other university.

Leah Gwényth Mercer
Abstract

This thesis argues that the period from 1920 to 1930 represents a ‘feminized’ moment in Brisbane’s theatre history. Using a feminist methodology, the rise of cinematic technologies and the decline of theatre as a ‘popular’ medium are placed in context against the rise of the female producer/actor, the rising recognition of the female audience as a market and the corresponding growth of a ‘Woman’s’ theatrical repertoire/genre. Four female theatre workers who were based in or passed through Brisbane during this decade are examined in detail. Although the range of performance models covered is not meant to be exhaustive, these four women were chosen to represent a broad spectrum of female theatre work.

This thesis is divided into three chapters. Chapter One revisits the works of seven feminist theorists as a means of identifying and establishing a number of stages that are common to their work. This process leads to a ‘provisional’ working feminist methodology, not one that should be applied to all Australian theatre history, but a theory which represents one way of re-considering the historical period and positioning the four case studies. Chapter Two considers the state of the theatre and film industry and places theatre in Brisbane within an historical and national framework. This chapter is a comparative study of the theatres in which they performed, the way in which they were marketed and the means they used to attract audiences. It also charts the fluctuating admission prices to theatres, variety venues and cinemas. Chapter Three is a detailed analysis of the four case studies: Barbara Sisley, Dorothea Spinney, Nellie Bramley and Frediswyde Hunter-Watts and concludes by examining how the discourses employed in discussing these disparate case studies tie them together and to the concept of a temporary moment of ‘feminization’.
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CHAPTER ONE: THEORETICAL STAGES

For the Australian theatre industry the 1920s represents a period of instability. This decade saw the move of the feature-film industry into the middle-class market which fractured both theatre audiences and industry personnel alike. This is also the decade which brings to an apex a market strategy evident in commercial theatre from the late nineteenth century onwards: the identification and targeting of women (particularly middle-class women) as consumers with an economic power of their own and discernibly different tastes and interests to their male counterparts. This thesis argues that these changing social and industrial conditions shifted the discursive space that theatre occupied and that the 1920s represents a period in Australian history when the theatre industry was temporarily 'feminized'. Other historical factors to be considered in this 'feminization' are the political legacy of World War One and the unstable economic conditions of the years before the great depression, both of which impacted on theatre practice and attendance.

The on-stage women that make up my four case studies are: Barbara Sisley, co-founder in 1925 of the Brisbane Repertory Theatre which still operates today as La Boite Theatre; Dorothea Spinney who performed professional one-woman recitals in which, for example, she played all the characters in *Hamlet*, Nellie Bramley who led her own professional company of actors in the popular theatre of the day; and Frediswyde Hunter-Watts, the actor/wife of actor/manager Allan Wilkie who toured the world and Australia playing all the leading Shakespearian 'ladies' opposite her husband. These women have been chosen for their diversity rather than their comprehensiveness but do not cover the gamut of possibilities for female performers. Consideration of a burlesque or circus performer would open up further areas rich in potential for the analysis of the use of the female body in the creation of meaning but it proved impossible (given the constraints of time and space for this study) to locate sufficient information about any particular performer in these categories. The historical record for even the four selected case studies is disappointingly poor; yet the little that is discoverable about them has survived because that record is clearly skewed towards documenting the lives and work of those forms where activities were considered 'appropriate' for a woman (amateur theatre, speech and drama, Shakespeare and the classic repertoire). Only Bramley worked outside of this paradigm (being a professional 'popular' actor and director) but even she was
working very much at the 'respectable' end of the industry. The Brisbane press is far less forthcoming about the activities of women within the burlesque and circus companies, on or off the stage.

While the limitation this places on the thesis's conclusions should be noted, these four case studies nevertheless do create their own significant 'webs of meaning' (Hart 14). Their stories demonstrate how the political advancement of women, that was occurring both on and off the stage at this time, was both a cause and effect of the complicated processes centred around the commodification of 'Woman'. The use of the phrase 'Woman' as distinct from 'women' will be expanded on later in this chapter. As a means of avoiding the presentation of raw data uninformed by theory, these four case studies will be discussed within a framework that identifies a number of theoretical variables - feminisms; performance; and theatre history. The first of these variables will be considered at length in this chapter and the latter will be dealt with comprehensively in Chapter Two.

While practising what Gayle Austin describes as 'caution' in working from 'anyone's outline of the history of feminist criticism' (4), I have revisited a wide selection of feminist theorists as a means of examining certain divisions that are common to them in an effort to identify and establish relations between a number of stages that appear within their work. In so doing I again reiterate Austin by stressing the 'provisional' status of any conclusions I may draw (5). I use the word 'provisional' here for two reasons. It relates both to the specificity of its situation (in the case of this thesis, a phenomenon covering only the 1920s) and its subject to revision sense. In keeping with Austin's stipulation that 'theory is a way of thinking' (10), this thesis represents my specific and provisional way of thinking about the chosen case studies. Rather than posit some sort of monolithic, evolutionary developmental model of feminist theoretical progress I would seek to uphold Austin's advocacy of 'a selective pluralism' (2). As Tracey C. Davis explains:

The eclectic nature of theatre (and hence of theatre history) is complemented by the pluralistic approach of feminist history, which constantly seeks to question the traditions by which knowledge becomes accredited, often rejecting both the traditions and the knowledge thus generated ('Questions' 76).

Thus, while this thesis pulls out relevant threads that run through a number of diverse bodies of already extant critical work, it is not proposing a methodology that could be applied to all
Australian theatre history. It offers instead, via a strategic redeployment of established material, a theory of my own, one which is more modest than any 'master' narrative and perhaps more useful. An example that demonstrates this provisionality clause in action is my use of the key term 'feminization.' While this term will be more fully interrogated as it is applied in the body of the thesis, suffice to say its applicability is transient and momentary and does in no way symbolise a 'golden age' for women in Australian theatre, or a definable point from which their theatrical history evolves in a relentlessly linear progression. Such an evolutionary model presupposes the potential for reaching a satisfactory plateau, a concept I do not wish to endorse.

The established material that I have looked at covers the work of seven feminist theorists. Their writings include Gerda Lerner's *The Majority Finds Its Past: Placing Women in History*; Elizabeth Abel's Introduction to *Writing and Sexual Difference*; Elaine Showalter's Introduction to *The New Feminist Criticism: Essays on Women, Literature and Theory*; Lynda Hart's 'Introduction: Performing Feminism' in her *Making a Spectacle: Feminist Essays on Contemporary Women's Theatre*; *Feminist Theories for Dramatic Criticism* by Gayle Austin, Tracy C. Davis' article 'Questions For A Feminist Methodology in Theatre History', and Janelle Reinelt's article 'Feminist Theory and the Problem of Performance'. While these seven theorists make up the general theoretical field, there is occasional, more general recourse to Sue-Ellen Case's *Feminism and Theatre*.

Austin's work in *Feminist Theories for Dramatic Criticism* in which she provides an overview, a view of the work of others, and a view of her own, is a central text. In this overview, she discusses 'various political divisions of feminisms' that can be related to theatre and other areas of feminist inquiry (5). Referring generally to Case's *Feminism and Theatre* and particularly to Jill Dolan's *The Feminist Spectator As Critic*, Austin discusses the liberal, cultural and materialist divisions or stages that fall within feminist analysis. Liberal feminism 'based on 'universal' values' stresses 'women's parity with men'. Cultural or radical feminism stresses difference from and superiority to men and advocates the expression of this through a 'female aesthetic' (5). While both 'cultural' and 'radical' have been used to describe this stage, Austin chooses the term 'radical' 'based on its more political connotations' (5) and I will do likewise. Materialist feminism 'contradicts the essentialism and universalism of radical feminism' by underscoring 'the role of class and history in creating the oppression of women'.
This last perspective maintains that women's experiences must be understood within their specific historical, economic and political context (Case 82). Just as Austin invokes caution in 'making categories too important' (4) when looking at the critical work of feminist analysis, caution is equally applicable to these liberal, cultural, materialist divisions. Thus, a 'liminal critical perspective...one that falls between more clearly defined positions' (5), should be adopted - that is a stage between stages, a stage that is not one. It is:

a place that can be inhabited by women who are resisting cultural categories and [is] a position that needs to be examined as a perspective from which feminist theorizing and criticizing can take place (Austin 39-40).

Feminist theatre theoreticians consistently note how little work has been done or progress made within the parameters of this specific field and how they are forced to draw from their contemporaries in the fields of literature or film, or post-structuralists who are writing about theatre. Nevertheless, these exercises in cross-disciplinarity form are the basis for progress towards future methodologies for feminist theatre histories. What is given in feminist theatre history is its incompatibility 'with positivist methodology' since 'observable facts do not necessarily reflect the cultural and political context of artistic pursuits' (Davis 'Questions' 65).

I have revisited Austin and six other theorists to examine certain divisions that are common to them as a means of identifying and establishing relationships between the stages that appear within their work. This has not been in an effort to create further categories, but rather to move beyond the notion of such categories and blur the distinctions between them by finding what they have in common.

The temporal disparity, differentiated specialised fields and agendas of these works make comparative analysis problematic to say the least. Lerner, looking at the field of women's history, outlined 'three stages in the discipline of feminist history' (Austin 15). Abel and Showalter examine literary texts. Hart and Austin consider feminist playwrights. Davis specialises in theatre history and Reinelt is a performance theorist. The questions that arise from the application of feminist literary theorists to the field of theatre history and performance studies are particularly problematic. However, what is common to these theorists is their historicisation of the field of feminist inquiry itself as they document shifts in its structural configuration. Their differences foreground the hybrid nature of feminist analysis and I likewise intend to employ this plurality for my own theoretical purposes.
These seven texts contain largely theoretical accounts of disparate feminist methodologies. Other theorists are more centred around putting their methodologies into practice within their chosen field: for example Ellen Donkin in her article ‘Mrs. Siddons Looks Back in Anger: Feminist Historiography for Eighteenth-Century British Theater’, Susan Pfisterer-Smith in her article ‘Playing With The Past: Towards A Feminist Deconstruction of Australian Theatre Historiography’, Davis in her book *Actresses As Working Women: Their Social Identity in Victorian Culture* and Robert C. Allen in *Horrible Prettiness: Burlesque and American Culture*. The intersection of theoretical methodology and practical case study (and all the subsequent methodological shifts that occur), is a central concern to this thesis as it charts the points at which the variables - feminisms, performance and theatre history - intersect and interact.

Lerner’s historical approach makes a solid theoretical starting point. Her essay ‘Placing Women in History’ recognises ‘the stages of consciousness by which historical analysis of women has progressed’ and ‘describes and critiques’ them (Lerner xxx). The first stage, working within a liberal feminist framework, is recognisable by how in its application of ‘questions from traditional history to women’, it attempts to fit ‘women’s past into the empty spaces of historical scholarship’ (Lerner 149). At the first level within this first stage Lerner employs the phrase ‘compensatory history’ to describe the writing of the history of ‘notable women’. According to Lerner however, this type of analysis:

*does not tell us much about those activities in which most women engaged, nor does it tell us about the significance of women’s activities to society as a whole* (Lerner 145).

At the second level within stage one Lerner employs the phrase ‘contribution history’ to describe the stage where ‘women’s contribution to, their status in, and their oppression by male-defined society’ is analysed (Lerner 146). Lerner notes that the limitations of this type of historical analysis is that it places women within a value system which considers ‘*man* the measure of significance.’ Accordingly, and this is equally applicable to the first level of this stage, she labels this level a ‘transitional’ one in women’s history, ‘an inevitable step in the development of new criteria and concepts’ (Lerner 150). In a shift that evokes Austin’s definition of radical feminism, Lerner’s step to the second stage requires a ‘shift from male-oriented to female-oriented consciousness.’ Such a shift enables the historian to begin interrogating ‘the actual *experience* of women in the past’ through the use of such resources.
as ‘women’s letters, diaries, autobiographies, and oral history sources’ (Lerner 153). While both stages have ‘presented a challenge to some basic assumptions’ made by historians (Lerner 154), Lerner pinpoints the development of a third stage which goes further by recognising that ‘no single methodology and conceptual framework can fit the complexities of the historical experience of all women’ (Lerner 158). This third stage corresponds with Austin’s category of materialist feminism by challenging ‘the universalist assumptions of all previous historical categories’ and incorporating the examination of other sociological and cultural factors pertaining to the specific case study, including for example ‘attitudes towards sexuality’ (Lerner 157). Acknowledging her theoretical antecedent in the formulation of this stage, Lerner gives credit to Mary Beard’s 1946 publication Woman as Force in History: A Study in Traditions and Realities, in which Beard insists that any history of women should ‘reflect the variations in the status of women at any given time according to class’, creating a situation whereby ‘women have been oppressors as well as oppressed’ (qtd. Lerner xxii).

Lerner recognises that the complexity of the subject matter demands an equally complex methodology by which to analyse it - ‘some of us will stick with one tool, some of us will reach for different tools as we need them’, the most problematic and correspondingly important consideration is to make these tools ‘fit our needs’ (Lerner 159). It is with this third stage recognition of the necessity of flexibility with our methodological approach, that Lerner predates and informs what Austin will later recognise as an intrinsic by-product of the study of theatre and a useful feminist tool, namely the avoidance of ‘a monolithic theory of feminist dramatic criticism’ (Austin 2).

In the Introduction to Writing and Sexual Difference, Abel examines how ‘gender informs and complicates both the writing and the reading of texts’. The first stage of this examination operates within Austin’s Liberal Feminist framework, and is based on ‘claims of similarity’. Accordingly, this cluster of literary critical inquiry focuses on those textual examples that transmit ‘rigid and exaggerated notions of sexual difference’ whether by omission or stereotype (Abel 1). Austin summarises Abel’s first stage as those critical works that focus on ‘the negative aspects of texts written by men and the limited female roles in their work’ (15). Abel identifies the second stage as the reconceptualisation of ‘sexual difference to women’s advantage’ and a subsequent shift in focus to study and emphasise ‘the distinctive features of female texts’ (Abel 1). Once again this reflects key characteristics of radical
feminism. Abel's third stage, current at the time of publication in 1982, continues the analysis of sexual difference but changes its focus from that of 'recovering a lost tradition', to one of 'discovering the terms of confrontations with the dominant tradition' (Abel 1-2). What Abel identifies as common to the essays she is introducing is 'a shared attempt to map the shifting boundaries of sexual difference', advocating that their 'unifying thread' is not methodological, rather one of a 'shared participation in a moment of inquiry' (Abel 2). Here too, it is possible to recognise characteristics of Austin's materialist feminism and while the literary framework in which Abel is working makes some of these observations inapplicable to the study of theatre, where my project examines minority female figures within a male-defined enterprise, it is these moments of 'confrontation' that my inquiries will seek to highlight.

Showalter, also working in the field of literary theory, expresses a three stage model similar to Abel's. Before detailing these stages she emphasises the multiple sources that inform feminist analyses, stating that feminist theory should not look to 'a Mother of Us All' or any such monolithic system of critical inquiry (4). Indeed, Showalter positively identifies the tendency within feminist theory towards inter-disciplinary exchange and 'the revision and reconsideration of literary theory itself' (4) as a means of amassing methodological approaches. It is just such an approach that this thesis exemplifies. Showalter's first stage exposes 'the literary abuse' or using Mary Jacobus' term 'textual harassment' 'of women in classic and popular male literature and the exclusion of women from literary history' (5). Thus, like her predecessor Lerner, she identifies evidence of 'contribution history' - those women who existed within a male-defined paradigm and those whose position was more liminal - 'of women in the cracks' between major categories' (Austin 5). Showalter's important contribution here is in not differentiating between the actual and the textual woman. This is both adaptable and applicable to the study of theatre where issues of representation seem doubly and triply loaded. This point will be interrogated further in my elaboration of the 'Woman'/women', 'Actress'/actor' divisions.

The second stage, according to Showalter, seeks and examines 'a literature of their own' from which the politically radical 'concept of a female aesthetic logically emerged' (6) in the form of an identifiable 'lesbian consciousness' and an increased importance attached to the 'figure of the mother' (7). From this stage, Showalter details the third stage which in true materialist fashion, challenges 'the fundamental theoretical assumptions of traditional literary
history and criticism’ (8). This challenge takes different forms in different cultures. In the United States it is concerned with ensuring that the impact of feminism is felt in ‘the classroom, the curriculum, and the literary canon.’ In the United Kingdom this challenge makes a ‘connection between gender and class, exemplified in feminist critiques of Marxist literary theory and in the inclusion and ‘emphasis on popular culture’ as a rich source for feminist analysis (8) whereas in France, this challenge ranges across disciplines from language to psychoanalysis to interrogate how the feminine ‘has been defined, represented or repressed’ (9). For this thesis, the British recognition of the site of popular culture as a valuable field for the examination of the female figure will be apparent in my study of Nellie Bramley - a performer whose contributions, both on and off stage, to the popular theatre of her day is a case of both ‘confrontation’ and occlusion. Likewise, the French deconstructive attempt ‘to neutralize the man/woman dichotomy’ (Savona 541) relates to a basic strategy within feminist criticism that stresses ‘the continuity between women’s experiences and the experience of women reading’ (Culler 44). This stratagem of ‘reading as a woman’ is neither biologically nor culturally pre-determined. To read as a woman is, according to Judith Fetterley, ‘to become a resisting rather than an assenting reader and, by this refusal to assent, to begin the process of exorcizing the male mind that has been implanted in us’ (Fetterley xxii).

Jonathan Culler has identified three specific moments within feminist literary criticism that ‘appeal to the experience of the reader’ and thereby displace or undo ‘the system of concepts of procedures of male criticism’ (Culler 63). The first of these moments reverses the usual assumption that the perspective of a male critic is ‘sexually neutral, while a feminist reading is seen as a case of special pleading.’ Instead, this first moment inverts this assumption by placing feminist criticism in the position ‘that phallic criticism usually attempts to occupy’ (Culler 55). The identifying characteristic of the second phase is the employment of ‘the hypothesis of a woman reader to provide leverage for displacing the dominant male critical vision’ (57) which demonstrates the limitations of the latter by utilising its own terms and concepts. The third phase takes this demonstration further ‘to develop critical modes in which the concepts that are products of male authority, are inscribed within a larger textual system.’ The logical results of this phase are evident in the attempts by French feminists ‘to produce a new feminine language’ (Culler 61). Thus, Helene Cixous’ acknowledgment that the feminist playwright has a ‘miraculous power to unite and disturb her audience, and perhaps ever
change them' (Savona 542) via what she describes as theatre's 'fortunate position, its raison d'être' - that only in the theatre is it possible 'to get across the living, breathing, speaking body' (Cixous 547). Thus, while the French appeal to women's experience is 'veiled' (Culler 63), what the French feminists and the American school of feminists like Fetterley and Showalter - who advocate the 'reading as a woman' strategy - have in common is the understanding that the concept 'experience' is 'duplicitous', it is actual and yet it is 'still to be produced' (Culler 63):

For a woman to read as a woman is not to repeat an identity or an experience that is given but to play a role she constructs with reference to her identity as a woman, which is also a construct, so that the series can continue: a woman reading as a woman reading as a woman. The non-coincidence reveals an interval, a division within woman or within any reading subject and the experience of that subject (Culler 64).

This phrase, which derives from Fetterley as it relates to the reading of literary texts, is taken by such feminist theatre scholars as Case and Dolan who are 'readers of text and spectacle' and read differently from Fetterley as 'their ways of conceptualizing representation are more complex' (Diamond 71).

Discussing the strategies and stages employed by feminist playwrights, Hart recognises a dual criteria at work in feminist theories of dramatic representation. They simultaneously address 'the absence of women from conventional theatre' whilst constructing 'alternative ways of seeing'. The efforts of 'the feminist seer' are divided into what Hart labels three efforts. The first are 'investigations of the male-inscribed literary tradition' (3). These investigations discover and create 'positive images of women in the content of the drama' (Hart 4) thereby operating within a framework that like Lerner' phrase 'contribution history' considers the man-made system 'the measure of significance' (Lerner 150). The second and ongoing effort 'has been to document women's realities as constructed by women writers.' Once again to invoke Lerner, Hart's second stage registers a 'shift from male-oriented to female-oriented consciousness' (Lerner 153) and accords with Austin's radical feminist category. The third (also ongoing) stage, and the one that Hart and the other essays in her book concentrate on, is the 'rigorous exploration of the language of representation itself' (3). This third stage of 'analysing and disrupting the ideological codes embedded in the inherited structures of dramatic representation' (4) should perhaps more closely be identified as a shift
within the second stage rather than a clearly defined stage three since it operates with Austin’s definition of radical feminism. ‘Language, space, and the body are loci’ for this disruption by women playwrights and it is through this disruption that a ‘clearing of public spaces’ (13) occurs. In her discussion of the body as a ‘possible site of escape’ (Hart 5), Hart invokes Cixous and other feminist playwrights who recognise both problem and potential when confronted with the physical body that is the theatre’s medium since ‘it is primarily women’s bodies that have been politicized in systems of exchange’ (Hart 5). Whilst Hart is referring to the powerful use a woman playwright may make of the female body, a ‘blank space’ that she can use as a medium for articulation, her recognition that only in the theatre ‘is the word made flesh’ is equally applicable to the female actor whose flesh embodies words. The body as a ‘power for transformation’ is a methodological strategy that, whilst difficult to recreate from this temporal distance, will be important when considering the significance attached to a female performer like Spinney, whose female body was used successfully to embody male characters from a wide range of male texts. This physical ‘colonization of space’ also occurs both ‘materially and metaphorically’ in the allocation of social and stage space (8). Taking the spatial metaphor a step further and highlighting this stage’s ‘disruption of language’, this colonization can also recur as the clearing of a space ‘for new questions to be asked’ (11). While with playwrights these new questions can come in the form of altering the textual systems of representation, the female performer can have an equally disruptive effect on the language of audience reception.

The stages Austin recognises within feminist dramatic criticism also come in three. The first examines ‘images of women’ within the male-defined and mostly male-generated canon. Her examples of this type of work include material published in the 1980s that analysed women characters in plays written by Shakespeare and his contemporaries and the occasional article that focused on Ibsen. O’Neill, images of women in opera, plays from postwar Britain and male-authored plays in the American canon. While evidence of this liberal feminism is sparse, some drama scholars have attempted to combine this stage one groundwork with stages two and three as a way of catching up with the work that has been done in literature and film (Austin 17). The second feminist stage expands the canon by publishing women playwrights and cataloguing the work of other women in theatre. The third, materialist stage positively explodes the canon by questioning its ‘underlying assumptions’
including such under-interrogated factors as the formation of the canon (17), modifying theoretical tools like semiotics and deconstruction and re-appraising and re-positioning 'traditional dramatic concerns of realism, narrative, and mimesis'. The orientation of this third stage is 'toward performance over text' (18) and so brings about an emphasis on theories of performance like representation and reception.

Davis' 1989 article 'Questions for a Feminist Methodology in Theatre History' raises, in spite of its title, a number of questions for feminist methodologies. To do so she incorporates questions posed in different disciplines with one common 'coherent political ideology, namely, feminism' (59). Davis fits the majority of published material that examines women and theatre into two stages. The first stage she describes as recovery and revision, covering those attempts to 'fill in the 'female blanks' of history' (63). Similar to Lerner's discussion of 'compensatory history', Davis notes that while this stage is 'an indispensable first step of feminist scholarship', it tends to focus on 'notable women', therefore privileging the very famous and 'atypical elite of the art' (63). Continuing in and contained within this first stage, Davis includes those works which go beyond merely filling the blanks. Therefore, after their 'recovery', this information should not be simply integrated into the male-defined canon. Instead, feminist historians have challenged 'the terms, periodization, and categories of the scholarly tradition' (63). These 'revisions' focus on 'theatre as a medium of culture' and take into consideration 'the social context of performers and performance' (64). Approaches noted by Davis include those works that have interrogated both spectator and theatre professional by asking; 'What gender values are being reinforced or created by the 'stage picture' alone?' (64). Thus, Davis examines those works which study audience response and which acknowledge 'the importance of the personal dimension of social activity' in the creation and reception of meaning (65). For the feminist historian Davis identifies the following agenda within stage one:

- to address the censoring impulse, to validate the experience, and to connect the woman with the work and the work with the world at large (66).

Whereas the first stage documents the work of feminist historians, in her second stage Davis charts paths taken by feminist literary critics. Complementing the historian's work by reclaiming 'lost' plays and playwrights, feminist literary critics provide new editions of both historical and contemporary plays by women, while 'providing an alternate reading of texts'
(63). For a theatre historian, alternative textual readings reveal ‘gendered concepts of form, content, and excellence in drama’ (66). Accordingly, feminist literary critics give valid consideration to ‘what women choose to do in contravention of regular practice’ (66). These differences in turn point to a re-evaluation ‘and a reoriented focus that permits women to become visible in their own right and not just in the shadow of men’ (67).

Narrowing her focus Davis goes on to propose her own feminist methodology for theatre history. This methodology offers ‘a theoretical framework translated into organizational principles’ that are contained in three procedural questions in order ‘to examine the work process and its allotment of control and privilege to various artists and social groups’ (68). The first question asks how ‘the ideology of the dominant culture affect[s] women’s status?’ Given ‘the gendered separation of experience’ into the home/work place, private/public dichotomy, this question examines what happens when these divisions become blurred (68). This question is particularly applicable to the study of historical female performers as every time they stepped onto a stage they violated this dichotomy, co-existing ‘in both spheres’ (68). Within the public work place sphere they were often freed from the educational, economic, gender and sexual restrictions that bound other women, and since the specificity of their profession meant that they weren’t encroaching on ‘a male labor market’, they ‘were immune to pressure to give over their livelihood to principal (male) breadwinners.’ As an exception to the rules of patriarchally-defined culture, ‘female performers pushed beyond the traditional consciousness of home-centred women and engaged in an active struggle with the ideology of the dominant (masculine) cultures’ (69). In her second question, Davis asks how ‘social, class, and economic factors affect privilege?’ Furthermore, she notes that ‘unlike most women, actresses’ economic class was rarely congruent with their social status’ (70). This led to the phenomenon whereby the factors that designated social, class and economic status in society and in the theatrical profession, ‘did not necessarily resemble one another’ (71) and so while for example, her economic status may be socially above average, ‘she remained a demimondaine’ (70) - living within society’s margins and yet occupying centre stage in their gaze. However this difference between economic and social class was not as pronounced in the relative tolerance of 1920s’ Australia; in fact as if to counter just this phenomenon it was often the case that the female performer was beyond reproach as a social and economic being, becoming ‘God’s police’ rather than ‘damned whores’. This being the
case, it will be worth considering ways in which this ‘socialisation’ was achieved, and just how the demon of her ancestral demimondaine was exorcised.

In her third and final question, Davis asks how the status quo is ‘maintained or challenged in artistic media?’ (71). To answer this question, Davis employs a concept similar to Jonathan Culler’s assessment of how adopting the strategy of ‘reading as a woman’ means denying the neutrality of a male reading stance. Davis scrutinises the idea that production and reception is sexually neutral. By way of example, she offers an ‘alternative interpretation’ of the theatrical careers of some women. According to this interpretation, ‘women in positions of artistic control or financial and administrative decision making’ necessarily reverse ‘the customary power structures in society as well as theatre’ (72). She also points out that all the variables of stage production must be read according to the ‘social valuations of gender’ which are ‘infinitely subject to redefinition’ (73). These variables, ‘casting, costume, allocation of stage space in narrative configuration, decor, and speech acts’ (73) are highly volatile sites of meaning susceptible to endless interpretation and re-interpretation. And yet, the origin and notion of acting is a masculine one. The first women represented on stage were played by men and so were subject to the bias of a male interpretation. Davis here draws from Case’s article ‘Classic Drag: The Greek Creation of Female Parts’ which tells how ‘the notion of the female’ in Greek theatre ‘derives from the male point of view.’ Thus, Case argues that the image of ‘Woman’ represented on stage was initiated through a gestural vocabulary ‘institutionalized through patriarchal culture and represented by male-originated signs of her appropriate gender behaviour’ (Case 321). Davis asks what effect this has on the female actor in the act of representation. She illustrates a multiplicity of interpretative acts at work when she asks:

When do the words, gowns, gestures, and gender become those of the women characters and performers? Do they always remain male, even when spoken by women? Irrespective of the original performer’s sex, is acting a masculine art … and can it be feminized? (Davis 74).

If acting is a masculine art, then theatre’s potential for subverting the status quo is dubious. Even the rise of the cross-dressed actress, like Spinney who played Hamlet, is not seen as a positive development by Davis since she cannot have the arsenal ‘to impersonate the other sex’, but merely ‘indicate her own’ (75). Davis also points out that the ‘allocation of stage
space' communicates certain social roles to an audience, both past and present:

Western culture reads the center as power. It reads periphery as silence. It reads confinement as imprisonment for men and proper socialization for women (75).

Continuing this use of spatial concepts as an analytical tool, Davis shows that while 'playwrights' allocation of words to characters reflects power balances in the drama, as well as power in the acting company' (75), within the confines of a male text it could also reflect status quo since 'monologue is regarded as eloquence in men, it is usually received verbosity in women' (76).

As her final point in this question, Davis considers the role women spectators had in the maintenance of the status quo' (76). In order to appraise the importance attached to increase or decline of women spectators, one must consider what this suggests about social 'theatrical neighbourhood, the social significance of the theatre event, male hegemony on culture the distribution of income and spending patterns' (76). This acknowledgment of the interrelatedness of repertoire and the class and gender of spectators' (76) is particularly relevant to the temporary moment of 'feminization' that I am seeking to illuminate Australian theatre history. By making selective methodological choices, even within what have chosen from Davis' article, I have reflected a larger trend within theatre history - that looking beyond the specificities of the theatrical event 'which is only real on some levels' (76) using 'different analytical tools and source materials' as required (76). Thus, the figure of the female spectator also plays a part in 'feminization', making her 'gaze' and her 'interests' perceived by the newspapers and periodicals that recorded them relevant to the re-creation of the moment.

Like Tracy C. Davis Janelle Reinelt has written extensively on feminism and theatre. 'Feminist Theory and the Problem of Performance' (1989) she suggested that the stages feminist theory be related to '[i]ssues of representation' as they pertain to performance (4). Her theoretical approach is based on the notion of sexual difference as 'self-defeating' (Savona 3). She charts the development of contemporary feminism in theatre theory and practice through three stages 'of emphasis and strategy' During the first stage in the 1960s and early 1970s, feminist theory manifested in the theatre via an increase in female characters, playwrights and producers (Reinelt 'Feminist' 48). Obvious similarities can be drawn here between Lerner's 'finding the woman in history' and Austin's expanding
theatrical canon to include women playwrights. This increase in female artists and technicians was accompanied by an increasing dissatisfaction with the ‘traditional theatrical conventions of representation’. Whether it was the radical French feminists deconstructing representation or the materialist feminists underscoring ‘the social construction of gender’ this stage made possible a new feminist theatre, one ‘which could point out the ideological character of theatrical representation’ by ‘deconstructing gender’ (‘Feminist’ 49). This stage, while exposing ‘oppressive representation as ideological’ (50), ensured its undoing ‘textually but not literally’ (Meese 81). During the 1980s a third stage of gender theory sought ‘an adequate notion of subject-as-agent which allows women to change the terms of the dominant discourse’ to produce meaning ‘in spite of, or perhaps in the face of gender’ (51). To do so requires, according to Reinelt, ‘two critical formulations of gender theory.’ In the first, gender must be considered ‘a field of experience, socially constructed, constantly changing, not a pair of bi-polar opposites’ (51). The second of these formulations acknowledges that realisation of this first formulation is constrained by ‘the specific historical character of our situation with its particular inscriptions of gender oppression’ (52). Accordingly, Reinelt’s third stage insists:

Active and engaged struggle with gender inscription must accompany the recognition that gender opposition is a false construct (Reinelt ‘Feminist’ 52).

According to Reinelt’s performance-focused theory this ‘struggle’ occurs in moments of ‘self-inscription on stage, before an audience’ (52). Taken in conjunction with these other theoretical stages it is as if Reinelt ‘has combined the literary critics’ stages one and two and found there to be two subsequent stages’. Austin goes on to differentiate between the relative value of Reinelt’s stages and concludes that while they work for performance theory, the preceding literary stages are more useful for the ‘purposes of analysing drama’ (Austin 16). Since it is Austin’s intention to apply her feminist theories to plays, this textual bias is perhaps understandable. However, when looking at my four case studies I want to avoid this division between text-based and performance theory. As Susan Bassnett argues in her article ‘Struggling with the Past: Women’s Theatre in Search of a History’, by making text-based theatre its emphasis, theatre scholarship has overlooked women working in theatrical margins (Bassnett 108), which has led to the situation where feminist scholars have to go back and retrieve those theatre workers from text-less oblivion. In the case of the female performer we need ‘to examine in depth some of the implications of the discourse of male critics regarding
the work of women’ (Bassnett 112).

Finally, I wish to relate these general concepts more specifically to the question of performance within live theatre. The concept of theatre as a liminal space in which gender roles are negotiated and renegotiated occurs in the crossover between performance and feminist theory. The importance of working from a liminal critical perspective of feminist theory directs my analysis towards an elaboration and extrapolation of spatial concepts. Hart’s discussion of how ‘[l]anguage, space, and the body’ (13) are the sites of textual, social disruption, makes a sound focal point for the analysis of the performer. While, in contemporary terms, the historical female performer occupies hardly any space at all, historically they were of course self-present and at times, extremely popular public figures. Davis’ notion of the disruptive nature of the allocation of space becomes particularly relevant when considering a person like one of my case studies, Dorothea Spinney, whose means to control a space for herself in theatre lay in not being a member of a company at all, but rather in constituting one. This brings us to the source of another disruptive space, the physical body - a central sign in the study of the ‘Actress’/actor’.

I draw attention here to the disruptive nature of female performance, and yet feminist analyses have focused primarily on women playwrights as the anomalous figure who ‘gives voice’ (Wandor 128). My project however, focuses on the female performer - a more physically apparent entity. In fact the female playwright ‘gives words’, while the ‘Actress’ gives the word voice (and body). Although the ‘Actress’ would seem then to contain the same if not more ‘power for transformation’ (Hart 6) as the woman playwright, she remains largely under-theorised. In critical terms, it is the figure of the female playwright who is seen as posing the greatest threat to the hegemonic order while the actress’s voice is glossed over, perceived as being, somehow, not ‘her own’. The playwright’s resistance is overt, traceable through the textual evidence she leaves behind. The female performer in Australia is a different story. Like all historical analyses of the performer, she becomes a transient figure, fighting for permanency in a handful of newspaper reviews, theatre programmes and the occasional Australian Dictionary of Biography entry. There is no qualitative difference between the transience of the male and female performer. What is different is the ideological inflection of the path that they leave behind. If she was married, like Frediswyde Hunter-Watts, or working as an actor-manager, like Nellie Bramley, her paper trail becomes slightly easier to trace. In
the case of Frediswyde Hunter-Watts she is containable within an already socially-prescribed female role (the wife of Allan Wilkie), and Nellie Bramley's popularity with the gallery girls made her a highly-marketable figure. Whereas the image of the single woman working as an actress is almost transparent.

This analysis of spatial concepts in turn conjures up one of the problematic specificities of Australian theatre history - the problem of sources. In the case of my four case studies my major reference source is the *Brisbane Courier*. While limiting my investigation to one newspaper is not without its own set of methodological implications, it does offer the possibility for close comparative analysis of the (newspaper) space given to four largely disparate individuals. It also anchors the discussion of where ‘Woman’s business’ was allowed entry into more general discourse - that is upon the social pages or in articles that are framed by an ‘educational’ commentary.

Which brings us to the problematics associated with inscribing resistance onto the textual site of the historical female playwright and the physical site of the historical female performer. Once again, the tangible evidence left behind by the playwright goes a long way to informing us about the subversive or potential subversions in her work. Performers are a different story, making the application of the phrase ‘site of resistance’ to these individual, historical women problematic. To do so begs the following questions - Is it worthwhile seeking ‘resistance’ where it may not historically exist? Does it make theoretical sense to compare two such radically different figures as Hunter-Watts and Spinney simply because they were at the same place at the same time? In reply to these questions I have evoked Teresa de Lauretis’ distinction between ‘woman’ and ‘women’ which she raises in her book *Alice Doesn’t: Feminism, Semiotics, Cinema*. When de Lauretis uses the term ‘woman’ she invokes ‘a fictional construct’ created via ‘a confrontation with theoretical discourses and expressive practices.’ Her reference to ‘women’, on the other hand, evokes ‘the real historical beings.’ The relationship between the two is, according to de Lauretis, a cultural set-up (5-6).

While de Lauretis’ ‘woman’ is a result of the confrontation between the discourses and practices of ‘cinema, language, narrative, imaging’ (5). Case working within the discourses and practices of theatre makes a similar distinction between fictional ‘Woman’ who appeared on stage ‘representing the patriarchal values attached to the gender while suppressing the experience ... of actual women’. The ability to recognise this ‘Woman’ ‘as a male-produced
fiction' distinct from historical 'women' is, according to Case, one of the benefits of a feminist approach (Case 7). While increasing the number and knowledge of women playwrights and characters has been one strategy employed to counter this split representation 'women'/Woman', Austin maintains that this alone does not necessarily create resolutions. She questions the possibility of ever putting women and not just 'Woman', on the stage since the entire apparatus of theatre is 'so male-conceived and dominated that women cannot be 'seen' through it' (Austin 73). Austin highlights the importance for women that 'Woman' is understood to be 'a cultural construct' laden with attendant culturally-specific values (Austin 76). In the case of the sign 'Woman' her meaning is derived from 'the dominant ideology of gender' (Case 117) generated by the audience. To elucidate this point, Case adapts the filmic 'male gaze' and applies it to theatre. According to this theory 'women become fixed in the position of object of the [male] gaze, rather than as the subject directing it; women appear in order to be looked upon rather than do the looking. In that sense, 'woman' is constituted as 'Other' (Case 120). For 'women' the representation of the other 'Woman' means that they have no way of envisaging themselves on stage so that 'she also becomes an 'Other' to herself' (Case 120).

Austin's use of Fetterley's 'Resisting Reader' as utilised in feminist literary criticism, although dated (1978), may be useful in coming to terms with that unknowable quantity, the bygone audience. Fetterley's contention that:

women are taught to think as men, to identify with a male point of view, and to accept as normal and legitimate a male system of values, one of whose central principles is misogyny (xx)

is an earlier version of the 'women'/Woman' divide and can be applied to the female audience which I am attempting to reconstruct. I am not implying, as Fetterley goes on to advocate, that the women in these audiences were resistant readers as part of some assertion of their innate feminist agenda. Rather that 'the nature of performance' (Donkin 278) ensured that at the moment of reception, the audience could respond to 'two distinct sets of signs', the performance and the text, where neither is 'privileged as 'truer'. In the case of 'actual performances by women' it is possible that they 'could maintain a certain degree of autonomy from that text and create a very different set of messages for the audience' (Donkin 278).

A number of strategies can be employed to counter this representational split
'women'/Woman'. The theatre historian may exhume women playwrights, characters and/or actors (like this project), or the practitioner may commit to increasing the number of women working and being represented in the theatre. In both cases and having recognised that 'the male subject position' is the only discourse available to women, Reinelt's performance theory can be used fruitfully here to explain how, through performance, 'women' can 'either occupy this constructed space docilely or contest it' ('Feminist' 50). Reinelt gives examples of such contestation in some recent feminist theatre that actively resists the representation of culturally-inscribed gender roles. Or, in an article that crosses both theatre history and performative variables, Donkin theorises the dual position 'women' like the eighteenth-century British actress Sarah Siddons occupied. On the one hand they were granted 'provisional membership in the power structure', while on the other hand they played stage 'roles that reified their position as object' (277). Thus Donkin arrives at the theoretical distinction between 'women' and 'Woman' in the application of methodology to case study. That this objectification extended from the stage to have 'a positioning effect on real women' enables her to take this distinction into new theoretical territory. Donkin charts a series of cultural exchanges from the actresses' performed 'Woman' to the audience's 'cultural expectations of women' which in turn 'circled back to the actress in performance' thereby creating 'a potential closure in the system that made change difficult to accomplish or even to conceive' (278). Nevertheless, she goes on to posit two possible disruptions to this closure. Firstly 'the autonomous nature of performance' (280) that allows moments where 'the ideological closure of representation' could be accessed to create 'a space in which women, not Woman, could be heard onstage' (278). A case of women working within the confines of their male-defined discourse to create subversive moments, not unlike what Abel identifies in the work of those women writers and feminist critics who, with no alternative to the prevailing discourse, inscribe their disaffection 'through a deliberate mimicry that, by its very imitation, gestures toward unthinkable alternatives'. This '[subversive imitation', although related to the written text, gestures towards an anti-totalising reading of performance (Abel 3) and highlights the difficulties inherent in applying literary concepts like 'reification', which seeks to transform the literary into the real, to bodies in performance which are very obviously real. The second possible disruptive strategy discussed by Donkin is audience reception which plays 'a complex role in this destabilization process'. Taken jointly, these potential disrupters reaffirm the
theatre 'as a liminal space in which gender roles were negotiated and renegotiated' (Donkin 279) and highlight the need to interrogate the difficulties associated with attempts to apply literary concepts to performance.

As a means of differentiation, I intend to employ a similar division between 'Actress' and 'actor' as that contained in the preceding discussion regarding 'Woman' and 'women'. The 'Actress' is made up of both the stage representation of 'Woman' as well as the social position that female performers occupied, while the 'actor' is the historical figure who negotiates her position between the role society prescribes for her and the role she has prescribed for herself as a woman working in theatre. Without trying to overstate the transgressive qualities of these case studies in history, there are moments when the 'Actress', although constrained by social conventions and expectations, could and did break through this divide and become the 'actor'. More so for someone like Spinney (who literally had the stage to herself and so was less constrained), than Hunter-Watts (who was operating within a more clearly defined theatrical and gender role). In any case, their very physical presence effected a very real breakdown of that other gender inscribed divide between the occupation of public and private space. Thus the division between 'Actress' and 'actor' will operate as more than a simple means of differentiation, it will also mark the crossover points when the other 'Woman' joins with herself.

While issues of gender representation are at the ideological centre of this thesis, they cannot be separated from those aspects of theatre as industry and as cultural institution which framed those representations:

we [can] not assume that theatre history can be usefully understood without consideration of its original cultural context, its location within particular processes of generation and communication. Not just practices within theatre, but theatre practices; not just the particular, but the particular within a general conception of dominant social and theatrical norms and discourses (Fotheringham, 'Notes' 6).

Accordingly, before discussing the four case studies in detail, it is necessary to position them within a wider field and in relation to one another. To reveal these positions, Chapter Two will provide an overview of the state of the theatre industry and by extension the film industry and the broader social spectrum, particularly as it relates to 'women'/ 'Woman' and 'actor'/ 'Actress'. The means of elucidating these positions will involve: the contextualisation
of theatrical Brisbane within an historical and national framework, a comparative analysis of
the theatres in which they performed, the way in which they were marketed and the means
they used to attract audiences, a consideration of their theatrical repertoire in relation to the
film repertoires that were their competition; a survey that notes the rises and falls of admission
prices to theatres, variety venues and cinemas; a comparative analysis of promotional methods
and in some cases use of sponsorship, and reports of increasing technology in the cinema.
CHAPTER TWO: THEATRICAL STAGES - SOCIAL PAGES

This chapter begins the task of examining the underlying assumptions inherent in the representation of four women theatre workers in 1920s Brisbane, by considering the historical context in which they operated. Lerner maintains that ‘traditional history has been written and interpreted by men in an androcentric frame of reference’ and that it might therefore be best described ‘as the history of men’ (Lerner xiv). Australian theatre history is such that it could hardly be labelled ‘traditional history’. This is especially true of the period of Australian theatre history I am examining which has suffered from a lack of serious critical attention by historians both male and female. By interpreting this historical frame of reference in conjunction with a pre-formulated feminist agenda I am simultaneously bypassing the future necessity of re-doing it and finding the women in it and undertaking what Joan Wallach Scott calls ‘an analysis of discrimination’ that questions ‘how hierarchies such as those of gender are constructed or legitimized’, making it a study of a multiplicity of processes rather than of origins (Scott 4). Implicit within this study of multiplicities is the premise that meaning is constructed by repressing its antithesis, its exclusions. This understanding foregrounds the importance of examining gender in context and considering it as ‘a historical phenomenon, produced, reproduced, and transformed in different situations and over time’ (Scott 6).

While issues of gender representation are at the ideological centre of this thesis, I heed the warning made by several theatre historians:

that we not assume that theatre history can be usefully understood without consideration of its original cultural context, its location within particular processes of generation and communication. Not just practices within theatre, but theatre practices; not just the particular, but the particular within a general conception of dominant social and theatrical norms and discourses (Fotheringham. ‘Notes’ 6).

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THE STATE OF THE INDUSTRY

If, as Fotheringham suggests, theatre history is often unconsciously imagined as ‘a number of different histories’ (‘Notes’ 6) then there are a number of different paradigms which need to be considered when establishing the state of the theatre industry in 1920s’ Australia. Drawing from Robert C. Allen and Douglas Gomery’s Film History: Theory and Practice, Fotheringham notes that they propose four possible historical approaches: ‘of an art form (within which they locate semiotics), of specific technologies, of the economics of an industry (within which they narrowly locate ideology), and of a social institution’ (‘Notes’ 6). While I do not wish to follow the reductive ideological aspect of this model, its acknowledgment of ‘histories’ is important to 1920s’ Australia, a period in which the working-class predominantly male audiences were drawn away from the theatre and attracted to the cinema, creating a moment of feminization in theatre until 1930 when ‘professional theatre collapsed’ in Australia (Fotheringham ‘Acting’ 17).

As previously noted in Chapter One, my major source of information regarding performances in Brisbane in the 1920s is the Brisbane Courier - unless otherwise noted, all newspaper references shall be from this source. Throughout the decade theatre and entertainment were covered in the Courier by half of page two which was devoted to pictorial and classified advertisements, a daily column entitled ‘Entertainments’ which provided greater detail regarding actors and narratives, the daily social pages which give details of who attended the theatre, the women’s pages which performed the same function but with a greater emphasis on the fashion of both audience and performer (from this stems the possibility of considering the theatrical industry in relation to other industries - in particular, in this case, the clothing industry (Fotheringham ‘Notes’ 2) - and finally the Saturday edition’s column entitled
‘Music and Drama’ which contained information beyond the specificities of what was playing in Brisbane to include what was happening nationally and internationally. Overall the Courier’s coverage of the local scene opted for a ‘gossipy’, rather than factual tone. These reports, not despite, but because of their ‘gossipy’ flavour, provide an important means of understanding the social practice of theatre, ‘not of course believing them to be literally true, as so much early theatre history did - but as discourse - as part of the meaning of the stage in society’ (Fotheringham ‘Notes’ 16).

As a means of charting the increase of cinemas and subsequent pervasion of film as compared to the decline of theatres used for theatre and the number of plays produced, I have surveyed the Courier at regular intervals throughout the 1920s. Taking the months March, July and November at three-yearly intervals (in 1920, 1923, 1926 and 1929) I scanned the daily entertainments advertisements and columns; the women’s/society pages which were variously titled ‘Woman’s World’, ‘For the Home Circle’ and ‘In the Social Sphere’; the Saturday column entitled ‘Music and Drama’; and any relevant general news items. While this survey is limited by its reliance on one source and that source’s random inclusion of suburban venues and prices, the Courier offers the most comprehensive information regarding the day-to-day entertainment practices of Brisbane in the 1920s.

Before embarking on the sub-headings proper, a few observations regarding the status of women at this time can be made based on selected news items from the surveyed period. According to an article which appeared in 1920, female teachers were appearing before the Public Service Appeal Board in Perth seeking ‘a minimum wage of £7/7 per week, and equal pay for male and female assistants’, female teachers were being paid £239 per year, policewomen £250, and girls in city shop rooms 5/10 per week ‘merely for looking well’ (27.11.20:12). A 1926 ‘In The Social Sphere’ column headed ‘Versatile Woman’ replied to ‘a well-known novelist who has made woman and her affairs his main source of livelihood’ and yet had recently remarked ‘that she never excels’. In response the column maintained that ‘the male genius is a one-idea maniac, and every other thing in life is subordinated to his triumphal progress’, while women’s ability to ‘join in the race at all with the millstone of sex and marriage round her neck is in itself a proof of superior ability’ (2.3.26:14). Also in 1926, an article entitled ‘Effectiveness of Feminism’ in ‘For the Home Circle’ made much of ‘the close association of women with world affairs’ through the League of Nations and politics generally,
citing the eight women politicians who had stood in Great Britain, thirty to thirty-five in Germany, one female fully-fledged member of the Danish Cabinet, the influence of women in 'much of the stability and progressiveness' of Czechoslovakia, and how the women of Sweden have set the pace 'in a marriage law in which the State recognises the economic value of home-making by giving the wife a legal share of her husband's earnings'. The article also noted that all 'the Scandinavian countries and Australia sent a woman in their delegations' to the League of Nations and so had 'recognised that women must be associated with the work of the League' (8.7.26:11).

In July 1926, the attitudes presented at the annual general meeting of the Federal Council of the National Councils of Women of Australia were reported in a number of articles throughout the month. These attitudes dealt with such subjects as Immigration, Child Entertainers, Moving Pictures and Censorship, Commercial Equality, Woman's Place in Society, Women Justices, Gambling Laws and the Training of Nurses. A number of resolutions were carried including their 'approval of family endowment by a readjustment of the method of payment of wages' (27.7.26:10), 'equal opportunities and rights within the various employments, and ... equal pay for equal work' for professional women (29.7.26:8) and since 'as a body of women' they deplored 'the exploitation of children as performers on stage platforms', they asked 'that Federal action be taken along the lines of the West Australian Children's Act ... to the effect that no child under 16 years shall take part in public entertainments, except of an occasional kind' (27.7.26:10). Regarding film censorship, the conference proposed the following:

That we affirm the principle of State censorship of films, in addition to a Federal censorship, and ... that comprehensive powers should be given by Act of Parliament to the Federal Board of Censorship, which should include one woman; this board to regulate all films, posters, and advertisements (30.7.26:13).

In an address concerning woman's place in society, the subject of 'the evolution of women's organisations' was developed. The address concluded by stating that while women in public affairs had:

turned first to reforms in matters affecting women and children, chiefly because these matters had been neglected, and so came first to hand. But they should not confine themselves to these things. They should take the whole world for their province, and
There is ample evidence then that the role/s of women in society in the 1920s were subject to reappraisal and revision. What is also evident is that these reconsiderations were made within the de-limited field deemed acceptable and susceptible to the influence of women: a weighty involvement in issues of morality, education and child welfare.

VENUES

Of the role/s played by women in the theatre industry in Brisbane in the 1920s, the first area of comparative consideration will be venues. I have made a division between those venues used to present theatre, those used as variety or vaudeville venues, and cinemas. When these venues overlap or the distinction blurs with the passage of time, this is duly noted in the body of the text. The distinction is also made difficult by the use of live performers in cinemas playing supporting roles to the main attraction, the film. Nevertheless, the distinction is an important one to sustain because by isolating theatre and its venues, variety and its venues and films and cinemas, a clearer picture of the paths taken by these three entertainments in the 1920s becomes apparent. Over the months and years surveyed a total of thirty theatrical venues and sixty-six plays were advertised in the Courier. Yet if this survey was taken strictly at face value the decline of theatre would not be immediately apparent: after all there were eight plays being performed in March 1923 and eight in the final surveyed month, November 1929. Likewise, while each month’s total of theatres falls between one and five, four theatres are still in operation in July 1929. There were forty-five variety venues surveyed and forty-nine variety entertainments and yet these figures remained fairly level throughout the decade. Even the one hundred and nineteen cinemas with their steadily rising product fluctuate so that on the strength of figures alone it would seem that cinema reached its peak in July 1929 when sixteen cinemas were advertising and yet in November 1929, the very next period surveyed, there were only twelve cinemas advertising. The pattern is similarly disrupted by a mini-peak in November 1923 when there were fifteen cinemas. The figures regarding films are also less than clear cut. Of the one thousand and thirteen films surveyed, the highest number in one month occurs in November 1923 with one hundred and twelve films, a period which does not correspond to the highest number of cinemas. These anomalies suggest the necessity of further
analysis. Accordingly, and because cinemas fall outside the main focus of this study, this section on venues has been divided into theatres and variety venues, while information on cinemas can be found in the appendices.

Theatres

The Theatre Royal was one of the two theatres providing space for touring professional theatre companies in Brisbane in the 1920s. Over the surveyed period it hosted six such companies that presented a total of thirty-five plays. In March and July 1920, there was one company presenting one play in each month and nothing advertised for November of that year.

In March 1923, re-named the New Theatre Royal (NTR), it played host to the Reynolds de Tisne Players, who presented six plays by arrangement with the J. C. Williamson Company (JCW). They were still the guest company in July, presenting four plays with a change of programme every Saturday until the theatre announced that due to ‘unforeseen circumstances’ they would temporarily close the theatre in order ‘to effect extensive alterations and improvements’ in time to reopen approximately two weeks later (23.7.23:2). This announcement brought the current production to a halt after only three performances. This sudden closure meant that the Company transferred to the Cremorne for one night only for a farewell performance. The Nellie Bramley Company made their first appearance in the survey in November 1923 at the end of their season and were replaced by the Royal Musical Comedy Co., featuring Yvonne Banvard who began a season of plays, three of which played in November.

By March 1926 the NTR was back to the Theatre Royal and hosted three plays produced by the Brandon Cremer Comedy Players. After this, touring companies disappeared until 1929. In July 1926, with no touring companies in attendance, the Theatre Royal hosted a one-night Allan Wilkie Benefit Matinee ‘arranged by the members of the Brisbane Shakespearean and Repertory Theatre Societies’ (10.7.26:23), a two-night performance by the University Dramatists and a three-night season from the Brisbane Repertory Theatre. The only theatrical offering for November 1926 was a charity performance produced by Barbara Sisley.

1929 was the big year for the Nellie Bramley Company at the Theatre Royal. In March they performed five plays, with a new play presented every Saturday night and they continued this in July and November. Their production of *Sunshine Jimmy* was billed as ‘theatrical
history’ as the company was in its 66th week (30.7.29:2). Throughout the 1920s the Theatre Royal was a home for both professional touring and local amateur companies, but was never used for film screenings.

His Majesty's Theatre was the other major host of professional touring productions, particularly those sponsored by JCW. The combination of His Majesty’s and JCW produced ten plays or theatrical events over the surveyed months, making their first appearance in the survey in July 1920. In March 1929 the theatre was remodelled and reopened, the Courier reporting ‘that the interior of the theatre will prove a revelation to patrons’ (23.3.29:27) and announcing that all ‘Brisbane is talking of...the opening of Brisbane’s beautiful playhouse, His Majesty’s’ (20.3.29:2). In July 1929 the theatre presented a two-week joint JCW with Bailey and Grant production, re-establishing its status as a theatre rather than a cinema in the entertainment column - ‘After a long season of ‘Talkie’ pictures playgoers will no doubt welcome the return to legitimate stage attractions at Brisbane’s picturesque playhouse’ (6.7.29:18). The theatre had traded as a cinema in November 1923 and 1926 and July and November 1929.

When JCW’s companies were not performing and His Majesty’s was not being operated as a cinema, it opened its doors to other professional touring companies and amateur local productions. In July 1920 it presented a pantomime by the touring company of Tait, Bailey and Grant, while in November 1920 an English touring company, the Courneidge Comedy Company, presented two plays. It housed a local pantomime in March 1923 and a charity function in aid of the Children’s Hospital over three nights in November 1923.

Local amateur organisations like the Brisbane Shakespeare Society, Brisbane Repertory Theatre and the University Drama Society (also referred to as the University Dramatists) whose seasons usually only lasted one or two nights, had a number of venue options. The Brisbane Shakespeare Society performed at Centennial Hall in November 1920 and Albert Hall in July 1923. With their first appearance in July 1923 and later in November for two one-night performances the Brisbane Repertory Theatre performed at the Elite Theatre in George Street, the City. The first appearance of the University Drama Society also occurred in this month when they had a two-night season at Centennial Hall. In July 1926, with the absence of any professional touring companies, both the University Drama Society and the Brisbane Repertory Theatre performed at the Theatre Royal. In March 1929, local
group the Nell Douglas Graham Players performed at the All Saints’ Hall in Ann Street for one-night only and the Queensland Operatic Society had a one-week season at the Bohemia in South Brisbane. In July 1929 the Cremorne at South Brisbane operated as the home of amateur theatre in Brisbane with two nights from the Brisbane Repertory Theatre and two nights from University Drama Society. This month also saw the Bohemia stage a two-night production for the Orphans’ and Returned Soldiers’ Benefit and in November the Brisbane Repertory Theatre performed for two nights at the Bohemia. The only other theatre for this month was a two-night production by the Jean Trundle Players at the All Saints’ Hall.

**Variety Venues**

Throughout 1920, 1923, 1926 and until July 1929 there was vaudeville and variety offered at the centrally-located Fuller’s Empire Theatre in Albert Street the City, with weekly programme changes every Saturday. In July 1920 Fuller’s ongoing success was apparent in ‘the extensive alterations and improvements’ completed at the theatre in which they:

- departed from the usual theatrical custom in that they provided a uniform, comfortable, and fully upholstered seat throughout the whole theatre, so that patrons, although they pay different prices according to the distance they are from the stage, will be on the same footing as regards ease and comfort (24.7.20:16).

In July 1929, a single news item in the *Courier* did not bode well for the future of Fuller’s with the announcement that Union Theatres would be taking over their Sydney and Melbourne premises, the St. James’ Theatre and the Princess Theatre respectively. The news item reported that while ‘talking pictures would be introduced’, this did ‘not necessarily indicate that no further theatrical attractions would be shown’:

The arrangement between the two companies was such that, in its second stage, either Union theatres independently, or in association with Fullers’ Theatre, would present from time to time theatrical productions of outstanding merit, ranging from grand opera to revue.

The article goes on to illustrate the pattern that such variety venues had to follow in order to survive:

In 12 months the pendulum of theatrical control has swung to the picture industry, because of the introduction of talking pictures. Where formerly the picture rights of a
theatrical production were of moderate importance, today theatrical producers and play-rights are preparing revues and dramas primarily for the screen, and the talking picture proprietors are controlling the theatrical rights. Our association with these big picture organisations, which is of a semi-permanent nature, will enable us to secure the biggest and most outstanding theatrical productions (12.7.29:19).

Sure enough, by November 1929 vaudeville at Fuller’s and the Empire Theatre itself had disappeared.

The Cremorne Garden Theatre in South Brisbane was the other home of vaudeville in Brisbane and advertised variety entertainment with weekly programme changes throughout 1920, 1923 and 1926 until July 1929. The companies changed: in March 1923 it was the Humphrey Bishop Comedy and Operatic Company in Association with Billy Maloney, in March 1926 The Crackers, throughout July and November 1926 the show was entitled Snapshots of 1926, and in March 1929 it was the Musical Comedy Company. In July 1929 there was no vaudeville at the Cremorne, making the Empire the only variety venue, but this pattern was reversed in November 1929 when the Cremorne was reopened taking up the slack created by the absence of the Empire. For the first three nights of the month the Brisbane Opera Premiers performed, but it was once again reopened as a vaudeville venue with weekly programme changes by F. Gayle Wyer and his ‘Band-Box Optimists’.

While Fuller’s Empire Theatre and the Cremorne were the two major sources of vaudeville and variety, a number of other venues came and went during the decade. In November 1920 the Palace Gardens offered variety with weekly programme changes, but was no longer in operation by March 1923. However this month marked the opening of another variety venue, the Bohemia, described as the new ‘Al Fresco Theatre’ with a show entitled The Classics of 1923. This show continued to run throughout 1923 with weekly billing changes. According to an item from The Theatre, Society and Home the Bohemia experienced difficulties in 1924 when it closed as a vaudeville and picture house, re-opened as a boxing stadium, closed again and in the process lost nearly £1000 for its investor. The item finished with the caution that ‘someone with a brave heart and a big bank balance will be required to resuscitate this once largely-attended theatre’ (2.6.24:28). Apparently, that someone came along because according to the survey the Bohemia was presenting The Classics of 1926 in March that year. By July 1926 the Bohemia no longer advertised as a variety venue and did
not operate as a venue again until 1929 when it made appearances in each of the surveyed months as one of the homes of amateur theatre in Brisbane.

One-off or touring specialty acts also contributed to the local theatrical scene and performed at a wide variety of venues. In March 1920, specialty acts performed at the Lyceum Theatre and variety entertainers spent one night each at the Nundah Shire Hall and Harris's Hall in Pinkenba. In July 1920 the Gallipoli Strollers began a seven night season in Centennial Hall, while the Colosseum Theatre in New Farm hosted a vaudeville show. The Lyceum traded as both a cinema and a variety venue with a revue by Bedford Young's Famous Panto Kids in March 1923. In March 1926 His Majesty's offered variety entertainment and even the Theatre Royal got into the variety scene with their seven-night season of *The Hawaiian Troubadours* in July 1926. Variety entertainment in November 1929 included a series of one-off fund raisers. His Majesty's hosted a *Gala Matinee* and a *Memorial Matinee* while the Broadway Theatre held a *Grand Gala Performance*.

Touring circuses added another tier to Brisbane's performing scene. Wirth's Circus and Zoo had two seasons during the surveyed period, in July 1920 and July 1923, when they pitched their tent in Stanley Street, South Brisbane, while the Perry Brothers Circus and Zoo similarly used a vacant allotment in Ann Street, Fortitude Valley in March 1923. Other specialty shows included recitals held for speech and drama students. In November 1920 Barbara Sisley's students performed recitals at Centennial Hall and Elsie Fisher's pupils did the same at Albert Hall. In March 1923 the Elite Theatre in George Street was used for Miss E. Massey-Jackson's pupils (25.7.23:2) and Barbara Sisley's 'Farewell Recital' (21.3.23:4).

By March 1926 the blurring of vaudeville venues and cinemas was well under way. The Majestic Cinema presented a pantomime in conjunction with pictures twice daily (22.3.26:2), while the Wintergarden, Valley Cinema, Savoy, Astor and Tivoli all presented live entertainment in conjunction with films and the live acts often interchanged between these venues. This trend continued in July 1926 with the reopening of the Bohemia, after being closed for some time 'with a combined picture and vaudeville bill' (29.7.26:12), the Majestic and the Tivoli also offered live acts. By November 1926 the quota of live performance was increased in the cinemas, the Majestic offered 'Circus and Pictures' (1.11.26:2), the Tivoli, Wintergarden, Valley and Majestic consistently offered 'on stage' attractions in addition to the films. In March 1929 this overlap was equally prevalent at the Savoy, Valley, Tivoli,
Wintergarden and Majestic. By July 1929 the advances of sound in film meant that the cinemas were now able to bring musical acts via film. The Tivoli, New Majestic and Valley continued to present live performers, but they were on the decrease. This decrease coincided with an increase in the number of daily sessions since the Valley and the Wintergarden began to have four sessions daily and so live performers would have required extra payments per performance. The overall incidence of vaudeville supporting films had decreased by November 1929 as the cinemas embraced a more mixed entertainment bag, with only the Valley and the Regent continuing to offer both.

REPERTOIRE

One of the cultural indicators of feminization is the change in theatrical repertoires which heralded a greater emphasis on 'women's genres'. The feminized focus of this change in repertoire indicates the construction of female audiences as a market, that is women (or at least middle-class women) were recognised as having purchasing power in their own right.

Theatre

In March 1920 the Courier advertised only one play, Kate Howarde's production of Possum Paddock at the Theatre Royal. In July 1920 there was a higher representation of theatre with three productions - at His Majesty's the J. & N. Tait, Bailey and Grant pantomime Mother Hubbard and JCW's Lightin' and at the Theatre Royal the first Brisbane production of The Boss Cockie presented by Ben and John Fuller. The total in November of that year was three. Two of these, The Man from Toronto and The Saving Grace, each with a one-week season, were performed at His Majesty's by the Courtneidge Comedy Company on tour from England. This addition to the local theatrical calendar was welcomed by the Courier's 'Music and Drama' column:

This city is so neglected by theatrical enterprise that it is becoming quite a privilege to attend a play whenever the opportunity is given (13.11.20:12).

The other theatrical offering was a two-night performance of Othello by the Brisbane Shakespeare Society at Centennial Hall. By the end of the month this was the only play, amateur or otherwise, on offer to Brisbane theatre audiences.
There was a greater breadth of choice for those seeking theatre in Brisbane in 1923. Two theatre companies in two theatres offered a total of eight plays in March. As the month opened JCW was in the final days of the pantomime *Little Bo-Peep* at His Majesty’s. The company reopened on the final Saturday of the month with *A Night Out*. The Reynolds de Tisne Players presented six plays during the month at the NTR with a change of programme every Saturday matinee. Their repertoire included *Brewster’s Millions*, *Turn to the Right*, *The Boomerang*, *The Outcast*, *Under Cover* and *The Marriage of Kitty*. In July five theatres and five companies presented nine plays. At His Majesty’s, JCW presented *Cairo* for the first half of the month and *Sally* for the second half of the month. Reynolds and de Tisne presented *Tilly of Bloomsbury*, *Leah Kleschna*, *The Bachelor’s Honeymoon* and *Seven Keys to Baldpate* at the NTR with each change of programme every Saturday. The Brisbane Repertory Theatre offered *The Gay Lord Queux* and the Brisbane Shakespeare Society arranged *A Night With the Classics*. The attendance of the Governor and the Mayor at the latter was noted in the *Courier* entertainment column and that the ‘whole of the seats have already been booked’ (17.7.23:8). The University Drama Society had a two-night season of George Bernard Shaw’s *You Never Can Tell* (20.7.23:2). In November 1923 five companies presented eight plays at three theatres. The beginning of November coincided with the last two performances of *Little Lord Fauntleroy* by the Nellie Bramley Company at the NTR. On the first Saturday of the month the theatre began its seasons of plays by The Royal Musical Comedy Co., featuring Yvonne Banvard. First *Costume Comedy* for one week, then *So Long Letty* for two weeks and then *A Matrimonial Mix Up* until the end of the month. The seasons ran six nights a week (excluding Sunday) with matinees on Saturday advertised for ‘Ladies and Children’ (3.11.23:2). Mid-way through the month they announced that in the future they will ‘change their programme every Monday night instead of Saturday night as heretofore’ (17.11.23:19). The beginning of the month also coincided with the final two performances of *Quarantine* produced at His Majesty’s by JCW. The following week the theatre hosted a charity function in aid of the Children’s Hospital over three nights entitled *Dust of the Desert* (7.11.23:2). After this event His Majesty’s was used as a cinema for the remainder of the month. The Repertory Theatre produced two plays, each for one night only, at the Elite. The first was *His Friend’s Honour* and the second *Prunella; or, Love In a Dutch Garden* (28.11.23:2).

1926 saw only nine plays performed in the three surveyed months. Brandon Cremer’s
Comedy Players reopened the Theatre Royal in March 1926 and were the only company making theatre this month. They presented three plays, *What Happened to Jones, Tons of Money* and *Much Married* with matinees every Saturday. In July 1926, two theatres and five theatre companies presented five plays or theatrical events. These included an Allan Wilkie Benefit Matinee arranged by the members of the Brisbane Shakespeare Society and Brisbane Repertory Theatre at the Theatre Royal for which the public were encouraged to help a ‘good cause’ and witness an ‘interesting programme’ with short scenes from Shakespeare (including Barbara Sisley in the sleep walking scene from *Macbeth*), a series of Shakespearean songs and a variety of acts performed by the artists from the Empire Theatre and the Cremorne (20.7.26:10). The performance was reported to have raised over £100 ‘to help him [Wilkie] re-establish his permanent Shakespearean company in Australia’ (21.7.26:11). Other Theatre Royal productions included a University Drama Society production of *Mrs. Gorringe's Necklace* which ran for two nights (23.7.26:8) and the Repertory Theatre’s *Candida* which ran for three nights (29.7.26:2). The choice of *Candida* was referred to in the ‘Music and Drama’ column of the *Courier* as a justification for the existence of the Repertory Society since the play is ‘too good for the commercial theatre’ because it is ‘far too subtle for the average theatre-goer. It takes an intellectual audience to grasp its depth’ (31.7.26:19). At His Majesty’s JCW presented a season of eight nights with matinees on Wednesday and Saturday of the ballerina Anna Pavlova, supported by her company of dancers and a full orchestra (12.7.26:2) and at the end of the month JCW’s Gilbert and Sullivan Opera Company began a season of *The Gondoliers* (31.7.26:2). The only theatrical offering in November 1926 was A.A. Milne’s *Make Believe*, produced by Barbara Sisley at the Theatre Royal as a fund-raising benefit production.

The Nellie Bramley Company presented sixteen plays at the Theatre Royal in the three surveyed months of 1929. In March she added five to the total of eight plays performed in Brisbane. The first of the month coincided with the final night of *The Third Degree* and in the following weeks the Company presented a new play every Saturday including *The Sport of Kings, Daddy Long Legs, The Lion and the Mouse* and *Queen of Knaves*. Their schedule only differed twice, when they performed in a *Monster Valedictory Programme* at the Cremorne (25.3.29:2) and when they officially closed on Easter Friday and Saturday. Other theatre included *Caste* presented by the Nell Douglas Graham Players for one night at the All Saints'
Hall (13.3.29:2) and Florodora at the Bohemia produced for a week by the Queensland Operatic Society, by arrangement with JCW (18.3.29:2). The eighth event for this month was the reopening of His Majesty’s for a season of nine nights and three matinees of Anna Pavlova, produced by JCW (30.3.29:2). In July Bramley’s company presented When Wives Walk Out a ‘Sparkling Domestic Comedy’ (1.7.29:2) and followed with Potash and Perlmutter, Kitty Walks In, The Wild Molly-O and Sunshine Jimmy. The only other professional production for the month was The Patsy, produced by JCW, in conjunction with Bailey and Grant at His Majesty’s. Amateur theatre at the Cremorne included the Repertory Theatre’s production of Pinero’s Mid-Channel for two nights (10.7.29:2) and the University Drama Society’s production of A.A. Milne’s The Great Broxopp for two nights (13.7.29:2).

At the Bohemia for two nights, the Orphans’ and Returned Soldiers’ Benefit staged The Charm School at the Bohemia. The opening of November 1929 coincided with the last night of The Rosary performed by the Nellie Bramley Company. After a week of Bramley’s next play Drought, the company presented Nell Gwynne, Aloma of the Southern Seas, A Pair of Silk Stockings and The Cheerful Liar. On the Wednesday night of the Aloma of the Southern Seas run, they had a one-off midnight show. A first for Brisbane, this show featured artists from other theatrical and variety companies in Brisbane as a way of raising money for Bramley’s entry in the Limbless Soldiers’ ‘Prince of Sports’ competition (18.11.29:2). The following day’s newspaper declared the event a success and reported that special trams ‘were run on suburban lines at the conclusion of the performance at 2:30 a.m.’ (21.11.29:19). The other theatre for the month was The Touch of Silk by Betty M. Davies produced at the Bohemia by the Repertory Theatre for two nights (2.11.29:23) and the Jean Trundle Players’ production of Paddy the Next Best Thing at the All Saints’ Hall for two nights (26.11.29:2).

**Variety Venues**

In March 1920 there were five variety venues operating and four variety entertainments advertised. At Fuller’s Empire Theatre, the vaudeville included Leonard Nelson ‘The ‘Dinkum’ Comedian’ and ‘Davis and Lee: The Aces of Athleticism’. At the Cremorne Garden Theatre a variety of acts, under the collective title of Town Topics, were offered every evening, with a matinee on Saturday (1.3.20:2). Both of these venues provided weekly programme changes. The other variety venues and performances in March 1920 came in the
form of specialty or one-off offerings. After previous appearances in sixty Australian cities, the Lyceum Theatre had a three-night season of *Those American Boys* (15.3.20:2) - ‘Forty-two of them...Featuring Jazz Band, Singing, Dancing, Gymnastic Stunts, Comedy Sketches, Monologues’ (15.3.20:2). The Star Variety Entertainers, described as ‘[s]ingers, Step Dancer and Comedians...Also a Ventriloquist’ (18.3.20:2) were also included in the month’s calendar of live events with two performances, one at the Nundah Shire Hall and the other at Harris’s Hall in Pinkenba. In July 1920 there were five variety venues and entertainments. In addition to Fuller’s and the Cremorne, Wirth’s Circus had a short season, the Gallipoli Strollers had seven nights at Centennial Hall and there was a ‘Special Holiday Attraction’ headed by Trixie, Australia’s Leading Contortionist’ at the Colosseum Theatre (29.7.20:2). In November 1920 the two regular variety venues were joined by the Palace Gardens’ presentation of Harry Borradale’s *Sparklers* every evening at 8:15, with weekly programme changes that included ‘Miss Liane-Le-Fevre, New Zealand’s Dainty Soubrette’ (1.11.20:2). This month also marked the appearance of student recitals advertised to the general public, Barbara Sisley’s students performed and the ‘4th Annual Recital by ELSIE M. FISHER, L.A.B. (late of Sydney), and pupils’ was held (27.11.20:2), bringing the total number of variety venues to four and variety entertainments to five.

There was an abundance of variety entertainment available in March 1923. The Empire’s vaudeville bill included a ‘monkey hippodrome’ (24.3.23:19), while the Cremorne, now the home of the Humphrey Bishop Comedy and Operatic Company in Association with Billy Maloney, ran a beauty competition seeking ‘Brisbane’s Most Beautiful Girl’ in addition to the usual entertainment (2.3.23:2). The Elite in George Street advertised Barbara Sisley’s Farewell Recital ‘prior to her six months’ tour of the Old World’ (21.3.23:4), the Bohemia was opened with Rawson Brandford’s English Costume Comedy Company’s *The Classics of 1923* and the Perry Brothers Circus and Zoo was in town. The Lyceum traded as both a cinema and a variety venue with Bedford Young’s Famous Panto Kids in a revue entitled *The Doll’s Shop*. In July 1923 in addition to Fuller’s, the *Town Topics* at the Cremorne and the Bohemia’s *Classics of 1923*, the Bohemia secured ‘Brisbane’s favourites’ Yvonne Banvard and Edward R. de Tisne for a two-week season:

so that admirers may have an opportunity of once more seeing their splendid work prior to their departure from Brisbane. These excellent artists who open on Friday will
be seen to advantage in their own domestic satire, *After the Honeymoon*, which met with success in America (25.7.23:13).

Wirth’s Circus and Zoo was in town for a week and the Zoo was open every day from 4:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m. for adults and children to watch the animals being fed (2.7.23:2). Miss E. Massey-Jackson’s ‘Clever Juvenile Pupils’ gave a one-night only show described as ‘Beautiful Displays of Fancy Dancing, interspersed with Musical Monologues, numerous songs, and sketches’ (5.7.23:2) and Mr. Walter Hunt and his company offered a ‘Children’s Costume Comedy Co.’ at the Elite for one night (25.7.23:2). In November 1923 variety at Fuller’s Empire Theatre continued to mean new acts offered every Saturday and sometimes mid-week. Some of these included axe-throwers ‘The Little Johns’, the George Storey Revue Co., and ‘The Mirano Bros., Flying Torpedo’ (1.11.23:2) and Colleano ‘The Wizard of the Wire’, who performed for two weeks (30.11.23:2). The Cremorne also continued to change its acts weekly, including the Serenaders and the ‘Famous Diggers’ (16.11.23:2). On their *Classics of 1923* bill the Bohemia advertised the ‘Moulin Rouge Trio and Percy Mackay’ who were replaced a week later by Fred Bluett, billed with ‘33 weeks of phenomenal success’ (2.11.23:2), other acts included Laszlo Schwartz the Hungarian Violinist (17.11.23:2).

At Fuller’s Empire Theatre, the variety entertainment continued throughout March 1926 with Violet Victoria, soubrette and dancer and George Wallace and his Musical Revue Company’s production called *Scrambled Fun*. Other variety venues included the Cremorne which advertised *The Crackers* every night at 6:00 p.m. (2.3.26:2) and the Bohemia which featured Lee White and Clay Smith’s Musical Revue Company in a production entitled *Let’s Go* (3.3.26:23). The Majestic Cinema presented the pantomime *Mother Goose* in conjunction with pictures twice daily (22.3.26:2), His Majesty’s offered variety entertainment with Chefalo the ‘Monarch of Magic’ and Magdalena Palermo the ‘Queen of Wizardry’ presenting *The Garden of Mystery* (1.3.26:2). In July 1926, besides Fuller’s and *The Snapshots of 1926* at the Cremorne, *The Hawaiian Troubadours* performed at the Theatre Royal for a season of seven nights. By November 1926 variety entertainment consisted only of these two regulars, with Nat Phillips’ ‘Whirligigs’ in residence at the Empire.

The Whirligigs were again in residence at the Empire in March 1929, with the Musical Comedy Company at the Cremorne. The only interruption to this schedule occurred on one Monday night when the whole of ‘Brisbane’s Theatrical Profession’, including Nellie Bramley
and her company, joined together to present a *Monster Valedictory Programme* for Mr. Barrington Waters, the former Manager of Fuller’s Empire, who was leaving for New Zealand ‘on an enforced health trip’ (25.3.29:2). By July 1929 the sole venue for variety entertainment was the Empire, until mid-way through the month when they advertised the ‘Grand Farewell Performance of Nat. Phillips’ ‘Whirligigs’ and were replaced by Charles B. Cochrane’s *This Year of Grace*, ‘Crammed with Ballets, Dances, Musical Numbers, Burlesques, Comedy Scenes, and A New Company of Noted Artists headed by Maisie Gay, England’s Famous Comedy Star’, all acts changed weekly (23.7.29:2). By November 1929 Fuller’s vaudeville at the Empire Theatre had disappeared, making variety entertainment sparse for this month. For the first three nights of the month the Brisbane Opera Premiers performed *Cingalee* at the Cremorne with eighty performers in music, song and dance (1.11.29:2). After this production the Cremorne was reopened as a Vaudeville venue with F. Gayle Wyer and his *Band-Box Optimists* with a ‘repertoire of High-class Vaudeville, Burlesque, and Musical Comedies’ (2.11.29:2) and programme changes every Saturday (9.11.29:2).

The only other variety entertainment were two one-off fund raisers at His Majesty’s. A *Gala Matinee* ‘in aid of Mr. W. McCluskey, Amateur Theatrical and Sporting candidate, Limbless Soldiers’ ‘Prince of Sports’ competition’ which included excerpts from *A Country Girl* by the Brisbane Comic Opera Company, *The Quaker Girl* by the Queensland Operatic Society and *The Cingalee* by the Brisbane Opera Premiers (9.11.29:2), a *Memorial Matinee* in aid of the Kyrle McAllister-Arthur Aldridge Memorial Fund. McAllister (brother-in-law of Charles Chauvel) and Aldridge, both ‘theatrical artists’ were killed in a motor accident and their funeral was reported in much detail in the *Courier* along with a desire by members of Brisbane’s theatrical profession ‘to erect memorials on the graves’ (5.11.29:19). The subsequent *Memorial Matinee* boasted a ‘Galaxy of Theatrical Stars’ including artists from the Tivoli, Regent, Cremorne, Wintergarden, Nellie Bramley’s Company, Harry Gruden’s Band, Pat Hanna’s Diggers and Fox Movietone ‘talkies’ (7.11.29:2). It was also reported that the Nellie Bramley Company cancelled a performance as a mark of respect for McAllister who had been a member (5.11.29:22). A third fund raiser occurred at the Broadway Theatre where the Pantomime Kiddies performed a series of songs, sketches and dances entitled *Grand Gala Performance*. A performance event belonging in a category of its occurred over two nights at the Ipswich Show Grounds and was billed as ‘Native Camp Fire Corroboree’ by Barambah.
Aboriginal people (29.11.29:2).

PRICES

Theatre

In 1920 the professional touring company admission prices at the Theatre Royal ranged from 4/-, 3/, 2/ plus tax and an extra 1/ for bookings for Possum Paddock in March to 5/, 3/ and 1/ plus tax for The Boss Cockie in July. During March and July 1923 when ten productions were performed at the NTR by the Reynolds de Tisne Players, specific prices were only advertised once at 3/ (Res), 2/ and 1/ (13.3.23:2), otherwise the daily advertisements included phrases like ‘popular prices’ (24.3.23:2) or ‘prices as usual’ (31.3.23:2). In July, when the NTR was unexpectedly closed down and the company was forced to have its farewell performance at the Cremorne the prices were 4/, 3/, 2/ and 1/ plus tax (28.7.23:2). In November 1923 the NTR hosted the Nellie Bramley Company’s Little Lord Fauntleroy, where ‘Special Ladies’ and Children’s Matinee’ prices were 2/ and 1/ plus tax and usual prices were 3/, 2/ and 1/ (1.11.23:2). Later in the month Yvonne Banvard’s Royal Musical Comedy Company presented three plays advertised for ‘Ladies and Children’ at 2/ and 1/ or night admissions at 3/ (Res), 2/ and 1/ plus tax (3.11.23:2).

During March 1926 the Brandon Cremer Comedy Players presented three plays at the Theatre Royal at the ‘popular prices’ of 3/ plus tax, 2/ and 1/, plus 6d., extra for reservations (1.3.26:2). The Courier’s ‘Music and Drama’ column noted that it is ‘not every one who is prepared to pay ordinary theatre prices for a play - they can see the pictures so much more cheaply - but there is a large public that is willing to support any entertainment that will afford an evening’s amusement without figuring too largely on the expenditure side of the weekly budget’ (6.3.26:19)

1929 marked an intense period of activity by the Nellie Bramley Company at the Theatre Royal. In March and July alone they presented ten different plays, each charging 4/4, 3/3 (Res), 2/ and 1/. By November their output had increased to six plays in one month, but their admission had decreased to 4/, 3/, 2/ and 1/. They also had a one-off midnight variety show as a fund-raiser at these prices (18.11.29:2).
At His Majesty’s prices varied according to the show. In July 1920 prices for a children’s pantomime were 6/ for Reserved Stalls and Dress Circle (early), 4/ (late), 3/ Gallery (early), 2/ (late) and 1/ (2.7.20:2), while a JCW production later that month charged 7/6, 4/6, 3/6 2/6 and 1/6 (plus tax). In November 1920, the Courtneidge Comedy Company on tour from England advertised at ‘7/, Reserved Stalls and Dress Circle; 6/, Unreserved Stalls; 4/, Back Stalls; 2/, Family Circle; 1/, Late Doors, if available. All prices plus tax’ (15.11.20:2). Their other production repeated these prices with the addition of a special Dress Circle Box seating six for £3/3 (20.11.20:2). In March 1923 the theatre hosted a children’s pantomime and charged 6/ (Res), 5/, 4/, 3/, 2/, 1/ with children half price (1.3.23:2), there were no advertised prices for the JCW production that month. However in July, his touring company’s production advertised pre-booked Dress Circle and Reserved Stalls at 10/, 7/6 at the door, 3/6 for Stalls and 1/6 Family Circle (2.7.23:2). Their other show that month, was opened to preferential booking a week in advance with seats at 9/3½ including tax and box office fees (7.7.23:2). Ticket bought closer to the opening were 7/6 for Dress Circle and Reserved Stalls, 3/6 for Family Circle, 1/6 for Early Door to Stalls and Family Circle plus tax. Alternatively, there were day sale tickets which had ‘800 Family Circle at 2/6, and 200 Stall Seats at 4/6 (plus tax)’ (21.7.23:2). In November 1923 JCW was priced at 7/6, 4/, 3/, 2/ and 1/ (plus tax). The following week the theatre hosted a charity function in aid of the Children’s Hospital over three nights. The event was priced at 8/6 (Res), 4/, 3/, 2/6 and 1/6 with no added tax (7.11.23:2). Anna Pavlova’s season, under the management of JCW and supported by her company of dancers and a full orchestra, ranged from 12/6 for Reserved Stall seats to 2/6 for Late Door, Back Stall tickets (12.7.26:2). At the end of the month a season by JCW’s Gilbert and Sullivan Opera Company had prices ranging from 7/6 for Dress Circle and Reserved Stalls, 3/6 for Stalls and 1/6 Gallery, plus tax (31.7.26:2). In March 1929 Pavlova’s season of nine nights and three matinees, was 12/6 (Res), 8/ Stalls and 5/ Balcony for evening performances and 12/6 Dress Circle and Reserved stalls, 3/ Stalls, 5/ Reserved Balcony and 3/ late door, plus tax (30.3.29:2). In July 1929 a JCW theatrical production charged 6/ for Dress Circle and Reserved Stalls, 4/ for Stalls, 3/ and 2/ for Balcony, plus tax (20.7.29:2).

The amateur Brisbane Repertory Theatre made their first appearance at the Elite in July 1923. Ticket prices were initially the same as for professional shows: 4/ (Res), 3/ and 2/ (plus tax) (2.7.23:2), but by November they had scaled down slightly and were charging 3/, 2/
and 1/ (plus tax) (2.11.23:2). For their next offering at the end of the month, *Prunella; or, Love In a Dutch Garden* with ‘a cast of 20 Artists’ they no longer had the 1/ option perhaps in deference to their larger cast and greater overheads (28.11.23:2). In July 1929 they performed at the Cremorne for 5/5, 3/3 or 2/ (10.7.29:2) and their prices remained the same in November when the performed at the Bohemia (2.11.29:2). The University Drama Society also made their first appearance in July 1923 at Centennial Hall for the slightly lesser price of 3/ (Res), 2/ and 1/ (20.7.23:2). In July 1926 they played at the Theatre Royal and their prices registered this rise in the status of their venue at 4/ (Res), 3/3 or 2/ (23.7.26:8). Three years later the prices remained the same when they performed at the Cremorne (13.7.29:2).

Performance fund-raisers fall into another general category of theatrical events. In July 1926 the Theatre Royal’s Allan Wilkie Benefit Matinee charged 4/, 3/ and 2/ (20.7.26:2), in November Barbara Sisley’s ‘Christmas Play’ in aid of the Spring Hill Creche Building Fund’ cost 4/ (Res) and 2/ (29.11.26:15). In March 1929 the Queensland Operatic Society performed at the Bohemia with the proceeds destined for a number of charities and charged 4/, 3/ and 2/ without tax (18.3.29:2).

**Variety Venues**

Fuller’s Empire Theatre and the Cremorne were the most consistent venues offering vaudeville and variety throughout the surveyed period until November 1929, when Fuller’s was no longer in operation. In 1920 and March, July 1923 their advertised prices were 3/ (Res), 2/6, 1/6 and 1/. The Empire’s prices were the same as previously at the beginning of November 1923, but mid-way through the month they advertised ‘New Summer Prices’ - week nights and matinees at 3/ (Res), 2/ and 1/ with Dress Circle at 1/6, Saturdays and Holidays at 4/ (Res), 3/, 2/, 1/ and children half price except for Saturday nights (12.11.23:2). With these summer prices came the announcement that their large circuit enabled them ‘to book acts and pay salaries that would be quite beyond the capacity of any management dependent on one theatre alone for their success’ (17.11.23:19). These prices continued throughout 1926 and in March 1929. In July 1929 they encouraged patrons to ‘cultivate the matinee habit’ as it would ‘put money in your purse, and pleasure into your heart’ and advertised matinee prices at Reserved Stalls 2/, Reserved Circle 1/6, Back Stalls 1/ and children half price to all parts (20.7.29:2).

In 1920, 1923, 1926 the Cremorne charged 3/ (Res), 2/ and 1/ plus tax. When the box
office was for a good cause the prices were slightly increased as per the Cremorne's special benefit show 'to send Our Best to represent Queensland at the Diggers' Sports, London' 3/3, 2/2, 1/1 including tax (28.3 23:2). In March 1929, the Cremorne's resident Musical Comedy Company's prices were 4/4 (Res), 3/3, 2/ and 1/ (1.3.29:2), while a one-off benefit, charged 5/ (Res), 3/ (plus tax) and 2/ (25.3.29:2). By November 1929 the resident company had changed to the Brisbane Opera Premiers, but the price range remained the same as it had since March with five hundred 'good seats at the door' for 1/ (1.11.29:2). When the Cremorne reopened as a Vaudeville venue in mid-November, admission was at the 'revolutionary prices' of 2/5 reserves, 'a few at 2/' and '2000 Seats at a Shilling' (9.11.29:2).

Other variety venues in March 1920 included the Lyceum which charged 3/, 2/ plus tax and the amateur Star Variety Entertainers at suburban halls for 1/6 and 1/ plus tax, with children half price. In July 1920 there was vaudeville at Centennial Hall priced at 4/, 2/ and 1/ plus tax. In November 1920 and March 1923, the Palace Gardens and the Bohemia charged the same as the Cremorne. The Palace added an additional tax charge, while the Bohemia did not. By July 1923 the Bohemia was advertised as 'The Popular Shows at Popular Prices' with prices at 3/3, 2/2 and 1/1 (2.7.23:2). By November, they were advertising their 'popular prices' at 3/, 2/, 1/ plus tax (1.11.23:2). In March 1926 His Majesty's offered variety entertainment with prices ranging from 6/ plus 6d., tax for Orchestra stalls and Circle, 4/4 for Stalls and 2/ for the Gallery (1.3.26:2). In July 1926 The Hawaiian Troubadours performed at the Theatre Royal at 5/, 4/, 3/ or 2/ plus tax (9.7.26:2). A series of one-off fund raisers occurred at His Majesty's in November 1929, priced at 2/ and 1/ (9.11.29:2) and 4/, 3/ and 2/ (12.11.29:2). The other one-off fund raiser occurred at the Broadway Theatre where the Pantomime Kiddies denoted the proceeds to Nellie Bramley’s Candidature in the ‘Prince of Sports’ Competition. Prices were 3/, 2/ and 1/ (14.11.29:2). The ‘Native Camp Fire Corroboree’ at the Ipswich Show Grounds was priced at 1/ for Adults, 6d. for Children with a limited number of reserved and numbered seats available at 5/ each (29.11.29:2).

In July 1920 Wirth’s Circus charged 6/ (Res), plus tax, by July 1923 prices had increased to 7/, 5/, 4/, 3/ and 2/, with children under ten half price except for the 2/ seats. This second event included a zoo that charged 1/ for adults and 6d., for children to watch the animals being fed (2.7.23:2).

In November 1920 Barbara Sisley’s student recital charged 2/2 and 1/1, while Elsie M.
Fisher's charged 2/ (Res) and 1/ (20.27.11.20.2). In March 1923 Barbara Sisley's Farewell Recital was priced at 3/3 and 2/2 (20.3.23:2). By July 1923 Miss E. Massey-Jackson's recitals were 2/2 Stalls, 1/1 Gallery, with Reserved Stalls at 6d., extra. An additional commented noted 'we pay tax' (5.7.23:2). Also in this month Mr. Walter Hunt's company offered a 'Children's Costume Comedy Co.' for 2/ plus tax (25.7.23:2).

PROMOTION/SPONSORSHIP

Theatre

At His Majesty’s, the pantomime *Mother Hubbard* was promoted for its ‘[h]undreds of pretty girls who are now captivating all Brisbane’ (1.7.20:2), publicity for *Lightin'* included the first of a number of stunts that were employed throughout the 1920s to attract a theatre-going audience:

STARTING FROM THE
BRIDGE AT 12:30, TO-MORROW.
LIGHTIN'
BILL JONES
Will Drive a Swarm of
B’S,
Numbering over 20,000,
Down the Full Length of Queen-street,
finishing at Customs House,
For a Side Wager of
£50
STIPULATION!
For every B. lost en route, Bill Jones
Forfeits the sum of £1.
JOHN D. O'HARA
Going Stronger than ever!!! (22.7.20:2).

This was followed two days later by an advertisement entitled ‘The B. Catastrophe!!!’ in which *Lightin’* Bill Jones offered his apologies to the:

123,674 Enthusiasts who waited on the Bridge from 7:00 a.m. till 1:00 p.m. to witness his famous BEE drive down Queen street, BUT OWING to his Lawyer, JOHN MAVIN, advising him that a B. in Adelaide stung a Lady to such an extent that Judge LEMUEL TOWNSEND awarded damages against the J. C. Williamson management
for £15,000, this judgment left ‘Bill’ no alternative but to abandon the drive (24.7.20:2).

Publicity for The Man from Toronto, managed to promote the show whilst simultaneously praising the critical acumen of Brisbane audiences - ‘Brisbane theatregoers are always canny about a new show. Possibly it is because they have been treated to so many shows that do not come up to the preliminary boosting, but the large audience at His Majesty’s last night ...’ (15.11.20:2). In conjunction with Sally at His Majesty’s, Whitehouse’s music store got into the marketing for this production, advertising that they had ‘all the latest Player Rolls from Sally in stock’ (27.7.23:2).

During March 1926 the work of the Brandon Cremer Comedy Players, who produced three plays at the Theatre Royal, was noted in the ‘Music and Drama’ column of the Courier, for their ability to give the public what they want, namely ‘a series of bright, interesting, and amusing plays, which are well acted and well-staged’ (6.3.26:19). However later in the month the real picture became apparent when the same column announced that it was ‘to be regretted that one more attempt to establish a permanent dramatic company in Brisbane has proved abortive’ since the theatre had failed to draw houses in the last few weeks. This failure was not related to repertoire since the column noted that the company had avoided ‘the error of judgment, several times repeated in recent years, of putting on melodrama’ since it was:

now well catered for by the movies, in which the silent has the advantage over the spoken that at least if bored the audience can give their ears to the music, close their eyes, and snuggle down more comfortably into their cosy chairs.

In fact it spoke highly of their repertoire of farces. Instead, their failure was attributed to the inconsistency of their actors, a difficulty associated with a stock company, where ‘the treasury will not allow for the remuneration of first-class performers enough to fill a long class...A few good players at the top and the rest anywhere or nowhere’ (20.3.26:19).

Pre-publicity for The Patsy at His Majesty’s announced that it had recently ‘established theatrical records in Perth, Melbourne, and Sydney’ and had been witnessed by ‘over 150,000 people’ at Sydney’s Criterion Theatre (10.7.29:10). Other pre-publicity included comments by cast member Bert Bailey remarking that the ‘days of big spectacular drama, such as Bland Holt used to produce are gone never to return ... The pictures administered the final blow.’ He maintained that there were still melodramas, but they were done differently, offering the
plays of Maurice Moscovitch as an example, in that they ‘do not depend on elaborate and spectacular effects for their success’. The point of these comments was to highlight that a production like *The Patsy* was ‘characterised by a simple story’ that gets ‘close to human nature and so ... home to all hearts’ (13.7.29:23).

The Nellie Bramley Company’s production of *Drought* at the Theatre Royal was promoted as ‘A Smashing Queensland Drama’ - ‘Starring Australia’s Greatest Actress Nellie Bramley, And Her Famous All-Star Company’ (1.11.29:2). On the Wednesday night of *Aloma of the Southern Seas* she presented a one-off midnight show. Advertised as a first for Brisbane this show was billed as a ‘pot-pourri of variety by Brisbane’s leading artists’ and was arranged as a fund raiser for Nellie Bramley’s entrance in the Limbless Soldiers’ ‘Prince of Sports’ competition (18.11.29:2). While she didn’t win this competition, Bramley’s entry afforded her much publicity as the *Courier* printed a number of articles in the days leading up to the announcement of the winner. The day before the winner was crowned on the opening night of *A Pair of Silk Stockings*, Bramley was in the lead with 156,267 votes (22.11.29:7). The eventual winner was Mr. M. Ryan from the Queensland Turf Club, while Bramley came in third with 224,541 votes from 1,386,657 total votes (23.11.29:19). A week later, with the announcement of *The Cheerful Liar* came the news that on ‘account of ill-health, Nellie Bramley has been ordered to retire from stage-life’ and so was entering the last three weeks of her current season (30.11.29:2):

thus terminating, for several months at least, the record-breaking season for a stock theatrical company...The strain of an 84-weeks’ season, with new shows each week, plus the intense work placed on the star’s shoulders, as a result of the ‘Prince of Sports’ competition, have proved too much for her. She will have to retire for at least six months (30.11.29:22).

Whether this was due to the collapse of live theatre after the introduction of talking pictures, a stunt to ensure box office after the momentum of publicity surrounding the ‘Prince of Sports’ competition, or a means of ensuring public interest in the last few weeks of a pre-arranged season, is difficult to ascertain. In the next three weeks however, news of Bramley continued to fill the ‘Entertainments’ column. For her farewell performance she presented her old standard *Paddy, the Next Best Thing* for which a souvenir programme was issued. After the opening night performance she made ‘a special au revoir’ to her audiences which was
Your receptions of my company and myself in our many plays have always been inspiring and heart-warming, and have given us to feel that the strain of an 86-week season has been appreciated. I shall always love Brisbane - especially Brisbane audiences. Strolling players are rarely at home anywhere. In this city we have been welcomed with open arms, and made at home. For all that wealth of feeling I am grateful.

As if this was not enough to ensure the support of Brisbane audiences, it was announced in the following and final week of the season that Bramley had been taken to hospital 'with a sudden relapse' and so was unable to appear for the Tuesday and Wednesday performances. Any patrons who had booked tickets for these nights could transfer them to Thursday and Friday, indicating perhaps that sales were not as comprehensive for these nights. Her final performance on Friday the 20th December was described as 'the last chance of Brisbane theatre-goers' to see her for some time. The following Saturday Yvonne Banvard's Company began their season of plays.

Pre-publicity for the Brisbane Repertory Theatre's production of Betty M. Davies' The Touch of Silk announced that the play had taken Sydney and Melbourne 'by storm' and the Sydney Bulletin had hailed it 'as the greatest Australian play yet written'. In its weekly 'Music and Drama' column, the Courier said that these current productions signified recognition 'that Australia has dramatists of her own, budding and in full bloom'. It went on to describe the play as 'thoroughly Australian, its theme being the vicissitudes of an Australian returned soldier and his French wife in a drought-stricken settlement'. The social column also contributed to the pre-publicity by printing a photograph of the playwright, 'formerly Miss Betty Maclean, a Melbourne journalist' adding that the play was presently being staged at the Turret Theatre in Sydney and would shortly be presented in Adelaide and Perth. Reviews of the Brisbane production declared it an 'unqualified success' and it attracted a small degree of public controversy instigated by a letter to the editor which denounced the play for its 'unseemly language, by reckless use of the names of God ... and Christ' and the Repertory Theatre for the three 'insipid genre plays' they had presented that year. This opinion was challenged by two replies coined in the language of high artistic aspirations, which praised the Repertory Theatre's portrayal of 'truly...
realistic Australian modern plays' as:

refreshing and inspiring to many weary men and women who find the false, distorted, and frivolous presentments of life often witnessed upon the commercial stage both inadequate and even degrading to their intelligence (20.11.29:3).

Variety Venues

Variety at Fuller’s Empire Theatre was promoted along the lines of ‘11 First Class Acts’ including Leonard Nelson ‘The ‘Dinkum’ Comedian’ and ‘Davis and Lee: The Aces of Athleticism’ (1.3.20:2). Later in the 1920s their entertainment, Violet Victoria, soubrette and dancer and George Wallace’s Musical Revue Company’s production entitled Scrambled Fun was advertised as the ‘Veterans of Variety’ (1.3.26:2). Their critical reception noted that they are ‘demonstrating nightly that jazz and boisterous comedy have yet to prove their ascendency [sic] over the favourite ditties of years ago’ and that the ‘younger generations of Australians who had not heard them previously were delighted with them’, since the change from ‘modern vaudeville to the old-time favourites of the music hall was a refreshing novelty’ (3.3.26:23).

Charles B. Cochrane’s show, This Year of Grace, which headlined at the Empire in July 1929 was promoted as the ‘Great London Pavilion Furore’ (19.7.29:2). The Courier said that this performance ‘constitutes the highest standard of vaudeville which Brisbane patrons have enjoyed for many a long day’ (25.7.29:2).

The Cremorne advertised itself as ‘The Cheeriest and Brightest Show In Town’ and in March 1923 they ran the Humphrey Bishop Beauty Competition seeking ‘Brisbane’s Most Beautiful Girl’ in addition to their variety entertainments (2.3.23:2). In November 1929 the Brisbane Opera Premiers’ Cingalee at the Cremorne was promoted as ‘The Best Musical Entertainment of the year’ with eighty performers in music, song and dance (1.11.29:2). When the Cremorne was reopened as a Vaudeville venue later that month with F. Gayle Wyer and his Band-Box Optimists, they were billed as ‘Australia’s Premier Combination of All-Star Entertainers’ (2.11.29:2).

Specialist visiting variety acts required both description and status appraisal. Those American Boys were promoted as, ‘[a]bsolutely Best Boy Show Ever Given’ (15.3.20:2), the ‘Famous Gallipoli Strollers’ as ‘The Acme of Perfection in High-Class Vaudeville’ (17.7.20:2), while Trixie was ‘The Venus of Vaudeville, Australia’s Leading Contortionist’
The Perry Bros. Circus and Zoo promoted itself as 'Now The Greatest Ring Circus on Earth' (28.3.23:2). Critical responses to The Garden of Mystery, performed by Chefalo the 'Monarch of Magic' and Magdalena Palermo the 'Queen of Wizardry' (1.3.26:2), especially noted the 'gorgeous costumes' worn by Signorina Palermo and the particular interest they would hold for the 'feminine spectators' (2.3.26:14), describing the frocking as 'magnificent, and the lightning changes made by her were admired by the feminine patrons, who would consider themselves clever if they could change half so quickly' (3.3.26:20).

Publicity stunts included Chefalo's public invitation challenging any Brisbane firm to supply a packing case from which he could perform one of his magic escapes. The Courier reported that this challenge had been accepted and the case could be viewed in the vestibule of His Majesty's for a week, at which time Chefalo would attempt to 'escape from the case after he had been securely enclosed in it' (3.3.26:23). Needless to say, he 'successfully achieved the feat to the accompaniment of rounds of applause' (6.3.26:23). The tour of The Hawaiian Troubadours focused on advertising the performers as 'Clean, Dainty, and Alluring. Artistically Perfect' and a 'company of real Hawaiians' (9.7.26:2, 23).

On the local amateur variety scene Miss Massey-Jackson's student recitals were advertised for featuring 'Brisbane's Leading Juveniles' (5.7.23:2). His Majesty's charity function in aid of the Children's Hospital was advertised as 'the most brilliant amateur theatrical production ever presented in Brisbane, in which over 200 artists in gorgeous costumes participate' (7.11.23:2).

With the rising popularity of film and the use of variety acts in the cinema, such entertainments demanded quick, descriptive promos. The Tivoli advertised the appearance of Nellie Kolle 'in popular ballads, jazzy songs and male impersonations' (8.3.26:2), 'The Mackinnon Brothers, Merry Melodians and Heather Belle, Scottish Dancer Supreme' (15.3.26:2) and Amy Rochelle whose repertoire included 'classics, popular melodies, new stories, new witticisms, and child impersonations' (25.3.26:11). They also offered The Campbell Boys, 'two boys - two smiles - two concertinas - and the result is twenty minutes of delightful musical entertainment' (29.3.26:2). The Wintergarden included The Four Karrys 'acrobats and contortionists' (15.3.26:2) and in a nationalistic gesture soprano Madame Elsa Stralia (29.3.26:16) on their bill. The three male members of the Four Karrys were lauded for their 'amazing muscular control, balance, and strength' and the fourth Karry for being 'an
attractive young woman, who although she does little, ornaments the act’ (16.3.26:9). Such additional live attractions were commented on by a letter to the editor of the Courier that asked ‘why not improve the music?’ and called for small live ‘symphony orchestras’ to play ‘operatic and lighter works of old masters’ rather than gramophone jazz recordings. The letter finished with the following demand: ‘Give us a rest from this cheap foreign music. It will never build a musical nation’ (18.3.26:12). The Tivoli advertised Bluett and ‘Mo’ as ‘Australia’s first favorites [sic] in variety’ (1.7.26:2) and to keep the entertainment varied, the Monks of St. Bernard, an ‘octette [sic] that charms with mellow chantings’ (19.7.26:2). The Majestic advertised the Jose Sisters:

They manipulate 8 HAMMERS at the one time on the Xylophone. They make it SING! They play it with THEIR TOES. Absolutely the greatest musical specialty on the Vaudeville Stage (10.11.26:2).

The Sun Kwong Wah Troupe who appeared at both the Tivoli and the Valley Theatre, were described as a ‘Troupe of Chinese Wonders, presenting, in gorgeous Oriental splendour, an array of marvels that will leave you gasping, breatheless [sic] at their wizardry’ (4.3.29:2).

CONCLUSION

Several broad trends relating to the state of the industry can be discerned across the period 1920-1929. In terms of venues, only the Theatre Royal resisted the move to accommodate film screenings; even the major prestige theatrical venue, His Majesty’s, included screenings of similarly prestigious feature films as early as November 1923. For the vaudeville venues, films formed part of the variety repertoire early in the decade, with increasing emphasis on screenings as the decade progressed. The most noticeable shift in the use of venues however was the increased use of variety acts within cinemas (see Appendix 1), creating a mixed entertainment package which took the film industry up-market, while still retaining relatively low prices. It also served to ease an audience, accustomed to live performance, into the idea and eventual practice of receiving their entertainment via a total film program.

The marketing of repertoire reveals a pitch for the female audience. The rise of the female producer in theatre, Kate Howarde, Yvonne Banvard, Nellie Bramley, and Barbara Sisley, are just some examples which can be traced throughout the survey. That these women
and their work catered for the female market is apparent in their special prices for women and children at Saturday matinees (a device that was later employed by the cinemas). Another factor that points towards this feminized focus is the frequent inclusion of these women in the social and women’s pages of the Courier, and the fact that the only theatre periodicals in Australia during this period were women’s magazines. The Theatre Magazine: An Illustrated Monthly Devoted to the Stage which incorporated The Player and The Australian Picture Magazine was published from 1923 to 1926. In addition to theatre and film reviews, a few columns devoted to theatre in each capital city entitled ‘Sundry Shows in ... ’, and a page entitled ‘The Month in Vaudeville: Interview and Impressions’, the magazine had a page entitled ‘In My Lady’s Ear’ which gave fashion and accessories tips as well as commenting on those worn by actresses on and off-stage. By way of example, a performance by Gladys Moncrieff was reported in the following way:

To hear the rich, full notes of her voice in the fine numbers she sings in The Southern Maid is a sheer delight. She makes an admirable ‘Dolores’, the magnificent Spanish frocking being specially becoming to her beauty of face and form (1.11.23:11).

The magazine’s readership was defined by its range of advertisements which include Berlei corsets, shampoo, custard, sewing machines, hosiery, Cements’ tonic and ‘Frances and Monica Scully: Teachers of Operatic, Classical, Character, and Ballroom Dancing, Elocution, Dramatic Art, Musical Monologues, Songs at the Piano’ (1.11.23:23). On August 26, 1926, The Theatre Magazine was replaced by Just It which incorporated The Player, The Australian Picture Magazine, The Theatre and Society and Home and on March 31, 1927, it changed yet again to Just It: Theatre, Screen and Home Weekly. These name changes did not herald a corresponding change in the magazine’s content which continued to accommodate its mostly female clientele.

The range of ticket prices increased as the decade progressed: the Theatre Royal, the only fully professional theatre operating in Brisbane in March 1920, was charging between 4/ and 2/ during this first period, attempted an increase in July 1920 to 5/, spent most of 1923 and 1926 between 3/ and 1/ and ended up back at between 4/ and 1/ with the Nellie Bramley Company in 1929. At His Majesty’s the lavish stage productions with major star actors charged up to 10/ for pre-booked tickets or as much as 7/6 for the best seats at the door and had abandoned the offering of cheap 1/ seats by July 1923. At the extremes of the JCW and
His Majesty's connection, the pantomimes only ever charged as much as 6/ while tickets to Anna Pavlova were up to 12/6. However by March 1929 the best seats for a major theatrical production were down to between 6/ and 2/. Cinema prices remained constant and in some cases even declined, but never rose above 4/4 which was the top price for a Saturday night session at the Regent in November 1929. The introduction of sound placed no greater financial burden on the cinema-goer. When the Savoy became the first suburban cinema with the capacity for sound in July 1929, its prices were between 2/5½ and 1/, and by November, with the opening of the Regent, audiences could partake of the best quality films in the most up-to-date surrounds for as little as 1/ during week days and Saturdays. Between these extremes, variety houses alternatively attempted to compete with film by offering concession prices for matinees (though cinemas countered with similar discounts), but still attempted to charge higher prices for overseas acts, or star local attractions such as Con Colleano and the comedians Gus Bluett and ‘Mo’. In March 1920 Fuller’s was charging between 3/ and 1/, the prices increased in November 1923 so that the highest price for the best seat on a Saturday night was 4/, but by July 1929 Saturday matinees were charging between 2/ and 1/. This decrease is also apparent at the Cremorne, between 1920 and 1926 the prices ranged between 3/ and 1/, there was a slight increase in early 1929 to 4/4 and 1/ when the venue was temporarily the home of a musical comedy company, but by mid-November 1929 it went back to vaudeville and down to between 2/5 and a shilling.

Film entrepreneurs were especially able to use technological changes as part of their advertising strategy, particularly of course with the arrival of sound, but also with early experiments in colour, and the generally increasing sophistication of the cinematic apparatus (see Appendix One). Theatre managers, by way of contrast, relied on traditional marketing strategies: the overseas (or Sydney and Melbourne) reputations of star performers and plays, assisted by increasingly desperate publicity stunts such as Bill Jones driving a swarm of ‘b’s’ over the Queen Street Bridge for *Lightin’* or Chefalo challenging a Brisbane company to supply a packing case from which he could demonstrate his escape techniques for *The Garden of Mystery*. Both used charity events, personality appearances and other public-spirited opportunities in order to engage community support and interest.

Other trends in marketing reveal that both film and theatre increasingly emphasised the rhetoric of ‘high art’: film as a means of attracting a new sector to the market; theatre in an
attempt to retain its traditional audiences. Film could further reap the rewards of this association through its promotion of films that were based on plays. It also took this rhetoric a step further, by maintaining that the advances in sound technology made film more ‘realistic’ and therefore better. Allied to this were changing discourses of the ‘real’. Theatre emphasised the living presence of real actors, film the ‘documentary’ quality of the representation and, in 1929, the added realism of sound.

The question remains whether the picture created by these trends reveals any significant shifts in the position of women within the Brisbane entertainment industry as the decade progressed. The plays presented do not show any marked trend; in fact throughout the decade many of the most popular, such as Possum Paddock, Brewster’s Millions, Florodora, Paddy the Next Best Thing, Little Lord Fauntleroy and Seven Keys to Baldpate were plays or musicals premiered in earlier decades. Only the JCW organisation provided significant new acts such as Anna Pavlova, and musicals such as Rio Rita, relying on spectacle, music, costume and dancing to establish credentials of ‘quality’, though even this organisation was relying extensively on old productions such as Gilbert and Sullivan’s The Gondoliers. Of the four women whose careers will be examined in more detail in the following chapter, Nellie Bramley in particular made strong progress in moving from being the star of established companies such as JCW’s to running her own company in a remarkably long and successful season, the longevity of which became inextricably linked in publicity (and perhaps in reality) with her own health and ability to sustain the demands of weekly changes of repertoire, to the complete exclusion of economic facts such as the impending collapse of live theatre generally.

Amateur theatre, with which Barbara Sisley and other prominent Brisbane women were primarily associated (through Brisbane Repertory Theatre and the Shakespeare Society), emerged as a major new factor in the field, positioning women as custodians of a ‘better’ class of theatre; consistent with the involvement of women in other activities such as those noted at the start of the chapter: the League of Nations and the National Councils of Women of Australia. Frediswyde Hunter-Watts, associated with the ‘high-art’ representation of Shakespeare’s heroines, similarly reinforced this domain of women as cultural custodians, as did Dorothea Spinney.
This chapter provides a detailed analysis of four women working in Brisbane theatre in the 1920s, fulfilling ‘a continuing need for coalface research’ (Fotheringham, ‘Notes’ 1), but placing this primary research within a specified ideological framework for interrogation. These four case studies are: Barbara Sisley, a professional speech training and dramatic art teacher who worked in amateur theatre and co-founded the Brisbane Repertory Theatre; Dorothea Spinney who for a two-week season in 1925 presented five professional one-woman shows; Nellie Bramley who produced and starred in her own professional company; and Fredisyweyde Hunter-Watts, the actor/wife of actor/manager Allan Wilkie. All references, unless otherwise noted, are from the Brisbane Courier.

The first matter to be noted in relation to all four case studies is their fragmentary nature. Exhaustive searches have failed to locate any substantial archive materials relating to any of the four women performers, except for information about Hunter-Watts incidentally included in her husband Allan Wilkie’s papers, held in the State Library of Victoria. None has received an Australian Dictionary of Biography entry; indeed only Bramley is included even in the supplementary two-volume Bibliographic Register issued in 1987 by Gibbney and Smith (1, 78). What follows therefore, regrettably, are only fragmentary traces of the lives of four remarkable women performers (and, in Bramley’s and Sisley’s cases, company managers and stage directors), glimpsed through the columns of the popular press of the time.

BARBARA SISLEY

Born in England in 1886, Barbara Sisley arrived in Australia in 1897 at the age of eleven. After matriculating from Manuel College in Hawthorne, Victoria, she became a professional actor, performing with some of the major companies of her day including the George Rignold company, the Brough Comedy Companies, and the company headed by Agnes Dobson’s parents, travelling all over Australia and playing in a wide variety of parts. In 1916 she settled in Brisbane and began work as a teacher of speech training and dramatic art. Under the auspices of the amateur Brisbane Shakespeare Society, and also with her own group the Barbara Sisley Players, she did a great deal of work for various socially-minded charities and
patriotic funds. In 1922 for instance, she produced a series of performances to aid a number of repatriation charities: causes such as ‘The Distressed Diggers’ Fund’ (10.6.22:4) and others which aimed at funding the construction of huts on soldiers’ settlements (8.7.22:15). Four years on she can be found organising benefit performances for charities with a slightly different emphasis, like the ‘Spring Hill Creche building fund’ (30.11.26:21) and the ‘Allan Wilkie Fund’ which operated ‘in appreciation of Allan Wilkie’ and aimed at helping ‘him to re-establish his permanent Shakespearean company in Australia’ (21.7.26:11).

Sisley provides an excellent example of how a specific nexus of professional and amateur can sometimes work, mitigating a woman’s transgression from the private into the public sphere - not by her social construction as an ‘honorary male’ (Davis 68), but in her fulfilling two socially-sanctioned female activities, that is the role of teacher in the art of elocution (itself a highly-regarded social skill for ‘young ladies’ and a respectable younger sister or sub-industry of the more worldly and tarnished theatre) and the art of the fund-raiser - a socially constructed space where ‘leisured ladies’ might flex financial management muscles without competing with or impacting upon ‘real’ (read men’s) business. Connected with this set of social determinants was the fact that Sisley’s fund-raising performances were very often performed using juvenile performers. This interaction with and instruction of children is but another prerogative that comes high on the list of acceptable ‘feminine’ behaviour and puts into some relief the fact that Sisley remained unmarried and childless.

Reviews for these charity performances are rarely critical. In fact, they are more descriptive accounts of the evening, preferring to list performers’ names and describe the evening’s entertainment claiming it ‘would be invidious’ to make distinctions between performers (10.6.22:4). The closest they get to fulfilling the function of a review is when they pass comment on the perfection of the enunciation (28.10.22:10).

In 1925, several years after she had already negotiated a non-competitive relationship with the Brisbane stage through her capacity as elocution professional and her publicly-sanctioned role as charity fund-raiser, Sisley became one of the co-founders of the amateur Brisbane Repertory Theatre. Just as her productions for charity were often performed in the legitimating presence of the Governor, for the Repertory Theatre’s first production - A. A. Milne’s *The Dover Road* - much pre-publicity was made of the fact that the Governor had ‘signified his intention of attending the opening performance’ (11.7.25:23). Until the formation
of the Repertory Theatre, 'the main theatrical activities in Brisbane [had] involved visiting professional companies' (Radbourne 171). According to their constitution, the object of the Repertory Theatre was to stimulate public interest in the drama and produce from time to time plays of literary merit that the Brisbane public might not otherwise have the opportunity of seeing. In their programme for a production of Clemence Dane’s *A Bill of Divorcement* in 1926 they went further, stating that this charter was in response to a demand that Brisbane be given the opportunity to share in the dramatic revival that was now so marked a feature of the literary movement within the British Empire. The programme goes on to say that this revival is mainly educational, in that it aims at giving the student of drama a sound knowledge of dramatic art.

What emerges here is the self-conscious placing of amateur theatre in a space beyond that of professional (read ‘suspect’) theatre. Issues of ability/professionalism of approach are pushed aside in favour of issues of repertoire and education. In 1925 the *Courier* states that ‘the real purposes of the repertory movement ... [is] to produce plays that will interest intelligent people without being sufficiently sensational or sentimental or vulgar to ensure the lengthy run necessary to make them a success on the commercial stage’ (27.11.25:19). Further, it credits the Repertory movement with the power ‘for the enlarging of the communal mind of the nation’ and ‘the earnest labours of the society’ ensuring that ‘the small band of people who look upon the theatre as more than a place of entertainment will have an opportunity of hearing some excellent plays - certain ‘box office failures’ - which would otherwise remain in oblivion’ (1.8.25:17), adding the caveat that this depended on ‘arous[ing] the interest of the general public in dramatic literature without frightening it by any suggestion that the work of the society is educational’ (21.6.26:9).

It is also within this realm of repertoire that the amateur stage became most self-consciously feminised. Jennifer Radbourne has posited that more women than men were successful in little theatre because ‘when a man showed exceptional talent he generally found the opportunity to join a professional theatre company’ (emphasis added) (Radbourne 179). And indeed, perusing the minutes of the Repertory Theatre’s meetings, there are references to the shortage of male society members and the consequent impact such a state of affairs had on their choice of plays to be performed. That the Brisbane Repertory Theatre, like the other repertory societies set up in each State, was ‘capable of serious work’, is not open to dispute,
but that this compliment is immediately followed by the broadside that 'from the outset they generally carried an air of social chic' (Love 132) can be attributed to the recognition of repertory theatre as female space.

This notion of the amateur stage as a female space can be neatly linked to those criticisms which define amateur theatrics as being constituted by a lack or at least striving to become something that it is not. In their final review for 1925 the Repertory Theatre was castigated for letting their amateur slip show in this stern rejoinder:

To avoid accusations of amateurishness it would be well if performing members of the society were to change out of their stage costumes before taking seats in the auditorium (27.11.25:1).

And the highest of critical praise often revolved around noting that the ‘standard of the acting, on the whole, was equal to that of many professional companies that have visited this city, and above that of many stock companies’ (21.6.26:9).

Sisley actively assisted in the management and welfare of the Brisbane Repertory Theatre and by the time of her death in November 1945 had produced fifty-seven of their one hundred and twenty-eight major productions including *A Doll’s House* and George Landen Dann’s *In Beauty It Is Finished* which was greeted with such controversy on its first production.

**DOROTHEA SPINNEY: A COMPANY ON HER OWN**

For one woman, the means to control a space for herself in theatre lay in not being a member of a company at all, but rather in constituting one. Dorothea Spinney was an actor who specialised in one woman shows and who over a two week Brisbane season in September and October 1925 performed four of Euripides’ Greek tragedies - *Alcestis, Medea, The Trojan Women* and *Hippolytus* - and Shakespeare’s *Hamlet*, playing all the characters, both women and men, herself. The season was originally only three plays, ‘but owing to the high appreciation, with which her recitals have been received’ (1.10.25:10) it was extended to include *Hippolytus* and *Hamlet*. The social pages of the *Courier*, ‘In The Social Sphere’, record the attendance of Barbara Sisley at Spinney’s opening performance of *Alcestis* (24.9.25:18), at *The Trojan Women* (1.10.25:17), *Hippolytus* (3.10.25:22) and *Hamlet*
Newspaper reviews of the time variously describe Spinney’s performances as ‘remarkable’, ‘a powerful interpretation’, ‘brilliant acting’ and ‘masterly’ and these superlatives are all contained in one review of Alcestis (24.9.25:9). Much attention was given to the physicality of her performance, the beauty and precision of her vocal work and the ‘beautiful naturalness of movement’ (1.10.25:10). Reviews referred to her ‘delightfully resonant voice and clean cut enunciation’ and how ‘her gestures and personality lend colour to the atmosphere of ancient Greece that pervades the play’ (24.9.25:9). Another says that “by modulating her beautiful voice, by facial expression, gesture and judicious use of her wonderfully expressive hands’, Spinney’s work was ‘inimitable. By sheer artistry, sincerity and the rhythmic flow of her beautiful voice she held the audience spellbound’ (29.9.25:10). Still another ‘as scene followed scene, Miss Spinney moved from height to height of tragic enunciation’ (1.10.25:10), making the audience ‘imagine the whole stage peopled with men and women’ (23.9.25:15). In The Trojan Women the movement of her hands and bare arms was singled out for praise, described as sheer poetry - ‘beautiful as the Goddess Pallas Athena, as Cassandra, as Andromache, and when chanting the chorus’ (1.10.25:10). Her ability to express ‘tone and mood’ in Hamlet was attributed to ‘the rise and fall - the ebb and flow of her beautiful voice, and the play of her features’ (6.10.25:11).

More interesting than the reviews of what we can only assume was indeed a series of virtuoso performances is both the choice of plays she performed and the way she was represented through the Courier. There are two points worth highlighting here. Firstly, Spinney was operating within established paradigms of good taste and respectability. It was her choice of classical plays - the ‘great beauty of the Greek drama’ (24.9.25:9) that enabled her to easily slot into a set of educational discourses - her Hamlet was described as ‘an original and scholarly interpretation’ (emphasis added) (6.10.25:11), while earlier on in the season she was described as giving an ‘extraordinarily impressive study of Hecuba’ (emphasis added) (1.10.25:10). The recuperative powers of the classical canon must be seen as very great indeed, for Spinney seemed to experience no criticism from the establishment regarding popular solo re-writes of the classical canon, instead being praised for showing ‘that, in the hands of an artist, Greek drama was intended as a monopoly for ‘highbrows’, but can be made intensely interesting for the plain blunt man in the streets’ (29.9.25:10). It was also emphasised
that ‘Miss Spinney’s mission is to make the beauty of the works of the great Greek dramatist appeal to all’, making her ‘a distinguished exponent of the Greek drama’ (24.9.25:9), equating her role as performer with that of interpreter/teacher. On more than one occasion the ‘Entertainment’ column within the Courier found it necessary to go into detail regarding the historical facts of Greek performance explaining the types of theatres, company of actors, costumes and masks. Spinney’s choice of performing without a mask was then placed within this educational discourse when the writer stated that she ‘has the advantage of being able to use a play of feature to express changing emotions, but she does this with great restraint, and the emphasis she places on clear, beautiful speaking and eloquent movements of the body is in keeping with the spirit of the Greek drama’ (28.9.25:9). The review of Medea was framed by some introductory remarks on the play by its translator, Oxford Professor Gilbert Murray, thereby slotting the performance within a strongly identified educational agenda. Contained within a review for Hippolytus was a story of how fourteen years earlier Spinney had heard her friend Sir Oliver Lodge reciting it and upon hearing him ‘confirmed her resolution that others should realise the power and charm of the Greek classics, and toward the accomplishment of that purpose she would make the world her stage’ (3.10.25:9). Within advertisements for the show, special student concessions are highlighted, while one review posits an even closer relationship with the Academy stating that ‘several University undergraduates in academic dress gave their service as ushers’ (3.10.25:22).

Secondly, while she operated within this canon of theatrical respectability, her choice of plays makes her an extremely political figure - for the struggle over control of meaning within Greek drama and Shakespeare is played for very high stakes indeed. That Spinney entered into this debate, there is no doubt, for before she rendered each of her works she would explain to the audience the play’s themes as she saw them. One reviewer says ‘Prior to the play, Miss Spinney explained interestingly the theme of the drama and from the moment she appeared she claimed the large audience with her unusual personality’ (24.9.25:9). Considering the glowing review that followed, the phrase ‘unusual personality’ is curious, perhaps euphemistic, unless perhaps it is read in conjunction with a later review that likewise deals with Spinney’s introduction to her performances in which she described Medea as ‘the first woman rebel’ (29.9.25:10). For her performance of Hamlet, Spinney announced that ‘her reading of the play was her own, for she had never seen it acted’. The newspaper article in
which this information is contained then goes on to explain that the text will be cut for the two hour recital, but sees ‘no reason why this could not be done satisfactorily’ (3.10.25:19).

With regard to her choice of play, the Courier described Alcestis as the story of ‘a noble character of a woman who yields up her life to save her husband and goes unalteringly to the sacrifice’ (23.9.25:15). Spinney reached ‘the summit of her art’ during this ‘beautiful instance of conjugal devotion’ when as Alcestis she exacted a promise that ‘no step-mother shall be given to her children’ The review emphasised that ‘Miss Spinney touches tenderly the dominant note of the mother, human with all her courage’ (24.9.25:9). The Trojan Women was described as dealing ‘with the blind cruelty of war, and the misery that comes to the women in the death-throes of civilisation’ (1.10.25:10). No pre-publicity plot description was deemed necessary for Hamlet since its narrative was obviously considered well-known; instead the lead up to her performance was based on Spinney’s past performances of the play. The newspaper advertisements quote a review from the Sydney Daily Telegraph, and the ‘Music and Drama’ column entices the audience with the phrase ‘Miss Spinney’s reading is said to be strangely aloof’ (3.10.25:19). The post-production review described her reading of the character of Hamlet as follows:

She pictured him as a man going through a period of bitter disillusionment, with concomitant outbursts of hysteria; overstrung at times, but always dangerously sane; a dreamer, yet a man of action; a man of courage and promptitude (6.10.25:11).

Of Spinney’s life beyond the stage, ‘In The Social Sphere’, reports only one instance: ‘Miss Spinney Entertained’ by the Women’s Club on the afternoon of 22 September 1925 when a social occasion was arranged ‘in honour of Miss Dorothea Spinney’. Within this counter-network of power and influence, Spinney’s reputation alone must have counted for some because this occasion occurred the day before her opening performance of Alcestis.

During the afternoon a Mrs Mallalieu spoke of the impressions she had gathered ‘from women’s clubs on her recent tour through America’:

Women in America, said Mrs Mallalieu, were divided into two classes, club women and others, and the club women were a power in the land. Mrs Mallalieu explained the details of the American women’s clubs, and said that as the Brisbane Women’s Club had been started on American lines, there should be little difficulty in making the club the study centre that the American clubs were (23.9.25:21).
The stage as place of study, the Women’s Club as study centre. What Spinney made of this discussion and of her afternoon at the Club is not reported except that she ‘chatted with the members on items of topical interest in America and England’ (23.9.25:21).

Regarding Spinney, what seem then to be performances of political action and affectivity are constantly sidestepped in all the reviews, rendered apolitical and pushed into discourses about the educational power of the classics. So, the obvious feminist content of her shows gets reworked or overwritten by discourses of ‘high art’ and education, particularly since she made few concessions to other ‘feminine’ stage accompaniments such as fashionable costumes and settings. This absence was indirectly noted in the references to the simplicity of her costume and staging: ‘Clad in a Grecian robe, with curtains only as her background’ (23.9.25:15) and ‘a simple setting, suggestive of Greek architecture’ (24.9.25:9) for Alcestis; while for Medea she wore ‘a Greek costume, on a quietly draped stage, with no adventitious aids whatever’ (29.9.25:10) and for Hamlet she was described as wearing ‘the customary suit of solemn black’ (3.10.25:19). In the case of Spinney this tendency towards suggestion rather than detail was explained for the newspaper’s popular readership by repeated references to her performances as ‘readings’ or ‘recitals’ rather than performances of ‘conviction’, that is, acting in character.

NELLIE BRAMLLEY

Born in Melbourne in 1890, Nellie Bramley was described as ‘an extremely popular “woman’s woman” in her heyday’, showered with handkerchiefs, stockings, underclothes and gloves by her supporters (Porter 93). Hal Porter claims she inspired ‘the idolatry of the Gallery Girls’ something which he confesses to having difficulty assessing since he is unable to ascertain the precise reason for worship of woman by women (Porter 175). Her stage debut was at the age of fourteen as the maid in East Lynne and she went on to become the leading lady for Fuller’s Dramatic Players at the Palace Theatre in Melbourne. In the early 1920s she formed a stock company under the name of the Nellie Bramley Company. What this transformation from lead actor in a company to lead actor in her own company initiated, is difficult to assess, since in one week of her 1923 Brisbane season she was advertised as the ‘new leading lady’ for the New Theatre Royal Players (1.9.23:2) and in that same week the company was described as
The Nellie Bramley Company and thereafter proceeded to interchange between these two names seemingly at random. Indeed her name on the company banner appears to be just an advertising ploy since there seems to be no corresponding increase in her power base. She did not begin to produce the plays, which were produced by Mr George Cross ‘for Miss Nellie Bramley’ (11.6.28:9), but remained solely their star attraction. Her fame was most notably due to her proficiency in both comedy and drama. Under the banner of both company names she continued to play her most ‘lovable’ parts in what Porter describes as ‘such souffle offerings as Daddy Longlegs, Brown Sugar, Sunday, Polly with a Past, Smilin’ Through and Peg o’ My Heart’ and more ‘serious’ dramatic parts like Camille (176).

Five years later, in 1928, Bramley brought the same plays to Brisbane, but there was by this time no questioning the degree to which the Nellie Bramley Company was solely identified by its namesake. Her photograph was now used on the advertisement page and she was even putting her name to the advancement of a Rent-a-car business in the Courier, just as she had earlier endorsed Rexona soap in Just It (14 10.26:32).

Reviews of Bramley’s performances focused on her dramatic and comedic power, although her ‘sparkling and vivacious personality’ (30.4.28:19) often rated a mention. Her choice of plays and the roles she performed in them often reflected this dramatic power. She played the title role of Anne Briston in Anne 100 Per Cent ‘a pleasure loving flapper, [who] on the death of her father, becomes the owner of a large soap enterprise’ (20.4.28:9), a girl described by one reviewer ‘of the ultra-modern type’ (23.4.28:23). The White Rat, a play described as bringing to life ‘the Sensational and Realistic Drama of the American Underworld’ on stage (12.5 28:2), is about ‘a young girl who after being sentenced to death for the murder of the leader of the criminal gang, is reprieved at the last minute’ (10.5.28:2).

Turning to one of her comic turns, she played the heroine in Paddy, the Next Best Thing who was described ‘as a romp of a girl, a “real Irish broth of a girl”’ (9.6.28:28). In Camille the ‘sincerity’ of her work ‘redeemed it from being meretricious’ making Camille ‘a real lovable character’ (15.6.28:19).

While I am not suggesting that these plays have some particular or subversive merit, with Nellie Bramley ‘Melbourne’s sweetheart’ (19.23:2) in the leading roles, with her name on the company banner and her high profile personality, Bramley was able to tie herself to a nationalistic framework that was operating at a time when American films were beginning to
dominate the popular entertainment market. For as one theatre advertisement for her show pointed out ‘Remember when you patronise NELLIE BRAMLEY you are buying Australian goods’ (26.5.28:2).

Despite her phenomenal success, by 1934 her assets were £700 and she was declared bankrupt owing £3255 ‘principally to theatrical managements and the Commissioner of Taxation’. Until her death in Sydney on 9 June 1982, she was cared for by her younger sister Adele ‘who had married advantageously and become a Sydney society matron’ (West 97).

FREDISWYDE HUNTER-WATTS: AN ENTRY OF HER OWN

My fourth case study and the one in which information regarding the protagonist is the most difficult to ascertain, is that of Frediswyde Hunter-Watts. This lack of primary information about a woman who was the leading performer in one of the best-known professional companies of the decade particularly highlights one of the recurrent problems noted earlier encountered in the research and writing of feminist history - the problem of sources. In Hunter-Watts’ case there is an additional particular problem: unfortunately (but perhaps predictably) the personal and creative partnership of Hunter-Watts and her husband, the actor-manager Allan Wilkie, has been packaged in the histories of the Australian stage as not being a partnership at all, but rather a one-man show, and so the approach to Hunter-Watts is more or less blocked by the imposing figure of Allan Wilkie. The abundance of information about him and his productions seems to hinder rather than help in revealing information, especially biographical, about her. Her roles as his wife and leading lady seem to have almost overshadowed her other role as professional actor in an international touring company.

They married in 1909 when she was 22, and she performed with Wilkie and his company travelling to India, throughout Asia, to South Africa and finally coming to Australia in 1914 because she had relatives here. According to Wilkie’s entry in the Australian Dictionary of Biography (ADB) (Hunter-Watts does not have an entry of her own) they were both invited by George Marlow to head a Shakespearian company (ADB 486) and yet every other reference to the company refers to it as the Allan Wilkie Company or under the sole direction of Allan Wilkie. It was said at the time that the main strength of the company lay in the acting of them both in Shakespearian roles and Hunter-Watts particularly in eighteenth-
century comedy. Sir Archibald Strong wrote:

her Lady Teazle and Lydia Languish will be gratefully remembered for their grace and charm, and for the sparkling lightness which seems essential for the successful acting of Sheridan (Strong 81).

Paul McGuire credits both Wilkie and Hunter-Watts with ‘great hearts ... a determined passion for Shakespeare and a remarkable acquaintance with the history and traditions of Shakespearian production’, but in his account only Wilkie ‘became an institution’ (McGuire 173).

Their Shakespearian seasons were praised for their educational value and played to large audiences of school students. By 1920, Wilkie and Hunter-Watts had established a permanent Shakespearian Company and cultivated ‘the distinguished patronage of the Australian establishment’, and during the 1920s they were (or he was, as most sources state) ‘a middle-class institution dependent on the educational market’ (Love 129). Their Shakespearian seasons were highly praised for their educational value playing to large audiences of school students throughout Australia. In his unpublished manuscript All the World My Stage: The Reminiscences of a Shakespearian Actor-Manager Wilkie explains how through ‘continual representations’ to the State Premiers his company managed to secure ‘free transport over the entire railway system of Australia’ and New Zealand and entertainment tax exemption for their performances, a feat which Wilkie regarded as government recognition that drama is ‘an important educational and cultural factor in our social life’ (Wilkie qtd. Love 167). In 1924 Wilkie earned a commendation from the then Prime Minister Bruce for ‘performing a duty of a national character’ (ADB 486) and in 1925 he was awarded a C.B.E. (Commander of the British Empire) for services to Australian theatre. In 1926 when the company lost everything - ‘costumes, sets, scripts and personal belongings’ in a fire in Geelong, Shakespearian Societies across Australia began fund-raising efforts, eventually returning £4000 and providing Wilkie with a ‘free return passage to England to restock’ (Milanko v). This benefit was launched by the Sydney Lord Mayor since Wilkie’s work was considered ‘of supreme cultural importance to Australia’ (2.7.26:9). By 1930 he was forced out of business, unable to survive against the extra competition of ‘the Great War’ and ‘moving pictures’ (Porter 167). As McGuire remarks, since he and his company of actors arrived in 1915, they were ‘in constant difficulties for theatres, resources, and players (he
normally needed a company of thirty or more)’ (McGuire 173).

While the size of his company placed a strain on his financial situation, ‘partly from necessity, but partly by conviction’ Wilkie ‘played with only the essentials of furniture against dark curtains and appropriate back-cloths’. This ‘conviction’ was Wilkie’s attempt to increase ‘the tempo of speech and action’ and reduce the scene changes in order ‘to reach something like the pace of Elizabethan playing’ and present fuller versions of the texts. He was praised for having ‘bowdlerized less than most producers’ (McGuire 174), a matter in relation to which, we might note in passing, reviews of Dorothea Spinney were silent; the use of Shakespearian bawdy being more acceptable for a male. Hunter-Watts role in the selection and editing of these performance texts is also ignored; evidence, perhaps, that they were being judged by a different criterion. Hunter-Watts even gets no credit for that traditional feminine interest, the costuming. ‘He [Wilkie] took great trouble with his costumes; and they might have served in a museum of dress’ (McGuire 174). The costumes McGuire attributes to Wilkie were, at least for the 1925 production of School for Scandal, according to the Courier’s social pages ‘under the guidance of Frediswyde Hunter-Watts’ (25.5.25:18).

When mention is made of Wilkie it invariably refers to his ‘extraordinary achievement’ in presenting (depending on which source) twenty-five or twenty-seven of Shakespeare’s plays and over one thousand consecutive performances (ADB 486), reported to be a world record at the time (a fact refuted by Wilkie himself, but a myth which managed to outlive this disclaimer) and his constantly stated desire to eventually perform all thirty-seven of Shakespeare’s plays (a target that he was never able to reach). Time and again Wilkie was praised for his ‘heroic will’, ‘iron resolution’, ‘restless energy’ and his ‘courage’ (Strong 77), indeed it seems his ‘fortitude’ was greater than his acting ability (Porter 146). Hunter-Watts was appreciated for her grace, charm and ‘ideal’ Shakespearian heroine appearance. In the 1923 Brisbane season of As You Like It it was reported that her Rosalind was imbued ‘with the charm, coquetry, and mirth which are palpably her natural characteristics’ (9.6.23:9). Of her acting abilities it was said that:

Perhaps her most popular role with the public is that of Portia; but she has given new and exquisite significance to the pathos of Ophelia and the sweetness of Imogen. All her Shakespearian work is distinguished by fine artistry, and by a great love of the genius whom she is interpreting (Strong 81).
It seems not everyone was as enamoured of their acting abilities, Hal Porter reports of audience members and critics who ‘were irritated by the mannerisms and spit-spraying ranting of Wilkie, and the “fried-fish” attack of Frediswyde Hunter-Watts’ (Porter 145-46). He describes her limitations as:

an actress in the chilly classic mode, competent in the roles of the tragic heroines; sound in portraying the less doom-ridden ones; and perhaps at her best in the more mannered and stylish roles of Sheridan and Goldsmith, whose works were also part of the company’s repertoire (Porter 113).

Throughout and despite the financial ups and downs of the company, Wilkie was known and is remembered for producing ‘culturally superior’ theatrical fare that directly contrasted with the populist theatre of J.C. Williamson’s. As Porter reports, ‘Wilkie towered above the saccharine shallows of the commercial theatres with their empty “comedies” and trite “dramas” freshly tepid from London and America’ (Porter 110) This ‘cultural superiority’ also attributed to his financial downfall since lacking ‘the touch for lighter works; on planes lower than Goldsmith and Sheridan he was earnestly heavy-handed’ (Porter 167) and so accordingly, his repertoire was considered top heavy.

All this information has been gleaned from material documenting the life of Wilkie; even Hunter-Watts’ death in 1951 is merely a sentence in his ADB entry. Only one paragraph of an otherwise idolatrous Wilkie article gives her a voice, when she is supposed to have said ‘that if her hands had written her fate, she could not have chosen a birth-place more fitting - to one destined to play such parts - than the sixteenth-century manor-house round which some of her most gracious memories are woven’ (Strong 78). In 1932 Hunter-Watts and Wilkie went to Canada and remained a number of years in British Columbia giving ‘occasional recitals’. Her death in England went unreported in the Australian press, while the death of Wilkie in Scotland nineteen years later at the age of ninety-one was reported in the Sydney Morning Herald where he was described as a ‘man who introduced thousands of Australians to Shakespearean theatre’ (8.1.70:5) His obituary in The Times mentioned Hunter-Watts in passing, remarking only the death of his ‘second wife’ in 1951 and noting that he ‘is survived by his third wife’ (8.1.70:10). None of his female companions is mentioned by name.

CONCLUSION
These case studies tie into a set of social imperatives concerned with placing women's affairs and issues within spheres of accepted discourse - that is upon the social pages or in the classroom. They also provide an insightful example of the operation of theatre as a social practice - that is theatre as an institution that regulated the movements and representations of a particular group of people within society (in this case women) and gave rise to a particular set of discourses about them.

But do these factors alone or taken together constitute a period of feminization? Is this partial or confined degree of feminization enough to qualify the use of the term in these instances? Even freedom exercised within a confined space still represents freedom and the corresponding advantages that freedom entails. Katherine Newey and Veronica Kelly's discussion of 'the feminine values' (Newey vi) encoded in nineteenth-century melodrama demonstrates its dual position as both champion of gender, ethnic and class alterity' and 'the leading bourgeois radical form in the age of a mass popular commercialised leisure industry and, more significantly, that of bourgeois political and ideological hegemony' (Newey vii). Does it follow from this definition that to constitute a period of feminization it must operate within such a contradictory position? There is no common denominator at work in these four case studies that parallels such a contradiction. In common with melodrama their presence on stage 'was potentially subversive in the opportunities it gave for a woman to speak' (Newey xviii) and their careers 'were an antidote to the ideological model of passive, fragile womanhood of the period' (Newey xix), but they do not necessarily function within the lower strata of the high/low cultural division with its subsequent and 'persistent gendering' as 'feminine and inferior' (Huyssen 198). As Robert C. Allen has exemplified in his discussion of American burlesque in Horrible Prettiness: Burlesque and American Culture, burlesque's status as low culture endowed it with a potential for subversion. In explaining this potential, Allen draws attention to the apparently contradictory status that burlesque maintained:

The burlesque performer represents a construction of what Peter Stallybrass and Allan White call the 'low other': something that is reviled by and excluded from the dominant social order as debased, dirty, and unworthy, but that is simultaneously the object of desire and/or fascination (Stallybrass qtd. Allen 26).

And yet it is this American burlesque of the 1860s with its potential for disruption within
popular culture that, for all its class differences, most nearly corresponds to the four case studies of women making theatre in Brisbane in the 1920s, a time when theatre could still be categorised as popular culture, in that both sets of case studies (with the partial exception, in my own study, of Hunter-Watts) centrally concern women taking control of the means of theatrical production. As Allen notes in relation to his genre and period of interest, by the 1890s, no longer dominated by women writers, producers and performers, the American burlesque was controlled by men and accordingly 'devolved into an increasingly disreputable vehicle for display of the voiceless female body in stylized erotic gyrating motion':

Denied their voice and the chance to talk back, and placed onstage by profiteering male handlers as forbidden objects of gazing male audiences, female performers lost their power to unsettle and subvert (Trachtenberg xii).

This form of burlesque is what Valantyne Napier refers to as 'inartistic filth' in her article that traces the 'corruption' of vaudeville in Australia. According to Napier '[b]y the late twenties the effects of the 'talking pictures' and the onset of the depression were hitting [vaudeville] hard' and she pinpoints the 'very last true Vaudeville bill at a [Melbourne] Tivoli theatre' (emphasis added) on Saturday 20 July 1931. From this date onwards 'revues took over' and the term 'vaudeville' 'became misused and downgraded' (emphasis added 66-67). These revues, which flourished in the thirties, 'attracted a different audience which was predominantly male' (Napier 69), yet this type of analysis tells us more about Napier and Trachtenberg than it does about vaudeville and burlesque respectively. While Napier's notion of 'true Vaudeville' is no doubt based on lived experience, her description of its 'decline' fits the language of discourse rather than of history. Similarly, Trachtenberg's appraisal of burlesque's declining ability to 'unsettle and subvert' fails to take into account the very real subversive effects of such performers as Mae West.

This recognition of the workings of discourse upon the representation of the 'actor'/Actress', brings us back to our four case studies and the issue of feminization. If the term 'feminization' defies easy categorisation it is perhaps because Scott's suggested list of 'processes, not origins, of multiple rather than single causes, of rhetoric or discourse rather than ideology or consciousness' (Scott 4), demands an additional category, that of contradictions. It is possible to pull out the relevant threads of the materials that make up a feminization and see which case study they become attached to. The Brisbane Repertory
Theatre, like the Repertory movement throughout Australia, was originally designed to provide an experimental school, but due to the decline of the professional theatre was forced to play 'the popular roles' (McGuire 166). This statement, which comes from Paul McGuire's 1948 publication *The Australian Theatre*, seems to place Sisley's work within a popular framework. This placement seems inconsistent with the high-minded repertoire and policy of such Repertory Societies across Australia. At the time of its inauguration in 1923 Brisbane Repertory's object was said 'to be to encourage the production of high-class literary plays in Brisbane, and the discovering of talent among local amateurs' (10.3.23:17). Indeed in the 20s the Brisbane Repertory Theatre was presenting serious, issue-based or high-art theatre like Shaw's *Candida*, Molnar's *Fashions for Men* and Clemence Dane's *A Bill of Divorcement*, which the *Courier* described as 'propaganda' that had 'aroused much interest and considerable controversy' when produced in London at St. Martin's Theatre in 1921 (13.3.26:19).

However as was also reported in the *Courier*, it was often left to the Brisbane Repertory Theatre to fill the hole left by professional touring companies when they did not include Brisbane in their touring schedule. Thus when chastising JCW's announcement that Sir Boucicault Jnr. and his London Company would not be including Brisbane in their tour, the *Courier* comments:

> That commercial theatre is providing propaganda for the sponsors of the repertory movement when they starve our young people for the want of intellectual entertainment such as is invented in the fertile brain of Sir James Barrie (13.11.26:21).

As these tours decreased it was left up to the Brisbane Repertory Theatre to take up the slack and the increase in popularity of the repertory theatre movement was reported, when it was announced that Melbourne Messrs. J and N Tait 'offered to produce five repertory plays in a metropolitan theatre there each year if the Repertory Society enrols at least 500 members for the first year and 700 in the second year' (26.11.26:12). Thus despite their initial policy to produce 'plays of literary merit that had been overlooked by others', they 'frequently presented plays solely for their popular appeal' (Cullen 104). While the Brisbane Repertory Theatre initially reflected an educational agenda similar to the Brisbane Shakespeare Society, and indeed shared many of the same members including Barbara Sisley who was listed as an elected council member in 1926, their agenda expanded to ensure a larger box office, whereas the object of the Brisbane Shakespeare Society, according to the minutes of their seventh annual general meeting, a
not to make money ‘but to inculcate in the minds of the community generally, and the rising generation in particular, a love and admiration for the works of Shakespeare’. For the one hundred and twelve members in 1926, paying a yearly subscription rate of 5/ which included attendance at the eight or nine entertainments provided, the Brisbane Shakespeare Society was an opportunity for social interaction and instruction (24.11.26:20).

The fully professional Nellie Bramley Company provides a useful counter to Sisley, who as a dominant figure in the Repertory and Shakespeare societies worked exclusively in amateur theatre, in opposition to the commodification and commercialisation of live theatre. Nellie Bramley produced mostly light-hearted and always popular fare and thus fits within Allen’s definition of ‘popular cultural phenomena in general’ and demonstrates how ‘the popular text and performance are sites of multiple, sometimes conflicting meanings, and that apprehension of a text involves multiple appropriations of it by different groups of viewers or readers for different purposes’ in particular (Allen 28). While she should be distinguished from the Vaudeville or Revue performer of the same period she ‘implicitly raised troubling questions about how a woman should be ‘allowed’ to act on stage, about how femininity should and could be represented, and about the relationship of women onstage to women in the outside, ‘real’ world’ (Allen 21).

Spinney and Hunter-Watts operated within the higher strata of the high/low division and so would seem to have less in common with the model of feminization. Yet even between these two examples there is a theoretical gulf of differences since Spinney of all the examples cited, seems most to be operating in and thereby subverting a male performance paradigm. And so feminization as ‘an apparatus must be adapted rather than adopted’ (Allen 36) to accommodate these particular case studies. And this is as it should be, for they are not a homogeneous site of meanings, but filled with ‘the irrecoverable chemic elements of performance’ (Trachtenberg xiii). Furthermore, they are case histories which:

produce knowledge that is always partial, tentative, incomplete, and subject to revision. Their standards of evidentiary adequacy are far from exhaustiveness, and they make no claim to comprehensive historical reconstruction and definitive explanation (Cousins qtd. Allen 41).
While the detailed study of cinema falls outside the ambit of this thesis, the surveys undertaken in chapter two also included recording such venues, with their repertoire, pricing, and marketing policies. The results are given here.

Venues

Seven cinemas advertised in March 1920, Cook’s Palace Theatre opposite Brunswick Street Station in Fortitude Valley, the Lyceum Theatre in George Street (which doubled as both a cinema and a variety venue), the Majestic, Pavilion, the Strand in Queen Street, the Tivoli and West’s Olympia. By July Cook’s Palace was no longer operating, but the Empire doubled as a cinema and a variety venue leaving the total number of advertising cinemas at seven. Evidence of the growth of the cinema industry can be found in July in an advertisement placed by a Mr. Stephens offering shares in the Paddington Pavilion, ‘the oldest picture show in Brisbane’, promising ‘[b]uilding operations to shortly commence’ and maintaining ‘no connection with another party issuing a prospectus for shares for another theatre at Paddington’ (14.7.20:2).

The rise of cinema was marked in November 1920 by the introduction of another cinema at Wooloowin, the Elite Picture Theatre and the Rivoli Theatre in New Farm (which may have previously traded as the Colosseum Theatre). Since the Empire did not operate as a cinema this month, the total number of advertising cinemas was eight. This total was increased to nine by March 1923, West’s Olympia and the Elite at Wooloowin were no longer included, but the Clayfield Open-Air Theatre, Merthyr Theatre at New Farm, the New Princess Theatre in Annerley Road, South Brisbane and Pier Pictures at Redcliffe began to advertise. By July 1923 suburban picture theatres began a practice of advertising every Saturday under the collective heading ‘Suburban Picture Theatres’ including six cinemas, the Imperial at Lutwyche, the Princess at South Brisbane, the Avro at Bulimba, the Mowbray Theatre at Kangaroo Point, the Lyric at West End and the Imperial at Nundah. Between July and November 1923 the number of cinemas rose from thirteen to fifteen. The Valley Theatre in Duncan Street no longer advertised, two new cinemas opened, the Arcadia in Ascot and the Rialto in Hill End, and His Majesty’s Theatre doubled as a cinema.

By March 1926 there were only eight cinemas, as compared with the fifteen which had
advertised in November 1923, this decrease was due to the fact that the suburban cinemas no longer provided the newspaper with full weekly advertisements. Instead they contributed occasional advertisements which included the film title and the information 'At Leading Suburban Theatres Only' (17.3.26:2), thereby relinquishing the use of specific locations and detailed information concerning the number of screenings per film. While they highlighted their 'exclusive attractions', stating for example that certain features would *not* be screened in any city theatre' (27.3.26:2), they no longer included a list for the Arcadia, Avro, Imperials, Lyric, Mowbray, Princess or Rialto which had all advertised individually in November 1923. By March 1926 the only suburban cinemas advertising were the Astor in New Farm, Savoy at Clayfield, Rivoli at New Farm and a general title of ‘Suburban’. The Elite in George Street included no advertisements, while the Valley and the Wintergarden brought the total to eight, as compared to fifteen in November 1923. In July 1926 one more cinema advertised than in March bringing the total to nine. The Rivoli and the general category of ‘Suburban’ utilised in March were no longer used, the Bohemia reopened showing films and presenting vaudeville, a cinema named the New Melba in the Valley opened and His Majesty’s also traded as a cinema. Like July, the suburban cinemas no longer made detailed entries and the Elite had stopped advertising as a cinema altogether, instead becoming the home of the ‘public drawing of Golden Casket’ (2.7.26:2). Seven cinemas advertised in November 1926, one less than July, the Bohemia and New Melba failed to advertise, but His Majesty’s traded as a cinema. In March 1929 eight cinemas advertised, His Majesty’s did not operate as a cinema, while two new suburban additions, the Elite and Gaiety both at Toowong appeared. The Rivoli which made its last appearance as a cinema in March 1926 was this month a dance hall, housing the Grand Final of the Fox Trot and Waltz Competition (1.3.29:2) and later reopened as for skating as ‘The Rivoli Rink’ (6.3.29:8). The Gaiety at Toowong advertised every Saturday using classified-style advertisements and highlighting that their bill was ‘Exclusive to this Theatre’ (2.3.29:2). However their sessions were not fully advertised, since on one of these Saturday classifieds mentions a ‘Change of Program, Monday’ (16.3.29:2), making the total number of films and sessions for the month incomplete. It was also apparent that not all suburban cinemas advertised in the *Courier*, since the placement of an advertisement regarding a public demonstration at the Alhambra Theatre in Stone’s Corner, revealed the existence of this previously unmentioned cinema. Sixteen cinemas advertised in July 1929, double the
number that advertised in March. The Gaiety at Toowong did not advertise, His Majesty's
operated as a cinema, and the Melba Theatre which had only previously advertised in July
1926 as the New Melba offered eight films over the month. The other seven advertising
cinemas were the Broadway at Woolloongabba, Crystal Palace at Windsor, two Empires, one
at Albion and one at Alderley, Hollywood at Greenslopes, Imperial at Lutwyche, and
Mowbray Park in East Brisbane. These cinemas all advertised the same individual film. By
November 1929 these seven suburban cinemas did not advertise, but were replaced by the
Arcadia at Ascot, Lyceum and Regent bringing the total to twelve, four less than July 1929.
While the cinema total was down, the film title total had increased since July, but levelled out
from the overall peak that occurred in November 1923. This is because not all suburban
 cinemas were advertising in the Courier and those that were, like the Arcadia, Astor and Elite
only ran advertisements on Saturday making it is impossible to ascertain exactly how many
films they screened. Occasionally these Saturday advertisements included information about a
weekly screening, but this was a rare and random occurrence.

The opening of the Regent Theatre on Friday 8th November was extensively covered
in the Courier, which devoted a five page spread to the event detailing the architecture and
including advertisements from the builders, plumbers, electricians, plasterers, painters,
caterers, air-conditioning company, projection machine company and even the company that
supplied the batteries 'which form a vital portion of the 'talkie' system' (8.11.29:6). Much was
made of the Regent's air conditioning, advertising itself as 'Australia's first refrigerated, air-
cooled theatre' (8.11.29:3) and subsequent advertisements reminded potential audience
members that 'the level temperature of the Regent throughout was 69 degrees. Cool, sweet,
sea breeze air pumped into the theatre at the rate of 175,000 feet per minute' (11.11.29:2).

An ongoing feature of the advertising of cinemas throughout the 1920s was the battle
for exclusivity between suburban and city venues. One of the big movies of July 1923 was
Robin Hood, and a special note included with advertisements promoting this film noted that -
'Notwithstanding any statements to the contrary, this picture WILL NOT BE SHOWN in any
other City or Suburban Theatre for MONTHS TO COME' (16.7.23:2). The fight for the
privilege of viewing Robin Hood, 'heralded as one of the greatest ever screened', continued
the following Tuesday with the following piece in the entertainment column:

The contract debars the picture being screened in any other city or suburban theatre for
some months, consequently those who miss seeing the masterpiece at the Majestic will have to wait indefinitely (17.7.23:8).

On behalf of suburban theatres, the President of the Queensland Branch of the Federated Picture Showmen of Australia, Chas. D. Ireland, published a reply which noted that this Association takes the view that such a condition by any city theatre is, in our opinion, calculated to affect the patronage of suburban theatres, which we have no doubt our patrons can see. The Suburban Picture Theatres are constantly fighting in the interests of the public by insisting that no increase of prices shall be demanded from the public, and we believe that the public generally will appreciate our efforts (20.7.23:2).

The Majestic's only reply was to publish the following day the fact that at a meeting of said Association 'it was resolved by that body that Robin Hood will not be shown by them at any time', leaving them to place a bigger advertisement announcing their sole screening rights (21.7.23:2).

Exclusivity to certain cinemas remained an important selling point up until the end of the decade. In March 1929 the Valley accompanied its advertisement for The Battle of the Sexes with the following promise: ‘will positively not be screened within thirty miles of the Valley for at least two months’ (4.3.29:2). On four separate occasions the Wintergarden ran advertisements promoting their exclusivity - ‘This Programme In Its Entirety Will Not Be Seen In The Suburbs’ (7.3.29:2), ‘No! Never in the Suburbs will this programme be seen in its entirety’ (18.3.29:2). The Tivoli also picked up on this pattern - ‘Remember This Complete Programme Cannot Be Seen In The Suburbs’ (11.3.29:2).

**Repertoire**

In March 1920 a total of fifty-four feature films were advertised at seven cinemas (the Lyceum doubling as both cinema and variety venue). Films were nearly always shown in double bills, on occasion a triple bill, and were in most cases further supported by comedies, gazettes or news, as well as ‘full orchestral accompaniment’ and concert numbers performed by singers (5.3.20:2). While full information regarding session times for every cinema is not available, most cinemas advertised twice daily sessions six days a week. Cinemas like the Strand and the Pavilion offered a fairly regular two-feature session with weekly programme changes. Other cinemas like Lyceum, West’s Olympia and the Majestic offered single features for varied
periods, from as little as one showing only to weekly stints. The random character of the advertisements was apparent in the single entry for Cook’s Palace Theatre which only showed one film for one week. The Tivoli managed a turn-over of twenty films with three day seasons. Only four films were repeated at different cinemas.

In July 1920 while there was no discernible increase in advertising cinemas, the number of films shown increased from fifty-four to sixty-three. Included within this total was ‘the Film Record of the Travels of The Prince of Wales and His Reception Everywhere’ entitled Travels of the Prince of Wales which was shown at the Empire in addition to its usual variety entertainment (10.7.20:2). Once again the Tivoli screened the most films (twenty-one) and the Strand continued to offer a regular two-feature session that changed weekly. The Lyceum with nineteen films and Pavilion with thirteen made substantial contributions but with shorter seasons and the Majestic and West’s Olympia with six and five films respectively had less variety and erratic season patterns. Of the sixty-three films shown, fourteen of them had repeat showings at different cinemas, with The Miracle Man appearing at three different cinemas.

In November 1920 the monthly total of advertised films was sixty-five, including the Pearl White serial Lightning Raider which the Pavilion showed with four separate double bills and the 1920 Melbourne Cup. It should be noted that this total cannot account for those cinemas which did not advertise every day and so for the first week of the month may not have an entry. Once again the Tivoli offered the most films for the month with twenty-six, advertising an average of three films per session, with sessions changing three times per week. The Pavilion with twenty-one films had a similar average of films per session and thrice weekly changes. The cinematic extras like gazettes, travelogues, comedy, ‘Paramount Magazine and Paramount Australian Gazette’, ‘Selznick News’ (11.11.20:2) were more widely advertised, giving greater depth to the cinematic experience. Cinema continued to offer both live performance and films with the Rivoli advertising a soprano to ‘assist in entertaining their many patrons’ (2.11.20:2) and the New Lyceum’s showing of Kathleen Mavourneen was accompanied by an Irish tenor to ‘sing Irish Selections during the screening of this Beautiful Picture’ (8.11.20:2). The New Lyceum also offered ‘First Series Ladies’ Screen Competitions’ (29.11.20:2) as a means of attracting patrons.

A total of nine cinemas advertised in March 1923, the number of advertised films increased from sixty-five in the previous November, to eighty-two, including two episodes of
*Robinson Crusoe*. Forty-two of these films had repeat showings in other cinemas. The Rivoli and the Strand both offered twenty-nine films usually in a two per-session arrangement with programme changes every third day. 'On' stage' entertainments were offered in addition to film programmes at the Tivoli, New Princess, Savoy, Lyceum and Majestic.

In July 1923, Suburban Picture Theatres began a practice of weekly advertisements every Saturday, adding six cinemas and bringing the monthly film total to eighty-one. Mostly offered in double features, the films were advertised as playing once on Saturdays, sometimes on Monday nights and then two new films were offered the following Tuesday and Wednesday nights. The same titles were shared around these suburban cinemas. The practice of mixing live entertainment with films was much in evidence this month. Examples of this practice include Herschel Henlere from London ‘Poet and Pantaloons of the Piano’ at the Tivoli with two films (2.7.23:2). The Tivoli also advertised ‘The Big Four Male Quartette’ (19.7.23:2), the Rivoli had ‘Doug. McAllister, The Digger Ventriloquist’ (21.7.23:2) and later in the month Cusko’s ‘Educated Dogs and Monkeys’ (28.7.23:2). The Elite offered both Pictures and Vaudeville - ‘Singing, Dancing, and Variety, by Talented Artists. [plus] First National Release Picture[s]’ (7.7.23:2). The big films of the month were *Squibs Wins the Calcutta Sweep* which was shown at eight cinemas, *Smilin’ Through* and *Shadows* which were each shown at seven cinemas. While there were eighty-one different feature films shown in the month, ninety-eight of these were repeated at different cinemas bringing the total to one hundred and seventy-nine.

From July to November 1923 the number of cinemas rose from thirteen to fifteen. The rise in offered films was quite substantial, from eighty-one in July to one hundred and twelve in November. Included within these one hundred and twelve filmed offerings were two Mack Sennett comedies *Bright Eyes* and one advertised only as a Mack Sennett Comedy, Rounds 2, 3 and 4 of boxing matches entitled *Leather Pushers*, episodes 10, 12 and 13 of the serial *Hurricane Hutch*, episodes 7 and 9 of *Buffalo Bill*, the *Melbourne Cup* and a short film or news item entitled the *Melbourne Police Riots*. Not included within this total were the cartoons or topical gazettes including ‘A Gazette Showing the Recent Earthquake Destruction in Japan’ which showed at the Rivoli with two feature films (29.11.23:2). Of these one hundred and twelve films, seventeen of them played in only one cinema, the rest had multiple screenings bringing the total of films offered at all cinemas in the month to two hundred and forty-nine. *The Pilgrim* showed at nine different cinemas, while *The Little Church Around the
Corner and The Girl of the Golden West each showed at eight different cinemas respectively. The Savoy and the Tivoli offered the most films with twenty-nine and twenty-eight offerings respectively and a change offered after two days. The practice of offering live entertainment with the films continued with Payne and Hilliard ‘Burlesque Entertainers’ at the Tivoli (8.11.23:2) and Maynard ‘Comedy, Juggling and Wire Walking Act’ at the Rivoli (10.11.23:2). Also the Tivoli announced the ‘special engagement of the Austral Choir in a big atmospheric prologue to The Village Blacksmith. 80 Magnificent Voices’ (22.11.23:2), later in the month they advertised ‘La Ventura, The Venus of Flowers, in her beautiful luminous fantasy’ (29.11.23:2) and the Rivoli advertised ‘Professor Godfrey’s Wonderful Bird Circus’ (24.11.23:2). At the suburban Imperial Lutwyche Stephen Doo, the ‘Wonderful Child Vocalist’ (3.11.23:2) accompanied two films and a Mack Sennett Comedy, baritone John Preston accompanied two films at the Princess at South Brisbane and a tenor sang at the Arcadia at Ascot with Lorna Doone (3.11.23:2).

There were eighty-five films offered in March 1926, including the last chapter of Samson of the Circus, chapter 9 of The Telephone Girl and one episode of the serial Hurricane Hutch, but not including a ‘Special Film of Opening of new Valley Baths’ which showed at the Tivoli for three nights (4.3.26:2) and the Valley for two nights (11.3.26:2). Of the eighty-five films advertised, thirty-eight had repeated screenings bringing the overall total of films for the month to one hundred and twenty-three. The Savoy had the highest turnover of films with twenty-seven films for the month with programme changes every three days. Live entertainment included The Elca Twins, ‘Dancers from Denmark’ at the Wintergarden for the first week of the month (1.3.26:2) and at the Valley for the second week (6.3.26:2). Matt Laminga and Maisie Fogget, ‘The Trocadero Champions’ alternated between the Savoy and Astor (2.3.26:2). The Tivoli advertised the appearance of singer and male impersonator Nellie Kolle (8.3.26:2), ‘The Mackinnon Brothers, Merry Melodians and Heather Belle, Scottish Dancer Supreme’ (15.3.26:2) and Amy Rochelle (25.3.26:11). The Wintergarden included acrobats The Four Karrys (15.3.26:2) and ‘The Two Vagabonds’ (22.3.26:2) and soprano Madame Elsa Stralia (29.3.26:16) on their bill.

An item from a 1924 edition of The Theatre, Society and Home noted that no Brisbane suburb was ‘able to support successfully two rival shows’, citing either the small population or ‘the moderate rates of picture theatre-goers’ as the cause. The item added that suburban
cinemas only managed one full house on Saturday night, while the other bi-weekly or tri-weekly nights were ‘only meagrely attended’. Despite this, the municipal councils kept on giving new licenses making ‘the struggle for existence so keen’ that ‘not even the film exchanges’ benefited (1.5.24:29).

The total film titles for July 1926 came to ninety-nine, but with forty of those given repeat screenings, the overall total came to one hundred and thirty-nine. This total included the Miss Australia Final which showed ‘the judging of the seven finalists, and the selection of Miss Beryl Mills (W.A.) for the coveted honour’ (1.7.26:2) screened at the Tivoli, Savoy and Astor at the beginning of the month. Miss Queensland made a live appearance at the Majestic to ‘pose and dance’ the Charleston (5.7.26:2). This appearance coincided with the Arthur Murray films entitled The Charleston which offered instruction in six lessons. Three of these filmed lessons were included in the total number of films for the month. The Wintergarden showed each film for a week providing ‘a pictorial lesson in the ‘Charleston’ by Arthur Murray, the world’s best known dancing master’ (6.7.26:14). The total did not include a ‘Film Showing ‘Miss Brisbane’ (Miss Josie Townsend) in artistic poses’ that was shown for three days at the Tivoli along with two feature films and the variety entertainers Bluett and ‘Mo’ (8.7.26:2). This proliferation of Miss Australias coincided with the personal appearance of the Miss Australia finalists at the Wintergarden and Valley. These personal appearances accompanied both the afternoon and night sessions and were described as a series of ‘exquisite poses, in bathing gowns and modern creations’ (26.7.26:2). The Majestic, advertising that their films were on ‘screen continuously’ and changing their programme every three to five days, had the highest total of individual titles at thirty-six (8.7.26:2). They offered the largest sessions, with sometimes up to six different films and the addition of such live acts as the ‘Pantomime Kiddies’ (1.7.26:2). And as if to keep the entertainment varied, other additional entertainment included the Monks of St. Bernard, an ‘octette [sic] that charms with mellow chantings’ which played at the Tivoli for a week (19.7.26:2).

With the totals from theatre and variety entertainment well down in November 1926, the quota of live performance increased in the cinemas, where the Majestic offered ‘Circus and Pictures’ on stage twice daily, with two films ‘on the Screen Continuously’ plus ‘Cracknell’s Animal Circus’ (1.11.26:2). The Tivoli, Wintergarden, Valley and Majestic consistently offered ‘on stage’ attractions in addition to the films. Where the films would change every
three days the live performance would change once a week. The Wintergarden included on its bill ‘Tivoli Celebrity Stars’ like the Southern Revue (1.11.26:2), Jack Merlin the ‘Mystifying Card Manipulator’ (15.11.26:2) and the 3 Equals ‘Hand Tumblers and Aerial Trapeze Artists Extraordinary’ (22.11.26:2). Later in the month, the Sunshine Kiddies staged Robinson Crusoe, a Christmas Pantomime ‘in two gigantic acts and four sumptuous scenes’ on stage at the Majestic in conjunction with four films (27.11.26:2). The film total for this month was ninety-eight and included lessons five and six of Arthur Murray’s The Charleston, episodes of The Fighting Ranger, the cartoon Felix, the Cat and the specialist film The Eucharistic Congress, Chicago. Of these ninety-eight films, forty-nine of them had repeated screenings bringing the total number of monthly screenings to one hundred and forty-seven. Placing advertisements roughly every second day and offering between two to three films per session, the Savoy had the highest number of films with thirty-four for the month. The Majestic offered thirty-three. At the other end of the spectrum, His Majesty’s ran Greenhide in a one-off, week-long screening produced and presented by Charles Chauvel with one of the film’s two stars, Elsie Sylvaney ‘appearing in person’. In addition to Greenhide there was also a four-reel O. Henry comedy entitled The Non-Stop Bride (24.11.26:20). For the last Friday and Saturday nights, but not included in the total number of films offered this month, there were scenes filmed at local beaches.

The overlap of cinema and variety continued in March 1929. The Savoy was used by the Sunshine Kiddies to present the pantomime Prince Charming and a musical comedy Cohen and Son at the beginning of the month (1.3.29:2) and then continued its role as a cinema. In conjunction with film screenings the Valley, Tivoli, Wintergarden and Majestic provided ‘on stage’ entertainment. The Sun Kwong Wah Troupe and ‘Xylophone melodists’ the Janetski Trio had week-long appearances at both the Tivoli and Valley (4.3.29:2) and the Valley and Wintergarden had a week of Tommy McAuliffe ‘The Armless Golfing Wonder’ (11.3.29:2). Other weekly variety acts included the Fredo Brothers ‘Comedy Acrobatic Violinists’ at the Wintergarden (18.3.29:2), J J. Collins ‘The Juggler Inimitable’ at the Tivoli (11.3.29:2) and ‘The Bush Brothers, Trampoline Comedians’ at the Valley (1.3.29:2). The total number of films for this month was ninety-seven, including the Final Test Match which was shown for two evenings at the Tivoli (20.3.29:2), an ‘Associate Feature’ entitled Lost in the Arctic, ‘A Dramatic Film record of the Snow Arctic Expedition that went to ascertain the

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fate of survivors of the Stefansson Expedition' (26.3.29:2) and Cleopatra ‘A Short Coloured Subject’ (30.3.29:2). Of the total, forty-seven of them had repeat screenings bringing the total number of films offered during the month to one hundred and forty-four. The Savoy had the largest variety of films with twenty-six different films, two per session changing every second day. The Majestic, which had thirty-three films in the November 1926 survey, had only nineteen this month.

Seventy-nine titles were advertised in July 1929, forty-four of the films had repeated screenings and sessions at other cinemas bringing the total up to one hundred and twenty-three. This total included ‘All Talkie Short Features’, Bath Between, King of Spain and Kentucky Jubilee Singers which were shown at the newly sound-furnished Savoy (19.7.29:2), ‘Big Star Feature’ The World Builds A Car which was advertised at seven suburban cinemas, with two showings at the Imperial and the Hollywood and only one at each of the other cinemas (2,7.29:2). The total does not include ‘Talkie Featurettes’, ‘Johnnie Marvin Sings...’, ‘Gus Edward’s Revue in Technicolour - Speech and Song’, ‘Bob Nelson in Popular Numbers’ and Spatalny’s Band plays the latest Jazz Items’ which supported Alias Jimmy Valentine at the Savoy (29.7.29:2). The Valley had the most titles with twenty-two, the Savoy had twenty and the New Majestic, previously advertising as the Majestic, had eighteen. These totals per cinema represented a significant decrease from previous months as the focus changed to running films for longer periods of time and thereby showing a lesser diversity of titles. The Tivoli began to run week-long sessions and the Wintergarden ran a session of five films for three weeks. This decrease can also be attributed to showing less films per session as a means of offering a wider variety of entertainment options. The Tivoli, with fifteen titles, advertised its policy of ‘having a diversified programme’ with a mixed bill ‘comprising a ‘talkie’ film, a silent picture, a vaudeville turn on the stage, and delightful music by the orchestra’ (30.7.29:7). Thus variety acts were also on the decrease, with the most oft-mentioned performances being John Kentall’s ‘Strong Man Act’ for a week at the New Majestic, the Tivoli’s ‘Specialty Dancers’, the Valley’s acrobatic act ‘The 3 Freehands’ (1.7.29:2) and ‘The False Alarm Fire Company’ (15.7.29:2).

The total number of film titles for November 1929 was ninety-eight. Forty-nine of these titles had repeat screenings, bringing the overall total to one hundred and forty-seven. Included in these titles was Tarzan, The Mighty, however since each chapter was not
identified in each succeeding advertisement, it was only included once, despite the fact that the
advertisements probably refer to a number of different chapters (1.11.29:2). Other titles
included a bill of ‘Four Special Supporting Talkies’ shown at the Wintergarden (1.11.29:2),
The Bishop’s Candlesticks ‘an all-talking excerpt from Les Miserables’, College Chums, ‘a
snappy musical offering’, Favourite Melodies and Old Black Joe, an ‘all-talking and singing
cartoon’ (1.11.29:19). Two ‘talkie shorts’ entitled Duce de Kerekjarto a ‘world-famous violin
virtuoso’ and William O’Neill a ‘musical comedy star’ were also included (4.11.29:22). Those
titles left off the list include an untitled item shown at the Lyceum described as ‘Hear and See
Lloyd George, England’s Eloquent Speaker - Kissing the Blarney Stone’ (20.11.29:2), ‘Talkie
Featurettes’ of Hungarian tenor Joseph Diskay and Broadway melodists Sanderson and
Crumit which were shown at the Wintergarden with two films (23.11.29:2) and a ‘special
edition of Fox Movietone News’ entitled ‘Pilgrimage to Lourdes’ at the Regent (30.11.29:2).
While the cinema total was down to twelve as compared to sixteen for the previous survey
period, the film title total increased since July, but levelled out from the peak that occurred in
November 1923. This was because not all suburban cinemas advertised in the Courier and
those that did, like the Arcadia, Astor and Elite Pictures only ran advertisements on Saturday
making it is impossible to ascertain exactly how many films they screened. Occasionally these
Saturday advertisements included information about a weekly screening, but this was a rare
and random occurrence. Two factors contributed to this total. Firstly the tendency to offer the
same films for longer periods of time, the Lyceum and Valley now had weekly sessions
(1.11.29:2), the New Majestic varied its screenings between either a week or a fortnight, while
the Wintergarden began changing its programme fortnightly (9.11.29:2) and both of them
offered ‘4 sessions daily’ (1.11.29:2). Secondly, it became a practice for two different cinemas
to show the same films simultaneously. This tendency, which had never been the case
previously, occurred eleven times. The Leatherneck was shown simultaneously at His
Majesty’s and the Savoy (1.11.29:2), The Voice of the City at the Savoy and Astor (2.11.29:2), Masked Emotions at three cinemas the Savoy, Astor and Elite Pictures
(9.11.29:2), Down at the Lyceum and Savoy (11.11.29:2), The Pagan at the Savoy and Astor
(16.11.29:2), both The Melbourne Cup of 1929 and Early Mourning overlapped at the Savoy
and Lyceum (18.11.29:2), Fox Movietone Follies of 1929 at the Lyceum and Savoy
(22.11.29:2), Desert Nights at the Savoy and Astor (23.11.29:2), Black Magic at the Savoy
and Astor and *Four Devils* at the Astor and Lyceum (30.11.29:2). At its opening, the Regent presented five titles. The central feature was the *Fox Movietone Follies of 1929* and the supporting features were *The Man Higher Up*, a comedy entitled *Early Mourning, The Melbourne Cup of 1929* and a speech by the Prime Minister entitled *Mr. Scullin’s Speech*, all of which were included in the month’s film total (8.11.29:3). Eight days after its opening, the Regent was proving so popular that they announced their intention to ‘inaugurate a new continuous policy’ with sessions running continuously from 10:00 a.m. till 10:30 p.m. (15.11.29:2). While the overall incidents of vaudeville decreased as the cinemas embraced a more mixed entertainment bag, the tendency to combine films with live entertainment continued. The Valley offered two films and an ‘on-stage’ performance (1.11.29:2) and the Regent took this policy of mixed entertainments to new heights offering four films, of varying lengths, an Orchestra, the ‘Great Wurlitzer Organ, and Stage Presentations’ (7.11.29.2).

**Prices**

Cinemas rarely advertised their prices, employing phrases like ‘ordinary picture prices’ (13.3.20:2). Of the seven cinemas advertising in March 1920, only West’s Olympia mentions its prices as Dress Circle and Reserved Stalls 2/, Orchestral Stalls 1/6 and Back Stalls 1/. All prices were plus tax, with an extra 6d., booking fee (27.3.20:2). In July 1920 the Lyceum advertised itself as the ‘Naval Picture Company’ with money from ticket sales going to ‘help Returning Sailors’ (1.7.20:2), while the Tivoli’s promotion for *The Miracle Man* noted that it ‘could not be shown in Australia until a guarantee was given that this picture would not be shown at less than one shilling for adults!’ (5.7.20:2). In November 1920 when the Rivoli and Lyceum advertised at 9d., 1/6 and children half-price (29.11.20:2), the prices at the Lyceum were apparently above average as the manager took the unusual step of submitting an open letter to the newspaper addressed to Picture Patrons:

I’ve taken on a tough proposition, but I’m out to win - I have the essentials. Whatever opinion - good or bad - you have of my location - forget it - just give me a chance to prove:- I have the best programme, the coolest theatre, and that I’m giving a fair deal. The programme is expensive, but nothing but the best suits me and you are the same...I want the same distinguished patronage of old days. I want to know you personally - have a talk over the phone with me.....My partner and myself both saw
The Majestic advertised a price increase due to 'the enormous expenditure incurred in securing' The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse and the 'cost of producing this magnificent photoplay'. These advertised prices were 1/ Stalls, 2/ Dress Circle (plus tax) for the day sessions and 1/6 and 2/6 respectively (plus tax) for the night sessions (17.3.23:2). Other advertised prices included the suburban Clayfield Open-Air Theatre at 1/7½ for Lounge Chairs and 10d., Back Seats and children. Included within this advertisement was the statement 'We pay tax' indicating that tax was included in the advertised prices (2.3.23:2).

In July 1923, the Elite offered both pictures and vaudeville for 9d., 1/, 1/6, children half price and 2/ (Res) (7.7.23:2). The 'Grand Opening Night' of the Valley Theatre advertised the 'Popular Prices' of Stalls 9d., and Dress Circle 1/6, plus tax (23.7.23:2). One of the month's big movies, Robin Hood, advertised matinee prices at - Stalls 1/6, Dress Circle 2/6 and Evening 2/ and 3/ (plus tax). Children were half price at the matinee only (21.7.23:2). The other big feature film for the month, Oliver Twist, was promoted in a special advertisement revealing that while it had been shown at 'advanced prices of admission' in 'every other capital city of Australia', in Brisbane or more specifically 'at the Majestic, it will be screened at our usual prices' namely day session Stalls 9d., Dress Circle 1/6 and night session Stalls 1/ and Dress Circle 2/ plus tax, with children admitted at the matinee for 4d. (28.7.23:2).

In November 1923, with His Majesty's doubling as a cinema, prices ranged from 3/, 2/, 1/ with a 6d., extra booking fee (10.11.23:3). The Elite charged 9d., 1/, 1/6 with children half price (12.11.23:2). In March 1926 advertised cinema prices at the Majestic were 1/ Stalls, 1/6 Circle and sixpence for children (4.3.26:2). These prices increased to 2/ with the inclusion of Syd Fayne and 'his merry minstrels' on the programme (8.3.26:2), but were as little as 6d., for a pantomime in conjunction with pictures (22.3.26:2). In July 1926 the Savoy offered 'special prices of Admission' at 2/ and 1/ for two films (6.7.26:2), while the Majestic, with between four and six films and 'on-stage' entertainment charged 2/,- 1/ and 6d., for children (22.7.26:2). His Majesty's operated as a cinema for one week charging 4/, 3/ and 2/ for the evening shows and 3/, 2/ and 1/ for the matinee. The one time in November 1926 that the Majestic includes its prices, they were 1/ for Stalls and 1/6 for Circle (22.11.26:2). Prices for Chauvel's Greenhide at His Majesty's were 4/, 3/, 2/ for night sessions and 3/, 2/ and 1/ for matinees.
Mothers with children were encouraged by the management to ‘attend the afternoon sessions in order to avoid the crush in the evenings’ and by the fact that children were only half price at the matinees (23.11.26:5).

In March 1929 the Majestic advertised two films plus ‘The Joybells Revue’ at 2 (11.3.29:2), while in July the Valley began four sessions daily with admission prices dictated by session times. From 10:00 a.m. until 12:00 noon the Valley charged Stalls 1/9. from 12:00 until 4:30 p.m., Stalls were 1/3 and Circle 2/ and from 4:30 onwards Stalls were 1/6, Back Circle 2/5/ and Front Circle 3/3 (1.7.29:2). The Tivoli created ‘Morning Shoppers’ Session’ which gave people an opportunity to see the show at cheaper prices (2.7.29:2). The Savoy, the first suburban cinema equipped for sound, advertised as ‘Talkies Right In Your Own Suburb At Less Than City Prices’ (20.7.29:2). These prices were 1/, 2/, 2/5/ (Res), 6 d., 1/, 1/3 children, 1/3, 2/5½ Saturdays and holidays (25.7.29:2).

In November 1929 the Savoy advertised weekly prices at 2/, 1/ (1.11.29:2) and Saturday prices at Adults 1/3, 2/ and 2/5/ (Res) (2.11.29:2). The Lyceum, now trading under the title ‘Lyceum Talkies’, charged 1/ and 1/6 on Saturdays (1.11.29:2) and one shilling during the week (18.11.29:2). The Wintergarden provided ‘shopper’s sessions’ which offered lower prices to early morning sessions (9.11.29:2). The main news in cinema this month was the opening of the Regent. Offering their audiences five titles, admission at during week days and Saturdays was Stalls 1/. Lounge and Dress Circle 2/; children 9d. The Evening Sessions differed according to the time of the week. On week nights: Stalls 1/6, Reserved Stalls 2/. Lounge Circle 3/6 and Dress Circle 2/5/ and on Saturdays and Holidays. Stalls 2/5½. Reserved Stalls 3/3, Lounge and Dress Circle 4/4 (1.11.29:2).

Promotion/Sponsorship

Cinema owners made a concerted effort to associate their product with sophistication and class. Accordingly, a number of cinemas underwent extensive renovations which were advertised in the following manner:

Tomorrow, the Strand, as you have known it, will be a thing of the past. Tomorrow, you will know a New Strand - The Strand De Luxe, the Rendezvous Des Elite, the Centre of Attraction and the ‘Mecca’ of the Movie Fan (5.3.20:2).
Similarly, the renovated Majestic was accorded a poetic introduction:

Renovated throughout.
It is, without doubt.
More sumptuous, more comfort than ever.
Super-features have been
Picked out for our screen -
Your pleasure is our sole endeavour (6.3.20:2).

If sophistication and class were not enough, then the Strand was prepared to take a step further to align their product with Art.

The introduction of artistic accessories to the motion picture, and the artistic presentation of the motion picture itself, are significant of the success of the service deluxe at present in vogue at the Strand. The combination of artistic pictures, artistic accessories, and artistic music is a new form of entertainment that is effective to the highest degree. These innovations at the Strand de Luxe have influenced the entire community for - Quality Attracts Quality (12.3.20:2).

And again.

Just as the genius of Shakespeare, of Dickens, of Thackeray, won the acclaim of the public for literature as a field of art - so today have the people of Brisbane come to recognise in the Strand de Luxe, entertainment, that artistry which is born of genius and the highest artistic ideals (13.3.20:2).

Cinema's direct competitor, the theatre, was dismissed in throwaway phrases like the description of De Luxe Annie as 'A Great Stage Play. A Better Screen Play' (15.3.20:2). The spread of cinemas from city to suburb and film's upward social projection was foreshadowed in an advertisement entitled 'Contemplated Suburban Picture Theatres'. In this advertisement Messrs. Stephens and Munro, seeking investors for a chain of suburban cinemas, were eager to disassociate their product from its lowly origins and predict its upward mobility:

The Motion Picture Industry is now recognised as coming to stay...A better class people is now attracted to the 'movies.' and better theatres are required...With the class of building proposed to be erected, municipal councils would certainly lodge objections (20.3.20:2).

With His Majesty's doubling as a cinema for the season of The Covered Wagon...
advertisements coined the language of the real:- ‘Actually in the Picture are:- 1000 Arapheo Indians, 750 Plainsmen, 500 Wagon Drivers.....And They Are All Real!’ This accent on the real was placed even closer to home with the addendum that ‘[p]rominent local artists and vocalists will be seen’ (10.11.23:3). The hyperbole surrounding this picture continued when it was ‘Acclaimed as the Greatest Picture ever Seen in Brisbane!’ and it was reported that Saturday’s audience had stood and applauded for several minutes - ‘Surely a wonderful tribute to a motion picture’ (12.11.23:2). Publicity went to new heights with such stunts as escapologist Raymond the Great attempting to ‘Prove that no Indian can tie him to a stake to burn!’ and offering £5 ‘to any one who can tie him with a rope so that he cannot escape inside 5 minutes!’ (15.11.23:2). The following day it was reported that Raymond had indeed been challenged by P.O. Charles Young of the Royal Australian Navy ‘to escape from ropes tied by him in navy fashion’ (16.11.23:2).

For screenings of Greenhide, much was made of the film’s local connections and its cast of ‘Well-Known Queenslanders’ (24.11.26:20). For the last Friday and Saturday nights of this screening, His Majesty’s advertised scenes filmed at local beaches:

See Yourselves on the Screen. If you were at Scarborough, Redcliffe, or Sutton last Sunday you are perhaps now posing on the screen at His Majesty’s Theatre where the Miss Mermaid competitions are being held in conjunction with the Greenhide programme (26.11.26:2).

The degree to which the stakes had increased in the film business was apparent in an advertisement placed by Paramount Pictures which recommended ‘Shopping’ for the best pictures’ with Paramount as ‘the brand-name’ to look for (16.11.23:2). Throughout March 1929 Paramount Pictures advertised their product, without mentioning the cinemas where they would be playing, using the slogan ‘If It’s A Paramount Picture It’s The Best Show In Town’ (2.3.29:20). Also, included in the five pages devoted to the opening of the Regent Theatre in November 1929 were advertisements on forthcoming presentations from Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer and Fox Movietone.

This rise of sound became an influential factor in the promotion of cinema. The Wintergarden ran slogans like ‘Most Dynamic All-Talking Drama Ever Made’ to advertise Interference, while His Majesty’s had a ‘Special Talkie Season’ of Alias Jimmy Valentine. The advertising focus of Alias Jimmy Valentine was its status as a talking picture and its origins in
theatre - 'See! Hear! As a play - it broke world-wide records. As a talking picture - it is even more thrilling and appealing' (1.7.29:2). The Tivoli’s combination of sound and image, 'with the creme of stage vaudeville, silent screen and musical features' enabled the Tivoli to advertise 'an entirely new conception of entertainment values' (8.7.29:2). The Savoy ran a series of advertisements informing the public of their forthcoming potential for sound: 'Savoy Theatre Deluxe, Clayfield, Are Now Installing Western Electrics Super Talking Equipment, And Promise You Something Special on July 22nd' (6.7.29:2) and 'Cheering News! Savoy Talkies Opening Monday' (8.7.29:2). Closed for two days 'for the purpose of conducting extensive tests with the Western Electric Talking Equipment' (13.7.29:2), the Savoy's reopening was advertised as 'Talkies Right In Your Own Suburb At Less Than City Prices' (20.7.29:2).

Advertised news gazettes included footage of 'Hun submarine warfare taken from the deck of U35, and actually showing the sinking of five Allied Liners' (27.3.20:2). Other specialised features included *Auction of Souls*, which was promoted as 'The True Story of Ravished Armenia' (20.3.20:2), *New Jerusalem - Palestine* which showed the return of the 'Chosen People' to their land 'actually at work restoring the country to its former glory' (12.11.23:2) and *The Eucharistic Congress, Chicago*, described as 'The Most Gigantic And Impressive Religious Gathering of Modern Times' (18.11.26:2). In July 1929 seven suburban cinemas advertised *The World Builds A Car* which traced 'the development of transportation from the earliest days up to the present, and the dependence of trade, and civilisation upon transportation' (2.7.29:2). Cinema also employed other means of attracting patrons. The New Lyceum offered 'First Series Ladies' Screen Competitions' (29.11.20:2), and nine years later the Tivoli held a Doll Dressing Competition in conjunction with the screening of *The Glad Rag Doll* (15.11.29:2) and an 'Alsatian Shepherd Dog Competition' during the showing of the Rin-Tin-Tin film *The Million Dollar Collar* (4.11.29:2).

**Technology**

That the only differences noted across the decade dealing with technology falls completely within the category of film is a clear indication of the rising capabilities and correspondent attractions that film offered to the public in the 1920s and subsequently the effects on the Australian live theatre industry of the arrival of the 'talkies'. In July 1920 the Lyceum Theatre
became the New Lyceum after extensive remodelling by the United Amusement Enterprises. The work was reported in the following fashion:

The new Lyceum, the management states will be renovated on modern lines, and special decoration and screening effects will be introduced, while a new lighting system will ensure that patrons shall not suffer eye strain. A specially selected symphony orchestra will be an additional attraction (26.7.20:12).

The bulk of the information regarding technology comes from the final surveyed year and coincides with the introduction of sound. The Climax Radio Salon advertised a public demonstration of 'Voltone' a 'Double Motored Gramophone, specially designed for use in Picture Theatres and Dance Halls' at the Alhambra Theatre in Stone's Corner. This invention, a Queensland design, was promoted as being of 'particular interest to every picture theatre and dance hall proprietor' since it enabled the music to 'be instantly switched from one record to another to meet the varying movement of the plot of the picture' (23.3.29:2). Lines like 'Cinesound is Coming!' began to appear in advertisements (7.3.29:2). The Wintergarden placed an advertisement declaring 'Cinesound, The Marvel of this Marvellous Age' since through it 'the foremost entertainers of the age relive before you - they act, talk, sing, and play - like human beings in the flesh! Talking pictures!' This declaration coincided with the first sound film, Al Jolson's Jazz Singer, at the Wintergarden on April the 20th (25.3.29:2).

The effect of this technological revolution began to make its presence felt in the daily news items in the Courier. The 'Music and Drama' column printed D. W. Griffith's opinion 'that the 'talkies' will put the legitimate stage out of business within five years' in conjunction with John Tait's counter-opinion that the 'talkies' 'will not triumph over the sense of human touch that can never be secured by the screen' (2.3.29:23). An item entitled 'Talking Films', dateline 'Melbourne, July 4', announced that '15 of the principal suburban picture theatres would be fitted with apparatus for talking films'. In addition it reported that a 'talkie' plant was to be installed at Albury, a move which would 'affect musicians in the suburban theatres, who may be dismissed and mechanical music introduced' (5.7.29:6). This concern for the employment of live musicians was reiterated in a number of articles. It was reported that the theatrical newspaper Variety had pointed out 'that a year ago there were 1500 musicians engaged in Chicago theatres, that only 65 of them have since lost their positions because of sound pictures, and that more than that number have been absorbed during the year into radio
work' (23.3.29:23). Other items took reflected the high art concern of some musicians. It was reported that Dr Malcolm Sargent, the conductor-in-chief of the Royal Choral Society, musical director of the Leicester Symphony Orchestra, Professor of the Royal College of Music and conductor of the British National Opera Company had turned down 'a salary of £7000 a year to conduct three 10-minute sessions daily at a London picture theatre', because while he desired 'better music at picture theatres', such a forum would not attract 'the special interest of musical people'. The Courier reported that 'others' regretted this decision since the cinema provided an opportunity to foster an appreciation of 'good music' in a public that may not otherwise attend an orchestral concert, after all if a person 'hears nothing but musical piffle he cannot be expected to appreciate a work by Richard Strauss at the first performance' (23.3.29:27). Later in the year it was reported that a revolt against 'tinned music in houses of entertainment' was in full swing in London, where patrons were frequenting cinemas which had silent films and live music over and above cinemas with 'talkies' and mechanical music. While the article conceded that this 'revolt' 'may be no more than a transient movement', it disproved 'the argument put forth by cinema proprietors that people who do not mind seeing the actor reduced to a shadow on a screen will not object if the musician is converted into an echo from a box' (30.11.29:25).

A letter to the editor commenting on an earlier article revealed that a number of picture show proprietors who wished to install a machine made in Australia, were threatened with not being supplied 'the talkie films now being made by the American companies unless an undertaking is given that the films shall be presented by means of an American-made machine'. The letter-writer, who identified themselves only as a 'Dinkum Aussie', implored the Government to place 'a prohibitive tariff on the imported article' and to 'legislate that in future 75 per cent of films shown in Australia must be British, leaving 25 per cent for the foreign trade' as a means of 'keeping a large amount of money within the Empire' and avoiding two hours stretches of 'the American nasal twang' (11.7.29:9). This concern for the future of our pronunciation was commented on in another letter to the editor in which a Philip O'Bryen Hoare wished 'to draw attention to a very great danger prevalent in our midst', namely 'the terrible American speech as evidenced in the 'talkies'' (6.7.29:19).

Two motion picture executives added to the incidents of film making it into the category of general news. Mr Cecil Marks, the General Sales Manager for United Artists
(Australia) Ltd., commented on 'the future of the talking films' on his visit to Brisbane saying they 'have definitely come to stay':

In Sydney they have been creating something approaching a furore, and at the present time only the first-class silent films have been getting through. In fact they have been setting such a pace that what were silent film theatres have been wired up (to use a technical term) in order to keep going (6.7.29:19).

The other executive, Mr N. Bernard Freeman, the Managing Director of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, was returning to Australia 'following an intensive survey of the motion picture industry in the United States'. Reiterating the previous comments, Mr Freeman remarked while 'that the 'talkies' had usurped the place held by the silent picture', while there remained 'a great number of theatres in every country that were unwired, and likely to remain so indefinitely'. 'the non-talkie picture was still a force to be reckoned with':

It would not be the same as the former silent picture, however, as it would have every necessary sound effect plus a full musical accompaniment synchronised to its action.

He also remarked on the 'surprisingly increased influx of English artists', due to 'the voice purity of English stage performers, allied to real ability, they were filling more and more important roles every day' (10.7.29:10). This emphasis on the voice was reiterated in the Courier's weekly column 'The World of Pictures' in which it was reported that Hollywood movie stars were studying 'stage diction' to meet 'competition from the invasion of Broadway theatre names' and singing and dancing to follow 'the trend of the 'talkies' towards musical comedy' (20.7.29:25).

The Tivoli reiterated its 'recent installation' of a Cinesound system at a cost of £14,000 and in addition advertised that it had imported and installed 'an invention that REVOLUTIONISES ALL PRE-CONCEIVED IDEAS IN SCREEN ILLUMINATION.' This un-named device - 'an advance in the science of projection' purported to sweep 'the Silver Sheet with flood upon flood of soft, but searching light, that REVEALS TO ITS FULLEST EVERY TINY DETAIL OF THE PICTURE - YET IT ENTIRELY ELIMINATES EYE-STRAIN (8.7.29:2).

The day after the Savoy reopened as the first suburban cinema in Brisbane equipped for sound, the Courier reported that nowhere 'in the city has there been a more successful installation' of a sound system and that the programme which included a 'lengthy gazette, a
comedy, and the feature picture *In Old Arizona*, provided ample scope for a severe test of the efficiency of the plant, and a harmony of a clever troupe of Negro minstrels was unmistakable proof that the tone reproduction was well nigh perfect*. The report also noted ‘that managers of practically every suburban theatre were in attendance’ thereby providing ‘evidence of the general interest that was taken in the installation from a suburban theatre point of view’ (23.7.29:15). Seven days after its reopening it described itself as ‘Brisbane’s Popular Talkie Theatre’ (29.7.29:2). Other cinemas must have begun to feel the pinch. The New Majestic began including the line ‘Watch For Cinesound’ within their advertisements (23.7.29:2). While the Melba Theatre used its lack of sound as an advertising feature proclaiming: ‘We Show Silents Only’ (6.7.29:2) and describing itself as ‘The House of the Silents’ (18.7.29:2) and (27.7.29:2).

By November 1929 the Tivoli advertised as ‘All Talking’ and their standard bill included two ‘talkie’ features, the Tivoli Orchestra, an on-stage performance and the ‘Paramount Sound News’ (1.11.29:2). The Lyceum now traded as ‘Lyceum Talkies’ (1.11.29:2). At the beginning of the month, His Majesty’s Theatre advertised a ‘Special Talkie Season’ that ran for the first Friday and Saturday of the month (1.11.29:2), until it went back to operating as a theatre. Silent films continued to be advertised, the Savoy showed a ‘talkie’ film with an ‘Associate Silent Feature’ (2.11.29:2) and the Melba traded as ‘The House of Superior-Silents’ (16.11.29:2). Meanwhile it was reported that paid-up capital for Spencer’s Pictures Limited, one of the Union Theatres Group, had increased for the last year from £177,660 to £297,714 (26.11.29:12) and the first ‘[e]xperimental television transmission’ was recorded in London (18.11.29:3)
APPENDIX TWO

The following appendix relates to information discussed fully in Chapter Two. This appendix represents the empirical data gathered from the Brisbane Courier in March, July and November of 1920, 1923, 1926 and 1929. After each of the sections listing cinemas, there is a bracketed letter by which that cinema can then be recognised. In the list entitled Film, I have included a bracketed figure after the title which represents the amount of films surveyed for that monthly period. The bracketed information after each film title refers to the cinema and the dates at which the film screened. Thus, (P15-20) indicates that the film showed at the Pavilion from the 15th to the 20th or (L27) indicates that the film showed for one day only at the Lyceum. When the information finishes with a hyphen, rather than a number e.g. (P29-), this indicates that the film was still screening beyond the end of the month and the period surveyed. When the information includes a comma e.g. (WO20,22-26), this indicates that the film screened at West’s Olympia on Saturday the 20th, no advertisement was included for Sunday the 21st and it continued screening from Monday 22nd until Friday 26th.

March 1920

Theatres:
Theatre Royal, Kate Howarde Presents, Possum Paddock
Variety Venues and Entertainment:
Fuller’s Empire Theatre.
Cremorne Garden Theatre, Town Topics.
Lyceum Theatre, Those American Boys.
Nundah Shire Hall; Harris’s Hall, Pinkenba, The Star Variety Entertainers.

Cinemas:
Cook’s Palace Theatre, opp. Brunswick St. Station (Co).
Lyceum Theatre, George Street (L).
The Majestic (M).
Pavilion (P).
Strand, Queen Street (S).
Tivoli Theatre (T).
West’s Olympia (WO).

Films: (54)
Are Married Policemen Safe? (L27)
Auction of Souls (WO20,22-26)
Backstage (T18-20)
Back to God’s Country (WO20,22-26) (M22-27)
Beating the Public (L27)
Betrayed (L20,22-26)
Blindfolded (P15-20)
Civilization (T18-20)
Courageous Coward (St20,22-26)
The Cure (P18-20)
The Dark Star (T22-24)
De-luxe Annie (WO13,15-19) (M15-20)
Destiny (P22-24)
Eastward Ho (T25-27)
Evans Vs. Jamito (P22-27)
The Fear Woman (S16-12)
Forbidden (P8-13)
Full of Pep (P15-20)
The Great Romance (WO6) (M8-13)
The Heart of Youth (T11-13)
The Illustrious Prince (S16-12)
Intolerance (C13,15-19)
Josselyn’s Wife (S120,22-26)
The Jungle Trail (T1-3)
The Law of Men (T29-)
The Lion’s Den (P25-27)
The Love Burglar (T11-13)
Magda (WO1-5)
The Maker of Souls (T1-3)
The Merry-Go-Round (T15-17)
The Misleading Widow (T4-6)
New York Peacock (L27)
One of the Finest (St1-5)
Over the Garden Wall (St13,15-19)
The Rescuing Angel (T18-20)
Rose of the West (T4-6)
Salome Vs. Shenandoah (T25-27)
Sis Hopkins (St27,29-)
Spotlight Sadie (St13,15-19)
The Struggle Everlasting (P8-13)
Suspense (P1-6)
The Test of Honor (T29-)
This Hero Stuff (St1-5)
Told in the Hills (T18-20)
Toton (St27,29-)
Up in Alf's Place (T4-6)
Upstiers (P29-)
Wagon Tracks (T15-17)
Western Blood (L20,22-26)
The Witness for the Defence (T25-27)
The Wolf (P29-)
Woman and Wife (M29-)
You Never Saw Such A Girl (T22-24)

July 1920

Theatres:
His Majesty's, J. & N. Tait, Bailey & Grant, Mother Hubbard, JCW, Lightin'.
Theatre Royal, Ben and John Fuller Limited, The Boss Cockie.

Variety Venues and Entertainment:
Fuller's Empire Theatre.
Cremorne Gardens, Town Topics.
Centennial Hall, The Famous Gallipoli Strollers.
Colosseum Theatre, Varieté.
Wirth's Circus, Stanley Street, South Brisbane.

Cinemas:
Empire (Em)
Lyceum (L)
Majestic (M)
Pavilion, Paddington (P)
Strand (St)
Tivoli (T)
West's Olympia (WO)

Films: (63)
A Day's Pleasure (St31-)
The Adventurer (T15-17)
An Adventure in Hearts (T9-10) (L13-14)
A Girl Named Mary (T9-10) (L13-14)
The Amazing Imposter (St24,26-30)
A Man of Honour (P5-10)
The Better Wife (M1-3)
Black is White (T22-24) (L26)
Boxing Tournament (L19-21)
The Cinema Murder (T15-17) (L19-21)
Dancing Girl (L15-17)
The Dawn of Love (St10-16)
The Dub (L8-10)
Faith (St1-2)
The Feud (T30-)
For Better For Worse (L8-10)
Garage (L1-3)
The Gentleman Rider (P1-3)
Ginger Mick (WO3-9) (P12-17)
The Gray Wolf's Ghost (St17-23)
The Greatest Question (WO17) (M19-24)
The Grey Horizon (St3-9)
The Grocery Clerk (M1-3)
The Hornet's Nest (St24,26-30)
Her Kingdom of Dreams (St3-9)
Huckleberry Finn (T26-29)
Hungry Lions and Tender Hearts (T1-3)
In the Hollow of her Hand (M12-17)
It Pays to Advertise (T19-21) (L22-24)
Jacques of the Silver North (M5-10)
The Jazz Monkey (T22-24)
November 1920

Theatres:
His Majesty's, The Courtneidge Comedy Company, *The Man From Toronto, Saving Grace*.
Centennial Hall, Brisbane Shakespeare Society, *Othello*.

Variety Venues and Entertainment:
Fuller's Empire Theatre.
Cremorne Theatre, *Town Topics*.
Palace Theatre, *Sparklers*.
Centennial Hall, Recital by the pupils of Miss Barbara Sisley.
Albert Hall, 4th Annual Recital by Elsie M. Fisher and pupils.

Cinemas:
Elite Picture Theatre, Wooloowin (El)
Majestic (M)
New Lyceum, George Street (L)

Films: (65)
*A Midnight Bride* (WO13,15-17)
*A Temperamental Wife* (M1-6)
*Away Goes Prudence* (T15-17) (P18-20)
*Beating Cheaters* (T4-6)
*The Beggar Prince* (St6,8-12)
*The Best of Luck* (St1-5)
*Better Times* (WO27,29-)
*The Black Circle* (P8-10)
*By Golly* (T22-24)
*Calibre 38* (M29-)
*Captain Swift* (WO20,22-27) (M22-27)
*The Cheaters* (St20,22-26)
*Children Not Wanted* (M29-)
The City of Masks (T18-20) (P22-24)
Code of the Yukon (WO6,8-12)
The Country Cousin (L29-)
Damaged Goods (El17)
Daredevil Cracksman (T1-3)
Easy to Make Money (L11,13,15-16)
Firebrand Trevision (T11-13)
Follow the Girl (T15-17)
The Gay Lord Quex (M15-20)
The Great Radium Mystery (P4-6) (P11-13) (P18-20)
His Wife’s Money (L25-27)
Homer Comes Home (T11-13) (P15-17)
The Idol Dancer (St13,15-19)
The Inn of the Blue Moon (WO6,8-12)
In Old Kentucky (WO18-20,22-26) (St20,22-26)
Jack Straw (P1-3)
Jubilo (St6,8-12)
Kathleen Mavoureen (T4-6)
The Ladder of Lies (T8-10) (P11-13) (El17)
The Law that Divides (M15-20)
Lightning Raider (P1-3) (P8-10) (P15-17) (P22-24)
Mary Ellen Comes to Town (P1-3)
Melbourne Cup (1920) (T4-6)
Mistress Nell (P15-17)
My Dog Pol (T11-13)
Never Again (T29-)
Oh You East Lynne (T25-27)
The Perfect Lover (L11-13,15-16)
Pinto (St1-5)
Riders of Vengeance (T8-10)
Robbery Under Arms (WO27,29-)
School Days (WO13,15-17) (M15-20)
The Sea Wolf (T22-24) (P25-27,29-)
Shadow of Rosalie Byrnes (L17)
Should A Husband Forgive? (T29-)
Sick Abed (T25-27)
The Sins of St. Anthony (T18-20) (P22-24)
Sirens of the Sea (T25-27)
Social Ambition (WO13,15-17) (P18-20)
The Square Shooter (T22-24)
Strictly Confidential (M22-27)
Three X Gordon (St27,29-)
Training Target Centre (T8-10) (El17)
Vacation Time (T15-17)
When A Woman Loves (L25-27)
The White Circle (T29-)
Whitewashed Walls (M1-6)
Why Change Your Wife! (T1-3) (P4-6)
The Woman in Room 13 (St27,29-)
The Woman in the Suitcase (T4-6) (P8-10)
The Woman Wins (P11-13)
Youthful Folly (L18-20,22-24)
March 1923

Theatres:
New Theatre Royal, Reynolds de Tisne Players,
Brewster’s Millions, Turn to the Right,
The Boomerang, The Outcast, Under
Cover, The Marriage of Kitty.
His Majesty’s, JCW, Little Bo-Peep, A Night Out.

Variety Venues and Entertainment:
Fuller’s Empire Theatre.
Cremorne Theatre, Humphrey Bishop Comedy and
Operatic Company in Association with
Billy Maloney.
Elie Theatre, Barbara Sisley’s Farewell Recital.
Perry Bros, Circus and Zoo, Ann St., Valley.
Lyceum, Bedford Young’s Famous Panto kids in
The Doll’s Shop.

Cinemas:
Clayfield Open-Air Theatre (C)
Lyceum (L)
Majestic (M)
Merthyr Theatre. New Farm (Me)
New Princess Theatre, Annerley Road, South
Brisbane (Pr)
Pier Pictures, Redcliffe (Pi)
Rivoli, New Farm (R)
Savoy, Clayfield (S)
Tivoli (T)

Films: (82)
The Amazing Partnership (R15-17)
The Angel of Crooked Street (M1-2)
April Folly (S20-23)
A Question of Trust (R22-23)
A Special Hazard (L17)
A Sportsman’s Wife (S16)
A Yankee at the Court of King Arthur (M10,12-16)
(R24,26) (S31-)
Battling King (R29-30)
Blue Jacket’s Honor (Pr17)
The Bond Boy (M3,5-6) (S10,12) (Me17)
Boss of Camp 4 (T8-10) (S16) (R17,19)
The Breaking of the Drought (L24,26-30)
Broken Blossoms (R1-2) (S3,5)
Cameran of the Royal Mounted (R31-)
The Cave Girl (M28-30)
Come on Over (M24,26-27) (Pr29)
The Concert (S15-16)
The Country Flapper (M31-)
Curtain (M14-16) (S24,26)
The Delicious Little Devil (T1-3) (R10,12) (Pr10)
Divorce Coupons (S8-9)
Do and Dare (T15-17) (R24,26) (S27-28)
Don’t Shoot! (T12-14) (Pr17) (R20-21)
Don’t Write Letters (R13-14)
Dumbells (Pr10)
The Face in the Fog (T5-7) (S17,19)
The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse (M17,19-
23)
Get Out and Get Under (S1-2)
The Ghost Breaker (T12-14) (Me17) (S24,26)
Godless Men (M24,26-27)
Grandma’s Boy (S15-16)
The Gringo Devil (R1-2)
Her Gilded Cage (Pr1-2) (S10,12)
Her Night of Nights (C10)
Her Sturdy Oak (T22-24) (S27-28)
How Women Love (M10,12-13) (S29-30)
Jane Eyre (Pr3,5-9) (R13-14)
The Kentucky Colonel (Pr10) (R20-21)
Lazy Bones (R31-)
The Light in the Clearing (Pr31-)
Live Wires (Pr17)
The Loaded Door (Pr3,5-9) (R6-7)
The Love Gambler (T1-3) (R10,12) (S13-14)
The Love Light (M31-)
Man From Lost River (S1-2)
The Mark of Zorro (M3,5-9) (R15-17) (S17,19)
The Married Flapper (T19-21) (R27-28)
The Midnight Raiders (R8-9)
Mixed Faces (T22-24) (R31-)
The Model’s Confession (T5-7) (R8-9)
My Friend the Devil (M1-2) (S8-9) (R17,19)
One Empty Shell (R22-23)
The Ordeal of Rosetta (R6-7)
Out of the Silent North (C3)
Pink Gods (T19-21) (S31-)
Plaything of Broadway (Pr1-2)
The Pride of Palomar (T26-28) (Pr29)
Queenie (R29-30)
The Real Adventure (Me16)
Reckless Youth (Pi29-)
Restless Souls (S29-30)
Robinson Crusoe (Episode 10) (Pr10)
Robinson Crusoe (Episode 11) (Pr17)
Room and Board (T8-10) (S13-14)
Shanghaied (L24,26-30)
The Show (M31-)
The Siren Call (S3,5)
Skin Deep (M7-9) (Me16)
Steel Heart (M28-30)
Step Forward (M1-2)
Tol’able David (L10,12-16) (Pi29-)

99
The Tiger's Coat (Pr17) (R27-28)
The Top of the Morning (T29-)
The Truant Husband (R3,5)
Two Minutes to Go (L10,12-16)
Two Weeks With Pay (S6-7)
The Valley of Silent Men (T15-17) (S20-23)
Watch Him Step (T26-28) (Pr31-)
While Justice Waits (R3,5) (S6-7)
Without Compromise (T29-)
The Woman Untamed (S1-2)
The Wonderful Thing (LI7)

July 1923

Theatres:
His Majesty's, JCW, Cairo. Sally.
Elite Theatre, Brisbane Repertory Theatre. The Gay Lord Quez.
Albert Hall. Brisbane Shakespeare Society. A Night With the Classics.
Cremorne Theatre, UQ Drama Society. You Never Can Tell.

Variety Venues and Entertainment:
Fuller's Empire Theatre.
Cremorne Theatre, Town Topics.
Wirth's Circus and Zoo. Stanley Street, South Brisbane.
Elite Theatre, Miss E. Massey-Jackson's Pupils; Mr Walter Hunt's Children's Costume Comedy Co.

Cinemas:
Avro. Bulimba (A)
Elite (Lyceum) (E)
Imperial, Lutwyche (I/L)
Imperial, Nundah (I/N)
Lyric, West End (Ly)
Majestic (M)
Merllyr (Mo)
Mowbray Theatre, Kangaroo Pt. (Mo)
Princess, Sth Brisbane (Pr)
Rivoli (R)
Savoy (S)
Tivoli (T)
Valley Theatre, Duncan Street (V)

Films: (81)
A Friendly Husband (T19-21) (Ly27)
All's Fair in Love (M28,30-)
The Altar Stairs (R3-4)
A Man in a Million (Ly25)
Another Man's Shoes (S3-4) (Mo7)
Arabia (T5-7) (R14,16) (Ly14) (S17,18) (I/N28)
A Woman's Woman (I/L10) (I/N7)
Betsy's Burglar (A14)
Bob Norman The Placers (E7-10)
The Bonded Woman (Ly11)
Broadway Rose (T19-21) (R28,30)
Bucking the Barrier (Mo26) (Ly21) (S24-27) (R26,27)
Come On Over (E28)
The Dangerous Age (M7,9-14) (V17) (R21,23) (S28,30) (I/N28)
Dark Secrets (T2-4) (Mo10) (S14,16)
Deserted at the Altar (T26-28,30)
Doubling for Romeo (I/L21) (I/N24) (R26,27) (Mo28)
Dream Street (Ly7) (R12-13) (I/L17)
Drums of Fate (T9-11) (Mo17) (S21,23) (I/N24)
The Ebb Tide (Ly21)
The Fast Mail (R5-6) (I/N10)
The Five Dollar Baby (T5-7) (S10-11) (I/N21)
The Flaming Hour (T31-)
The Filt (R3-4) (S7,9) (Pr7,9)
Forsaking All Others (T2-4) (Pr7,9) (R10-11)
Good-Bye Girls (Mo12) (S10-11) (I/N21)
Grandma's Boy (I/L21)
Her Face Value (T12-14) (S17,18)
Her Mad Bargain (Pr10-11) (R14,16) (Mo17) (Ly18) (S19,20) (I/L24)
Heroes of the Street (Pr24,25) (I/L31) (Mo24) (R28,30)
Honest Hutch (E14)
Human Hearts (Mo28)
Hush Money (S3-4) (Pr10,11) (Ly14)
If I Were Queen (A21)
The Invisible Power (I/L28) (I/N31)
The Ladder Jinx (E21) (A28)
Madame Peacock (Pr14,16)
Making a Man (Mo14)
The Man From Downing Street (Mo31)
The Man From Lost River (E14)
The Man Who Had Everything (A7)
Moonshine Valley (I/L7)
Morals (L7)
Mr Billings Spends His Dime (T23-25) (Me28,30-) (Mo31)
My American Wife (T16-18) (Mo21,23-27) (Mo24) (S28,30)
My Wild Irish Rose (R7.9) (I/L10) (Mo7) (Ly13) (S12-13)
Nobody's Money (Mo26)
The Old Nest (S5-6) (A28)
Oliver Twist (M28,30+)
Omar the Tent Maker (I/L14)
One Man in a Million (R19) (I/L31)
One Week of Love (T12-14) (Ly20) (R19) (S21,23) (Pr21,23)
One Wonderful Night (T9-11) (R17,18)
Pawned (A7)
Pen Vulture (R31-)
Polly With A Past (T26-28,30) (S31-)
The Power of a Lie (T23-25) (Pr28,30) (R31-)
Racing Hearts (T31-)
Robin Hood (M16-27)
Robinson Crusoe (I/L21)
Salome (M11-14) (Ly18) (I/L24) (S24-27)
Shadows (M7.9-10) (I/L14) (I/N17) (Pr19,20) (Mo21) (Ly27) (R21,23)
The Sheik (Pr14,16)
Signal Cabin No. 13 (R10-11)
The Silent Voice (Mo21)
The Silent Vow (R5-6) (Mo10) (Ly11) (S12-13) (I/L7)
Smilin' Through (M2-6) (R7.9) (I/N14) (S14,16) (Me21,23-27) (Ly28) (I/L28)
Squibs Wins the Calcutta Sweep (M2-6) (I/L7) (I/N10) (Pr12,13) (Mo14) (Ly20) (R12-13) (S19,20)
The Story of an Automobile (R20)
Stripped for a Million (R17,18)
Thirty Days (S7.9)
Three Pals (A21) (Ly25)
Thunderbolts of Fate (R24,25)
To Have and To Hold (Mo19)
Travellin' On (I/N14)
Truxton King (I/N7)
Turn to the Right (V17) (Me28,30+) (Pr28,30) (S31-)
Wife Against Wife (E7-10)
Wild Cat Jordan (T16-18) (Pr21,23) (R24,25)
Yellow Men and Gold (A14)
The Young Rajah (Ly28)
November 1923

Theatres:
His Majesty’s, JCW, *Quarantine;* The Royal Musical Comedy Company, *Dust of the Desert."
Elite Theatre, Brisbane Repertory Theatre, *His Friend’s Honour, Prunella; or, Love In a Dutch Garden.*

Variety Venues and Entertainment:
Fuller’s Empire Theatre.
Cremorne Theatre.
Serenaders.
Bohemia.

Cinemas:
Arcadia, Ascot (Ar)
Avro, Bulimba (A)
Elite (Lyceum), George St (E)
His Majesty’s Theatre (HM)
Imperial, Lutwyche (I/L)
Imperial, Nundah (I/N)
Lyric, West End (Ly)
Majestic (M)
Mirthly, New Farm (Me)
Mowbray Theatre, Kangaroo Point (Mo)
Princess, Sth Brisbane (Pr)
Rialto, Hill End (Ri)
Rivoli (R)
Savoy (At Tram Terminus, Clayfield) (S)
Tivoli (T)

Films: (112)
*A Coo-ee From Home* (E24)
*A Friendly Husband* (S20,21) (Mo29)
*The Agent* (M24.26-27)
*A Girl’s Desire* (A13)
*A Homespun Vamp* (T15-17) (Pr20,21) (S27,28)
*A Sleepless Night* (R22,23)
*The Bolted Door* (Pr15,16) (T12-14) (R20,21)
*Bright Eyes* (Mack Sennett Comedy) (I/L3)
*Buffalo Bill* (Episode 7) (Mo6)
*Buffalo Bill* (Episode 9) (Mo22)
*Broken Chains* (M1-2) (R20,21)
*The Broken Silence* (R27,28)
*Brothers Under the Skin* (R3,5) (I/L27)
*Carmilla* (Pr3,5) (Me3)
*The Chickasha Bone Crusher* (R20,21)
*Children of Jazz* (T12-14) (Pr17,19) (Mo20) (I/N29)
*Children of the Dust* (M21-23) (Pr24,26) (Mo24)
*The Conquering Power* (T29-)

*The Covered Wagon* (HM10,12-17,19-23)
*Duke of Chimney Butte* (S1,2) (I/N6) (Ar3)
*The Ebb Tide* (I/N27)
*Enter Madame* (T1-3) (P6,7) (S13,14)
*The Fall of Babylon* (Mo17) (I/N24)
*The Flame of Life* (T5-7) (Mo15) (A13) (R10,12)
*The Forgotten Law* (T29-)
*The Fourth Musketeer* (M17,19-20) (I/L4) (I/N27) (Pr29,30)
*From the Ground Up* (A3)
*Galloping Kid* (Pr29,30) (T26-28)
*Gimme!* (M28-)
*The Girl in his Room* (I/L3) (I/N6) (Pr8,9) (Mo10) (Ly16) (R8,9) (S15,16)
*The Girl of the Golden West* (M8,9) (Pr10,12) (Mo10) (Ly16) (A20) (I/N17) (S17,19) (R27,28)
*Glimpses of the Moon* (S3,5)
*The Glorious Fool* (Pr13,14) (Mo13) (R15,16)
(I/L20) (S22,23)
*The Go-Getter* (T5-7) (Pr10,12) (Mo13) (I/N22) (S24,26)
*Golden Dreams* (A17)
*Great Elephant Kraal* (S8,9)
*Grumpy* (Ly10) (Ri10)
*The Gunwoman* (R1,2) (S8,9)
*The Heart Raider* (T26-28)
*Her Sacred Trust* (I/L20)
*Hunting Game in Africa* (M17,19-20)
*Hurricane Hutch Serial* (Episode 10) (E3)
*Hurricane Hutch Serial* (Episode 12) (E17)
*Hurricane Hutch Serial* (Episode 13) (E17)
*The Isle of Lost Ships* (Ri6) (A6) (S3,5) (Ar3) (R6,7) (Ly30)
*Is Money Everything* (S1,2) (R1,2) (A24)
*Kick In* (I/N8) (Me3) (S10,12)
*The Kid* (E17)
*Kindled Courage* (I/N17)
*Leather Pushers* (Round 2) (I/N8) (R6,7)
*Leather Pushers* (Round 3) (Mo15) (I/L13) (T12-14) (I/N22) (I/L27)
*Leather Pushers* (Round 4) (T26-28)
*The Little Church Around the Corner* (M5-7) (I/L10) (I/N13) (Pr15,16) (Mo17) (Ly23) (R17,19) (S22,23)
*Lorna Doone* (Mo3) (Ly9) (Ar5) (R3,5) (S8,9)
*The Love Letter* (T8-10) (R13,14) (Mo22) (A27)
*Mack Sennett Comedy* (S1,2)
*The Man Above the Law* (M24,26-27)
*Man to Man* (Mo3) (Pr8,9)
*Melbourne Cup* (Pr17,19)
*Melbourne Police Riots* (Pr10,12) (Pr17,19)
*Mid-night* (T22-24) (I/N29) (Pr27,28)
The Midnight Guest (A6)
Mile Stones (E3)
Mr Barnes of New York (M28-)
The Molly Coddle (I/N22)
More to be Pitied than Scorned (A20)
The Mummy (S24,26)
The Ne'er Do Well (A27)
New Jerusalem-Palestine (E12)
Nobody's Bride (R6,7)
Notority (T8-10) (Mo22) (Ly17) (Ri17) (S20,21)
Only A Shop Girl (M24,26-27)
The Pilgrim (M1-2) (Mo8) (I/L15) (S15,16)
(Pr17,19) (Ly23) (I/N20) (R17,19)
(A24)
Poor Men’s Wives (A10)
Poppy (R13,14)
The Power Within (I/L22)
Putting it Over (Pr22,23) (T19-21) (R24,26)
The Roads of Destiny (E17)
Roaring Lions on Steamship (I/N17)
Rupert of Hentzau (T1-3) (L12) (S10,12) (I/L29)
Rustle of Silk (Ly17) (Ri17)
The Sage Brush Trail (Mo8) (L3) (S6,7) (R8,9)
(I/N17)
Scandalous Tongues (I/L22)
Seven Years' Bad Luck (Mo6) (I/L3) (Pr6,7)
(Ri14) (R10,12) (I/N27)
Silver Wings (I/N17)
The Sin Flood (S24,26) (Ri24) (R29-)
60 Cents An Hour (Ly24) (Ri24)
Skid Proof (Mo15) (Ly10) (S13,14) (R15,16)
(I/N24)
The Snow Bride (T19-21) (Pr24,26) (Mo27)
Song of the Soul (E3)
Souls for Sale (A3)
Speed ‘Em Up (I/L20)
Step Lively Please (I/L10)
Stepping Fast (A10) (Mo29)
Tonsy (Pr22,23) (I/L17) (I/N20) (R22,23) (Mo24)
(Ly30)
Ten Nights in a Bar-room (Ri3) (I/L10)
Tess of the Stormy Country (I/N3)
Theodora (M10,12-16) (Mo20) (R24,26) (Ri28)
(S29-)
The Tiger’s Claw (Mo6) (Pr3,5) (S17,19)
Tillie (I/N8) (S6,7)
’Tis the Bell (I/L17)
Tooth Carpenter (S8,9)
Townies and Hayseeds (M3) (Pr13,14) (I/L27)
Trapped in the Air (I/N3) (A17)
Trifling Women (T15-17)
Vengeance of Pierre (Ly24) (S27,28)
The Village Blacksmith (T22-24)
The Wallflower (Pr27,28) (Mo27) (R29-)
The Way Women Love (Pr20,21)

While Justice Waits (I/L17)
The White Flower (Ly3) (Ri3)
Woman in his House (I/L3)
March 1926

Theatres:

Variety Venues and Entertainment:

Cinemas:
Astor. New Farm (As) Majestic (M) Rivoli (R) Savoy, Clayfield (S) Suburban (Su) Tivoli (T) Valley Theatre (V) Wintergarden (W)

Films: (85)
A Beggar on Horseback (T11-13) (V15-20) A Broadway Butterfly (W1-3) (R20-)
After Business Hours (W18-21) The Amateur Detective (M20)
The Ancient Mariner (Su20,22,23) (S27,29) (As27-)
A Society Scandal (M4-6) The Bandolero (S13,14) (As13,14)
The Bashful Buccaneer (T20) The Battler (T29-)
The Best Bad Man (S17-19) (As17-19) (Su20,22-) Born Tired (M15-17)
Bread (As4,5) (S9,10) Broadway Butterfly (S23,24) The Cloud Rider (W25-27) The Coast Patrol (S23,24)
The Cookshop (M1-3) Daddy’s Gone A Hunting (W4-6) (V8-10) (S20,22) (As20,22-26)
Dorf and Dilly (M4-6) The Dark Angel (S13,14) (As13,14) David Copperfield (S26) The Desert’s Price (Su24-) Devotion (S30-)
East of Broadway (S9,10) Flowing Gold (M11-13) The Fool (Su20,22-)
The Girl of the Limberlost (W29-) The Golden Strain (Su20,22-)
The Heart of a Hobo (M18-20) Her Sister From Paris (T22-24) (V25-27,29-) He Who Gets Slapped (V1-3) (S11,12) (As11,12) Hurricane Hatch (S30-)
The Rustling Kid (M8-10) Sally of the Sawdust (W22-24) Samison of the Circus (Last Chp.) (M4-6) (M11-13) (M18-20) Scenic Wonderland (S26) Siege (S4,5) (R6,8-12) The Sky Raider (T25-27) The Snob (W18-20) (V22-24) Softly (M15-17) The Telephone Girl (Chp. 9) (M1-3) That Devil Quemado (S4,5) Too Much Youth (M1-3) Tumbleweeds (W4-6) (V8-10) Under the Red Rose (S2,3) (As2,3) The Unwelcome Legacy (M1-3) The Vagabond Trail (As4,5) Wanderlust (S26) The Way of a Girl (T4-6) (V15-20) (S27,29) (As27-)
Moderns (T29-)
Western Luck (M4-6)
The Western Musketeer (T8-10) (V11-13)
What Fools Men (T11-13)
When the Door Opened (S6,8) (A86,8-10)
Where Was I? (T1-3) (V4-6)
The White Outlaw (R13.15-19)
The White Sea (W29-)
Wild Wild Susan (T20)
The Wise Virgin (W8-13)

July 1926

Theatres:
His Majesty's Theatre. JCW. Anna Pavlova, JCW's Opera Company. The Gondoliers.
Theatre Royal, Brisbane Shakespeare Society and Brisbane Repertory Theatre (combined),
Allan Wilkie Benefit Matinee; The University Dramatists, Mrs. Gorringe's Necklace. Brisbane Repertory Theatre. Candid.

Variety Venues and Entertainment.
Fuller's Empire Theatre.
Cremorne, The Snapshots of 1926.
Theatre Royal, The Hawaiian Troubadours.

Cinemas:
Astor (A)
Bohemia (B)
His Majesty's (HM)
Majestic (M)
New Melba (N)
Savoy (S)
Tivoli (T)
Valley (V)
Wintergarden (W)

Films: (99)
A Circus (M1-3)
A Fighting Buckaroo (W8-10)
The American Venus (S20)
The Ancient Highway (T8-10) (V12-14)
An Exchange of Lives (W8-10) (V12-14) (S24) (As24)
A Prairie Wife (W22-24) (V26-28)
The Arizona Sweepstakes (T5-7) (V8-10)
A Woman of the World (T15-17) (V19-21)
The Bashful Whirlwind (M29-)
Better to Marry (T1-3) (V5-7)
The Big Row (M5-7)
Bluebeard's Seven Wives (T12-14) (V15-17)
The Call of Courage (T26-28) (V29-)

The Charleston (Lesson 1) (W5-10)
The Charleston (Lesson 2) (W12-17)
The Charleston (Lesson 3) (W19-21)
The Circle (S20)
City Sport (M22-24)
The Count of Luxembourg (T29-)
The Cowboy and the Countess (S27)
Daring Days (V1-3)
Desert Driven (M29-)
The Devil's Circus (W12-14) (V15-17)
Drisella with a Million (W5-7)
Eve's Lover (W29-)
The Fast Worker (M22-24)
Fighting the Flames (S22)
Flirting with Love (M20,21)
Fools on the Desert (T22)
The Forty Thieves (M8-10,12-14)
The Girl From Montmartre (V1-3) (S17) (As17)
The Girl In The Car (M5-7)
Graustark (S3) (As3)
Hands Up (T29-)
Hard Hittin' Hamilton (W26-28)
Hell's Four Hundred (S3) (As3)
Her Night of Romance (M15-17,19)
Inflation (T26-28) (V29-)
In Hollywood (M20,21)
Irish Luck (S8)
Itching for Revenge (M29-)
The Jungle Woman (N12-14)
Just Suppose (T5-7) (V8-10) (S24) (As24)
Kingdom Come (M5-7)
The King on Main Street (S1)
The Knockout Kid (M20,21)
Legally Dead (M15-17,19)
Light of Western Stars (B31-)
Lights of Old Broadway (W29-)
Lord Jim (T1-3) (S15)
Lover's Lane (W19-21)
The Masked Bride (S10) (As10)
The Midnight Limited (T8-10)
Mike (W15-17) (V19-21) (S31) (As31)
Miss Australia Final (T1-3) (S3) (As3)
My Own Pal (S29)
Never Say Die (S1)
Not So Long Ago (S29)
Oh, Doctor (M1-3)
The Other Woman’s Story (M26-28)
The Pacemakers (M5-7) (M20.21) (M26-28)
The Palace of Pleasure (S27)
The Phantom of the Opera (S6)
The Plastic Age (M1-3)
The Pony Express (S8)
The Raid (M15-17,19)
Rainbow Riley (T19-21) (V22-24)
The Riddle Riders (M1-3) (M8-10,12-14) (M15-17,19) (M22-24) (M29-)
The Riding Kid (M1-3)
Rustling for Cupid (T15-17) (S31) (As31)
Safeguarded (M5-7)
Salvage (M29-)
Sawdust and Spangles (M1-3)
Scaranaouche (S13)
The Sea Beast (S22)
The Shamrock Handicap (W26-28)
She (W19-21)
The Shining Adventure (S13)
Siberia (S17) (As17)
The Sky Raider (S15)
The Sporting Chance (W15-17)
Stella Dallas (W1-3) (V5-7)
The Supreme Hazard (M8-10,12-14)
Tainted Money (W5-7)
Throught the Back Door (M22-24)
Two Kinds of Women (W22-24)
The Unguarded Hour (S10) (As10)
The Unholy Three (B31-
Waif and Strays (M8-10,12-14)
Wandering Footsteps (T12-14)
Wasted Lives (W12-14)
Waterfront Wolves (T23,24)
West of Pecos (M26-28)
What Happened to Jones (T19-21) (V22-24)
With Potash and Perlmutter (M20.21)
Womanhandled (T22-24) (V26-28)
The Woman Hater (W1-3)
Wonderful London (HM3.5-10)
Wreckage (S6)

November 1926

Theatres:

Fuller’s Empire Theatre.
Cremorne, Snapshots of 1926.

 Variety Venues and Entertainment

Astor (As)
His Majesty’s Theatre (HM)
Majestic (M)
Savoy (S)
Tivoli (T)
Valley (V)
Wintergarden (W)

Films: (98)
After Six Days (M22-24)
A Knight of the Pig Skin (T1-3)
The Alaskan (M25-27)
All Around the Frying Pan (W8-10)
A Patent Leather Pug (M29-)
A Woman of the World (S18)
Behold this Woman (W15-17)
Beverly of Graustark (W8-10) (VI1-13)
Birds and Flowers (S4)
Black Cyclone (M15-17)
The Blind Goddess (T25-27) (V29-)
The Boob (S13) (As13)
The Charleston (Lesson 5) (S2) (As2)
The Charleston (Lesson 6) (S9) (As9)
Chasing Trouble (T29-)
Cod of the West (M4-6,8)
Colleen of the Pines (M4-6,8)
Compromise (W11-13)
The Crown of Lies (S4)
Crying For Love (M23.24)
Desert Gold (T18-20) (V22-24)
The Desert’s Price (M11-13)
Don’t (W25-27)
Early to Wed (As2)
The Eucharistic Congress, Chicago (S18)
The Exquisite Sinner (T18-20) (V22-24)
The Family Upstairs (T4-6)
Feathers (S25)
Felix, The Cat (S13) (As13) (S20) (As20) (S27) (As27)
Fighting Courage (M15-17)
The Fighting Ranger (M4-6,8) (M11-13) (M25-27)
The Fighting Ranger (Episode 3) (M18-20)
Fig Leaves (W1-3) (S27) (As27)
Forbidden Cargo (S2) (As2)
Gra.9.y (M15-17) (S23)
The Great Love (S9) (As9)
Greenhide (HM20,22-27)
Golden Spurs (V15-17)
Handsome Harry (M29-)
Hearts and Spurs (S6) (As6)
Hogan’s Alley (W18-20)
Honesty The Best Policy (S30) (As30)
Honeymoon Limited (M25-27)
### March 1929

#### Theatres:
- Theatre Royal, Nellie Bramley Company, *The Third Degree*, *The Sport of Kings*, *Daddy Long Legs*, *The Lion and the Mouse*, *Queen of Knaves.*
- All Saints Hall, Nell Douglas Graham Players, *Caste*.
- Bohemia, Queensland Operatic Society, *Florodora*.
- His Majesty's Theatre.
- Variety Venues and Entertainment:
  - Fuller's Empire Theatre.

#### Cinemas:
- Astor (As)
- Elite Pictures, Toowong (EP)
- Gaiety, Toowong (G)
- Majestic (M)
- Savoy (S)
- Tivoli (T)
- Valley (V)
- Wintergarden (W)

#### Films:
- *The Adorable Cheat* (M11-16)
- *A Hero on Horseback* (M18-20)
- *Anybody Here Seen Kelly?* (T11-13) (V14-16)
- *Avalanche* (T28-)
- *The Awakening* (T25-30)
- *The Battle of the Sexes* (V4-6)
- *Beggars of Life* (T21-23) (V25-27)
- *The Big Hop* (S7)
- *Blindfold* (T25-27)
- *Bluebeard* (M7-9)
- *Brotherly Love* (W21-23) (V25-27)
- *Burning the Wind* (T4-6)
- *The Bushranger* (W1.2) (V4-6) (As23)
- *The Cameraman* (S9) (As9) (EP23)
- *Cleopatra* (EP30)
- *The Desert Bride* (W18-20)
- *The Devil's Cage* (W7-9)
- *The Docks of New York* (G2)
- *Do Your Duty* (S2) (As2)
- *The Dog's Net* (W4-11) (V14-16)
- *Dry Martini* (As13)
- *Early To Bed* (EP16)
- *Easy Virtue* (S16) (As16) (G23)
- *Excess Baggage* (W7-9) (V11-13) (S30) (As30)
- *Final Test Match* (T20) (T23)
- *The Fleet's In* (T1,2) (V7-9) (G23)
- *Foot Loose Women* (G23)
- *The Fortune Hunter* (G30)
- *Four Sons* (G16)
- *Four Walls* (S2) (As2) (EP16)
- *Freedom of the Press* (V1,2) (G27) (S26)
- *The Glorious Trail* (W25-27) (V28-)
- *The Great Divide* (M7-9)
- *The Grip of the Yukon* (S19)
- *Guardians of the Wild* (T18-20)
- *The Haunted House* (T4-6) (V7-9)
- *Homesick* (T7-9)
- *Husbands For Rent* (T11-13)
- *In Borrowed Plumes* (S5)
- *Into the Night* (M18-20)
- *Jazz Mad* (S12)
- *The King's Highway* (G9) (S12)
- *Kissing the Blarney Stone* (M18) (M21-23)
- *Lady of Victories* (EP9)
- *The Last Warning* (T18-20) (V28-)
- *Lay On, MacDuff* (G30)
- *The Leopard Lady* (S19)
- *Lost in the Arctic* (W1,2) (S26) (As27)
- *Love at Midnight* (V1,2) (S30) (As30)
- *The Matinee Idol* (W4-6)
- *The Michigan Kid* (W28-)
- *Moran of the Marines* (G16)
- *Mournd of Mor* (S23)
- *Moulin Rouge* (W21-23)
- *My Lady of Whims* (M27-)
- *The Mysterious Lady* (W14-16) (V21-23)
- *'Neath Arctic Skies* (As6)
- *Not Quite A Lady* (EP9) (S14)
- *Our Dancing Daughters* (W25-27)
- *Outcast* (W18-20) (V21-23)
- *Out With The Tide* (M25,26) (M27-)
- *Passion Island* (M4-6)
- *Picture My Astonishment* (G9)
- *Poppies of Flanders* (T1,2) (S21)
- *Powder My Back* (S21)
- *Prep and Pep* (S5) (EP23)
- *The Primrose Path* (M21-23)
- *Quinney's* (S28)
- *Revenge* (W11-13) (V18-20)
- *Riders of the Dark* (As27)
- *Riley the Cop* (T14-16)
- *Roya of the Desert* (S14)
- *Robinson Crusoe* (S7) (As20) (M21-23)
- *The Rolling Road* (As13)
- *Romance of the Underworld* (EP30)
Rookies (M11-16)
Roses of Picardy (M1,2)
Shadows of the Night (EP9)
The She Going Sailor (G16)
The Show Girl (S23) (As23)
Skirts (S28)
Someone to Love (T7-9) (V11-13) (G30)
The Sporting Age (W28-)
Take Me Home (G9)
Taking A Chance (V21-23)
The Valley of Hell (M1,2)
Wait and See (G2)
War Paint (M4-6)
The Waterfront (S9) (As9) (EP16)
What Every Iceman Knows (M1,2)
When Duty Calls (W14-16)
The White Sheik (M25,26)
The Woman From Moscow (T14-16) (V18-20)
The Wright Idea (As6)
Zero (W11-13)

July 1929

Theatres:
Cremorne, Brisbane Repertory Theatre, Mid-Channel, University Dramatic Society, The Great Broxopp.
His Majesty’s, JCW (in conjunction with Bailey and Grant), The Fatsy,
Bohemia, Orphans’ and Returned Soldiers’ Benefit, The Charm School

Variety Venues and Entertainment:
Fuller’s Empire Theatre.

Cinemas:
Astor (As)
Broadway, Woolloongabba (Br)
Crystal Palace, Windsor (Cr)
Elite Pictures, Toowong (EP)
Empire, Albion (Empi)
Empire, Alderley (Emp)
His Majesty’s (HM)
Hollywood, Greenslopes (H)
Imperial, Lutwyche (I/L)
Melba Theatre, Valley (Mel)
Mowbray Park, East Brisbane (Mo)
New Majestic (NM)
Savoy (S)
Tivoli (T)

Valley Theatre, Duncan Street, Fortitude Valley (V)
Wintergarden (W)

Films: (79)
A Dangerous Woman (T29-)
After the Storm (S4)
Alias Jimmy Valentine (HM1-3) (As27)
All At Sea (V4-6) (S20) (As20)
Bath Between (S22-24)
Beware of Blondes (NM22-24)
Bitter Sweets (NM4-6) (Mel29-31)
Blue Skies (S6) (As6) (EP27)
Boyhood Days (V15-17)
The Canary Murder Case (V15-17)
The Carnation Kid (V1-3)
Caught in the Fog (T22-24) (V25-27)
Children of the Ritz (NM4-6)
Close Harmony (T15-20) (V22-24)
The Cohens and Kellys (T1-6) (V8-10) (EP20)
Crooks Can’t Win (Mel6)
Crooning Melodies (V15-17)
The Danger Rider (NM1-3) (V4-6)
Dream of Love (S13) (As13) (EP27)
Family Picnic (HM6,8-12)
The Farmer’s Wife (NM25-27)
The Gate Crasher (NM22-24)
Geraldine (HM13-19)
Girls Gone Wild (S13) (As13) (Mel22)
The Great Mail Robbery (As6)
The Head of the Family (EP13)
Hidden Loot (NM19-)
His Captive Woman (V1-3) (As27)
The House of Horror (T29-)
In Old Arizona (S22-24)
Interference (W1-6,8-13,15-19) (V29-)
Just One Word (W1-6,8-13,15-19) (V29-)
Kentucky Jubilee Singers (S22)
King of Spain (S22)
King of England (S13,24)
Kitty (NM8-10)
Knights in Venice (W1-6,8-13,15-19) (V29-)
Land of the Silver Fox (T8-10) (V11-13)
The Lawless Legion (NM11-13)
Love and the Devil (T18-20) (V25-27)
Making the Grade (NM25-27)
The Masks of the Devil (EP13)
Modern Mothers (S2)
Moran of the Marines (S2) (As3)
Morgan's Last Raid (As3)
Napoleon's Barber (HM6,8-12) (S25-27)
Now and Then (W1-6,8-13,15-19) (V29-)
Papa's Vacation (W20-)
The Passing of Mr. Quinn (NM18-20)
The Patriot (T11-13) (V18-20)
Red Lips (T8-10) (V11-13)
Redskin (T25-27)
Sally's Shoulders (Mel18-20)
Saturday's Children (T22-24)
Say It With Sables (NM15-17)
The Sin Sister (NM11-13) (Mel29-31)
Sins of the Fathers (S20)
Son of the Golden West (Mel6)
Spite Marriage (T25-27)
Stocks and Blondes (S4)
Strange Cargo (HM13-19)
The Street Angel (HM6,8-12) (Mel22) (EP20)
(S25-27)
The Streets of Illusion (NM1-3)
Strong Boy (EP6)
Submarine (S6) (As20)
Synthetic Sin (EP6)
The Terror (W20-)
That Party In Person (W1-6,8-13,15-19) (V29-)
They're Coming to Get Me (S25-27)
Tide of Empire (T11-13) (V18-20)
Trent's Last Case (NM18-20)
The Way of the Strong (NM8-10) (S9)
When the Kelly Were Out (Mel18-20)
While the City Sleeps (T15-17) (V22-24)
Widow's Fair (NM29-)
Wings (S9)
The Wolf Song (T1-6) (V8-10)
Wolves of the City (NM15-17)
The World Builds a Car (IL2) (IL6) (Emp13)
(H16) (H20) (Br17) (Cr23) (Empl25) (Mo30)
November 1929

Theatres:
Bohemia, Brisbane Repertory Theatre, The Touch of Silk.
All Saints’ Hall, The Jean Trundle Players, Paddy the Next Best Thing.

Variety Venues and Entertainment:
Cremorne, Brisbane Opera Premiers’, Cingalee; F. Gayle Wyer, Band-Box Optimists.
His Majesty’s Theatre, Gala Matinee: Memorial Matinee.
Broadway Theatre, Grand Gala Performance.

Cinemas:
Arcadia, Ascot (Ar)
Astor (As)
Elite Pictures, Toowong (EP)
His Majesty’s (HM)
Lyceum (L)
Melba Theatre (Mel)
New Majestic (NM)
Regent (Re)
Savoy (S)
Tivoli (T)
Valley (V)
Wintergarden (W)

Films: (98)
Afterwards (EP23)
Amateur Nights (NM1,2,4-8)
The Awakening (L1,2)
A Woman in Pawn (S18,19)
The Beast (NM9,11-16,18-22)
Behind That Curtain (Re30-)
Big Time (Re23,25-29)
The Bishop’s Candlesticks (W1,2,4-8)
Black Magic (S29-) (As30)
The Broadway Melody (V4-9) (L23,25-) (S27,28)
Captain Careless (S27,28)
Charming Sinners (T4-9) (V21-23) (S29-)
Clancy’s Kosher Wedding (Ar30)
Clear the Decks (L4-9) (Ar6)
College Chums (W1,2,4-8)
The Constant Nymph (S11,12)
Dangerous Curves (T18-23)
Dawn (L11-16) (S11,12) (Mel18-20)
Dear Vivian (NM23,25-)
Desert Nights (T1,2) (S23) (As23) (Ar30)
The Desert Rider (T28-)
The Diplomats (Re16,18-22)
The Docks of New York (EP9)
The Doctor’s Secret (T14-16)
Duce deKerejarto (V4-9)
Early Mourning (Re8,9,11-15) (S16,18,19)
(L18,19)
The Exalted Flapper (T11-13)
The Far Call (S1)
Fashions In Love (S5-7)
Favourite Melodies (W1,2,4-8)
The Flying Marine (T25-27) (V28-)
Forbidden Hours (V11-13)
Four Devils (Re16,18-22) (As30) (L30-)
Fox Movietone Follies of 1929 (Re8,9,11-15)
(L18-23,25-29) (S22,23)
Frozen River (L1,2)
The Further Adventures of the Flag Lieutenant (S4-7)
The Glad Rag Doll (W9,11-16,18-22)
The Greene Murder Case (T11-13) (V28-)
The Greyhound Limited (V14-16)
Hard Boiled Rose (As16)
Honeymoon (Ar2) (S13,14)
Hot Stuff (EP2)
Innocents of Paris (W1,2,4-8)
The Iron Mask (V11-13)
It Happened to Him (NM23,25-)
The Knife (Re30-)
The Land of the Silver Fox (As23) (EP30)
The Ladies’ Man (Re30-)
Lady of the Night (NM23,25-)
The Lariat Kid (V1,2)
The Leatherneck (HM1,2) (S1,2)
The Lemon (W9,11-16,18-22)
The Letter (T28-)
The Lion and the Mouse (NM9,11-16,18-22)
The Luck of the Navy (S25,26)
Lucky in Love (HM1,2) (S8,9) (L16)
Makers of Melody (NM23,25-)
Manhattan Cocktail (S20,21)
The Man Higher Up (Re8,9,11-15)
Masked Emotions (S8,9) (As9) (EP9)
The Melbourne Cup of 1929 (Re8,9,11-15)
(S16,18,19) (L18-22) (EP23) (Ar27)
Melody of Love (L4-9)
Miracle of the Wolves (S22)
Mr. Scullin’s Speech (Re8,9,11-15) (S16) (L18-22)
The Million Dollar Collar (T4-9) (V21-23)
The Mysterious Dr Fu Manchu (T1,2) (V18-20)
(S25,26)
Noah’s Ark (W23,25-)

111
Old Black Joe (W1,2,4-8)
One Minute to Play (Ar9)
The One Woman Idea (As2) (S6,7)
Our Modern Maidens (T14-16) (V18-20)
The Pagan (S16) (As16) (Ar23) (EP30)
Piccadilly (EP16)
The Ploughboy (W9,11-16,18-22) (V25-)
The Rainbow Man (V14-16)
The Rescue (Ar2)
River of Romance (V1,2) (S13,14)
Sharp Tools (W23,25-)
The Silent House (S18,19)
The Single Standard (T18-23) (V25-27)
Stairs of Sand (S20,21)
The Street Angel (As9)
Tarzan and the Golden Lion (Ar23)
Tarzan, The Mighty (Chap. 1) (L4-9) (L11-15)
(L20-22) (S29)
This Is Heaven (NM1,2,4-8)
Thoroughbreds (EP23)
Three Passions (Ar16)
Unaccustomed As We Are (V4-9)
Venus (T25-27)
Visions of Spain (W9,11-16,18-22)
The Voice of the City (S2) (As2) (Ar9) (EP16)
Weary River (V25-27)
Where East Is East (EP2)
White Shadows in the South Seas (Re23,25-29)
William O'Neill (V4-9)
Wings (Ar27)
The Wolf Song (S4-7)
The Yellowback (Ar16)
APPENDIX THREE: CINEMA VENUES

March 1920 (7)
Cook’s Palace Theatre (opposite Brunswick St. Station) (Co)
Lyceum Theatre (George Street) (L)
The Majestic (M)
Pavilion (P)
Strand (Queen Street) (St)
Tivoli Theatre (T)
West’s Olympia (WO)

July 1920 (7)
Empire (Em)
Lyceum (L)
Majestic (M)
Pavilion, Paddington (P)
Strand (St)
Tivoli (T)
West’s Olympia (WO)

November 1920 (8)
Elite Picture Theatre, Woolloowin (next to Railway Station) (El)
Majestic (M)
New Lyceum, George Street (L)
Pavilion (P)
Rivoli Theatre, Brunswick St, New Farm (R)
Strand (St)
Tivoli (T)
West’s Olympia (WO)

March 1923 (9)
Clayfield Open-Air Theatre (C)
Lyceum (L)
Majestic (M)
Merthyr Theatre, New Farm (Me)
New Princess Theatre, Annerley Road, South Brisbane (Pr)
Pier Pictures, Redcliffe (Pi)
Rivoli, New Farm (R)
Savoy, Clayfield (S)
Tivoli (T)

July 1923 (13)
Avro, Bulimba (A)
Elite (Lyceum) (E)
Imperial, Lutwyche (I/L)
Imperial, Nundah (I/N)
Lyric, West End (Ly)
Majestic (M)
Merthyr (Me)
Mowbray Theatre, Kangaroo Pt. (Mo)
Princess, Sth Brisbane (Pr)
Rivoli (R)

November 1923 (15)
Arcadia, Ascot (Ar)
Avro, Bulimba (A)
Elite (Lyceum), George St (E)
His Majesty’s Theatre (HM)
Imperial, Lutwyche (I/L)
Imperial, Nundah (I/N)
Lyric, West End (Ly)
Majestic (M)
Merthyr, New Farm (Me)
Mowbray Theatre, Kangaroo Point (Mo)
Princess, Sth Brisbane (Pr)
Rialto, Hill End (Ri)
Rivoli (R)
Savoy (At Tram Terminus, Clayfield) (S)
Tivoli (T)

March 1926 (8)
Astor, New Farm (As)
Majestic (M)
Rivoli (R)
Savoy, Clayfield (S)
Suburban (Su)
Tivoli (T)
Valley Theatre (V)
Wintergarden (W)

July 1926 (9)
Astor (As)
Bohemia (B)
His Majesty’s (HM)
Majestic (M)
New Melba, Valley (N)
Savoy (S)
Tivoli (T)
Valley (V)
Wintergarden (W)

November 1926 (7)
Astor (As)
His Majesty’s Theatre (HM)
Majestic (M)
Savoy (S)
Tivoli (T)
Valley (V)
Wintergarden (W)
March 1929 (8)
Astor (As)
Elite Pictures, Toowong (EP)
Gaiety, Toowong (G)
Majestic (M)
Savoy (S)
Tivoli (T)
Valley (V)
Wintergarden (W)

July 1929 (16)
Astor (As)
Broadway, Wooloongabba (Br)
Crystal Palace, Windsor (Cr)
Elite Pictures, Toowong (EP)
Empire, Albion (Empi)
Empire, Alderley (Emp)
His Majesty’s (HM)
Hollywood, Greenslopes (H)
Imperial, Lutwyche (I/L)
Melba Theatre, Valley (Mel)
Mowbray Park, East Brisbane (Mo)
New Majestic (NM)
Savoy (S)
Tivoli (T)
Valley, Duncan Street, Valley (V)
Wintergarden (W)

November 1929 (12)
Arcadia, Ascot (Ar)
Astor (As)
Elite Pictures, Toowong (EP)
His Majesty’s (HM)
Lyceum (L)
Melba Theatre (Mel)
New Majestic (NM)
Regent (Re)
Savoy (S)
Tivoli (T)
Valley (V)
Wintergarden (W)

TOTAL CINEMAS
Arcadia, Ascot (Ar)
Astor, New Farm (As)
Avro, Bulimba (A)
Bohemia (B)
Broadway, Wooloongabba (Br)
Clayfield Open-Air Theatre (C)
Cook’s Palace Theatre, opp. Brunswick St. Station
Crystal Palace, Windsor (Cr)
Elite, George Street (Lyceum) (E)
Elite Pictures, Toowong (EP)
Elite Picture Theatre, Wooloowin, next to Railway Station (El)
Empire (Em)
Empire, Albion (Empi)
Empire, Alderley (Emp)
Gaiety, Toowong (G)
His Majesty’s Theatre (HM)
Hollywood, Greenslopes (H)
Imperial, Lutwyche (I/L)
Imperial, Nundah (I/N)
Lyceum Theatre, George Street (L)
Lyric, West End (Ly)
The Majestic (M)
Melba Theatre, Valley (Mel)
Merthyr Theatre, New Farm (Me)
Mowbray Theatre, Kangaroo Pt. (Mo)
New Majestic (NM)
New Melba, Valley (N)
Pavilion, Paddington (P)
Pier Pictures, Redcliffe (Pi)
Princess Theatre, Annerley Road, South Brisbane (Pr)
The Regent (Re)
Rialto, Hill End (Ri)
Rivoli Theatre, Brunswick St, New Farm (Ri)
Savoy, Tram Terminus, Clayfield (S)
Sirand, Queen Street (St)
Suburban (Su)
Tivoli Theatre (T)
Valley Theatre, Duncan Street (V)
West’s Olympia (WO)
Wintergarden (W)


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