

Staging Wagner on the Witwatersrand: The Quinlan Opera Company in Strike-Torn Johannesburg 1913

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Abstract

Although Johannesburg had a quite lively music scene in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, opera developed slowly in that often turbulent boomtown. Residents who wished to experience that art form in its grand international forms depended for decades chiefly on visits by touring European companies which played Cape Town and/or Durban and ventured inland to the Witwatersrand. In both 1912 and 1913 the outstandingly talented Quinlan Opera Company from London visited the Union of South Africa and included brief seasons in Johannesburg in their international tours, which sometimes took the troupe to Australia. The latter of these coincided with the internationally observed centenary of the renowned Richard Wagner's birth and appropriately featured several of his operas. However, it also coincided with the destructive miners' strike which briefly disrupted life in central Johannesburg. It is argued here that contrary to what has been published in standard reference works, the devastation did not seriously affect the operatic season or bring it to an early end. Despite this tribulation, the Quinlan tour was a lucid example of cultural transmission from Europe to the multi-ethnic cauldron of the Witwatersrand during its transitional years into a somewhat cosmopolitan metropolitan area.

Keywords: Johannesburg, opera, Quinlan Opera Company, Wagner centenary 1913, Witwatersrand strike, South African labour history

1. Introduction

Historical research into the history of opera in South Africa has made noteworthy progress in recent years but advanced on an inconsistent front. Among many still tenebrous topics in scholarly writing about the development of this art form is its history on the Witwatersrand in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. To be sure, the popular image of Johannesburg at that time was not particularly compatible with grand Italian opera, and to the considerable extent that concert music and the lyrical theatre existed on the Witwatersrand before the outbreak of the Great War in 1914, they had more in common with the low-brow fare of Victorian music halls than what was offered at, for example, La Scala in Milan, the Staatsoper in Vienna, or Covent Garden in London. For that matter, it lagged behind what opera enthusiasts could savour in Cape Town, at least on an intermittent basis, for decades by that time.

Much of the early music life of Johannesburg remains unexplored and, given the weak nature of the sources for that period, perhaps will remain so. Among the topics about which little has been published is opera. This historiographical weakness is reflected in James May's article on 'South Africa' in *The New Dictionary of Opera*. It sheds virtually no light on this geographical dimension of the subject and contains nothing beyond one vague and only marginally relevant sentence: 'In the latter part of the 19th century a number of touring companies performed in Cape Town and Durban, and later also in Johannesburg' (May 1992).

Nevertheless, as Lily Wolpowitz has observed in an historical article about 'Music in Johannesburg', almost from its founding the 'City of Gold' boasted at least a moderately active cultural life in which sophisticated musical performances were featured. As early as 1887 the infant town got its first theatre and professional musicians were selling their services. Among them, the renowned Hungarian violinist Eduard Reményi played one of the earliest concerts on the Witwatersrand. In that year, moreover, pianos were brought to Johannesburg, and before the end of the decade the firm Mackay Brothers Ltd was both selling instruments and arranging various kinds of performances. Opera was also sung in Johannesburg during the late 1880s; the English-Australian Luscombe Searelle brought his troupe, which had played to full houses dozens of times in Cape Town, to the Transvaal, giving its residents opportunities to hear both the immensely popular works of Gilbert and Sullivan and examples of Italian *opera seria*. But by no means were all of the noteworthy events on the cultural calendar the work of visiting troupes. The

Johannesburg Musical Society was established as early as 1889 by H.E. Stidolph, who served as organist at St. Mary's Church, where that organisation performed Händel's *Messiah* before the end of the year. Moreover, the renowned Wanderers' Club, which had come into being a year earlier, played an instrumental part in organising local talent for various events (Wolpowitz 1984).

The period after the Second Anglo-Boer War but before the outbreak of the Great War in 1914 witnessed further, if sporadic, expansion in the public musical life of Johannesburg. Numerous additional music societies came into being. Grand operas were performed occasionally. Bursting with British and other talent, the Quinlan Opera Company, which had enjoyed immense success during short seasons in Cape Town (Hale 2013), played in Johannesburg in both 1912 and 1913, the latter year being the internationally observed centenary of the birth of the highly respected if perennially controversial German opera composer Richard Wagner. It is with the second of these tours we shall be primarily concerned.

For decades the outcome of this tour has been misrepresented in the *South African Music Encyclopedia*. In her detailed and broadly defined article about the history of music in Johannesburg, Wolpowitz asserted that in contrast to the previous year this event of 1913 proved to be 'unfortunate', and that while the *Ring* cycle was being performed riots erupted. Shooting, she declared, in effect barred the public from entering the theatre in which the operas of that tetralogy were offered, and Thomas Quinlan had to appeal to the 'Strike Committee' for permission to carry on, 'since the town was for a while under its control'. In the end no satisfactory solution was reached, Wolpowitz insisted, and therefore 'the historic season was cut short, and had to be concluded on 12 July 1913'.

Wolpowitz did not reveal what the sources for her narrative about the 1913 season were, and in fact nearly everything in it contradicts contemporary accounts. To be sure, the gold miners' strike on the Witwatersrand spread to encompass workers in various other trades, and mob violence erupted briefly in central Johannesburg, where several buildings were torched. One performance of the opera season had to be cancelled. As we shall see below, however, the Quinlan Opera Company very quickly recovered and completed its repertory as planned before riding the rails to Cape Town and sailing away from the Mother City. Far from falling victim to labour unrest and becoming *un fiasco totale*, the Quinlan Opera Company's second visit to Johannesburg was generally a great success, and local music critics hailed it as a key event

in the cultural history of the city, not least because of the praiseworthy performance of the *Ring* cycle.

2. Launching the 1913 Opera Season in Johannesburg

The Quinlan Opera Company played South Africa for a second consecutive year in conjunction with the internationally observed centenary of Wagner's birth and included both Cape Town and Johannesburg as part of an intercontinental tour that also took it to Australia. After completing its glowingly successful season in the Mother City (which was given coverage in the Johannesburg daily press), the Quinlan assembly travelled on two special trains to the City of Gold, arriving on the evening of 23 June. Readers of the *Rand Daily Mail* had been informed of its imminent advent and assured that the troupe ran to 200 people who would produce operas not hitherto performed in Johannesburg (*Rand Daily Mail* 1913c). Its members were greeted enthusiastically at the Park Station, quite oblivious to the fact that that building would fall victim to mob violence less than a fortnight later. Expectations were further elevated by the journalistic announcement that in keeping with the Wagner centenary, the *Ring* cycle would be offered as well as his operas *The Mastersingers of Nuremberg*, *Lohengrin*, and *Tannhäuser* (*Rand Daily Mail* 1913e). One music journalist sought to enlighten fellow citizens by stating that the four works in the *Ring* were part of a coherent whole and that 'it cannot be impressed too emphatically upon the public that, although each music drama is full of charm and interest, in order to appreciate to the full and thoroughly understand Wagner's masterpiece, it is necessary to understand the full cycle' (*Rand Daily Mail* 1913b).

The season was advertised in the local press nearly every day beginning well before the first performance on 24 June. The fact that part of the repertoire had been selected to mesh with the centenary of Wagner's birth was emphasised, though usually in an intrinsic way. In the publicising of the season, the inclusion of the *Ring* cycle was stressed. The four parts would be performed on 27 June (*The Rhinegold*), 30 June (*The Valkyrie*), 3 July (*Siegfried*), and 7 July (*Twilight of the Gods*). Tickets for each of those performances were costlier at from five to twenty-one shillings each; the other operas were more moderately priced at from a mere three to fifteen shillings (*Rand Daily Mail* 1913a). Quinlan understood, however, that very long and mentally taxing works like those of the *Ring* could not assure box office success, and accordingly he also included, in addition to three other Wagner

operas, Italian and French fare, such as Rossini's virtually guaranteed crowd-pleaser *The Barber of Seville* and Saint-Saën's *Samson and Delilah*, the latter of which had long been banned in the United Kingdom but performed there since 1909. In fact, the season began with a performance of this last-named work on 24 June; not until the fourth night did the *Ring* get underway, although on the second night of the season the comic opera *The Mastersingers* was offered.

Understanding the potential value of the company's season in terms of public cultural education, the management of the *Rand Daily Mail* actively supported it. To be sure, Quinlan advertised daily in both that newspaper and its rival, *The Star*, but the small advertisements could hardly have generated much revenue for the two enterprises. At any rate, an editor assured readers that the staging of grand opera hardly entailed guaranteed profits and informed them that the previous year's Quinlan tour had realised only a marginal one. Producing Wagnerian operas in a form even remotely faithful to their composer's vision was extremely demanding in terms of scenic effect and orchestral instrumentation (including, at one point, six harps), and they required 'highly paid artistes' because the 'unusual' nature of Wagner's music 'make[s] short work of most voices'. To this supportive journalist, it seemed indefensible and counter-productive to impose amusement taxes on the undertaking, and he refuted the argument that such a levy could be defended as a means of reducing the capital outflow from the young Union of South Africa. Most of the revenue, he believed, would stay within the country to defray the cost of transport and many other necessities. By contrast to the 'somewhat parsimonious' response evident thus far in Johannesburg, Australian cities were contributing mightily to Quinlan's tours and thereby assuring him reasonable if moderate profits. As an 'operatic evangelist' who was taking 'great risks' to convey cultural traditions of Europe to the Union, he merited full public support (*Rand Daily Mail* 1913d).

3. Critical Reception

As had been the case in Johannesburg the previous year and in Cape Town in both 1912 and 1913, the performances by the Quinlan Opera Company received uniformly enthusiastic reviews in the local press. Almost by default, especially after *The Star* had to suspend publication for reasons discussed below, the primary task of commenting on them fell on the music critic of the *Rand Daily Mail*, Henley Arthur Chilvers. Accordingly, our synopsis of critical

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reception in Johannesburg will concentrate primarily on his reviews, especially those of the *Ring* cycle. A Londoner by birth, Chilvers had emigrated to Natal in 1901 in search of a climate more conducive to his weak health. In England he had been briefly employed as a banker, and he followed that profession in Pietermaritzburg for a few years before turning to journalism, and by 1905 he had joined the staff of the *Rand Daily Mail*.

Chilvers was locally renowned as a cultivated gentleman who devoted a great deal of time to promoting the arts in Johannesburg. His reviews of the Quinlan performances reflect that self-imposed didactic responsibility. They also reveal that he was a dyed-in-the-wool Wagnerite of the type which by the 1880s had made London one of the world's centres of 'Wagnerism', the term used to describe the devotion of his admirers not only to his talent as a composer but also his adroitness as a dramatist (Metrowich 1968).

Chilvers lauded the opening performance of the Quinlan season, *Samson and Delilah* by Camille Saint-Saëns. The evening boded well for the season, he predicted, because the 'magnificent house' that greeted the troupe at the Standard Theatre was distinguished not only by its size but also by its 'intellectual quality and musical competency'. Chilvers thought that especially Edna Thornton and Francis Costa had sung their roles marvelously while the other members of the cast also merited praise. Moreover, the scenery struck him as being quite adequate to this work which was nearly Wagnerian in scale (*Rand Daily Mail* 1913f).

Reviewing the performance of Wagner's *The Mastersingers* before a full house a day later, Chilvers found in it 'something truly grand', namely the orchestration. Throughout the work, that dimension seemed 'transcendent'. At the same time, he lauded Robert Parker's singing of the Hans Sachs part as the 'outstanding feature' of this opera. Even when a secondary member of the troupe named Hedmondts had to substitute for the ailing Francis Costa as Walther von Stolzing (despite suffering from sub-par health because of the high altitude of the Witwatersrand), he received Chilvers's commendation (*Rand Daily Mail* 1913f).

An accomplished organist as well as a journalist, Chilvers continued to pull out all the stops in assessing the significance of the 1913 opera season and particularly the performance of the *Ring* cycle in Johannesburg. Had anyone in the past been so quixotic as to predict that 'the most gigantic conception which has ever emanated from human brain would be staged here in Johannesburg', he would have been 'ridiculed for his foolish temerity'. Not only had the stages of the city seemed inadequate for mounting Wagner's

grandiose tetralogy, but ‘there was no sufficiently large, cultured, or opulent section of our community to support it’. To be sure, times had changed, Chilvers allowed, but nevertheless Quinlan merited praise for coming to the ‘rescue’ of the city’s musical life, even though he faced severe financial obstacles in arranging performances of Wagner’s operas in Johannesburg. Moreover, he acknowledged that the Quinlan Company had ‘cleverly’ managed to solve the problems posed by ‘so restricted a stage’ as that of the Standard Theatre (*Rand Daily Mail* 1913h).

Chilvers’s counterpart at *The Star*, Henry Lissant Collins, corroborated his assessment of the historical significance of the 1913 opera season. The collocation of ‘Ring’ and ‘Rand’ might strike some Johannesburgers as ‘odd’, he allowed, but to those who were aware of Quinlan’s ‘magnificent enterprise’ and its importance to the development of the local music scene, there was ‘nothing at all incongruous’ in producing the full *Ring* cycle on the Witwatersrand. Collins proudly noted that ‘many towns far older than Johannesburg’ had not yet hosted even a single segment of Wagner’s quadripartite ‘masterpiece’. After attending the performance of *The Rhinegold* on 27 June, he predicted that if the remaining three segments were produced on an equally high level, they would be a standard ‘by which to judge productions of the opera-cycle in future, no matter where we may see them’. To Collins, the music as played and sung by the Quinlan troupe was ‘wonderful’, and he thought, ‘There are moments when the genius of the thing is quite overpowering’ (*The Star* 1913).

The litany of praise, interspersed with educational comments for the edification of the readers, continued as the company proceeded through the *Ring*, usually at three-day intervals. After *The Valkyrie* was staged on the last evening of June, Chilvers described it as a ‘magnificent performance’ which richly deserved the thunderous and sustained applause it received as the curtain fell on its final act. He was especially moved by Robert Parker’s singing of the Wotan role ‘with all the dignity whereof it is capable’, as that demanding part had made him descend ‘quite to the lowest part of his compass’. Chilvers agreed wholeheartedly with the judgment of Ernest Newman, then one of the most respected music critics in England and a devotee of Wagner’s creative genius but one who loathed his personality, that Miss Percival Allen was the best British Brunnhild and had a voice ‘of splendid quality’. As always, Richard Eckhold’s conducting of the orchestra got high marks, not least for leading the performance of the Valkyrie Chorus. Only with regard to Karl von Cochem’s imperfect execution of Hunding’s role did Chilvers express

reservations, noting that this principal had ‘a somewhat marked vibrato’. All in all, this transplanted English critic was clearly moved by the second segment of the *Ring*, arguing that it was executed as adroitly as one dared to expect, ‘considering the disabilities under which the performers were placed in virtue of restricted space’. He explained briefly that in several of its performances at the Standard Theatre the Quinlan Opera Company had been compelled to excise certain elements, such as the ‘fire effects’ normally seen in *The Valkyrie* (*Rand Daily Mail* 1913i).

Siegfried was on the stage three evenings later. Again, Chilvers described the audience as a ‘very large’ throng that ‘at the conclusion cheered with the utmost enthusiasm’. Again playing his educational card, he opined that this third segment was the ‘heaviest’ of the *Ring* tetralogy and a brilliant emanation of ‘Wagner’s master mind’. The notoriously challenging *Heldentenor* role of the eponymous central character was executed ‘splendidly’ by Francis Costa. Chilvers was pleased to note that this ‘eminent tenor’ had also been chosen as a featured artist at the Wagner centenary observation at Bayreuth. That Johannesburg should be graced with an artist of his calibre was a feather in the city’s cap (*Rand Daily Mail* 1913m).

4. Mob Devastation in Central Johannesburg

At that point, however, all hell broke loose in Johannesburg. The stormy conflicts of *Siegfried* presaged a paroxysm of violence that shook the city on the afternoon and evening of Friday, 4 July, leaving several buildings in ashes and many people dead, and interrupting the Quinlan opera season.

To keen-eyed observers, the crescendo of frustration in the industrial action that had begun in May at the New Kleinfontein Mine in Benoni could hardly have been surprising. As the strike spread to other mines across much of the Witwatersrand without bringing about perceptible concessions for the workers, tensions continued to mount. An editor of the *Rand Daily Mail* expressed concern on 3 July that the strike has proliferated with ‘unexpected rapidity’, but nothing in his remarks anticipated the devastation that would soon be apparent. Indeed, he was confident that the majority of the mining companies were ‘in a position to see the trouble through’ and would emerge victorious, because ‘the gold that is in the ground will not run away’ (*Rand Daily Mail* 1913k). However, the same newspaper reported that on 2 July there had been attempts to blow up the power lines at what was popularly called the ‘Old Chinese’ mine near Benoni (*Rand Daily Mail* 1913j). Furthermore, on 3

June a 'blackleg' who had tempted fate by crossing a picket line to work in a mine in Benoni was 'very roughly handled' by strikers and had to be transported to Benoni Cottage Hospital for treatment. On the same day a 'pumpman' who had refused to participate in the strike and was moving a load of furniture to a township near the Van Ryn Estates Mine was engulfed by an estimated 200 miners who destroyed a piano and other belongings with which he and his wife of three months had hoped to furnish their home (*Rand Daily Mail* 1913l).

Frustrations continued to mount the following day and spread into central Johannesburg. According to contemporary newspaper accounts, one of the first targets of the mob's rage was Park Station, the principal railway depot in the centre of the city. A crowd of angry men surged through Rissik Street shortly after 5 p.m. and began to harass locomotive drivers at the station. They also vandalised kiosks, a booking office, and other places indoors before burning the station. Only around 10:30 p.m. did armed troops regain full control of the ruins (*Rand Daily Mail* 1913p).

If the chronology reported in the *Rand Daily Mail* is accurate, half an hour earlier approximately 100 men chose to leave the smouldering ruins of Park Station and wandered down to the premises of *The Star* in Pritchard Street, where they joined a crowd that had already assembled. The arsonists smashed the front windows of the building and torched the interior. When firemen arrived to fight the blaze, they were pelted with rocks that broke two of their helmets. Their efforts to extinguish the flames ended when someone cut their hose. Only when cavalry reached the scene was the street cleared of hooligans, but by then the *Star's* building was completely engulfed in the inferno. Virtually nothing in it could be saved (*Rand Daily Mail* 1913q). With its physical property gone but its staff intact, *The Star* had to suspend publication for several days. That left primary journalistic coverage of the violence and, for that matter, of much of the remainder of the Quinlan Opera Company's season, in the hands of the *Rand Daily Mail*.

Not only buildings but also people were targeted in the irrational behaviour of the mob. Again, it is necessary to rely on that surviving newspaper's account published the following day to get an impression of what transpired. It was stated that late in the evening many shop windows were shattered and 'revolvers were used with increasing frequency [after] gunsmiths' premises were broken into, and weapons seized' (*Rand Daily Mail* 1913o). Only as 11 p.m. approached and volleys of gunfire were heard in the streets at least 5,000 people gathered at Market Square to watch the *Star's*

building ‘burned like matchwood’ did the police take ‘drastic measures’ with ‘a sharp volley’ to disperse the crowd ‘like magic’. Whether more than one man lost his life on that incendiary Friday is unknown; in any case, dozens were taken to hospital with wounds of various severity (*Rand Daily Mail* 1913n).

The violence resumed the following day, when the Quinlan Opera Company performed Puccini’s *Madame Butterfly* at 2 p.m. and Gounod’s *Faust* at 7:30 p.m. Fewer details can be gleaned from immediate journalistic sources about what transpired in the streets on Saturday, because there was a brief gap in the publication of the *Rand Daily Mail*; apparently it was not printed on the following Monday. Moreover, its issues of both 5 July and 8 July are numbered ‘3,290’, and of course *The Star* was not published for many days. In any case, the announced statistics for casualties as of 8 July included sixteen named men and two unnamed ‘natives’ among the dead. Ten people were in ‘critical’ condition. By then well over 200 people had received medical attention, and 130 had been arrested (*Rand Daily Mail* 1913s).

How did all of this affect the brief opera season? The evidence suggests that it caused an interruption of one or two days, but otherwise Quinlan and his troupe managed to ‘go on with the show’, no doubt driven by pecuniary interests. According to the schedule that had been announced in the press the previous week, the final segment of the *Ring* cycle, *Twilight of the Gods* (*Götterdämmerung*) would be staged on Monday evening, 7 July, Offenbach’s *Tales of Hoffmann* on 8 July, Verdi’s *Aïda* on 9 July, Wagner’s *Lohengrin* on 10 July, and Rossini’s *The Barber of Seville* on 11 July, before the season would conclude on Saturday, 12 July, with a reprise of the same opera with which it had opened, namely *Samson and Delilah*. Most of these were reviewed, and quite enthusiastically, in the *Rand Daily Mail* during that week after some measure of tranquillity had been restored in central Johannesburg.

This began after the company resumed its season. One reviewer expressed his joy that after the recent interruptions ‘in the various artistic and industrial pursuits of the town’, the Quinlan Opera Company had been back on the stage on Tuesday afternoon (*Rand Daily Mail* 1913t). Furthermore, a concert of opera highlights that had been scheduled for the previous Sunday but postponed until Thursday afternoon (*Rand Daily Mail* 1913r) was warmly received and described in the *Rand Daily Mail* as an ‘exceedingly successful function’. The critic went so far as to profess that ‘one does not remember a concert of equal excellence having been given in Johannesburg’ (*Rand Daily Mail* 1913u).

5. Quinlan's Assessment of the Season

A key source of information is an interview Quinlan gave a journalist from *The Cape Argus* after he and his company arrived in Cape Town on an overnight train from Johannesburg on Monday morning, 14 July, a day and a half before its second—and very brief—season in that city in 1913. It had been announced in the Cape Town press before the violence erupted in central Johannesburg that the Quinlan Opera Company would be back in the Mother City for four performances beginning on 15 July and ending on 18 July before boarding the *Aeneas* on 19 July and sailing to Australia (*Cape Times* 1913). This, of course, is further evidence that the demonstrations did not terminate the season in Johannesburg. In what appear to be generally ingenuous remarks which, some of which, however, cannot be corroborated, he reported that the only casualty in the Johannesburg repertoire was the performance of *Twilight of the Gods* on Monday evening, 7 July. According to Quinlan, it had to be 'postponed', but the evidence suggests that it was actually cancelled; the *Ring* was simply not completed in the City of Gold in 1913. When asked about the inflammatory Friday evening when his troupe was doing *The Marriage of Figaro*, he stated that before the final curtain fell word of the torching of Park Station and the *Star* offices reached the Standard Theatre (*The Cape Argus* 1913a). One suspects that especially the latter devastation occurred too late in the evening to affect what happened at the Standard Theatre.

Quinlan commented at significantly greater length on events of the following day. The matinee performance of *Madame Butterfly*, he reported, was done to the 'accompaniment of the noise of incessant firing, and those noises were so disturbing that it would have been no wonder if the artistes had sung Puchini [*sic*] for Mozart and Mozart for Wagner'. During an intermission, the man who sold printed programmes went outside the theatre 'and came back with a bullet wound through his arm'. Quinlan claimed to have witnessed three men shot while he peered out the window of his room at the Carlton Hotel, and dozens of others had been rendered 'hors de combat and taken to hospital'. One bullet had lodged in the window sill of his room, although Quinlan did not claim to have been present when that had happened. Nevertheless, from a commercial perspective, he insisted that the Johannesburg segment of the South African tour was a success. After peace had been restored in the centre of the city, he noted with gratitude, the public resumed their support of the opera season for its final week, 'and we could really have taken three times as much money for each remaining performance as the theatre could hold'.

Quinlan would have been baffled by Wolpowitz's unsubstantiated assertion that the civil disturbances in the streets brought the season to an abrupt halt. With regard to the armed suppression of the demonstrators in Johannesburg, Quinlan offered his opinion that it was justified. Had it not been believed in the streets that the soldiers would carry out their orders to shoot, 'civil war would have been the order of the day' (*The Cape Argus* 1913b).

6. Conclusion

Despite the inability to complete the *Ring* at the Standard Theatre, one must concur with contemporary critical opinion that the 1913 Quinlan season in Johannesburg marked an important milestone in the young city's cultural history. The visiting company was indeed internationally renowned, and its conductor as well as several of its principals were already established stars in the firmament of grand opera. Whether the visit in June and July really was unprecedented in the musical brilliance it brought to the Witwatersrand might be a matter of conjecture. Certainly it provides further evidence of the geographical extent to which the centenary of Wagner's birth was observed. For Wagner enthusiasts like Lissant Collins and Hedley Chilvers, at any rate, it was truly a bright shining moment, though one which would be permanently associated in their memories with irrational and violent public behaviour of operatic proportions.

Comment of the Editor-in-Chief: Greater clarity about the Miners' Strike itself, as well as its presumed significance in the history of South, is provided by South African History Online at:

<https://sahistory.org.za/article/1913-mineworkers-strike>.

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