

*An Adventurous Life –
Emily Sophia Patton: Music Teacher, Traveller and
Foreign Correspondent*

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Robin S. Stevens



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This monograph is the first in a series of biographies of late nineteenth- and early twentieth century Australian music educators.

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An Adventurous Life – Emily Sophia Patton: Music Teacher, Traveller and Foreign Correspondent

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About the author ...

Robin Stevens was formerly Associate Professor of Music Education at Deakin University and is now a Principal Fellow in the Melbourne Conservatorium of Music, Faculty of Fine Arts and Music, The University of Melbourne. He has a long-standing interest in historical research in music education – particularly the development and propagation of the Tonic Sol-fa method and notation. He has published articles in national and international journals and was contributing co-editor with Gordon Cox of *The Origins and Foundations of Music Education: International Perspectives*, Second Edition (London & New York: Bloomsbury Academic 2017).



Emily S. Patton

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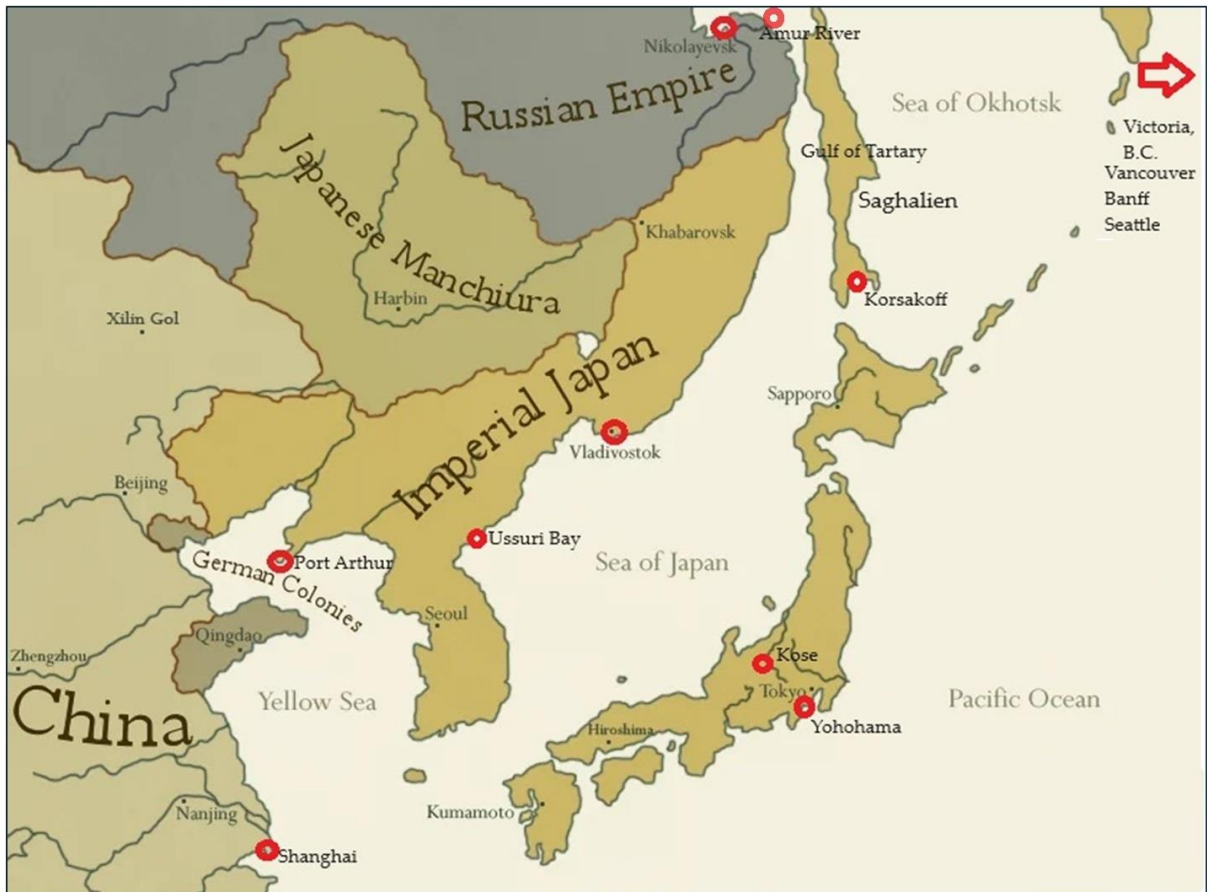
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Map of the Far East (c. 1905)
 with locations marked where Emily Patton resided or visited, 1889–1912.

Preface

My interest in the life and work of Emily Patton was aroused some fifty years ago when undertaking a graduate degree in education and I had the opportunity to undertake a small research study on the history of primary music education in Victoria. The subject of my research was the promotion of the Tonic Sol-fa method of teaching music principally by Samuel McBurney (1847–1910), an immigrant from Scotland, who was the key figure in propagating the method in Victoria and to a lesser extent overseas.¹ In the course of this research, I came across Emily Patton, a student of Dr. McBurney and of Rev. Raphael Benjamin, in the pages of *The Tonic Sol-fa Reporter*, later *The Musical Herald*, copies of which are held in the State Library of Victoria. I had an article on Patton published in *Research Studies in Music Education* in 2000² that was informed by additional primary and secondary source materials obtained during visits to Japan in 1997 and 1998, and by a collection of materials on Emily Patton assembled by Harold S. Williams, a long-term resident of Japan, copies of which are located in the National Library of Australia³ and the State Library of New South Wales.⁴ The other major source of information for the present monograph is an article, written in Japanese, entitled “Music Educator: Emily Sophia Patton” by Midori Takeishi.⁵ This work draws on several sources including my 2000 article, on Williams’ material, on contemporary newspaper reports and on other references, but in addition, Takeishi utilized some important material located in the library collections of the *Musashino Academia Musicae* and Tokyo University of the Arts.⁶ This material was categorized as follows in appendices to her article:

- a list of successful candidates for Tonic Sol-fa certificates in Japan prepared by Patton (Document 2: 15-16)
- a transcript of the Program for the Tonic Sol-fa Jubilee Celebration, 29 May 1891 (Document 3: 16-17)
- a transcript of the Rules and Regulations of the Juvenile Tonic Sol-fa Society, 17 October 1891 (Document 4: 17)
- Magazines in Patton’s Collection (Table 1: 3)

¹ Robin S. Stevens, “Samuel McBurney and the Introduction of the Tonic Sol-fa Method of Teaching Singing to Victorian State Schools”. Unpublished research paper, School of Education, The University of Melbourne, 1971.

² Robin S. Stevens, “Emily Patton: An Australian Pioneer of Tonic Sol-fa in Japan”, *Research Studies in Music Education*, 14 (June 2000): 40-49.

³ Harold S. Williams (n.d.), “Scrapbook: Mrs. Emily Sophia Patton”, Harold S. Williams Collection (Series 1, Folder 101, Box 15, Manuscript Collection, National Library of Australia, Canberra).

⁴ Harold S. Williams, Papers relating to Emily Sophia Patton, 1831-1912, Sydney: State library of New South Wales, 1974 (Call Number MLD0C 2320).

⁵ Midori Takeishi, 音楽教育家エミリー・ソフィア・パットン (“Music Educator: Emily Sophia Patton”), *Bulletin, Tokyo College of Music*, 2004: 1-31. Tokyo College of Music Repository: <http://id.nii.ac.jp/1300/00000828/>

⁶ Takeishi recounts that, following her death on 7 January 1912, her library of music was auctioned and there is a detailed account of the purchasers and later the donors of this material to various institutions. There is also a description of the material in each category. Takeishi observes that Patton’s collection included a thirty-five year sequence of *The Tonic Sol-fa Reporter / The Musical Herald*, with many of the issues that included Patton’s underlinings and annotations. (Midori Takeishi, “Music Educator: Emily Sophia Patton”: 6-9).

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- Materials in Patton's Collection (Grade examination guidelines, exercises, handwritten materials) (Table 4: 30-31).

Reference will be made to some of the content included in Takeishi's article as well as to the documents and tables included the appendices listed above. Other references include materials collected during my visits to Japan in 1997 and 1998, and to material provided by fellow researchers. More recently, the availability online of the digitized serials, *The Tonic Sol-fa Reporter* and *The Musical Herald*, as well as Australian newspapers, have given the opportunity to search for key words and phrases and have enabled additional data to be located that are included in the present account. The main source of data regarding Patton's life in Japan and China as well as her travels in the Far East comes from a series of annual Circular Letters that she prepared and had professionally printed. Patton sent these to friends in Australia and elsewhere. The first three of these for the years 1896 to 1898 could not be located and only thirteen of the remaining issues are extant—namely, numbers 4 to 5 (1899 and 1900), number 10 (1905), and numbers 13 to 16 (1908 to 1911). These Circular Letters provide a unique perspective of Patton's life experiences in Japan and China as well as providing an insightful social commentary on life in these countries at the time.⁷ All sources of data utilized have been referenced in footnotes.

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⁷ These Circular Letters were accessed from copies held in the National Library of Australia, Canberra.

1. Patton's Family Background

Emily Sophia Patton was born on 2 May 1831 at 12 Harley Street, Marylebone in London. Her father was Arthur Todd Holroyd (1806–1887) and her mother was Sophia Rachael Holroyd (née Abbs) (c.1810–1868).⁸ Emily Patton's family background, particularly her father's professional career and other achievements, appears to have largely defined her character and contributed significantly to what could best be described as her "adventurous spirit".

Arthur Holroyd was the subject of a lengthy biographical article in the Sydney newspaper *The Empire* of 22 April 1856⁹ when he was elected as Member for the Western Boroughs to the New South Wales Legislative Assembly. Arthur Holroyd was the youngest of seven children. His father was a merchant in London but died when Arthur was six or seven years of age after which, in 1813, he undertook the majority of his schooling at Ripon Grammar School in North Yorkshire. He left Ripon at the age of seventeen and decided on a career as a physician. He undertook medical studies and clinical placements at various locations until he enrolled at the School of Medicine at the University of Edinburgh in 1827. In order to qualify for the Fellowship of the College of Physicians, he entered Christ College, Cambridge.¹⁰ In 1830, Holroyd was awarded the degree of Doctor of Medicine at Edinburgh and in 1831 graduated as a Bachelor of Medicine at Cambridge, thereby qualifying for the Fellowship of the College of Physicians. Holroyd contributed evidence to a Select Committee of the British Parliament on Medical Education but, due to a fire at the Houses of Parliament, much of his documentary evidence was destroyed.

In the meantime, Holroyd married Sophia Rachel Abbs, second daughter of Bryan Abbs, Deputy Lieutenant of the County of Durham, in June 1830 and in May the following year, their daughter Emily was born. However, having seen much of his Select Committee evidence destroyed, Holroyd decided to embark on a career in the law, entering Lincoln's Inn with a view to becoming a barrister. After touring through Switzerland and Italy, Holroyd travelled to Egypt where he explored the interior from late in 1836 and for most of 1837. He met Mohammed Ali Pacha, the Ottoman Governor of Egypt and the Sudan, from whom he obtained free passage through the area. He travelled initially to the second cataract (waterfall or rapid) of the Nile at Wady Halfah in Sudan by boat and camel, and then to various places in Sudan and ending at Kordofan, an area between Darfur and the valley of the White Nile to the west. Here he found that Ali Pacha's troops were capturing local inhabitants and enslaving them through "cruel and barbarous means".

On his return to Cairo, Holroyd made representations to the British Government to exert pressure on Ali Pacha to discontinue the slave trade. He later travelled to Palestine and Syria and, on

⁸ The main source of genealogical details in this work have been obtained from Ancestry, *Roots Web*. <https://wc.rootsweb.com/trees/225968/15076/-/individual> (Accessed 9 July 2021).

⁹ *The Empire*, 22 April 1856: 5. Unless otherwise referenced, this article is the source of information about Arthur Holroyd prior to 1856.

¹⁰ The reason for Holroyd enrolling at Cambridge was that membership of the College of Physicians was, at the time, restricted to graduates from Oxford, Cambridge or Trinity College Dublin.

returning to Alexandria, found an outbreak of plague. During a period of quarantine, Holroyd produced a pamphlet advocating new Quarantine Laws. He returned to London in November 1838 and published a booklet entitled *Egypt and Mahomed Ali Pacha, in 1837* that was submitted to Lord Palmerston, then the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.¹¹



Figure 1. Photograph of Arthur Todd Holroyd (1806–1887). State Library of New South Wales, 170820.

¹¹ Arthur T. Holroyd, *Egypt and Mahomed Ali Pacha, in 1831; A Letter containing Remarks upon "Egypt as it is in 1837."* Addressed to the Right Hon. Viscount Palmerston. (London: James Ridgway and Sons, Piccadilly, 1838).

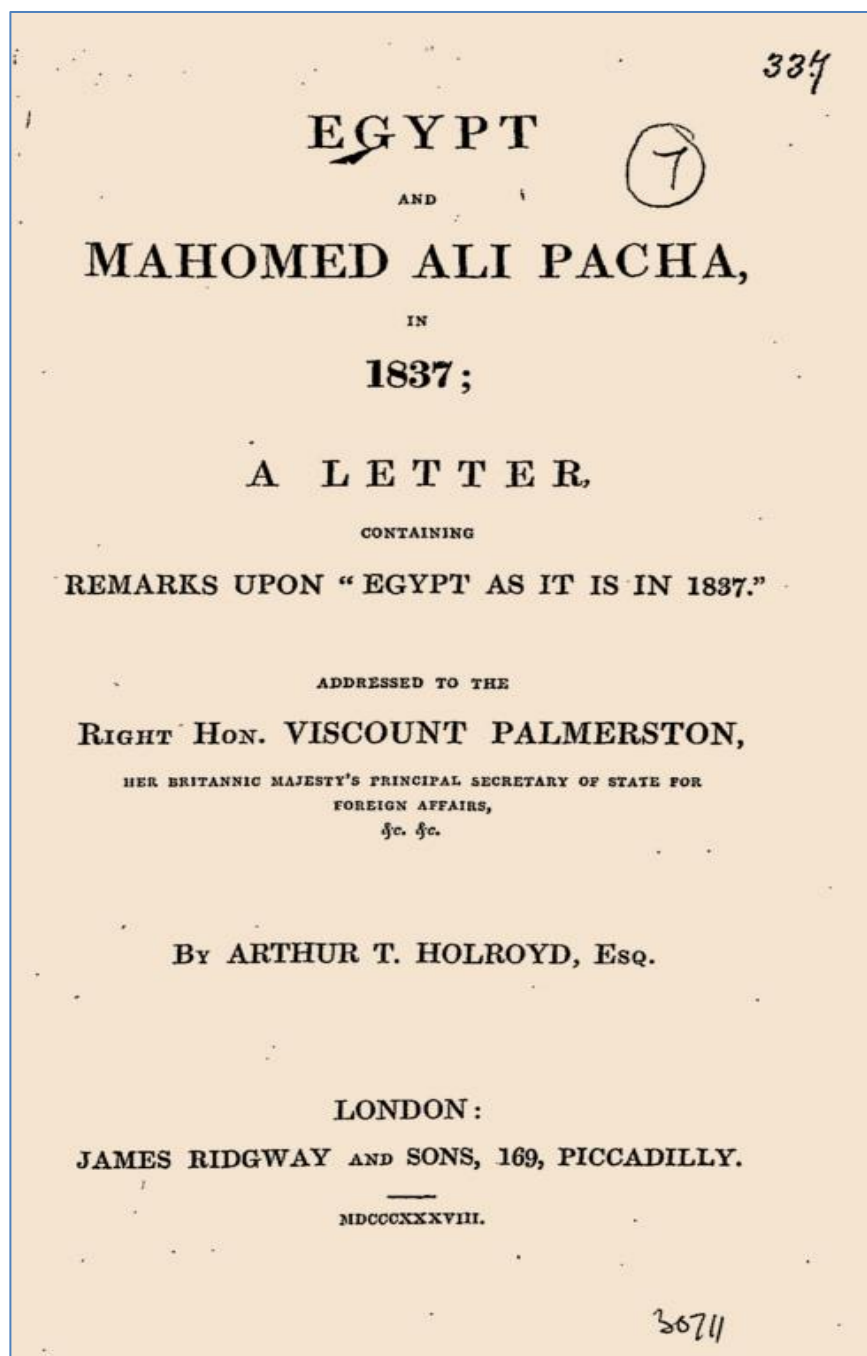


Figure 2. Title page from Arthur T. Holroyd [and Henry John Tempe], *Egypt and Mahomed Ali Pacha in 1837: A letter containing remarks upon "Egypt as it is in 1837": Addressed to the Right Hon. Viscount Palmerston*. (J. Ridgway and Sons, 1838). "The Making of the Modern World", <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/U0105648282/MOME?u=unimelb&sid=bookmark-MOME&pg=2>. He later produced a book documenting his expeditions entitled *Suakim and the Country of Soudan* in 1885. This account was "written expressly for the information of the New South Wales Military

Contingent bound for Service in Africa” and was published in Sydney by Thomas Richards, Government Printer (see the title page and a map from this book below). Holroyd had the distinction of being the first European to reach the second cataract of the Nile and to then cross the Bayuda Desert to Kartoum and being the first Englishman to reach Kordofan.¹² In recognition of his achievements in exploration, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, having previously been elected a Fellow of the Linnæan Society¹³ and the Zoological Society.

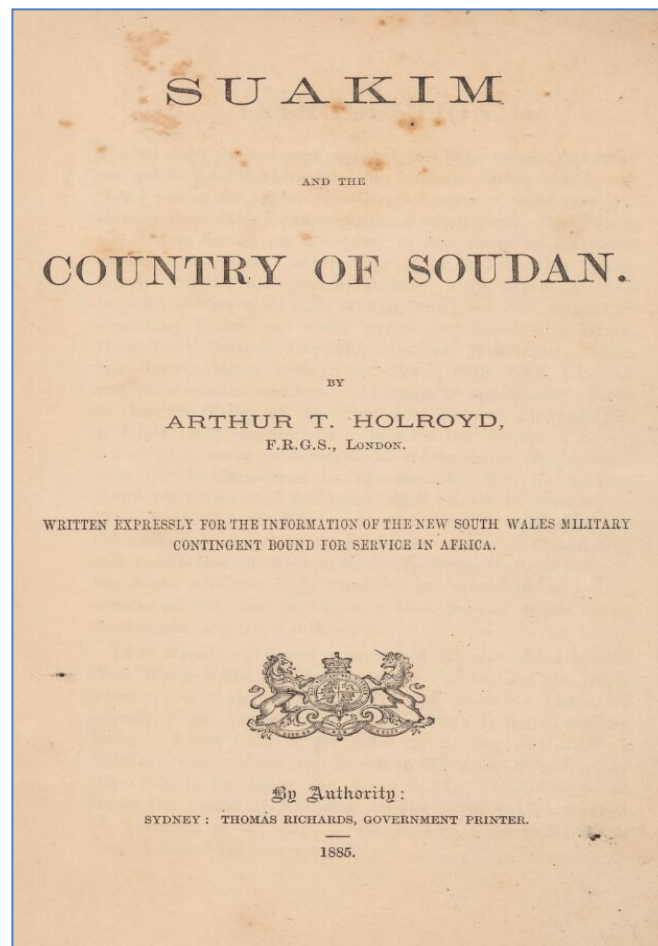


Figure 3. Title page from Arthur T. Holroyd, *Suakim and the Country of Soudan* (Sydney: Thomas Richards, Government Printer, 1885); State Library of New South Wales, <https://collection.sl.nsw.gov.au/record/74VKwoNwwbPy>

¹² A chronological record of Holroyd’s explorations is at the *Travellers’ Graffiti from Egypt and the Sudan* website, compiled by Roger O. De Keersmaecker. <http://www.egypt-sudan-graffiti.be/Arthur%20Todd%20Holyroyd.htm> (Accessed 23 June 2021).

¹³ Founded in 1788, the Linnæan Society is a learned institution concerned with natural history, evolution, and taxonomy.



Figure 4. Folded map¹⁴ included with Arthur T. Holroyd, *Suakim and the Country of Soudan* (Sydney: Thomas Richards, Government Printer, 1885); State Library of New South Wales, <https://collection.sl.nsw.gov.au/record/74VKwoNwwbPy>

¹⁴ This map shows Holroyd's journeys from Alexandria to the second cataract of the Nile (a waterfall with a large, single vertical drop, usually falling clear of the bedrock) and then on to Dongola, Ambukol, and across the Desert of Dayuda to Khartoum; then he traversed the Blue Nile to Sennar, and returning to Wady-Medinah, crossed the desert to the White Nile, from which point he travelled in a south-westerly direction to Kordofau, and then back to Cairo.

Back in England, he renewed his legal work and was called to the Bar in May 1841. After a period in Yorkshire, he was part of a syndicate that established the Commercial Bank of London of which served as a director until he decided to emigrate to Wellington in New Zealand. He arrived there in August 1843 and applied for admission as a Barrister at Law,¹⁵ subsequently entered into partnership with Robert Hart as Notaries Public.¹⁶ This partnership lasted until the end of the following year (1844) when it was formally dissolved,¹⁷ after which Holroyd was involved in several legal disputes.¹⁸

Holroyd's next move was to Sydney in New South Wales. Whether due to his wife being ill, to a marital breakdown or to some other reason, Holroyd's wife appears to have remained in England. Certainly, when he arrived at Sydney on 14 October 1845 on board the brig *Bee*, he was not accompanied by his wife but only by his daughter and a manservant. Interestingly, they also arrived with a Miss Armstrong—whose name was listed immediately after that of Miss [Emily] Holroyd¹⁹—who he was later to marry. Arthur Holroyd was admitted to the New South Wales Bar in November of that year and was appointed as a Crown Prosecutor and Master in Equity of the Supreme Court from 1866 to 1881. For a brief period in 1879 he was an Acting Supreme Court Judge. In 1856, he was elected the Member for the Western Boroughs to the New South Wales Legislative Assembly where he served two terms from 1856 to 1858 and 1861 to 1864.²⁰ He also held several important civic positions, being one of the Commissioners for laying out of Sydney's Hyde Park, a Trustee of Sydney Grammar School, a Director of the Australian Mutual Provident Society and several building societies in Sydney as well as other public service roles. He acquired land at Merrylands near Parramatta, calling his estate "Sherwood Scrubs". He became the first mayor of the local municipality (that was named Holroyd after him) when it was established in 1872.²¹ In April 1868, Holroyd's wife Sophia died at Chipping Barnet, a town north of London, aged 58 years. Holroyd married for the second time to Elizabeth Armstrong (1813–1900) at Parramatta in that same year.²²

¹⁵ *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, 30 August 1843: 3.

¹⁶ *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, 4 September 1843: 1.

¹⁷ *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, 1 February 1845: 1.

¹⁸ *Wellington Independent*, 9 August 1845: 2.

¹⁹ "Shipping Intelligence", *The Australian* (Sydney, NSW), 14 October 1845: 2.

²⁰ For a summary of Holroyd's parliamentary service, see Parliament of New South Wales, "Members: L Mr Arthur Todd Holroyd (1806-1887)". <https://www.parliament.nsw.gov.au/members/Pages/member-details.aspx?pk=319> (Accessed 24 June 2021.)

²¹ Frances Pollon, *The Book of Sydney Suburbs*. North Ryde, NSW: Angus and Robertson Publishers, 1988): 170, cited on "Parramatta History and Heritage" website. <https://historyandheritage.cityofparramatta.nsw.gov.au/research-topics/suburbs/merrylands-brief-history> (Accessed 7 July 2021).

²² Ancestry.com. *Australia, Marriage Index, 1788-1950* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010. Registration 1868/3059.

Holroyd died on 15 June 1887 at his residence “Sherwood Scrubs” at Merrylands.²³ His death was described as being “chiefly from the effects of old age, though he had been ailing for some time previous to his decease”. He was buried at Rookwood cemetery.²⁴

As will become apparent, Emily Holroyd—later Emily Terry and ultimately Emily Patton—demonstrated considerable self-confidence, determination, adaptability and an adventurous spirit in her life that may well be explained by character traits inherited from her father as well as the example set by him. She was faced with several tragedies in her life and yet she was able to adapt to and overcome the challenges these presented.

²³ Ancestry.com. *Australia, Death Index, 1787-1985* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010. Registration 1887/7385; *The Sydney Mail*, 25 June 1887: 1352.

²⁴ For a fuller account of Arthur Holroyd’s life, see the Wikipedia article at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aurthur_Holroyd.

2. Emily Patton's Early Years

Nothing is known about Emily Holroyd's childhood in Britain or in New Zealand. However, it may be assumed that she had a good education and was most certainly well accomplished in the arts, particularly in music. There was little opportunity for a school education in Wellington—in 1840, Charles Grace offered young ladies and gentlemen “an ordinary English education” but his school lasted less than a year²⁵—so it is most likely that Emily's father employed private tutors to provide for his daughter's education. The first record of Emily Holroyd in Australia is her arrival at Sydney in October 1845 at the age of fourteen with her father. However, in the reporting of her “A letter from the Far East—Some Reminiscences” published in the *Sydney Sportsman* newspaper in 1908 by the columnist “Hayseed”, Emily Patton (as she was by then) described her introduction to the Sydney theatre scene towards the end of 1845 or in early 1846.²⁶ She recounted seeing her first theatre performance, “Tom and Jerry, or Life in London” at the Victoria Theatre in Sydney. She was greatly impressed by the performance and later become acquainted with the Carandini family, the mother of whom, Marie Carandini (1826–1894), achieved prominence as a leading operatic soprano.²⁷ As a young woman, Emily Holroyd spent much of her time backstage at the Victoria Theatre observing many of the operatic and theatrical productions during the years 1845 to 1853.²⁸

In 1853, at the age of 22, Emily married Frederick George Terry—a member of the eminent English theatrical family and then Manager of the Sydney Railway Company—on 30 May of that year.²⁹ Terry was the youngest son of the accomplished British actor and playwright Daniel Terry (1780?–1829) who specialized in stage adaptations of the novels of Sir Walter Scott and who, for a brief period, was joint proprietor and manager of the Adelphi Theatre in The Strand in London's West End.³⁰ Terry himself was a close friend of the Carandini family, being godfather to two of their children. It appears that Emily had married Terry after a quarrel with her father who was indignant that she was intending to “go on the stage”.³¹ She went with her new husband to Melbourne two years later³² where Terry became a representative of the Australasian Steam Navigation (A.S.N.) Company.³³

²⁵J. L. Ewing, *Origins of the Primary School Curriculum 1840-78* (Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research 1960): 6.

²⁶“Mummer Memoirs. A letter from the Far East—Some Reminiscences by Mrs. E.S. Patton (nee Miss Emily Holroyd). No. 41 (By ‘Hayseed’)”, *Sydney Sportsman*, 25 November 1908: 2.

²⁷ See Ann K. Wentzel, “Carandini, Marie (1826–1894)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/carandini-marie-3162/text4729>, published first in hardcopy, 1969 (Accessed online 8 July 2021).

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 31 May 1853: 5; *The Empire*, 22 April 1856: 5.

³⁰ John Joseph Knight, “Terry, Daniel (1780?-1829), actor and playwright”, *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1885-1900, Volume 56. https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Dictionary_of_National_Biography,_1885-1900/Terry,_Daniel (Accessed 9 July 2021).

³¹ *Sydney Sportsman*, 26 February 1908: 3.

³² Harold S. Williams, H.S. (n.d.). Scrapbook: Mrs. Emily Sophia Patton, Harold S. Williams Collection (Series 1, Folder 101, Box 15, Manuscript Collection, National Library of Australia, Canberra): 27a.

³³ J. F. Forde (“Old Chum”) (1912). Early Melbourne (No. 132), *Truth*. Melbourne.

However, her marriage to Terry was short-lived as, on 29 May 1858, her husband died at the age of thirty-one from what was described as “colonial fever” after a fortnight’s illness at his home at 26 Tanner Street in Richmond. Emily, now a widow at the age of twenty-seven, gained employment as an actress with G.V. Brooke's Theatre Company the following year.³⁴ Terry had been acquainted with Brooke who was a leading theatrical impresario and actor from England who, by then was based in Melbourne, and through this relationship, Emily was introduced to Melbourne theatrical life.³⁵ Her debut appearance was in the role of Emma Torrens in a production of Morris Barnett's *The Serious Family* at the Theatre Royal in July of 1859.³⁶ Her performance was described by a press reporter as follows:

So at least the bills informed us, though in the absence of such an assurance we should not have supposed the young lady to have been so perfect a stranger to the footlights. Her confidence without being obtrusive was notable, and there were no traces of that awkwardness and nervousness which usually embarrass debutantes. Possessed of an attractive and intelligent face, a pleasant voice, and an equally pleasant manner, Miss Holroyd's natural qualifications are greatly in her favor, and she exhibited so much *savoir faire*, and such a thorough appreciation of the part she played, that with study and experience, she may be pronounced capable of becoming a good actress, and of adorning the profession she has adopted. Now that the ice is fairly broken let her take courage and proceed. The colonial stage has need of an addition to its number of gifted female performers, and the colonial public is neither slow to recognize, nor a niggard in its encouragement of genuine merit.³⁷

At the end of that year, as part of the Christmas pantomime season, she appeared in *Harlequin Prince Humpty Dumpty* in a male role as Prince Transimendus and, according to one reporter, “triumph[ed] over all the difficulties of masculine attire with more grace and adroitness than one can find epithets to tell of”.³⁸

³⁴ J. F. Forde ("Old Chum") (1912), “Mrs. E. S. Patton’s Death at Japan: Aged 80 Years”, *Truth*. Melbourne, 25 February 1912: 12.

³⁵ “Mummer Memoirs. An Interesting Letter from the Far Past—Miss Emily Holroyd—Her First appearance on any stage” (By ‘Hayseed’), *Sydney Sportsman*, 13 May 1908: 3.

³⁶ *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 31 May 1853: 5; *The Empire*, 22 April 1856: 5

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ “Christmas Amusements”, *The Argus*, 27 December 1859: 5.

3. Life in Melbourne

In 1860, Emily married Horatio William Patton (1829–1888).³⁹ Although she was obviously talented as a theatre performer, her husband insisted that she leave the stage. The Patton family lived in Punt Road in the Melbourne suburb of Richmond and the couple had two children, Reginald Holroyd Patton who was born on 30 May 1864,⁴⁰ and Laura Gwendoline Patton, born on 15 August 1868.⁴¹

Emily Patton had a talent for inventions of all sorts. An early example was “An Invention for the Improvement of Colonial Ovens” for which she was granted a patent in March 1875.⁴² Later that year, she took out a patent for cast-iron memorial tablets and crosses which was granted in September 1875.⁴³ These were shown at the Victorian Intercolonial Exhibition held at the Melbourne Public Library between September and November of 1875.⁴⁴ Her exhibit was described as being “... cast from registered designs, and will supply the want which has been keenly and painfully felt, of a memorial for cemetery purposes which shall not be out of the reach of those in the most humble circumstances.”⁴⁵ Later still, and allied to her work as a teacher of music, she applied for a patent for “An Invention for keeping the hands in proper position when practising [sic] the pianoforte, to be known as *The Monitor Wrist-Guide for the Pianoforte*” (see advertisement below in Figure 5).⁴⁶

³⁹ Victoria, *Australia Marriage Index, 1837-1950*, Reference no. 3171.

⁴⁰ *The Argus*, 1 April 1864: 4.

⁴¹ *The Age*, 18 August 1868: 2.

⁴² *Victorian Government Gazette*, 5 March 1875: 436.

⁴³ *Victorian Government Gazette*, 17 September 1875: 1810.

⁴⁴ *The Australasian*, 4 September 1875: 5.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ ‘Applications for Patents for Inventions, No. 3364’ in *Victorian Government Gazette*, 9 February 1883: 269.



Figure 5. Advertisement for “Monitor Wrist-Guide for the Pianoforte” from Emily S. Patton, *Some Practical Remarks on Music Teaching: From the Personal Experiences of a Teacher*. (Melbourne, Watt & Co., 1882, end page). State Library of Victoria, A 780.4 M973 (v.5).

Although precise details of Patton’s musical training are not known, she began her music teaching career at Vieuseux’s Ladies College located in Clarendon Street, East Melbourne. Next, she taught music at the newly-established Presbyterian Ladies College, then located at 300 Albert Street, East Melbourne, during 1879 and 1880, specializing in the teaching of keyboard harmony. One of her pupils at Presbyterian Ladies College at this time was Helen Porter Mitchell who was later to achieve international acclaim as the opera singer Dame Nellie Melba. The columnist “Eyebright”, writing an article entitled “Fashions: New modes” in 1903, reported that:

Madame [Melba] wrote Mrs. Patton a very kindly letter dated from Government House, Macedon, containing the following reminiscences:—“Dear Mrs. Patton, I always admired your energy when I was a little girl, and I shall always remember how much I enjoyed going to your children's parties. ... I wonder if you remember that I studied harmony with

you. I often wondered whether your book ('Harmony Simplified') was a success. It ought to have been. I have had a very happy time here, and have been spoilt by everybody."⁴⁷

From at least 1878, Patton taught music as a private teacher mainly to piano and singing students at her home in Studley Park Road, Kew, then at 1 Sydney Terrace in Wellington Parade, East Melbourne, later at studios at 30 Russell Street in the commercial centre of Melbourne, and later still from her home at "Tyrone" in Erin Street, Richmond.

Mrs. Patton,

Teacher of Harmony at the Presbyterian Ladies' College, Melbourne,

LADIES' COLLEGE (M. VIEUSSEUX), ETC., ETC.

Is prepared to receive a limited number of Pupils for instruction in her

NOVEL SYSTEM OF ACQUIRING THE PRINCIPLES OF HARMONY,

Which she imparts from a comprehensive work of her own compilation, published by Messrs. A. LAM & Co., Collins-street.

MRS. PATTON'S SYSTEM is designed to awaken, in the highest degree, the musical intelligence and interest of all those who may have been trained in the ordinary course of instruction, by introducing simply and practically a branch of the study of music hitherto unobtainable to all but a very few, by reason of the technical difficulties surrounding it, viz.—A knowledge of the primary laws of Musical Construction, embracing in detail the subjects of Musical Accent and Rhythm; Key Relationship; the laws that govern Basses; the principles of Transposition and Modulation &c.; giving pupils the advantage of being able to form Musical Analyses of their familiar Pianoforte Pieces and Songs, a process calculated to react most favourably on their performances as instrumental and vocal executants.

Young People training with the object of teaching the Pianoforte or Singing, will find this musical course especially valuable, as an adjunct to their other studies, as it will give them a power over their pupils not to be otherwise attained.

To Adults having little or no previous knowledge of music, **MRS. PATTON** offers a system (based on the simplest laws of Musical sound) by which they may, in an incredibly short time, without the drudgery of learning the Pianoforte in the usual way, not only accompany themselves agreeably and correctly, but also transpose their accompaniments at sight into any key with the greatest facility.

MRS. PATTON possesses the highest certificates from past pupils, as to the thorough efficiency and success of her system, and method of imparting it, and she has also much pleasure in directing attention to the following

TESTIMONIALS

—FROM LADY BOYKEN—
GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
MELBOURNE, Tuesday, 12th November, 1877.

MY DEAR MRS. PATTON—
In reply to your note of yesterday, I shall be much pleased to have your new work dedicated to myself and daughters; and I am very glad to be able to say that my daughters have made great progress during the time they have been under your tuition, and I consider your method of teaching Harmony very useful and comprehensive.

Hoping you may have every success,
Believe me, yours truly,
DIAMANTINE BOWEN.

—FROM MADAME LUCY CHAMBERS—
8 ALBERT STREET, 29th January, 1879.

MY DEAR MRS. PATTON—
As you have been good enough to say that my professional opinion would be of service to you, I have much pleasure in stating that I have examined pupils of yours from the age of ten to sixteen, and I have no hesitation in saying that their knowledge of music generally, and of Harmony in particular, is very far superior to that of the generality of pupils of much longer training, and I consider your method a valuable groundwork for both singing and pianoforte.

You are at liberty to make what use of this you choose, and wishing you every success,
I remain, yours sincerely,
LUCY CHAMBERS.

—FROM MISS ROSINA CARANDINI—
(MRS. EDWARD PALMER),
WINDSOR TERRACE, 27th February, 1879.

MY DEAR MRS. PATTON—
I was exceedingly pleased with the thorough knowledge of music your pupils possessed, and I highly approve of your system of teaching, for I find that my daughter, although having learnt so short a time from you,

possesses a far better knowledge of the theory of music than she did before; therefore I shall recommend it whenever opportunity offers.

With kind regards, believe me,
Yours sincerely,
ROSINA PALMER.

—EXTRACT FROM THE HEAD MASTERS' REPORT—
FOR THE YEAR 1878.
PRESBYTERIAN LADIES' COLLEGE.

"The Class of Harmony has been, I am glad to say, a decided success. Mrs. Patton has entirely succeeded in gaining and keeping the attention of her pupils, and the high marks obtained by them all at the final examination, show that throughout she has been intelligently followed. Next year the class will be continued, and as the experimental stage of our venture in this matter will then be past, I hope to see a large increase in the number of pupils."

ANDREW HARPER, M.A., PRINCIPAL.

—FROM M. VIEUSSEUX—
PRINCIPAL LADIES' COLLEGE,
CLARENDS ST., EAST MELBOURNE, June 15th, 1880.

MY DEAR MRS. PATTON—
You have asked me—"What is the practical use of your class on Harmony to the pupils of Ladies' College?" My answer is: When I find pupils anxious and eager to please their teacher, always glad when the time for the lesson arrives, indications over their work, which they take up with enthusiasm; astonished at understanding things which they had thought quite beyond them; surprised how simple and easy much now appears to them, and already conscious of the drawing upon them of a feeling of confidence in matters musical to which before they were utter strangers—then I say that teacher is the right person in the right place, and the practical use of the instruction given must be great, the best judges thereof being the pupils themselves.

I am, dear Madam,
Yours truly,
L. VIEUSSEUX.

Private Lessons given, and Classes of not less than Four nor more than Six, formed at Schools or Private Houses, to suit the convenience of Pupils.

Mrs. Patton is prepared to organize Special Teachers' Classes for those who may desire to acquire her system for Educational purposes.

Particulars as to the length of course, terms, &c., can be obtained by communicating with Mrs. Patton, Studley Park Road, Kew.

Figure 6. Emily S. Patton. Professional summary and testimonials c. 1879.

⁴⁷ Quoted in *The Arena-Sun*, 14 May 1903: 8.

4. Patton's Music Teaching Method – Tonic Sol-fa

The Tonic Sol-fa method of teaching music reading, with its simplified form of music notation, was developed by the non-conformist minister, the Rev. John Curwen (1816–1880) who based his method on that devised by Sarah Anna Glover (1786–1867). Curwen made several modifications to Glover's movable doh solmisation (sol-fa) system and later included additional features of his own devising. Firstly, he employed Glover's use of the first letter of the sol-fa syllables (doh, ray, me fah, soh, lah, te) on a movable basis as a mnemonic aid placed under staff notes for pitch reading but used lower-case rather than Glover's upper-case letters.⁴⁸ Curwen also built on another aspect of Glover's system of mnemonics; he refined her rhythmic notation system of bar lines and commas separating sol-fa letters to his own system of bar lines, half bar lines and semicolons to indicate sol-fa notes occurring on strong beats, medium beats and weak beats respectively in each measure. For marking the subdivisions of beats, he used a full stop for half divisions and a comma for quarter divisions, and for continuation of a tone from one beat to the next, he employed a dash. Curwen also made use of Glover's *Norwich Sol-fa Ladder* which he transformed into *The Tonic Sol-fa Modulator* to train students to vocalize the sol-fa note names in various keys (see an example of Tonic Sol-fa in Figure 7 below). Later still, Curwen incorporated French time names (adopted from Aimé Paris's *Langue de durees*) into his method as an aid to realising the rhythmic aspect of melodies. He also devised handsigns for both pitch and rhythmic which aided the learning process.

In order to encourage students to learn Tonic Sol-fa as well as to provide them with a systematic course of study, Curwen established a series of examinations that included the Elementary, Intermediate and Advanced Certificates and established a training institution called the Tonic Sol-fa School in 1864 for Tonic Sol-fa teachers. Curwen later founded the Tonic Sol-fa College in 1879⁴⁹ which conducted a wide range of educational activities including singing classes, postal courses, and summer-term courses as well as administering a system of graded music examinations. In addition, the College awarded Associate, Licentiate, Graduate and Fellowship diplomas by prescribed examinations.⁵⁰ Unlike most other music examining bodies at this time, the examination of candidates for Tonic Sol-fa certificates was undertaken by teachers, with successful candidates—often their own students—being listed in “The Tonic Sol-fa College” columns of the movement's journal *The Tonic Sol-fa Reporter* and later *The Musical Herald*. In summary, although he based much of the Tonic Sol-fa pedagogy on Glover's Norwich Sol-fa system, Curwen refined her method and set up pedagogical and institutional structures that enabled the Tonic Sol-fa method to be widely promoted both in Britain and abroad.

⁴⁸ For details of Glover's method, see Sarah Anna Glover, *Scheme for Rendering Psalmody Congregational* (Norwich: Jarrold and Sons, 1835).
https://books.google.com.au/books?id=pLFVAAAACAAJ&pg=PA78&source=gbs_selected_pages&cad=2#v=onepage&q&f=false (Accessed 27 April 2021).

⁴⁹ John Spencer Curwen and John Graham, *The Tonic Sol-fa Jubilee: A Popular Record and Handbook* (London: J. Curwen and Sons, n.d. [c. 1891]).

⁵⁰ Henry Fisher, *The Musial Profession* (London: J. Curwen and Sons, 1888): 249-54.

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Figure 7. An example of Curwen’s Tonic Sol-fa notation from John Curwen, *The Standard Course of Lessons and Exercises in the Tonic Sol-fa Method of Teaching Music* (London, England: Tonic Sol-fa Agency, 1872): 93.

Tonic Sol-fa was introduced to Victoria by Dr. Samuel McBurney (1847–1910) who had emigrated to the Colony of Victoria from Scotland in 1870. He had several teaching positions before being appointed as the district singing master at Portland by the Education Department in 1875. In an effort to disseminate Tonic Sol-fa as a choral singing method, McBurney called together all the Tonic Sol-fa-ists whom he could locate in the colony and founded the Victorian Tonic Sol-fa Association in 1878. This led to the formation of several Tonic Sol-fa choral societies and the adoption of the method by many church choirs. McBurney then began to campaign for recognition of the Tonic Sol-fa method for use in Victorian Education Department schools, but it was not until 1887 that an alternative music program based on the tonic sol-fa method and its notational system was finally placed on an equal footing with the existing staff notation program in Victorian State Schools.⁵¹

Emily Patton was introduced to the Tonic Sol-fa method by one of McBurney’s close associates, Rev. Raphael Benjamin (1846–1906), then assistant minister and reader at the Melbourne

⁵¹ See Robin S. Stevens, “Music in State-Supported Education in New South Wales and Victoria, 1848-1920” (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Melbourne, 1978): 333.

Hebrew Congregation and headmaster of the Melbourne Hebrew School. Patton remembered her teacher as follows:

I had the good fortune to learn all I know of Tonic Sol-fa under ... the best possible teachers, for I had the inestimable privilege to be admitted to a teachers' class initiated by Mr M.[sic] Benjamin, a personal friend of the late John Curwen ... Dear Mr. Benjamin was large, fair, and calm, who led us step by step, with a face beaming with kindness and benevolence, gently through a beforehand well-prepared lesson ...⁵²

Patton passed the Elementary Theory Honours and Intermediate Theory Honours examinations with her teacher, Raphael Benjamin, culminating with the award of the Tonic Sol-fa College's Intermediate Certificate in May 1880.⁵³ She undertook further studies—the 51st Postal Class in Staff Notation—with Samuel McBurney, gaining an Honourable Mention at the examination in July 1884⁵⁴ and five years later, in June 1889, Patton qualified for the Associate Diploma of the Tonic Sol-fa College.⁵⁵ During this period, Patton was active in teaching and examining Elementary Certificates students and was proposed as an examiner for the Intermediate Certificate in 1889 by her close friend and colleague, Ada Bloxham.⁵⁶ Up until 1889, Patton had successfully prepared eighty-six and twenty-six of her students respectively for the Elementary and Intermediate Certificates of the Tonic Sol-fa College.⁵⁷

In a letter to the editor of *The Age* newspaper published in April of 1888, Patton advocated the use of Tonic Sol-fa for elementary school pupils, referring to the piano students she had taught for the two previous years entirely through the method. She further maintained that her students in age range of 8 to 11 years had gained an understanding of musical theory to the standard required for the Victorian Department of Public Instruction's "License to teach Singing" though Tonic Sol-fa rather than through staff notation methods.⁵⁸

⁵² *The Musical Herald*, 1 May 1910: 149.

⁵³ *The Tonic Sol-fa Reporter*, 1 May 1880: 67, 114, 115.

⁵⁴ *The Tonic Sol-fa Reporter*, 1 July 1884: 312.

⁵⁵ *The Musical Herald*, 1 July 1889: 143.

⁵⁶ *The Musical Herald*, 1 July 1889: 144.

⁵⁷ *The Musical Herald*, 1 September 1891: 280.

⁵⁸ *The Age*, 7 April 1888: 4.

5. Music Teaching Publications

Turning her talent for invention towards music instruction, Patton devised an ingenious colour-coded block system to indicate the relationship of chords and modulations which facilitated a method of improvised accompaniment regardless of transposition. Her work during the late 1870s culminated in the publication of a crown-sized (50.8 cm x 38.1 cm) volume of 190 pages entitled *Harmony Simplified for Popular Use: An Original Method of Applying the First Principles of Harmony to the Object of Accompanying the Voice on the Pianoforte*. This substantial volume, costing 21 shillings, was jointly published by Novello, Ewer & Co., London and Allan & Co. [Wilkie's], Melbourne, in 1880.⁵⁹

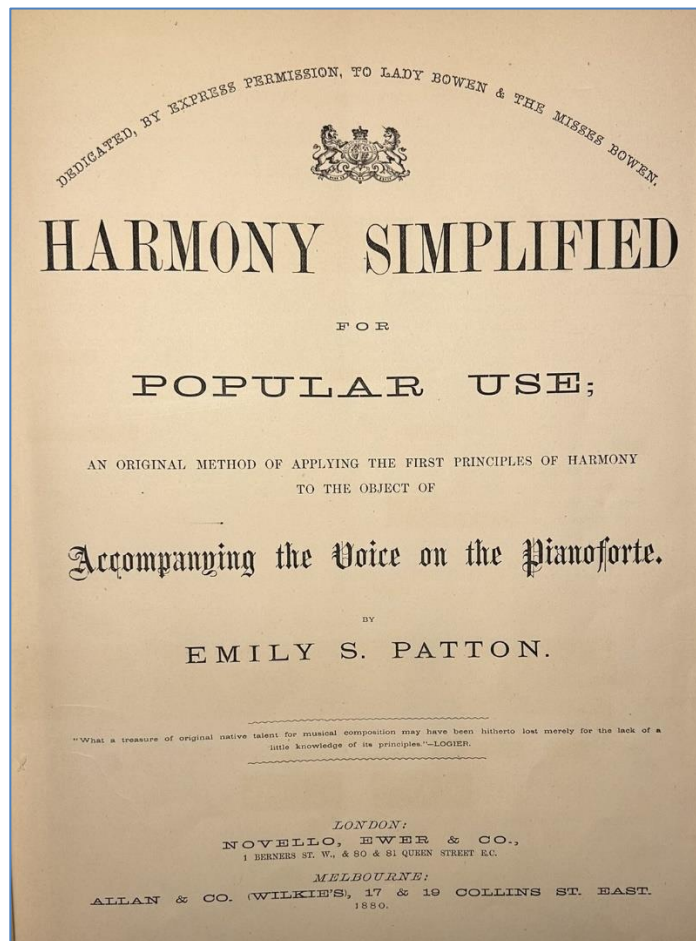


Figure 8. Title page from Emily S. Patton's *Harmony Simplified for Popular Use: An Original Method of Applying the First Principles of Harmony to the Object of Accompanying the Voice on the Pianoforte* (London: Novello; Melbourne: Allan & Co., 1880), State Library of Victoria, AF 781.3 P27.

⁵⁹ Copies of *Harmony Simplified for Popular Use* are held in the State library of Victoria, University of Melbourne Library and the library Presbyterian Ladies College, Burwood, Victoria.

Patton's system involved the correlation of the three primary colours of Yellow, Blue and Red with the primary triads of Tonic, Subdominant and Dominant respectively in a major tonality. Patton also made use of a "harmonic" equivalent to Curwen's "mental effects"⁶⁰ for the degrees of the scale:

... YELLOW is the representative colour for light, whether natural or artificial, and has therefore been selected to illustrate the TONIC TONE, which by giving the tone, or the pitch of the key to be used, has the same effect on the ear as light has on the eye. BLUE is representative of all the cool, pale shades of nature, and therefore suitably illustrates the SUBDOMINANT TONE, which is quiet and plaintive. RED is the strong, fiery colour in nature, and therefore fitly illustrates the DOMINANT TONE which is powerful and impelling. ... although subject to modification and exceptions, the Tonic Tone is steady and level, the Subdominant Tone, solemn and retiring, and the Dominant Tone, powerful and assertive.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Curwen employed the idea of extra-musical associations for each of the seven tones; for example, doh was the strong or firm tone, ray was the rousing or hopeful tone, me was the steady or calm tone, etc.

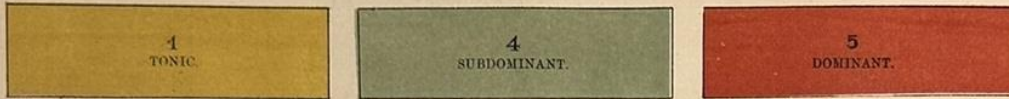
⁶¹ Patton, *Harmony Simplified for Popular Use*: prefatory page 1.

THE THREE FUNDAMENTAL TONES IN MUSIC.

ILLUSTRATED BY THE FOLLOWING PRIMARY COLOURS AND FIGURES.

The whole of the exercises throughout this book may be colored by these Illustrations, and the Principles taught on these two pages may be applied to every MAJOR SHARP and FLAT KEY.

As all painting can be reduced to the three Primary Colours, so all Musical Sound can be reduced to three Fundamental Tones, namely, TONIC, SUBDOMINANT, and DOMINANT, thus—



Of these **YELLOW** is the representative colour for light, whether natural or artificial, and has therefore been selected to illustrate the **TONIC TONE**, which, by giving the tone, or pitch of the key to be used, has the same effect on the ear as light has on the eye.

BLUE is the representative of all the cool pale shades of nature, and therefore suitably illustrates the **SUBDOMINANT TONE**, which is quiet and plaintive.

RED is the strong fiery colour in nature, and therefore fitly illustrates the **DOMINANT TONE**, which is powerful and impelling.

When these three Fundamental Tones are grouped in any one key, their relative quality of sound is proportionately expressed by the above definition of colours, that is, in a broad and general sense, although subject to modifications and exceptions, the Tonic Tone is steady and level, the Subdominant Tone solemn and retiring, and the Dominant Tone powerful and assertive.

THE FUNDAMENTAL TONES OF THE MUSICAL SCALE.

ILLUSTRATED BY THE KEY OF C NATURAL.

The seven gradations of sound which form the ordinary ascending voice scale, can all be reduced to the above Fundamental Tones, as follows:—

The **1st, 3rd, and 5th**, are **TONIC**, and are accompanied in the Bass by the **1st**, which therefore represents the **TONIC TONE**.

The **4th and 6th** are **SUBDOMINANT**, and are accompanied in the Bass by the **4th**, which therefore represents the **SUBDOMINANT TONE**.

The **2nd and 7th** are **DOMINANT**, and are accompanied in the Bass by the **5th**, which therefore represents the **DOMINANT TONE**.

The 8th note, which completes the Scale, is only the repeat of the 1st an octave higher, and is therefore Tonic also.

THE MAJOR DIATONIC SCALE OF C NATURAL ASCENDING, WITH ITS FUNDAMENTAL BASSES.



Figure 9. The three fundamental chords represented by colour from Emily S. Patton's *Harmony Simplified for Popular Use: An Original Method of Applying the First Principles of Harmony to the Object of Accompanying the Voice on the Pianoforte* (London: Novello; Melbourne: Allan & Co., 1880), State Library of Victoria, AF 781.3 P27.

Having learnt which notes constituted each of the primary triads in a particular key, students were taught to identify the appropriate primary triad as the accompanying harmony for a particular bar of melody and then to realize it as a chord played on the piano from the coloured background for that bar of melody.⁶² As part of the method, students learned to play chordal accompaniments from the coloured bars of music so that, once familiar with both the “mental effect” and the musical effect of the primary chords, they could “sense” the appropriate harmony to use in a piano accompaniment.

“HOME, SWEET HOME.”

Form of Accompaniment No. 11. Accented Notes 1 and 3.

*The 4th in the 1st and 5th bars of the first part must be accompanied by the Dominant 7th tone. Try first the Subdominant and then the Dominant, and the ear will immediately perceive that the Dominant 7th is the correct accompaniment.

* Published by permission of Messrs. Hopwood & Crew

Figure 10. An example of the application of colour to indicate chords from Emily S. Patton’s *Harmony Simplified for Popular Use: An Original Method of Applying the First Principles of Harmony to the Object of Accompanying the Voice on the Pianoforte* (London: Novello; Melbourne: Allan & Co., 1880), State Library of Victoria, AF 781.3 P27.

A similar system operated for minor tonalities, but ingeniously included mixing of the notes from the primary triads to form Secondary Chords. For example, the Tonic triad of the Relative Minor key

⁶² In all of the extant copies of *Harmony Simplified for Popular Use*, the coloured backgrounds for each of the bars of music in the numerous musical examples appear to have been hand painted using water colour. Preparation of each of the printed copies of the coloured “illustrations” must therefore have involved considerable time and effort, and may well have required pupils studying keyboard harmony by this method to undertake the colouring of musical examples themselves.

includes the lower two notes of the Major Tonic (Yellow) and the upper two notes of the Major Subdominant (Blue), so that the Minor Tonic triad was represented by Green (equal parts of Yellow and Blue). On the same principle, the colours for Minor Subdominant and Minor Dominant triads were respectively Violet (two parts of Blue and one part of Red) and Orange (equal parts of Red and Yellow).

111

EXAMPLE OF AN AIR MODULATING TO ITS RELATIVE MINOR AT THE 2ND DIVISION OF THE 1ST PHRASE 'OF THE 2ND PERIOD.

"THE LAST ROSE OF SUMMER."

BLOKED FOR SINGING IN ANY KEY.

FORM OF ACCOMPANIMENT,
Triplet Quavers.

* Here the air terminates at the end of the 1st Phrase of the 2nd Period, on the 6th of the Scale, or of the Relative Minor D, which is a conclusive proof that the air must be numbered at the second division of the phrase indicated, according to the scale of D min: and accompanied by the chords of the Relative Minor D.

Figure 9. 'The Last Rose of Summer' arranged by Emily S. Patton, *Harmony Simplified for Popular Use: An Original Method of Applying the First Principles of Harmony to the Object of Accompanying the Voice on the Pianoforte* (London: Novello; Melbourne: Allan & Co., 1880), 111. State Library of Victoria, AF 781.3 P27.

Complex as this system may seem from a contemporary perspective, assimilation of the method would have been assisted by pupils' knowledge of colour mixing (which was then an integral part of visual art education) and by the “mental effect” principle which Curwen had used to such good effect for melodic sight singing. As several testimonials included in the prefatory pages of *Harmony Simplified for Popular Use* indicate, Patton achieved considerable success with her method. She used it to teach keyboard harmony at Vieusseux's Ladies College in East Melbourne and, in the latter half of the 1870s, at the newly founded Presbyterian Ladies College.⁶³ Patton's pupils at this time included the daughters of the colonial governor and other prominent Melbourne residents as well as the young Helen Mitchell (later known as Nellie Melba).

However, an extensive review of this work in the *Sydney Morning Herald* was far from complimentary.⁶⁴ The reviewer mentioned that Patton had the endorsement of Lady Bowen, wife of the Governor of Victoria, Andrew Harper, Principal of Presbyterian Ladies College, and M. Vieusseux, Principal of Vieusseux's Ladies College, but added “However eminent these personages may be in special walks of life, they have no recognized status, their testimony is such as manner is very slight; as, musically, they have no recognized status”.⁶⁵ Moreover, in citing other endorsements—those of the singer Rosina Carandini and the opera singer and vocal teacher, Madame Lucy Chambers—the reviewer maintained that their endorsements “can hardly be accepted as infallible” when the judgment of “pillars of musical knowledge in Victoria” such as Julius Siede and Alberto Zelman would have been more valuable. During the course of an analysis, the reviewer described Patton's harmony method as “extremely farfetched, and in our opinion, badly reasoned out” and later “There is something very delightful in the idea of reaching the top of a ladder without climbing there step by step; but, despite the promise contained in the preface, we cannot feel that any student unaided will be able to accomplish this by *Harmony Simplified*”. Moreover, the reviewer concluded the article with the somewhat scathing statement directed both to Patton and to female musicians in general:

Mrs. Patton evidently knows a good deal of harmony, though there are portions wherein she shows greater originality than correctness; but that she knows, how to communicate that knowledge is certainly not set forth in her book, of which we are bound to say that it furnished another striking proof of the non-inventive powers of women in musical science.

On the other hand, a columnist in the Tasmanian newspaper, *The Mercury*, was more generous:

We have received from the authoress, Mrs. Emily S. Patton, a compendious musical of 190 pages entitled, “Harmony Simplified for Popular use.” The book displays great care and thought on the part the compiler, and its study must prove of inestimable value to musical students. The subject is a difficult one under any circumstances, and pupils possessing the comprehension required for learning, and above all retaining, its

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 September 1880: 7.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

principles, would probably do so quite as satisfactorily by following out the standard treatises of Goss, Stainer, or Macfarren. With all due deference to the authoress, we cannot believe that the art of accompanying—a rare gift, possessed by one musician in a thousand—is ever to be learnt by rule, still Mrs. Patton's book is excellent, and can do nothing but good.⁶⁶

Nevertheless, from a contemporary perspective Patton's *Harmony Simplified* has, if faithfully applied, both theoretical and practical merit and has been described by John Whiteoak as “possibly the first colonial publication to deal specifically with improvisation” and as “represent[ing] a modest watershed in colonial thinking regarding improvisatory accompaniment”.⁶⁷ Joanne Selleck described Patton's *Harmony Simplified* as follows:

Her method is far more sophisticated than other vamping manuals at the time, yet highly accessible. Her arrangements are well crafted, using simple harmonisations as befits the settings of folk and popular song and as appropriate for her pedagogical purposes. But the great beauty of her work lies in the ingenuity of the system she devised to teach the skills of improvised piano accompaniment.⁶⁸

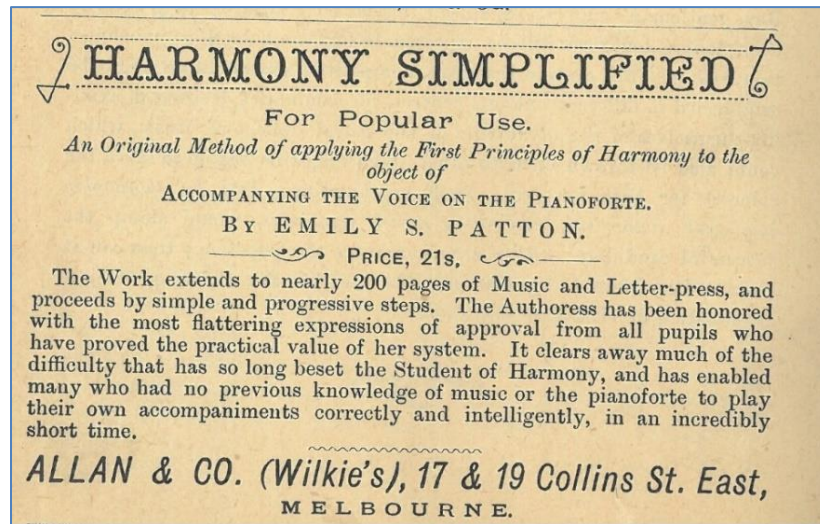


Figure 12. An advertisement for *Harmony Simplified for Popular Use* from Emily S. Patton, *Some Practical Remarks on Music Teaching: From the Personal Experiences of a Teacher*. (Melbourne, Watt & Co., 1882: end page). State Library of Victoria, A 780.4 M973 (v.5).

⁶⁶ *The Mercury*, 23 November 1880: 2.

⁶⁷ John Whiteoak, *Playing Ad Lib: Improvisatory Music in Australia 1836–1970* (Sydney: Currency Press, 1999): 7, 12.

⁶⁸ Joanna Selleck, “Back to the Future: The Proud Legacy of Melbourne’s Colonial Women Composers”, *Context* 42 (2017): 7.

Another publication by Patton was her *Some Practical Remarks on Music Teaching: From the Personal Experiences of a Teacher* that was printed by Watt and Company in Melbourne in 1882. This work, costing 1 shilling, was some 39 pages in length and was dedicated to Rev. G. W. Torrance, M.A., Mus.Doc. It was based on an essay she presented to the Kew Literary Institute and in its published form, Patton strongly advocated the concurrent teaching of music theory and harmony with learning the piano and an extension of a student's repertoire from just "the classics" to include drawing room music.

She advocated that students should acquire a thorough knowledge of the harmonic structure and other theoretical aspects of their pieces which should not be "crammed" for examination purposes but rather incorporated into their everyday piano playing and singing.⁶⁹ Other teaching maxims that Patton advocated included encouraging visual imagery to assist in piano performance of pieces as well as in scale practice, and the benefit to the student of "learning how to teach herself", a reference to what in current educational practice would be considered to be "autodidacticism".

Significantly, in view of her later advocacy of the Tonic Sol-fa method, Patton recommended Curwen's *Musical Theory* for its "treating of familiar subjects of general interest with equal efficiency and simplicity".⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Emily S. Patton, *Some Practical Remarks on Music Teaching: From the Personal Experiences of a Teacher*. Melbourne, Watt & Co., 1882: 30.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*: 14.

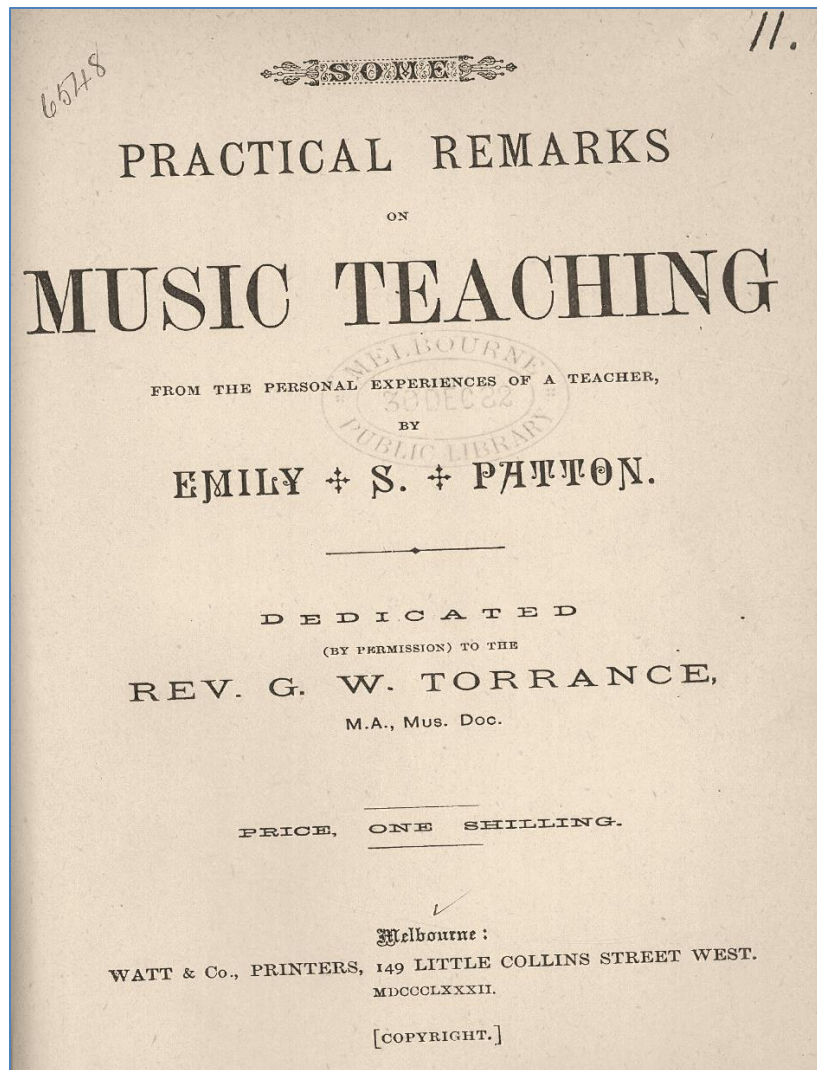


Figure 13. Title page from Emily S. Patton, *Some Practical Remarks on Music Teaching: From the Personal Experiences of a Teacher*. (Melbourne, Watt & Co., 1882). State Library of Victoria, A 780.4 M973 (v.5).

6. A Series of Tragedies

Over a three-year period from 1886 to 1888, Emily Patton suffered three tragedies—the deaths of close family members. The first was that of her son, Reginald Holroyd Patton, who died on 22 May 1886, aged 23 years.⁷¹ Reginald Patton had demonstrated early musical talent, having been taught the piano and harmony by his mother.⁷² In 1877, at the age of thirteen, he composed “The Lily and the Rose Waltzes” that he dedicated to the “wondrous children”, Misses Lily and Rose Dampier, presumably the daughters of Melbourne actor-producer Alfred Dampier (see cover page below in Figure 14). In commenting on her son’s composition, Emily Patton remarked:

... having thoroughly grounded him in musical keys and their usual modulations, I explained to him the ordinary method upon which a waltz is constructed by telling him to compose an air in any major key, then to modulate to its relative minor, and afterwards to use progressive modulation.⁷³

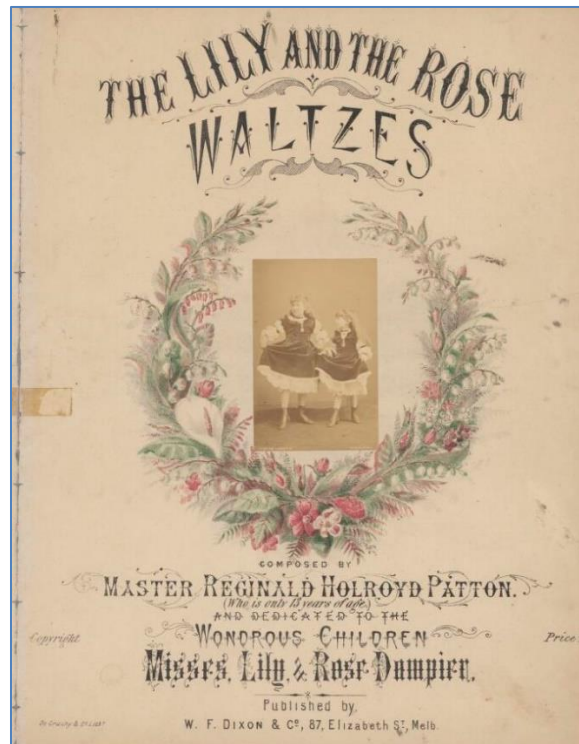


Figure 14. Cover page from Reginald Holroyd Patton, “The Lily and the Rose Waltzes” (Melbourne: W. F. Dixon, Publishers, c.1877). National Library of Australia, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-an11906477>.

⁷¹ *The Age*, 21 May 1886: 1.

⁷² *The Mercury*, 25 August 1877: 2.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

At the age of twenty-one, Reginald Patton married Kate Amelia Symms (1861–1901) on 25 December 1885.⁷⁴ However, he died the following year at the age of twenty-three on 20 May 1886 at 4 May Terrace, Lennox Street, Richmond,⁷⁵ having not lived long enough to meet his only child, a daughter named Violet Holroyd Patton, who was born 25 September 1886.⁷⁶

The next in this series of tragedies for Patton was the death of her father, Arthur Todd Holroyd, on 15 June 1887 at his home, Sherwood Scrubs, near Parramatta in New South Wales.⁷⁷

Although there was yet another tragedy to follow later in her life, the final tragedy experienced by Patton at this time was the death of her husband, Horatio Patton. He died on 7 July 1888 at his home, “Tyrone”, in Erin Street, Richmond at the age of 59.⁷⁸ Patton’s immediate family now included only her daughter Gwendoline, then aged almost twenty.

⁷⁴ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 April 1864: 1

⁷⁵ *The Argus*, 21 May 1886: 1. Reginald Patton was interred in the Boroondara Cemetery in Kew.

⁷⁶ Their daughter Violet Holroyd Patton married Edmund Arthur Painter on 20 May 1916 and died on 17 May 1970.

⁷⁷ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 June 1887: 5.

⁷⁸ *The Argus*, 10 July 1888: 1.

7. Music Teaching at Yokohama

According to “Old Chum” (the columnist Joseph Forde), “The loss of Mrs. Patton's only son, and shortly afterwards of Mr. Patton, after 26 years of married life, gave the lady such a distaste for Australia, where she had lived for 45 years (between Sydney and Melbourne, from the age of 15 until nearly 60), that she determined to migrate to Japan with her daughter, the only one of her family remaining.”⁷⁹ After settling her affairs in Melbourne, Patton sailed for Yokohama, then the principal European (diplomatic) settlement in Japan, on the advice of friends that she could earn a good living there as a music teacher.⁸⁰ One of these friends may well have been Samuel McBurney who was a keen Esperantist and who corresponded with the Japanese speakers of Esperanto who lived in Yokohama.⁸¹

On her arrival in Yokohama in 1889, Patton took up residence at 63 The Bluff (*Yomate-cho*), an area of high ground overlooking Yokohama harbour where most Europeans then in Yokohama resided.⁸² This area was frequently referred to as “the settlement”. Patton had been hopeful of an appointment as a music teacher at the Tokyo School of Music through a recommendation to the then Minister of Education (Mori Arinori) by the Rev. G. W. Dixon. However, as part of the political upheaval accompanying the rise to power of the Meiji Restoration Government, the Minister was assassinated, and prospects of Patton's appointment to this position came to nothing at this time.⁸³

Although using Tonic Sol-fa as the basis for much of her teaching, Patton was not the first person to promote the method in Japan. On 20 September 1889, whether at the invitation of Patton or by coincidence, an address promoting Tonic Sol-fa was given by a Christian missionary, George Allchin (1852–1935), at the Van Schaick Hall which had been newly completed at Ferris Seminary—an American Reformed Mission school for Japanese young women—on The Bluff at 147 Yamate.⁸⁴ Allchin was born in England but moved to the United States and trained as a minister at the Theological Seminary, Williams College in Massachusetts. He came to Japan as a missionary with the American Missionary Board and was a staff member at its Girls School. Allchin was a member of the committee that prepared the first Christian hymn book in Japan

⁷⁹ *Truth* (Sydney), 25 February 1912: 12.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ The author was given access to a collection of postcards written in Esperanto to Samuel McBurney from overseas correspondents now in the hands of Mrs. Percy Haley, wife of McBurney's adopted son; three of these postcards were from Esperantists resident in Yokohama.

⁸² Harold S. Williams, “Scrapbook entitled ‘Mrs Emily Sophia Patton’”, MS6681, Harold S Williams Collection, (Series 1, Folder 101, Box 15), National Library of Australia, Canberra: 14.

⁸³ *Ibid.*: 19.

⁸⁴ Akioka (Professor of Music, Faculty of Music, Ferris University), “Shinsen Hymn[s]: Sol-fa Notation (1891) – Acceptance at Ferris University”.

https://ferris.repo.nii.ac.jp/index.php?action=pages_view_main&active_action=repository_action_common_download&item_id=2402&item_no=1&attribute_id=19&file_no=1&page_id=13&block_id=21 (Accessed 1 August 2021). Ferris Seminary, founded in 1870 by Mary Kidder at 178 Yamate and operated by the American Reformed Church, is now Ferris University with among other departments, a College of Music; see https://www.ferris.ac.jp/en/about-ferris/History_of_Ferris.html (accessed 2 August 2021).

Quoted in Akioka, “Shinsen Hymn[s]: Sol-fa Notation (1891) – Acceptance at Ferris University”: 3.

entitled “Shinsen Sanmaei Song” (Hymns and Songs of Praise), published in December 1890, and in April of the following year, he was responsible for the publication of “Shinsen Hymns: Sol-fa Music”.⁸⁵ In the English version of the preface to this hymnbook, Allchin set out the need for a Tonic Sol-fa edition of the hymnbook:

The necessity for improving the singing in public worship is becoming more apparent as the churches in Japan are becoming larger. The usual method of teaching tunes by rote is laborious and unsatisfactory, and any attempt to teach the average congregations to read music by means of Staff Notation would be almost fruitless. The Japanese of ordinary singing ability need some easy and comparatively rapid method of reading hymn-tunes: and it is in answer to this urgent demand that a Tonic Sol-fa edition of the Hymns and Songs of Praise (Shinsen Samkia) is issued.⁸⁶

Accordingly, on his death at the age of eighty-three in November 1935, Allchin was lauded as “the father of church music in Japan”.⁸⁷

However, his contribution to the promotion of Tonic Sol-fa in Japan was also significant. At his address at Van Schaick Hall, Allchin outlined his support for Tonic Sol-fa:

For seven years I have been teaching vocal music in a large girl’s school, and to many of the largest churches in the city of Osaka ... At first, I used the system established by the Japanese Educational Department (Mombusho) and found their Charts and Music Readers very useful. But the results were not satisfactory. Next, I introduced the modulator and wrote some Tonic Sol-fa exercises on the blackboard for the lower classes. The results were so much better as to induce me to adopt the Tonic Sol-fa system, together with the Japanese Music Readers and Readers in Staff Notation. ... We should start tonic sol-fa class[es] in Yokohama in [the] winter too.⁸⁸

Rev. E. S. Booth of Ferris Seminar, having heard Allchin’s address, visited the Meika Women’s School in Osaka where Allchin taught music and witnessed the results of his Tonic Sol-fa teaching. It was decided that two teachers at Ferris—Mary Deyo and Julia Ellen Moulton—would be trained in the method.⁸⁹ Both subsequently became students of Emily Patton.

Having set herself up as a private teacher of Tonic Sol-fa, singing, piano, dancing and deportment at her home on The Bluff, Patton undoubtedly took the opportunity to build on Allchin’s promotion of Tonic Sol-fa. Her clientele came from the foreign community as well as from members of the

⁸⁵ Akioka, “Shinsen Hymn[s]: Sol-fa Notation (1891) – Acceptance at Ferris University”:

⁸⁶ Quoted in Akioka, “Shinsen Hymn[s]: Sol-fa Notation (1891) – Acceptance at Ferris University”: 3.

⁸⁷ *The New York Times*, 22 November 1935: 23.

⁸⁸ This lecture was reported under the headline “Vocal Music in Allchin’s Speech at Van Schaick Hall on September 20, 1889, Japan: Tonic Sol-fa versus Staff Notation”, *The Japan Gazette*, 21 September 1889; 3 and *The Japan Weekly Mail*, 28 September 1889: 29, quoted in Akioka, “Shinsen Hymn[s]: Sol-fa Notation (1891) – Acceptance at Ferris University”: 5, note 13.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*: 7.

local Japanese official, business and professional classes, among whom she made several close friends.

Patton appears to have returned to Melbourne on a brief visit in November 1890 when she presented an account of her efforts to introduce Tonic Sol-fa to mission schools in Japan to a meeting of the Victorian Tonic Sol-fa Association.⁹⁰ She reportedly had a class of seventeen members in 1890 including some of the leading missionary teachers and principals of public and private schools in Yokohama who were introducing Tonic Sol-fa to their schools. Her students included Julia Moulton, the music teacher at Ferris Seminary, who had introduced the method to her school music classes.⁹¹ Other of her students were Mary Ellen Hilton who was a teacher at Victoria High School for Boys at Yamate (The Bluff)⁹² and Yonejirō Suzuki, who was then a young singing master who had studied at the *Tokyo Ongaku Gakkou* (Tokyo Music School).⁹³ A list of Tonic Sol-fa College certificates examined by Patton issued by Robert Griffiths, Secretary of the College, and dated 19 January 1892 included twenty-six successful candidates for the Elementary Certificate, eight for the Intermediate Certificate, eight for the Elementary Theory Certificate and one each for the First and Second Grade Staff Notation Certificates.⁹⁴ Notable certificate recipients were Julia Moulton (Elementary, Intermediate and Elementary Theory), Mary Ellen Hinton (Elementary and Intermediate), Mary Deyo (Elementary), Minnie Agnes Schwabe (Elementary) and Yonejirō Suzuki (Elementary and Elementary Theory).⁹⁵

Yonejirō Suzuki (1868–1940) had been a student at the Imperial Institute of Music in Tokyo and later established the *Tōyō Ongaku Gakkou* (Tokyo Music School), a precursor to *Tokyo Ongaku Daigaku* (Tokyo Music University), the first private music conservatory to be established in Japan. Suzuki had heard about the Tonic Sol-fa method when a student and had read a copy of Curwen's *How to Read Music* that was in the Institute's Library.⁹⁶ After graduating from the Institute, Suzuki met Emily Patton at Yokohama and learnt the Tonic Sol-fa system from her.⁹⁷ From a pedagogical perspective, Tonic Sol-fa had similarities with a movable doh method then being utilized by Shūji Isawa (1851-1917) through the Japanese Ministry of Education for use in schools. This method was based on an approach to music reading promoted by Luther Whiting Mason (1818-1896) with whom Isawa had studied in the United States.⁹⁸ Suzuki apparently undertook a translation into Japanese of Curwen's *Pupils' Manual of the Tonic Sol-fa Method* that he used in his music teaching at a Tokyo high school.⁹⁹ This may well have been what was described as a “Japanese

⁹⁰ *The Musical Herald*, 1 February 1890: 45.

⁹¹ *The Musical Herald*, 1 April 1890: 371. Reference was also made of two missionaries already teaching Tonic Sol-fa in Japan— Rev. George Allchin at Osaka and a Mrs Smith of Nagoya.

⁹² Takeishi, “A Music Educator: Emily Sophia Patton”: 4.

⁹³ Jing Gao and 婷高, “Yonejiro Suzuki: His influence on music education of Chinese students”, *Studies in Sociology, Psychology and Education*: 61, 15-29 (2005): Abstract; Moto Saitoh, Email communication to the author, 18 November 2009.

⁹⁴ Takeishi, “A Music Educator: Emily Sophia Patton”; 15-16 (Document 2).

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ *The Musical Herald*, 1 September 1891: 280.

⁹⁷ Rie Ando, “Chieki Hara: Life and Art”, DMA dissertation, Washington University, 2010: 7-8.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*: 5-6.

⁹⁹ *The Musical Herald*, 1 September 1891: 280

Tonic Sol-fa Primer ... compiled from the ‘Pupil’s Manual’ adding songs suited to the Japanese”.¹⁰⁰ He also published an introductory textbook on the Tonic Sol-fa method in 1892 that is thought to have been entitled *Simple Song Method* published in Tokyo by Kyoei Trading Company.¹⁰¹

The jubilee year of the Tonic Sol-fa movement was celebrated in Japan on 29 May 1891 at the Van Schaick Hall and a report of the event was sent to *The Musical Herald* by its organizer Emily Patton. The event was chaired by the Rev. E. S. Booth and included sight-singing demonstrations and the application of Tonic Sol-fa to piano and harmony by Patton’s and Moulton’s pupils.¹⁰² The evening concluded with the Japanese national anthem being sung from a modulator and the British and American national anthems being sung from hand signs by the assembled students. Patton also reported that she had tried to promote the method for adoption by the Japanese government, but Luther Mason’s method had already gained a foothold.¹⁰³

Next, Patton established a Juvenile Tonic Sol-fa Choral Society which was formed at a meeting held at the Public Hall on The Bluff on 17 October 1891. Patton was elected President and Musical Conductor “with full discretionary powers to arrange all details for the successful working of the Society”.¹⁰⁴ The qualification for membership of the Society was completion of the Elementary Certificate and, aside from the committee and office bearers, the membership numbered thirty-six young people. The Society’s first concert was held in in the Public Hall on The Bluff at Yokohama and included both singing and piano performances.¹⁰⁵ This was followed by a second concert that included the presentation of several Tonic Sol-fa certificates to members,¹⁰⁶ and later in that year (1892), Patton directed a performance by the Juvenile Tonic Sol-fa Society of a then popular children’s operetta, “The Birds and the Fairies”, by Harrison Millard at the Yokohama Public Hall.¹⁰⁷

After the deaths of her son, father and husband in the late 1880s, tragedy struck again in 1891 when Patton's daughter Gwendoline contracted cholera and, after an illness of fifteen hours, died on 29 October 1891, aged twenty-three.¹⁰⁸ To add further misery, the collapse of the Oriental Bank Corporation in the economic slump of the 1890s resulted in Patton losing all of her financial reserves, thereafter being forced to earn her own living from teaching.¹⁰⁹ Nevertheless, towards the end of 1892, Patton was able to sail from Yokohama for a visit to Australia.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁰ *The Musical Herald*, 1 March 1898: 80.

¹⁰¹ Takeishi, “A Music Educator: Emily Sophia Patton”: 5.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*: 16-17 (Document 3).

¹⁰³ *The Musical Herald*, 1 September 1891: 280.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*: 17 (Document 4).

¹⁰⁵ *The Musical Herald*, 1 May 1892: 140.

¹⁰⁶ *The Musical Herald*, 1 August 1892: 239.

¹⁰⁷ *The Musical Herald*, 1 September 1892: 269.

¹⁰⁸ *South Bourke and Mornington Journal* (Richmond, Vic.), 20 January 1892: 2.

¹⁰⁹ *Truth* (Sydney), 25 February 1912: 12.

¹¹⁰ *The Musical Herald*, 1 November 1892:352.

At Patton's invitation, one of her former pupils, Ada Bloxham—who was accompanied by her mother—departed from Melbourne for Japan on board the Eastern and Australian Steamship Company's ship *Catterthun* on 8 March 1893,¹¹¹ arriving at Yokohama at the beginning of April.¹¹² Patton was again leading the Juvenile Tonic Sol-fa Choral Society as its conductor and its concerts included performances by Patton's piano students as well as items and assistance from Bloxham.¹¹³

Ada Beatrice Bloxham (1865–1956) had not only been a pupil of Patton's in Melbourne but also a close family friend.¹¹⁴ She qualified as an Associate of the Tonic Sol-fa College in 1883, gained the Advanced Certificate of the College in 1884 and qualified for Membership of the College in 1885.¹¹⁵ About 1883, Bloxham—a mezzo-soprano—won the inaugural Clarke Scholarship to the newly-established Royal College of Music in London and spent four years at the College. She studied with Madame Otto Goldschmidt (better known as Jenny Lind) and gained the College's Associate Diploma (ARCM). While in London, Bloxham continued Tonic Sol-fa studies and achieved the distinction of becoming the first woman to be awarded a Fellowship of the Tonic Sol-fa College.¹¹⁶ Bloxham returned to Melbourne at the end of 1888 and set up in practice as a music teacher in Coburg before going to Japan.¹¹⁷

¹¹¹ *Western Herald* (Bourke, NSW), Saturday, 11 March 1893: 2.

¹¹² Harold S. Williams, "Scrapbook entitled 'Mrs Emily Sophia Patton'": 33.

¹¹³ *The Musical Herald*, 2 July 1894: 217.

¹¹⁴ For details of Bloxham's career, see Robin S. Stevens, "Pathfinder and Role Model: Ada Bloxham, Australian Vocalist and Tonic Sol-fa Teacher", *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education* 39(2), 2018: 131-147.

¹¹⁵ *The Tonic Sol-fa Reporter*, 1 November 1883: 182; 1 June 1884:295; 1 December 1885: 234.

¹¹⁶ *The Musical Herald*, 1889: 104.

¹¹⁷ *The Musical Herald*, 1889: 21.



Figure 15. Ada Bloxham in the regalia of a Fellow of the Tonic Sol-fa College, London from J. Spencer Curwen and John Graham, *Tonic Sol-fa Jubilee: A Popular Record and Handbook* (London: J. Curwen and Sons, c. 1891).

During the early 1890s, the Austrian composer, violinist and organist Rudolf Dittrich (1852–1919), who had been appointed in 1889 as music instructor at the *Tokyo Ongaku Gakko*—the Tokyo Academy of Music (then the principal music teaching institution in Japan)—resigned his post to return home following the death of his wife.¹¹⁸ Dittrich apparently taught music according to the method introduced to Japan by Luther Mason.¹¹⁹ This method utilized teaching techniques—such as a pitch ladder with letter names, scale numbers and sol-fa syllables¹²⁰ and a rhythm names system¹²¹—that, although different from, were at least related to, those employed in the Tonic Sol-fa method. Accordingly, Patton and Bloxham were jointly appointed as part-time lecturers at the Tokyo Academy to teach Tonic Sol-fa from October 1894 until March 1895.¹²² They worked for three hours with Tonic Sol-fa classes on Wednesdays and Saturdays during this period. Bloxham was engaged in vocal training and Patton in advanced piano teaching and Tonic Sol-fa, all of which

¹¹⁸ T. Ishikawa, “The Dawn of Western Music in Japan”, *Tokyo Municipal News*, 14(3) (1964): 5.

¹¹⁹ *The Tonic Sol-fa Reporter*, 1 December 1894: 370. Luther Whiting Mason (1818–1896) was a prominent school music educator in the United States at this time. He was invited to Japan by Isawa Shūji, the newly appointed Director of the Tokyo Normal school, to assist with the introduction of music to the Japanese public school system. Mason was in Japan from March 1880 until July 1882 (D. P. Berger, “Isawa Shūji and Luther Whiting Mason: Pioneers of Music Education in Japan”, *Music Educators Journal*, 74(2) (1987), 31–36).

¹²⁰ The Japanese solmisation syllables adopted in *Shōkashū* were: ha (doh), ni (ray), ho (me), he (fah), to (soh), i (lah) and ro (te) (Howe, 1991).

¹²¹ Sondra E. Howe, “Luther Whiting Mason's Textbooks in Three Countries: *National Music Course*, *Shōkashū* and *Neue Gesangsschul*”, *Canadian Journal of Research in Music Education*, 33 (December 1991), 66-67.

¹²² Tokyo Ongaku Gakko Archives, Documents of Engagement for E.S. Patton and A.B. Bloxham. Tokyo: General Affaires Bureau, Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music. 1894.

was done through Japanese interpreters.¹²³ However, due to continuing pressure to utilize the German approach to music education,¹²⁴ their period of engagement was terminated on 2 April 1895.¹²⁵

During 1894, Patton taught music at a local high school—most probably Ferris Seminary—where she was involved in the production of a Japanese opera entitled “Fukei”.¹²⁶ On 24 November 1894, Bloxham and another of Patton’s Tonic Sol-fa students, Mabel Varnum, sang in a charity concert where Varnum sang the part of Margerite in *Faust* (first act only), the first European opera concert to be staged in Japan.¹²⁷

By 1895 Patton had moved from 63 The Bluff to 47A The Bluff and established the “Yokohama School of Music and Academy of Dancing”, before finally transferring her residence and teaching practice to 142A The Bluff in 1896.¹²⁸ During this period, Patton continued to send reports of Tonic Sol-fa work by Bloxham and herself at Yokohama to *The Musical Herald* as well as submitting letters to the editor and an occasional article in support of Tonic Sol-fa. In 1896, she reported that five of her young European pupils, aged between six and seven, had gained their Intermediate Certificate and three had passed their First Grade Staff Notation Certificate during 1896. One Eurasian pupil, who could not speak English, had gained the Elementary Certificate.¹²⁹ Meanwhile, with Bloxham’s assistance as accompanist (until 1899), Patton continued to present the annual concert of the Juvenile Tonic Sol-fa Choral Society until, due to the departure of many of her pupils from Yokohama, the Society was disbanded in 1900 (see photograph of Patton at the final concert of the Yokohama Juvenile Tonic Sol-fa Society in Figure 16).

After six years as Patton’s colleague, Bloxham left Yokohama for Ceylon in 1899¹³⁰ and later went to South Africa where she married.¹³¹ It seems that the climate in Japan had never suited Bloxham and had an adverse effect on her health. Patton’s distress at her departure was summed up her statement “personally I shall miss her dreadfully, for she was the only link in Japan that bound me to the old days in Melbourne, when she and my poor children were playmates”.¹³² After some years

¹²³ *The Ballarat Star*, 6 February 1895: 3.

¹²⁴ The German musician, Raphael Koeber was appointed to the *Tokyo Ongaku Gakko* from 1897 to 1909 and August Junker was appointed from 1900 to 1912 (T. Ishikawa, “The Dawn of Western Music in Japan”: 5). For an indication of the extent of German influence on musical training courses at the Tokyo Ongaku Gakko through foreign staff appointed to the institution, see “Music Investigation Agency and Foreign Teachers at the Tokyo Music School” at <https://archives.geidai.ac.jp/contents/1-2/> (English translation available).

¹²⁵ Tokyo Ongaku Gakko Archives, Documents of Discharge for E.S. Patton and A.B. Bloxham. Tokyo: General Affaires Bureau, Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music, 1895.

¹²⁶ *Tokyo Daily News*, 10.1894.

¹²⁷ Moto Saitoh, Email communication to the author, 18 November 2009.

¹²⁸ Harold S. Williams, “Scrapbook entitled ‘Mrs Emily Sophia Patton’”: 16.

¹²⁹ *The Musical Herald*, 1 October 1896: 313.

¹³⁰ *The Musical Herald*, 1 October 1896: 313; 1 January 1900: 8.

¹³¹ Ada Bloxham married Lieutenant John Edwin Palmer of the Imperial Light Horse in Durban, South Africa, on 4 April 1901.

¹³² Emily Patton, Circular Letter No 4 (1899): 30.

in England and South Africa, Bloxham finally returned to Australia, living in Sydney until her death in 1956.¹³³

With Bloxham's departure and with many families who had been resident on The Bluff returning to their home countries together with a deterioration in the economic situation for many in the expatriate community, Patton decided to leave Yokohama for Shanghai in China where she was advised there would be better prospects for teaching. She was farewelled at a public event in 1901 when the British Consul made a presentation to her of "a handsome purse of money". In reply, Patton stated her "determination to continue to propagate her thorough methods in her new and larger sphere".¹³⁴ Two years later at a meeting of Tonic Sol-fa College shareholders, Patton was elected as an honorary member, presumably in recognition of her propagation of the method in Japan.¹³⁵

¹³³ See Robin S. Stevens, "Pathfinder and Role Model: Ada Bloxham ...".

¹³⁴ *The Musical Herald*, 1 September 1901: 269.

¹³⁵ *The Musical Herald*, 1 June 1903: 172.



Figure 16. “Mrs. Emily S. Patton on the occasion of the Tenth and Last Concert of the Yokohama Juvenile Tonic Sol-fa Choral Society, 1900” from an original photograph by A. Farsari and Co., Harold S. Williams Papers, MS 6681/1/101, National Library of Australia.

By 1901, Patton had taken up residence in Shanghai and re-established herself as a music teacher. She had previously purchased a small bungalow in the mountains at Kosé, near Karuizawa in Japan, which she retained, returning to it each year to spend the summer.¹³⁶ However, commenting in 1909 when she had been living in Shanghai for close to a decade, she remarked “I never re-visit Yokohama without great regret that I was ever advised and persuaded to exchange it for Shanghai but conditions have now so altered in Japan that I cannot see my way to make even the poor and

¹³⁶ Harold S. Williams, “Scrapbook entitled ‘Mrs Emily Sophia Patton’”: 14.

precarious living I am now making here, should I return to Yokohama ... it is now dearer to live in Japan than in China ...”¹³⁷

Nevertheless, as well as traveling between Shanghai and Yokohama, Patton managed to tour widely in Japan and elsewhere in the Far East. Certainly, in August of 1903, she had spent the last six weeks of her summer vacation at Hakodate on the southern tip of the island of Hokkaido. A postcard sent to her friend Samuel McBurney reveals her great frustration at not being able to make progress in promoting Tonic Sol-fa in Japan (see Figure 17 below).

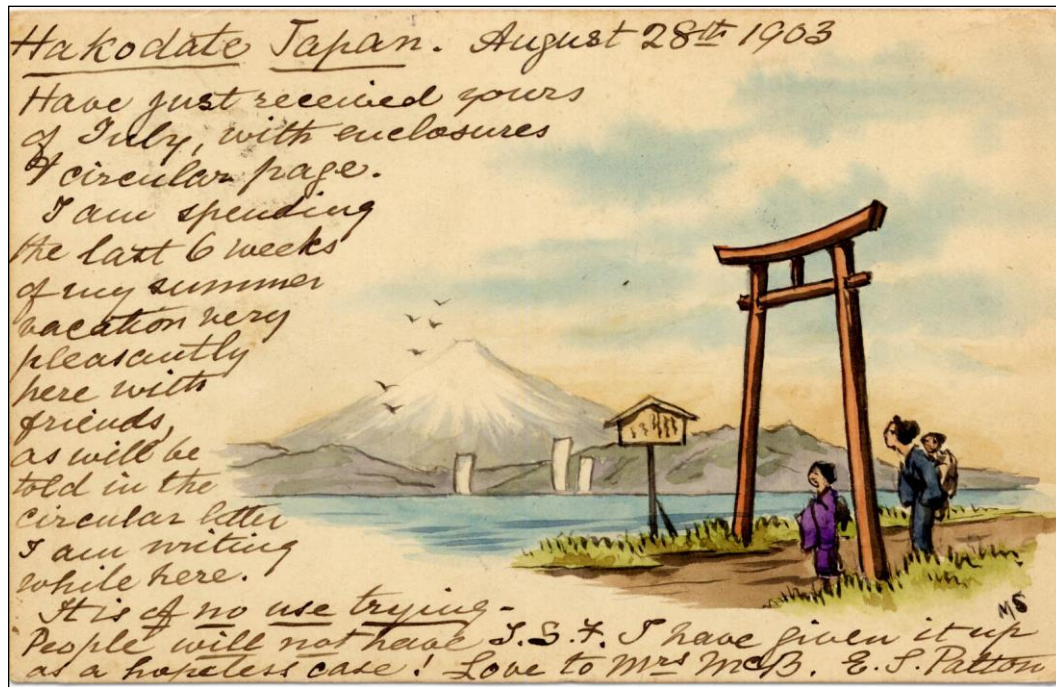


Figure 17. Postcard from Emily Patton to Samuel McBurney, 28 August 1903 (in private hands).¹³⁸

While still retaining her country house in Japan, Patton moved a couple more times in Shanghai. She operated the “Tonic Sol-fa School of Music” at 1B Nanking Road, Shanghai and then in 1910 moved to 95 Chapoo Road. Aside from keeping contact with friends in Australia through her annual circular letters, she appears to have maintained a wide friendship with Japanese acquaintances (see Figure 18 for her printed greeting card for 1910-11).

¹³⁷ Emily S. Patton, Circular Letter No. 14 (Shanghai, Christmas 1909): 6.

¹³⁸ The initials “M.S.” probably indicate that the illustrator of this postcard was Patton’s friend Minnie Schwabe.

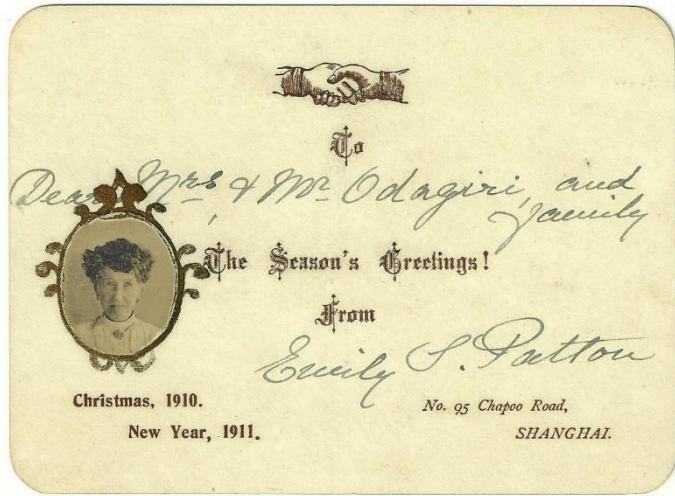


Figure 18. Greeting card sent by Emily Patton to the Odagiri family, 1910-11.

8. Commentaries on Japanese Life and East Asian Events

Patton was not only a keen observer of Japanese life but also of events in the region through having travelled widely in the Far East. She had obviously retained many friends in Melbourne since immigrating to Japan and kept them informed of her travels and other activities through her annual circular newsletters (1896–1911). These were frequently illustrated with etchings and photographs and were professionally printed and then posted back to her Australian friends. In addition, she was a regular contributor to Australian newspapers with reports of her travels in China as well as in Siberia, Korea and Canada. Although Patton frequently included excerpts from letters she had received from other sources as well as local newspaper reports, she nevertheless demonstrated a fine writing style that conveyed an appreciation of and empathy for the Japanese people and indeed for people of all nationalities in the Far East.

One of her earliest commentaries on Japanese life was her illustrated booklet entitled *Japanese Topsytervydom*, with drawings by her friend Minnie Schwabe, that was published in Tokyo by Takejiro Hasegawa about 1896.¹³⁹ This book described and illustrated the notion that much in Japanese life and culture is, from a Western perspective, topsy tervy. The book itself illustrates this well by drawing on the then Japanese writing conventions of text being read from right to left on a page and of the order of pages also progressing from the right to the left of the book. Although the Japanese Kanji characters are customarily written vertically from upper to lower on the page with the columns progressing from the right to the left-hand side of the page, the English text in *Japanese Topsytervydom* is arranged in the usual format with the exception of the title page where the English text is set out in the Japanese manner (see Figure 19 below). A number of facets of Japanese life are covered including a “Loyal Demonstration”—the progress of the Japanese royalty through streets—as well as books and writing, building, boats, food and table etiquette, social and domestic habits, horses, Japanese bells, cucumbers, Japanese gardens, Japanese funerals, and other miscellaneous “reverse” practices. For example, the elements of a Japanese building are constructed in the reverse order than in the West with the roof frame being assembled first followed by the walls with the roofing material being added at the end of the process. Aside from Patton’s descriptions in English, each page is beautifully illustrated by Schwabe with detailed and colourful images of people, animals and scenic settings. Patton dedicated the book to the author Mark Twain “in grateful acknowledgement of the amusement his works have for many years past afforded the writer”.

¹³⁹ Copies of this book are accessible at the Kasai University Library website, <http://kul01.lib.kansai-u.ac.jp/library/etenji/chirimen/topsytervydom/> and at the Internet Archive website, <https://archive.org/details/japanesetopsytur00patt/mode/2up?ref=ol&view=theater>.



Figure 19. End page and cover page of *Japanese Topsytervydom*. Text by Mrs. E. S. Patton; Illustrations by Miss M. A. Schwabe (Yokohama: Takejiro Hasegawa, c. 1896). National Library of Australia, SRef 76.

Another publication that drew on the work of Patton’s friend Minnie Schwabe was *Japanese Types Sketched with Brush and Pen*, thirty lithographed illustrations with text by Patton that was published by Helly & Walsh Ltd. of Yokohama in 1905.¹⁴⁰ The text by Patton is on the left-hand side of an open double page and the lithographed images are on the right-hand side. As with *Japanese Topsytervydom*, the illustrations and descriptions of the subject provide snapshots of everyday life in Japanese through portraits designed to be “equally recognized by the foreign resident who has been long familiar with them, and by the newcomer on whose eye they strike for the first time with a sense of novelty”. Examples of the “impressionistic sketches” include a lantern seller, street children, a Red Cross nurse, two Japanese dudes, little fishermen, and Japan’s future army—young boys in uniform marching with drum and fifes and carrying Japanese flags (see cover page and index page in Figure 20).

¹⁴⁰ Some of the pages of this book are available at the Baxley Stamps (George C. Baxley) website at http://www.baxleystamps.com/litho/meiji/jp_types_1905.shtml.

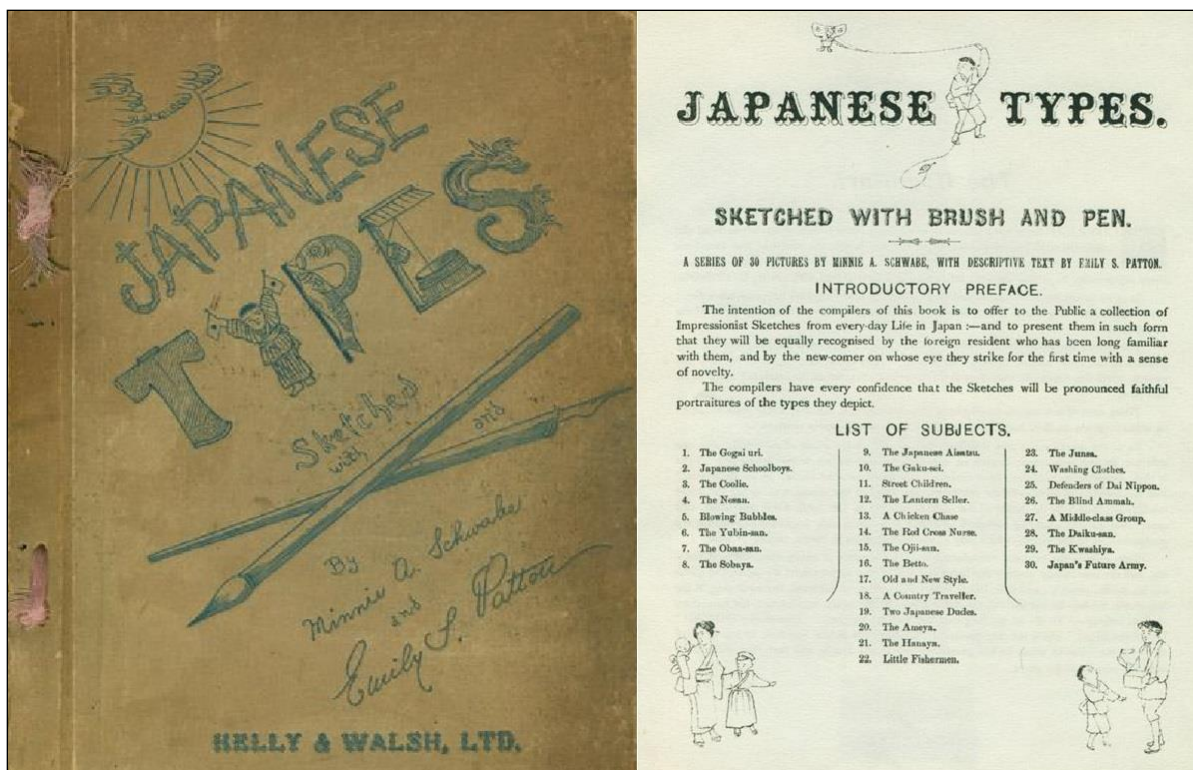


Figure 20. *Japanese Types Sketched by Brush and Pen*. Illustrations by Miss M. A. Schwabe, Text by Mrs. E. S. Patton (Yokohama: Helly & Walsh Ltd., 1905). State Library of New South Wales, Q915.2/S.

During her summer vacation in 1897, Patton visited Vladivostok, the main port of Russia in the Far East, as well as Saghalien (now spelt Sakhalin), an island off the coast of Siberia where the Russians had established a penal colony. She wrote of her experiences in her annual circular letter of 1897 that was reported in Melbourne's *The Argus* newspaper¹⁴¹ and in booklet published entitled *Two Visits to the Island of Saghalien and the Gulf of Tartary during the Summers 1897-8*. Patton's experiences from this expedition are outlined in detail below.

Patton also sent reports of the 1904 conflict that occurred between Japan and Russia at Port Arthur in what is modern-day Korea. As a result of long-standing dispute between Russia and Japan over Russian encroachment into Korea, a Russian fleet was stationed at Port Arthur in December 1897 and was subsequently fortified to become Russia's only warm-water port on the Pacific coast and therefore of great strategic value.¹⁴² However, on 8 February 1904, the Japanese Imperial Navy attacked the Russian Far East Fleet at Port Arthur and subsequently blockaded and laid siege to the city. Patton appears to have visited Port Arthur in the aftermath of the battle and sent reports of the conflict to Australian newspapers reports but given the convention that

¹⁴¹ *The Argus*, 19 February 1898: p. 4.

¹⁴² See "Russo-Japanese War", *Wikipedia*. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Russo-Japanese_War (Accessed 2 July 2023).

unless reports were received from a regular columnist or attribution was by means of a pseudonym, many of her reports were unattributed with byline. However, some of her reports on the Port Arthur battles and her later descriptions of life in Shanghai were published as attributed articles in the *Town and Country Journal* (Sydney) and in the *Sydney Evening News* under the heading of “An Eastern Letter”—these were numbered I to VII and were dated 13 May 1905 through to 16 December 1906.¹⁴³

¹⁴³ These articles were reproduced in Emily S Patton, *Circular Letter No. 10* (1905).

9. *Two Visits to the Island of Saghalien and the Gulf of Tartary, 1897-8*

In July 1905, Patton published a booklet describing her travels during the summer months of 1897 and 1898 to the Saghalien and the Gulf of Tartary. These areas are located immediately north of what is now the island of Hokkaidō (then also known as Yeso) between the Sea of Japan to the south and the Sea of Okhotsk to the north. As explained in her Introductory Preface, the publication of this booklet was at a time when the Japanese Government was moving to acquire possession of Saghalien and, as the first English woman to have ever visited this region and with requests from her friends to describe her travels, she decided to reprint notes of her journey to the island and along the Russian Maritime Province as far as Nicolaevski on the Amur River. Saghalien was deemed to be of significant strategic importance to both Russia and Japan, so both countries had deployed naval and military assets in the region.¹⁴⁴

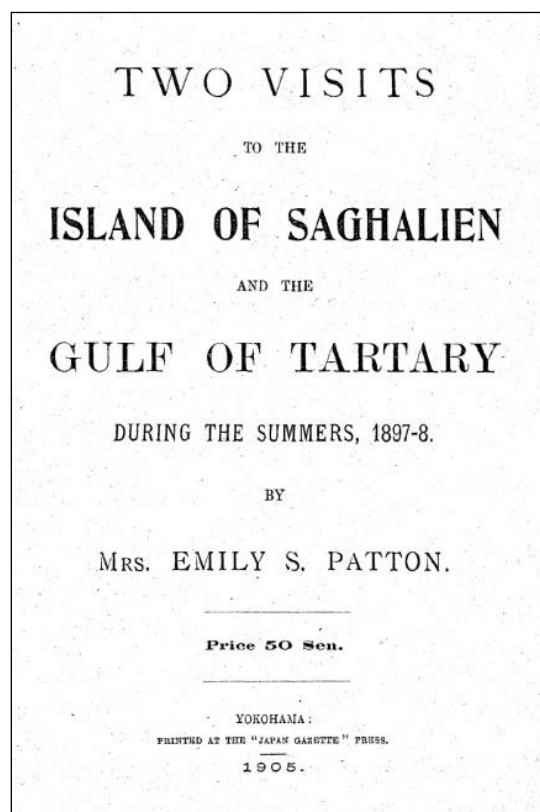


Figure 21. Title page of *Two Visits to the Island of Saghalien and the Gulf of Tartary during the Summers 1897-8* (Yokohama: The Japan Times Press, 1905). State Library of New South Wales, 915/P, H2013/5672.

¹⁴⁴ For the disposition of Japanese and Russian forces, coloured respectively in red and green, in 1904, see Barry Lawrence Ruderman Antique Maps Inc., “[China, Korea, Japan & Manchuria] Sketch Map of the Theatre of War Showing the positions of the Russian and Japanese Forces at the beginning of February 1904 (London: Weller and Graham Ltd, Lithographers, 1904)” website. Source: <https://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/42998/china-korea-japan-manchuria-sketch-map-of-the-theatre-weller-and-graham> (Accessed 3 July 2023).

Korsakoff in South Saghalien in the Autumn of 1897

Patton travelled to the island of Saghalien during her vacation period of two months—August and September. She commenced her narrative with a description of the sea voyage from Hakodate to the intermediate port of Otaru on the northern Japanese island of Hokkaidō and the crossing of La Perouse Straits to Korsakoff on the southern-most point of Saghalien (see map of the regions in Figure 22 below). The coastline was described as undulating cliffs rising from the seashore with the town of Korsakoff itself being in a small bay with a lighthouse on one side and wooden houses, a church, the Governor's residence, the Japanese Consulate and the pier with a windmill on a hill behind, all forming the prison depot in the south of Saghalien (see Patton's sketch in Figure 23 below). Patton was hosted for the duration of her stay by the Commandant of the prison, who was also Lieutenant-Governor of the island, and his wife.

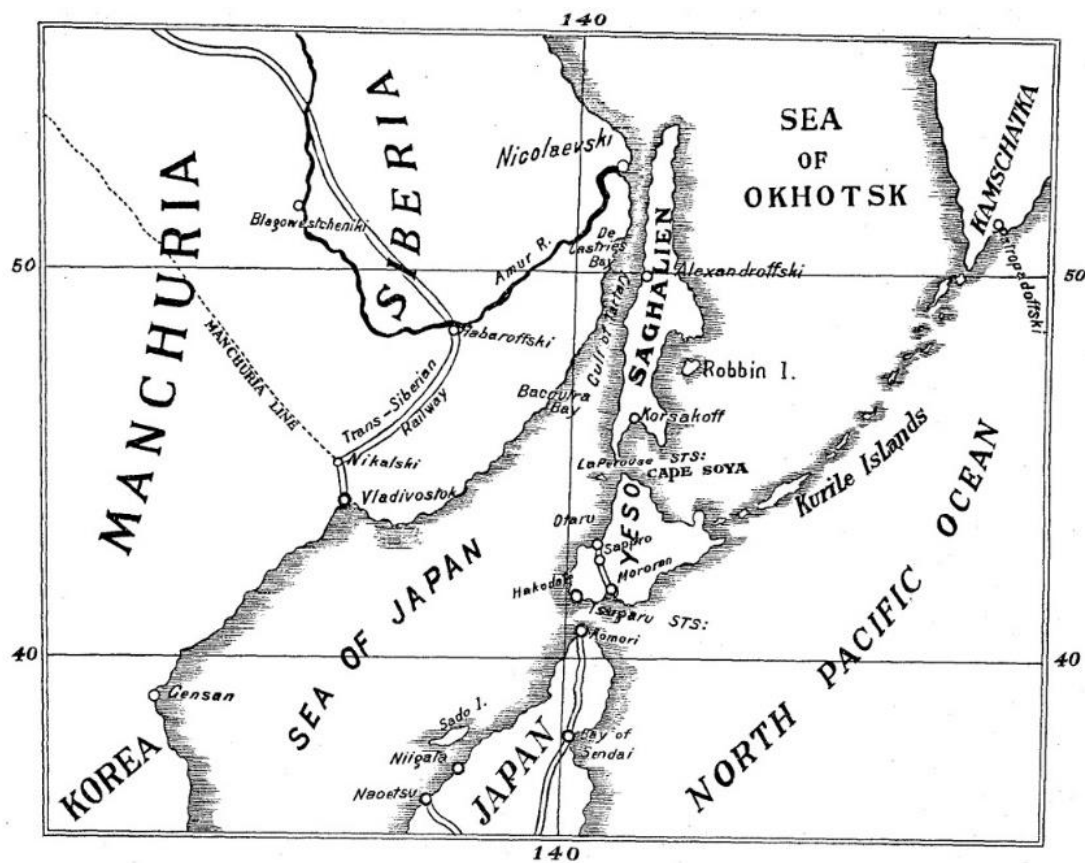


Figure 22. Map of the region where Patton travelled 1897-98, *Two Visits to the Island of Saghalien and the Gulf of Tartary during the Summers 1897-8* (Yokohama: The Japan Times Press, 1905). State Library of New South Wales, 915/P, H2013/5672.

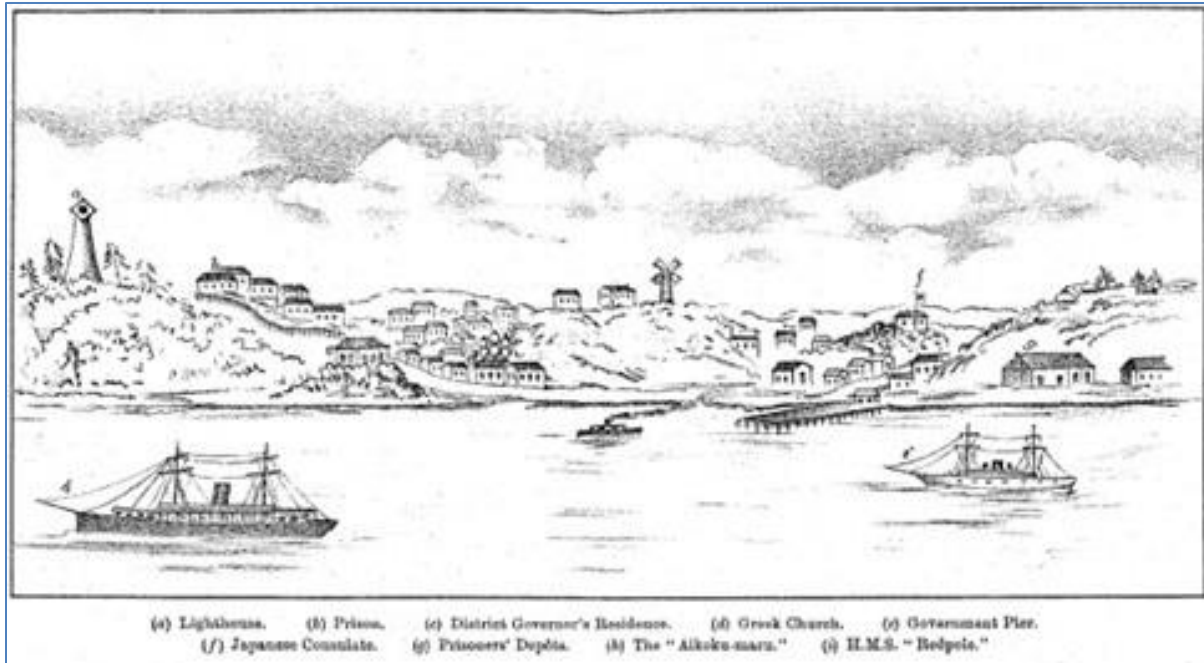


Figure 23. Patton's sketch of the Port of Korsakoff, *Two Visits to the Island of Saghalien and the Gulf of Tartary during the Summers 1897-8* (Yokohama: The Japan Times Press, 1905). State Library of New South Wales, 915/P, H2013/5672.

Patton commented that the Japanese Government had in fact exchanged the island of Saghalien with Russia for Kurile Island (now known as the Kuril Islands group) which she thought was a bad bargain for Japan as the Kuriles were comparatively worthless whereas Saghalien was a valuable possession for Russia. Aside from its strategic importance, the Russian Government used Saghalien as a "dumping ground" for Russian citizens convicted of murder. Capital punishment had long been abolished in Russia with the result that almost the entire population of twenty-five thousand convicted murders—both men and women—had been exiled for life to Saghalien, with no provision to return to the mainland for either themselves or their family members. For the most part, these inhabitants had been allocated plots of land for farming and were provided with houses, and newly arrived female prisoners were encouraged to marry men already there. Children were well provided for with a school education except during the winter months when everyone was house bound.

The climate during the warmer months—April to August—was apparently mild and, with fertile soil, those convicts on farms were able to produce crops of corn, ample hay as stock feed for the winter months and vegetables for home consumption. Patton's hostess took her on a tour of the area in a troika (a Russian carriage pulled by three horses), visiting the convicts' homes and meeting some of those who were still in prison for multiple murders or other serious crimes. Although many of the convicts were polite and accommodating, Patton described some who had "... evil countenances that ... would require the pen of a Dante or the pencil of a Gustave Doré!". Nevertheless, she appears to have particularly enjoyed the company of the Lieutenant-

Governor's wife and appreciated the opportunity to discover this part of the Far East with such welcoming hosts. Patton returned from Korsakoff to Otaru on Hokkaidō Island by steamer and from there, went by train to Muroran and then by sea to Hakodate, and finally back to Yokohama, noting that her travels had accounted for 3,600 miles during the two months of her summer vacation.

A Summer Experience up the Gulf of Tartary to the Amur River in the Summer of 1898

Patton returned to Korsakoff for her vacation the following summer, being again hosted by the Lieutenant-Governor and his wife. Despite the company of the Japanese Consul at Korsakoff, the hospitality of her hosts and the arrival of H.B.M. (Her Britannic Majesty's) gunboat *Redpole* and the Russian steamer *Baikal*, Patton had grown tired of Korsakoff. She decided fill in the fortnight before she needed to be back in Korsakoff for her return voyage to Japan by sailing on the *Baikal* through the Gulf of Tartary to Nicolaevski on the River Amur. This was despite her friends warning her that the voyage would be a most uncomfortable experience. However, her host kindly arranged with the captain of the *Baikal* for a reduction in the passage-money for which, he said, "you will be glad when see how little there is to see worth sending money on". As it turned out, Patton admitted that "Before my return, I had fully realized the kind forethought that prompted this arrangement, for to tell the truth, the discomfort I endured for twelve days and nights quite satisfied my desire for travel in this part of the world, and I have no wish ever to take the same trip again."

Nevertheless, despite not being able to communicate with her fellow Russian passengers, Patton summoned sufficient courage to go ahead with the voyage. As it turned out, she was able speak French with the wife of a Russian official on board and the captain was able to speak English as were a couple of the other passengers. Her main hardship on board was the food which she found inedible—thick "hodge-podge" soup, vegetables smothered in butter and boiled sucking pig. Her diet consisted solely of bread and butter with beef-tea. In addition, "the sleeping berths were horrible—no sheets, one dirty blanket, one hard pillow, with a filthy pillowcase ... one brown towel ... and water of the same colour as the towel ...". Accordingly, very little sleep was possible.

Patton reported that the overall distance of the voyage from Kosakoff to the Amur River was nearer to 800 miles due to criss-crossing the Gulf of Tartary to call at ports on the Siberian coast and on Saghalien side. The first of these ports was Bakoutra Bay where Patton and some of her travelling companions went inland to explore and for the first time came across some of the local indigenous Guillak people. Although nominally Russian citizens, Patton reported that the government did nothing for them and they lived in very poor conditions as did two other local indigenous races, the Jakots and the Tongoos.

From Bakoutra Bay, the voyage continued for more than 22 hours to Alexandroffski, the main town in the north of Saghalien where cargo was landed, and then on to the coaling station of De Castries Bay on the Siberian coast. Here, a series of sandbars and narrow channels in the foggy weather conditions meant many more hours of sailing before reaching Nicolaevski and the Amur River. Patton optimistically hoped for a "pretty Siberian town" but found that "the dirtiest and

least interesting part of Vladivostok [had] been transported thither ... the roads are villainous and the trees ... thin and stunted ...". The next day, she was invited to the home of a "very musical family" where, despite a daughter of the house being a very talented pianist, "the difficulty of keeping up a conversation where nobody understood me and I understood nobody, was very irksome." A friend from Yokohama had asked Patton to locate the grave of her cousin—a young doctor who had died on a scientific expedition to the Amur—and was buried at Alexandroffski. On the return journey, with the help of the postmistress there, Patton was able to locate the grave in a desolate cemetery where she was able to arrange for the deceased's name and date in both English and Russian to be added to the cross that had lacked any inscription. She was also able to visit the small museum at Alexandroffski.

Back on board the *Baikal*, it was thirty-six hours buffeted with a choppy sea before Korsakoff was reached and Patton saw a familiar steamer, the *Aikoku-maru*, at anchor that took her back to Japan. She summed up the whole experience of her journey in a concluding paragraph:

"Well," said the Governor, "did I not tell you the truth? Was it worth the trouble?" "Well," I replied, "it is over now, and I have seen the museum at Alexandroffski, ... and I have been up the Gulf of Tartary, and I have seen the Amur River; and I am perfectly satisfied, and I don't think I shall ever want to make the same trip again—at any rate, not on the *Baikal*." And when the next day I went on board the *Aikoku-maru* bound for Otaru, the pleasure of having a cup of coffee and a piece of toast brought on a spotlessly clean tray cloth, with a bright knife and tea-spoon, by a neat little Japanese "boy" with white coat and closely cropped hair, and the luxury of going into a tidy state-room, with an unlimited quantity of clean hot water, was almost too much for my shattered nerves, and when I set foot in the first Japanese hotel after my return to Japan, you may be sure the first thing I asked for was a bath to wash out all recollection of the *Baikal*.

10. Circular Letters

Emily Patton produced a series of sixteen “Circular Letters” that were compiled annually from 1896 until 1911. Those extant include number 4 (1899), number 5 (1900), number 10 (1905), number 13 (1908), number 14 (1909), number 15 (1910) and number 16 (1911). These were most likely printed by the Japan Gazette through the auspices of her friend Jessie Hay who was editor of the newspaper. These circular letters had originally sent gratis to friends but later, due to the increasing cost of printing, Patton instituted a voluntary annual subscription.

Aside from representing a chronicle of her experiences both as a resident in Yokohama and Shanghai and as a tourist in the Far East, these circular letters provide a unique insight into the Japanese and other Asian societies and cultures at that time, especially coming, as they were, from the perspective of a single woman from a European background in alien cultures. Patton also recorded everyday events she observed that occurred in both the Japanese and the European communities, frequently drawing on local and regional newspaper reports. What emerges as predominant in these letters is Patton’s own appreciation of and empathy for the Japanese people. She had a deep regard for her manservant Ryo who she had in her service for some fourteen years and appears to have highly valued the companionship and support of her Japanese and European friends.

Circular Letter for 1899

In the first of her extant Circular Letters—that for 1899—Patton describes Christmas among the three thousand strong expatriate British, French, German and American community resident on the Bluff. In 1899, Patton was living at 142A Bluff and observed that, with the approach of Christmas, many households had the entrances to their homes decorated with arches of ever-green foliage and red berries in place of the traditional holly together with their own national as well as Japanese flags. Closer to Christmas, there were exchanges of gifts not only among the expatriate, but between the local Japanese people and the Europeans. Trades people left small gifts for Patton such as preserved persimmons from the jinrikisha (rickshaw) man and fresh eggs or a brace of wildfowl from Japanese acquaintances living the rural areas. Patton reciprocated where possible and presented her servants with an additional month’s wages as a “Christmas box”. The Christmas period was also a time for musical celebrations on Christmas eve with singing at church services. Patton also noted that the European community in Yokohama was musically talented with an eighty-strong choir and a thirty-five-piece orchestra having contributed to two “grand concerts” earlier in the year.

New Year’s Day was an important celebration for the Japanese and, as Patton mentioned, every Japanese, no matter their financial situation wore new clothes on the day and exchanged gifts, often small dishes of condiments such as pickled vegetables that were only eaten at New Year. Patton described a drive by jinrikisha around Tokyo, taking in the sights including children in their new clothes and members of the nobility driving in carriages to the Imperial Palace to pay

their respects to the Emperor and Empress who had been receiving their guests since early morning. There were also services at Shinto Temples and general festivities for holiday makers at Uyeno (Ueno) Park including theatre, side-shows, games, drum beating and singing activities.

The first reported travel by Patton outside Yokohama and Tokyo was her Easter vacation in 1899 when, with a travelling companion—Jessie Hay, editor of the *Japan Gazette*—she re-visited some of her favorite places in the Inland Sea—a large area of sea between Honshu to the north and Shikoku to the south—as well as some remote towns and villages well away from the usual places along the railway line. She and her companion were apparently “objects of great curiosity” for local Japanese. Back in Yokohama, Patton, as President and Director of the Yokohama Juvenile Tonic Sol-fa Choral Society organized the ninth Children’s Tonic Sol-fa Concert in June 1899 after which she confessed to feeling “un-strung and ready for my long holiday [at the end of July]”.

Her holiday was spent in the country along the Tokaido railway line, with some time spent at a seaside hotel overlooking the Pacific Ocean. Her next vacation during the summer holidays was to a hot-springs resort a day’s journey from Yokohama after which she had a four-day journey to the valley of Kosé where she had a small house, apparently acquired in 1886. To get there involved riding in a kago—a litter carried alternately by two of the three men necessary—along tracks impassable by a jinrikis with luggage of clothes and tinned food being carried by packhorse. She travelled to Kosé by way of Kusatsu—another hot-spring resort—then visiting the crater of the Moto Shirane-Sain volcano at a height of 2,165 metres. Patton and her travelling companion Jessie Hay made several excursions to points of interest in the mountains travelling up to twenty-five miles a day on horse-back and went as far as Niigata on the east coast where “foreign women were not often seen in this far-away East coast town”. Having finally arrived at Kosé, Patton spent the summer there but, before returning to Yokohama, presented the Fox Shrine (a Shinto shrine) with a new Torii (or gateway) to replace one that had been washed away the previous summer by a typhoon (see the illustration in Figure 24).

Patton concluded this Circular Letter by announcing that, after over ten years of teaching in Japan, she had been issued with a permit to teach “Polite Accomplishments”—namely singing and dancing—which involved paying income tax of ten per cent and a small city rate tax twice yearly for two jinrukishas. The permit was a small card which, in humorous vein, she declared “I think I shall wear round my neck like a locket” (see Figure 25).

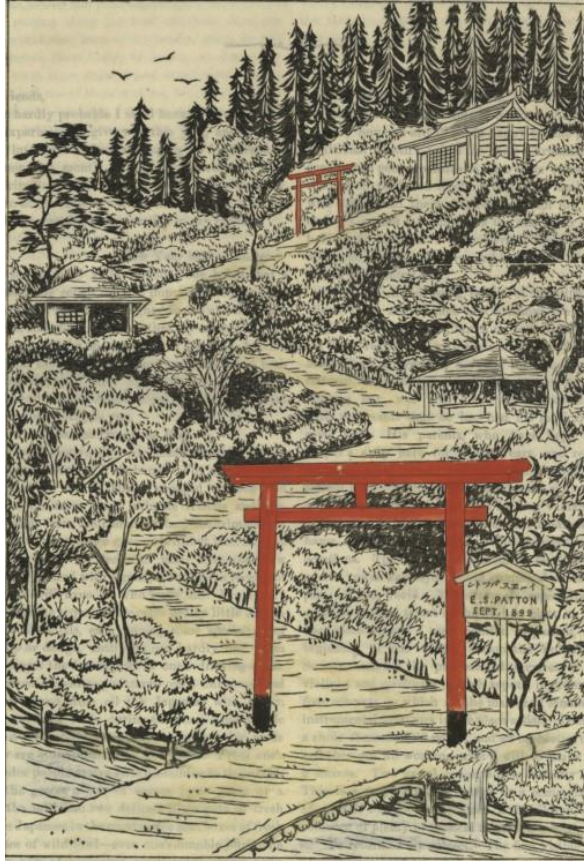


Figure 24. Coloured etching of the Gateway to Fox Shinto Shrine at Kosé from Emily Patton's *Circular Letter No. 4*, 1899: cover page. National Library of Australia: Trove, <https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-52883733/view?partId=nla.obj-109914271>.

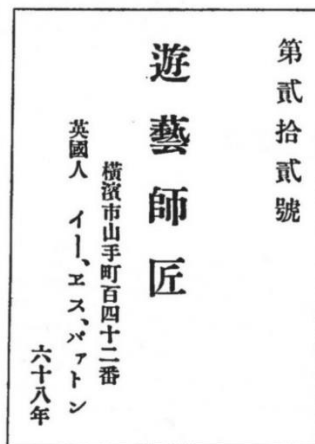


Figure 25. Permit to teach “Polite Accomplishments” from *Circular Letter No. 4*, 1899: 31. National Library of Australia: Trove, <https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-52883733/view?partId=nla.obj-109914271>.

Circular Letter for 1900

Patton ended the last year of the nineteenth century and commenced the new century with a visit over the Christmas period to Kobe, travelling there by steamship and staying with some American friends. Her only other travel was two excursions that circumnavigated Fuji-yama (Mount Fuji). The first of these, undertaken over three days, involved a four-hour journey with one of her young lady pupils and Ryo her manservant on the Tokaido railway and then travel by *basha* (a public transport horse-drawn carriage) to part of the country known as Yoritomo's hunting ground—Yoritomo was the first Shogun of Japan during the twelfth century. Here there were beautiful vistas with waterfalls and stands of crimson maple trees. She visited a silk factory where young girls worked long hours winding silk threads from cocoons, a situation she described as exploitative, and that reminded her of the tea-firing factories where up to 600 men, women and young girls worked stirring great caldrons of tea with their bare hands before the tea was dried and packed. Patton had an obvious concern, particularly for young girls, for Japanese people working in what she regarded as sweat shop conditions. Another demonstration of Patton's concern for the plight of Japanese people living in miserable conditions was the case she related of a jinrikisha man's family of his wife and five children who because of illness were close to starvation. Patton with others from the foreign community contributed to an appeal to assist the family organized through the Tokyo daily paper, *The Japan Times*.

Patton's second excursion of the year was ten days to complete her circuit of Mount Fuji. On this trip she went to the opposite side of the mountain to that of the Tokaido railway where there was chain of five lakes. This area had previously been only rarely visited by foreigners due to its lack of hotel accommodation but, with completion of a new hotel built by a now Japanese-naturalized Englishman, the area was said to be more amenable for foreign visitors. Nevertheless, it took two days of travel by train, tram-car, boat, *basha*, *kago* (a type of litter carried by two bearers) to get there—"part of the road was certainly break-neck, but it was all very novel and interesting, and the scenery delightful". Patton spent five days at the hotel before continuing in a *kago* requiring four bearers because of the steep mountain paths. Having completed the circuit and returning to a town on the Tokaido line, Patton returned to Yokohama in the same train compartment as the prominent Japanese politician and later prime minister Marquis Ito whose "simple and unaffected manner" greatly impressed her.

The depth of Patton's connection to Japanese friends was evident with her relationship with a young Japanese—Toshio Shibata—and his wife who lived in Kyoto and who had named their daughter Gwendoline after Patton's own daughter. Patton was apparently very generous in her support of this girl having given her a collection of "foreign" clothes for which the Shibata family expressed their gratitude in a series of letters, reproduced in this circular letter. Aside from reporting other news from local newspapers, Patton mentioned a letter received from a friend who had been editor of one of the daily papers in Yokohama—possibly Jessie Hay—who had then relocated to China and was now editor of editor of the *Peking and Tientsin Times*. Patton's friend described the political upheaval and military actions associated with the Boxer Rebellion in Tientsin. Despite the volcanic eruptions of Asama-yama (Mount Asama) earlier in the year, Patton spent the summer at her country house near Karuisawa where she reported that

the average temperature was 60 to 76 degrees Fahrenheit whereas the heat in Tokyo and Yokohama was 15 to 20 degrees higher.

A friend, who had purchased a house in Karuisawa that had been built by foreigners, discovered that the steps to his house were constructed of tombstones from a local cemetery, thereby desecrating the memory of the deceased. There were numerous instances of such disrespect of local Japanese by foreigners which, in Patton's view, represented "a fruitful cause of aversion entertained by the Japanese to us ... Let us look well to the doings of our own country-people before we come here to reform the ways of the Japanese!" Something of Patton's appreciation of and empathy for Japanese people was recorded in the postscript her circular letter for 1900. She recounted how, despite her daughter (who had died some nine years before) having been part of the Yokohama society, no one from the European community had placed flowers on her grave on the anniversary of her death. It was only an old servant, Kané, who had left her service four years previously and some of her Eurasian pupils who never let the anniversary pass without leaving wreaths and jars of white chrysanthemums on the grave. Patton remarked "No wonder, therefore, that I contrast favorably the actions of the Japanese with those of my own race ...".

Circular Letter for 1905

The next available circular letter was written from Shanghai at the end of December 1905 when Patton explained that she had an offer from two Sydney newspapers—*The Town and Country Journal* and *The Evening News*—to contribute "An Eastern Letter" whenever she wished. Having expended time and effort on these articles, she decided to include them in her annual Circular Letter.

The previous year, 1904, saw a major conflict develop between Russia and Japan. Patton explained that the causes of the Russo-Japanese War were based on the opposing territorial claims by the two countries. Russia acquired control of the Liaotung Peninsula in the south of Manchuria (now part of modern-day South Korea) through a twenty-five-year agreement with China in 1898. The major deep-water on the peninsula was Port Arthur, located at the southern tip of the peninsula. Unlike the Russian port of Vladivostok to the north on the Pacific coast, Port Arthur was a warm-water port that allowed year-round naval access. Japan, wishing to curb Russia's expansionist policies in the Far East, launched the first of several land and sea attacks on Russian forces, beginning with a declaration of war on 8 February 1904 when the Imperial Japanese Navy attacked the Russian Far East Fleet at Port Arthur.

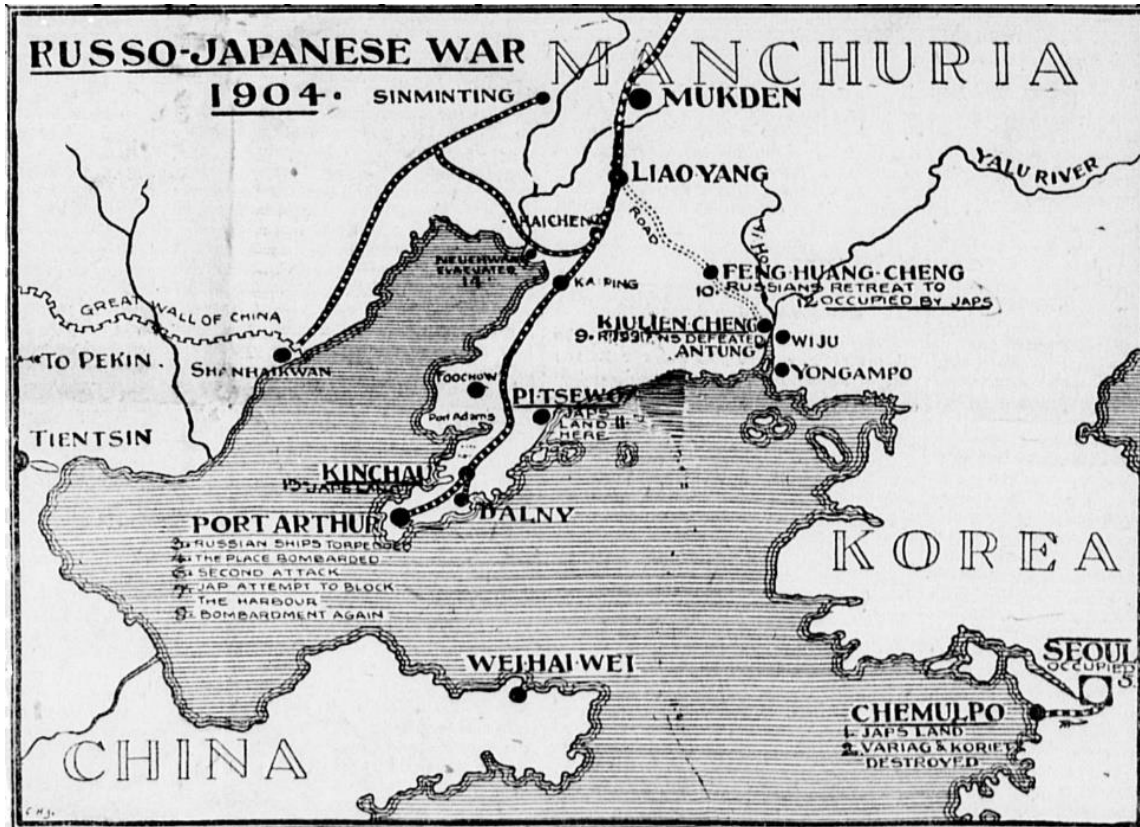


Figure 26. Map showing the location and chronological sequence of Japanese attacks on Russian land and sea assets from *The Hawaiian Gazette* (Honolulu Oahu, HI), Image 2, 10 June 1904. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83025121/1904-06-10/ed-1/seq-1/>

In her “An Eastern Letter. No. I”, dated 31 May 1905 and compiled in Shanghai, Patton described the response in Shanghai to the naval battle between Japan and Russia that occurred in the Straits of Tsushima when Russian ships were ambushed by a smaller Japanese fleet and almost the entire Russian fleet either sunk or captured. In the Japanese quarter of Shanghai, there were demonstrations of patriotism with national flags being displayed on Japanese shipping offices, banks and local stores. Patton’s own contribution to the celebration of the Japanese victory were on postcards that she sent to her Japanese friends with the words “Banzai for Japan”.¹⁴⁵ However, she also reported on a sadder aspect of the Japanese victory. In addition to sick and wounded Russians who had arrived after the initial battle in February, nearly five thousand from the May battle reached Shanghai before many were transferred to Odessa, many of them in the poor mental state.

Public opinion among the foreign community in Shanghai regarding the Russo-Japanese conflict was equally divided between the French, Germans and Russians on the one hand and the

¹⁴⁵ The word *banzai* literally means “ten thousand years” and in this context probably means “may Japan last for ten thousand years”.

English, Americans and Japanese on the other. Patton remarked on British opinion in particular, which admired the Japanese for their patriotism, bravery and humanity that, “for a heathen nation [was] unsupported by ‘revealed religion’”—for the British, this was of course Christianity. Patton also reported that the Japanese had, for the past few years, had military officers and engineers disguised as traders and other often menial workers living in Manchuria to gather intelligence to pass back to their government.

In her “An Eastern Letter. No. II”, compiled after her return from Shanghai to Japan and dated July 31, Patton described her travel to Kobe by steamer and the enormous flags hung across the streets in celebration of the Japanese victory and of the victory processions that had taken place daily. On returning to Yokohama, she found the foreign community greatly excited by the arrival of twenty thousand soldiers with their horses ready for embarkation to Manchuria on troop ships. Patton remarked on the care and attention given by the government to the comfort of the soldiers which provided a model for adoption by the British War Department. “No wonder then,” she remarked, “that the Japanese soldiers fight like gods, or devils, ... when they know their government is exercising such paternal care for them.” Nevertheless, there was many sick and wounded soldiers being looked after by missionaries through the Japanese YMCA. Patton admired, in particular, the generosity of the Empress of Japan who, from her own private funds, was assisting with the recovery and rehabilitation of Japanese and, to a lesser extent, Russian soldiers by providing for their artificial limbs and glass eyes.

Written from Kosé on August 15, Patton’s “An Eastern Letter. No. III” for the year described the plight of Russian civilian refugees from Saghalien—the island having been captured from the Russians by Japan—who were being sent to Russia via Shanghai. There were currently three thousand prisoners from Saghalien being deported to Russia in addition to over sixty thousand prisoners who had previously been brought to Japan for return to Russia, all of whom had been fed, clothed and housed by the Japanese Government. Patton’s admiration for the Japanese treatment of prisoners was echoed by the Washington correspondent of the *Philadelphia Press* whom she quoted as saying “... these Russians have been treated more as guests than as enemies and prisoners of war. Such treatment is unprecedented ... the whole world ... has been given a higher standard of humanity. And the wonderful part of it is that Japan should have taught the world so great a lesson!” However, Patton reported, Japan’s losses up to the end of the siege of Port Arthur included 28,999 army personnel and 18,887 from the navy.

Patton’s “An Eastern Letter. No IV”, dated September 1905, was written after the peace conference involving the Russian and Japanese delegations that was mediated by Theodore Roosevelt at Portsmouth Naval Shipyard, Kittery in Maine, USA. Japan had demanded recognition of its interests in Korea, the removal of all Russian forces from Manchuria, and substantial reparations. What resulted was “The Treaty of Portsmouth” signed on September 5 that the Japanese were outmaneuvered by the Russians and had to drop their claim for reparations but in exchange gained control over the southern half of Saghalien. Accordingly, in the first section of this Circular Letter headed “An Unwelcome Peace”, Patton reflected on the situation: “So Peace has come, but evidently not peace of mind for the Japanese people, for they are showing anything but amicable acquiescence in the Conditions of the Conference.”

Patton related the case of a French spy in Tokyo, an attaché at the French Legation, who had lived in Japan for many years but who had passed on information to the Russian Government that resulted in the sinking of two transport ships during the recent hostilities. Although sentenced to ten years of penal servitude, the Emperor had pardoned him provided he left the country which, according to Patton, “affords another instance of the large-hearted magnanimity that has actuated both Emperor and people throughout this war.”

As was usual, Patton spent the summer at her house in the valley of Kosé, but in September returned to Shanghai where she compiled her “An Eastern Letter. No. V” that was dated October and November 1905. On returning from Kosé and before leaving Yokohama, Patton wrote a letter for publication in the *North China Daily News* that was later re-printed in the *Japan Mail*, expressing her concern that, due to riots over the outcomes from the recent Peace Conference, there were soldiers with fixed bayonets stationed outside the French Consulate and at every junction of the Bluff roads due to the risk to foreigners from rioters. Many Japanese felt the partition of Saghalien far more than the loss of the indemnity they had claimed and were aware of the enormous financial liabilities that their victory had entailed. Moreover, the cost in human terms was a total of 72,450 deaths, of which 46,180 were killed in battle, 10,970 died from their wounds and 15,00 died from disease.

Although admitting that there were “manifold delinquencies” among the Japanese people, Patton retorted by saying “There is not a single case ... brought against the Japanese people but what I can match it with a similar one from my own nationality ...”. Reflecting further on the conduct of the Japanese in the 1904-05 war, Patton quoted a comment from *The Times*, “Undoubtedly their record in this war has been good from first to last; not merely their fine fighting, their skillful generalship, and their uniformly humane conduct in the field, have merited the world’s praise, *but their international faith has also been up to the highest standard.*” She concluded by saying “No more has ever been said of the most Christian nation at the conclusion of a decisively victorious war.”

“An Eastern Letter VI” was compiled in Shanghai and dated 12 December 1905. Patton began by recounting her visit as the only foreigner to a tiffin party on board the twenty-gun Japanese cruiser *Nitaka* in recognition of the hospitality received by the captain and crew in Shanghai. Patton expressed her surprise at the sophistication of the electrical mechanisms for serving the guns with shells during action as well as other aspects of the ship’s operation including Marconi wireless telegraph, all of which had been made at the Kuré ship-building yard in Japanese Seto Inland Sea. The cruiser was apparently very well fitted out with every comfort for the crew including marble bathrooms, an on-board shop and other amenities. The tiffin party was a formal affair being attended by a near relative of the Emperor, Prince Fushimi, which gave way to a lighter tone and much “Banzai-ing”.

Reflecting on a monthly magazine produced by a European boys’ school in Yokohama, Patton decried the use of the term “Japs” as being “a truly horrid contraction” and discourteous to the hospitality of the Japanese nation. In a letter to the Editor of the *Japan Times*, she roundly condemned this rudeness, singling out Australians who use the term and the derogatory attitude

of some English residents to the Japanese. This defense of the Japanese people demonstrated yet again Patton's strongly held humanitarian principles.

The final Eastern Letter (No. VII) reproduced in her 1905 Circular Letter was again compiled in Shanghai and dated December 16. The content of this letter focused on China's awakening to the world, citing a visit to an Anglo-Chinese boys' college where English games such as football, paperchase, bicycle races and cricket had been adopted as a case in point. Nevertheless, she doubted that China could adopt the same patriotic spirit as Japan to ensure national unity in the face of a corrupt government, disunited provinces, and lukewarm patriotism. The remainder of this Eastern Letter included a description of the causes for a riot in Shanghai resulting from a dispute between the Chinese and British court procedures that left many foreign residents fearful for their safety.

In a postscript to this Circular Letter written May 1906, Patton explained that, due to a severe illness and subsequent weakness, she had considered discontinuing her Circular Letters, but in view of some of her Australian subscribers having forwarded their remittances, she would continue with a shorter letter the following year.

Circular Letter for 1908

Patton's health appears to have improved sufficiently that her Circular Letters was able to be continued annually. The next surviving Circular Letter No. 13 was compiled in Shanghai and dated November 1908. It included a photograph of her residence and teaching studio located at 95 Chapoo Road (see Figure 27 below). She reported that her business—her School of Music and Academy of Dancing—had improved so much during the first three months of the year that, at the invitation of a friend, she visited Vancouver in Canada. She was also invited to take on the role of Ballet Mistress for a production of Strauss's opera *Der Fledermous* by the expatriate German and Japanese communities in Shanghai. Patton not only trained the dancers but was also responsible for the choreography, having supervised ten consecutive rehearsals from 9 to 12 each evening. This role enabled her to make several new friends in the German community though this commitment and another engagement to prepare a comic "Pierrot and Pierrette" dance for a masked ball at the German club.



Figure 27. Patton's residence and teaching studio at 95 Chapoo Road, Shanghai. "Mrs Patton's School of Music and Academy of Dancing at 95 Chapoo Road, then and now", Avezink: Live Journal, <https://avezink.livejournal.com/389102.html>

As already mentioned, Patton had visited Port Arthur and published an account of her travels as a pamphlet entitled "A Lady's Visit to the battlefields of Port Arthur" which she distributed to friends, and which was apparently well received.

Patton left Shanghai at the end of May and spent some time back in Yokohama and a week at her house at Kosé to check on the flood damage from the year before and then travelled by steamer for a visit to Vancouver. After her visit there, Patton returned to Shanghai but found that the economic depression had resulted in a decline in her teaching practise and she therefore wrote six articles for the *Sydney Evening News* that brought in some remuneration. These articles, written under the title "A Lady's Loitering in Lumberland" and undertaken during the late summer of 1908, took up the rest of this circular letter.

On July 8, she embarked on an N.Y.K. (Nippon Yusen Kaisha) liner from Yokohama for Victoria in British Columbia. The voyage passed uneventfully but Patton remarked on the use, for the first time, of Marconi wireless telegraphy fitted to all N.Y.K. vessels enabling communication between ships as well as messages being sent back to Yokohama. Patton's comment on this improvement to the company's fleet was "This seems to be a characteristic of the nation—directly the work starts and new invention, they set to work to 'improve' on it to suit their own national needs". After fifteen days at sea, the voyage ended in Victoria but Patton needed to continue on by coastal steamer to Vancouver. From having lived in the Far East for so long, her immediate impression, aside from the similarity of Vancouver to Sydney with its electric street lighting and "brilliant" shops, was the sight of all the "coolie" work being done by white men. Patton recorded her thought that "this must also be an eye-opener to the cultivated classes of travelling Japanese and Chinese, to note that the 'superior' white race in their own lands are only on an equality with their own coolies after all!" Her next impressions were of the size and beauty of the dray horses in the streets and then the capaciousness of the sidewalks and the beauty of the street trees. Again, from the perspective of having been in the Far East for so many years and before that in Australia, Patton's other impressions when visiting Seattle and Tacoma, were that the lawns and flower gardens around houses were unprotected by fences, hedges or gates. She also remarked on the construction of houses, being all made of timber with no brick houses and only few buildings—usually large public buildings such as banks and post offices, etc. being made of white stone.

With her friend's wife, Patton next visited a logging camp that was north of Vancouver and reached by small coastal steamer. Her destination was a logging camp at the mouth of the Squamish River where the manager took them on a tour of the camp. One aspect remarked on was the chaining together of logs into huge rafts for floating down the river for towing to sawmills where they are turned into "lumber". Back in Vancouver, Patton found, to her horror, that her visit had been reported in the *Daily Province* newspaper under the headline "Aged Widow Likes Life in the Orient", commenting "such a tissue of complete misstatements that it is difficult to disconnect it from the few grains of fact which it contains." Her faith in the standard of the North American press was clearly shattered.

Next, Patton travelled by the Canadian Pacific Railway eastward across the Rocky Mountains to the Banff where she stayed at several of the railway's hotels and took in local sites such as Yoko Valley and Waterfalls, the Emerald Lake and the Great Glacier, sometimes on horseback. Back in Vancouver, she visited various entertainments such as Barnum's Mammoth Circus and performances of the Pollard Lilliputian Opera Company that had originated in Tasmania and was then touring North America. She also toured a salmon cannery in Vancouver and later travelled southward down the Puget Sound to Seattle and Tacoma and then took the six-hour steamer journey to Victoria. Having had five weeks of touring, Patton departed British Columbia at the beginning of September bound for Yokohama.

Circular Letter for 1909

Writing from Shanghai at Christmas 1909, Patton commented on her disappointment that Tonic Sol-fa was being largely ignored as a music method in Shanghai musical circles. Despite her continued enthusiasm for the method and having included advertising for it in her Prospectuses as well as displaying Tonic Sol-fa materials in her teaching studio, there was no interest in it from the local community who, in her words were “all *too clever* for Tonic So-fa, and prefer to do their singing by ear from the piano”. She inferred that the reason for the lack of interest in Tonic Sol-fa was due to what she asserted was “the German element predominates in the modern school of European music in Japan”.

During her return visit to Japan, Patton travelled to her house at Kosé where she was saddened to see that, apart from more private houses having been built, pine forests forming the approach to the valley had been cut down for timber. This distressed her greatly—“All is changing, it is time I went too!” She also experienced a heavy shower of black sand from the crater of Asama-yama—an active volcano in central Honshū—some five miles away which was the prelude to a series of eruptions later that year.

During the summer, Patton embarked on a trip to Russia’s Maritime Provinces at the invitation of English friends who were now naturalized Russians. She reproduced her article on this travel, written specifically for publication in the *Sydney Evening News*, in which she described taking a train from Kobe to Tsuruga on Japan’s western coast which was in a direct line northward to Vladivostok, a sea journey through the Sea of Japan of about thirty-six hours. After an overnight stay in Vladivostok, Patton travelled by small launch eastward from the Muravyov-Amursky Peninsula on which Vladivostok is located to Ussuri Bay, a broad inlet, sometimes twelve miles wide, that extended for fifty miles inland through farmland and forests. She arrived at her destination, a farming estate named owned by a “Russian gentleman who had inherited it from his father”, where she was entertained with inspections of crops and vegetable production and observed the lifestyle of the local population. She noted that, aside from local indigenous tribes, Koreans and Chinese fishermen, the area was populated by hundreds of thousands of enforced Cossack settlers as part of the Russian Government’s system of semi-military colonization to ensure its preparedness for any resumption of hostilities with Japan. What she described as a “pleasing distraction” was the visit of a Russian cruiser exploring Ussuri Bay and clearing some two hundred Japanese mines. The officers from the cruiser, most of whom spoke English, were welcomed to the estate and entertained with riding parties, picnics and a dance with musicians coming from Vladivostok.

On returning to Vladivostok, Patton attended one of several racing meetings, many horses and their jockeys having come from Japan. She had visited Vladivostok more than twelve years previously and had expected improvements in public amenities, but found the roads, sidewalks, drainage and water supply were in the same state of disrepair. However, the military situation had been considerably strengthened so that the city had become a huge barracks with one hundred thousand soldiers permanently stationed there. After a week in the city, Patton travelled in the opposite direction from Vladivostok with her friends to Amur Bay on the west side for the Muravyov-Amursky Peninsula. Here she visited a farm owned by two Swiss brothers, now

naturalized Russian citizens, where she was part of a hunting party shooting snipe but, given the rough terrain, had to return to the farm house on a bullock sledge consisting of two tree trunks with a sheet of corrugated iron in between and piled with new-mown hay cut by Korean workers and drawn by slow-moving bullocks—an adventure in itself! Patton drew a parallel with life in early Australia, particularly in view of the influx of prospectors and diggers for both quartz and alluvial gold in the area.

Patton concluded this Circular Letter with the news of the death of her Shanghai doctor and of the Japanese Prince Ito, noting that “the circle of my real friends in the Far East is constantly narrowing through death and absence and I find that at my age, I do not so readily make new ones ...”.

Circular Letter for 1910

Again, this was written from Shanghai in March 1910. Patton described the reduced financial circumstances of many foreigners living in both China and Japan and, although noting the recent “Rubber Boom” in the Far East, was not optimistic that it would last. However, at the invitation of the Russo-English friends with whom she had spent the last summer in Siberia, Patton travelled from Shanghai at the end of April to spend the month of May with them at their home in Nagasaki, arriving there on May 2—her seventy-ninth birthday. While at Nagasaki, Patton first heard of the illness and subsequent death of a Mr. Mitsuhashi Nobukata, Mayor of Yokohama and her first friend on arriving in Japan. Patton spent the whole of June at Yokohama, but then, with the onset of hotter weather, sought the cooler mountain air of Karuizawa and Kosé. She spent the first part of July working with her servant Ryo decorating her summer house and garden, and then entertaining several local guests among whom were Admiral (later Sir) Charles H. Dundas of Dundas and his wife who later that year departed for England.

However, after several thunderstorms and rain during July, the first week or so of August brought torrential downpours that resulted in Kosé being entirely cut-off from the rest of Karuizawa through the bursting of a dam opposite her house and the deluge of the entire area. By August 10, Patton’s house and garden were seriously damaged to the extent that her verandah floor was broken in two, and supporting posts and shutters were washed away. The result was that the house had slipped about twelve inches towards the river below. Given the gravity of the situation, Patton and Ryo sought refuge at the home of Countess Okoshi on higher ground. The rainfall moderated over the following days and Ryo and some local help set about repairs. But the rainfall renewed itself on August 14 at which time, Patton recorded how very lonely she felt during the deluge and thought “If Ryo should be drowned what *should* I do? ...it was one of the longest four hours I ever spent in my life!”.

By nightfall on August 14, the crisis had passed, and Patton stayed with Admiral Dundas and his wife at their house until they all relocated to the Mikasa Hotel in Karuizawa with about eighty other residents who were forced to leave the Kosé area. Nevertheless, part of the hotel as well as other buildings were swept away in landslides. However, Ryo with some local carpenters and coolies began restoring the damage to Patton’s house so that the process well underway with Patton now safely installed at the Mikasa Hotel. Patton received numerous letters of concern

which she reproduced in her Circular Letter—she was obviously highly regarded by both her European and Japanese friends—as well as being mentioned in the extensive newspaper coverage reported as “Damage at Karuizama: Foreigners Flee to Hills for Safety”. A later report in *The Japan Daily Herald* detailed the rainfall over a two-week period in the Karuizama area which totalled 50.88 inches. The deluge also had extended to other areas in Japan including Tokyo, Yokohama and several provinces.

Having organised repairs to her house at Kosé (see Figure 28 below) and a brief stay in Yokohama, Patton concluded an *annus horribilis* by returning to her home in Shanghai in the first week of October.

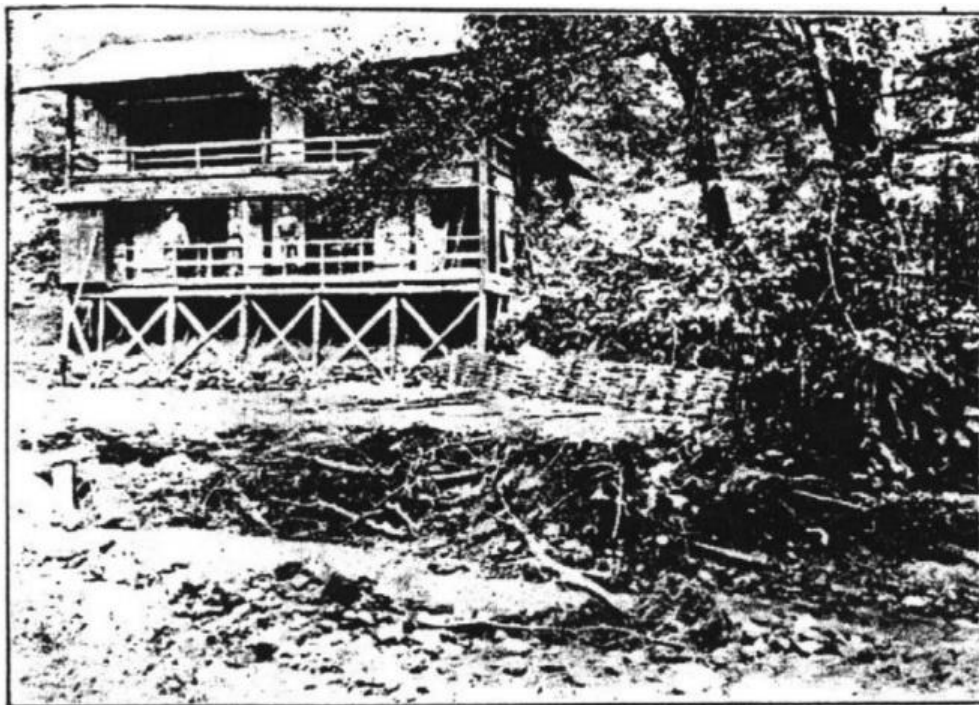


Figure 28. Patton’s house at Kosé after repairs following the floods in August 1910. Reproduced from *Circular Letter No. 15*, 1910: cover page. State Library of New South Wales.

Circular Letter for 1911

In what was to be her final Circular Letter that was written from Kosé in September 1911, Patton mentioned a long illness she had suffered that had lasted from April to the present and explained that her Circular Letter for the year would contain more extracts from local newspaper sources than her own original material. One important development resulted from a letter that Patton received before Easter from a European friend and former pupil—“a widow without a family ... still quite young and attractive enough to marry a second time” had decided to re-marry and, in ceasing her teaching, proposed referring all her pupils to “her old teacher” who could take over her teaching practice. Given that Patton was losing nearly all of her pupils in Shanghai who were

being sent back to England for their education, Patton compared her income with that of her former pupil, which averaged about the same. So, she gladly agreed to return to Yokohama and took over her friend's teaching practice. Patton arrived back in Yokohama in June and, although she had been very ill and indeed hospitalized, was pleased to have returned—several of her former pupils “who had married since I taught them, promised me all their children who were old enough, so that I have no fear of lack of pupils if I have only health and strength”.

Nevertheless, such a change left Patton with some reservations:

I confess that the prospect of returning to make another fresh start in life (the *third* since I left Melbourne) in my 81st year, had rather daunted me, for I did not contemplate it with the same energy and enthusiasm what I had when I left Melbourne at nearly 60 years of age, nor when I went to Shanghai at 70; more than twenty years of hard work at that time of life having certainly taken a good deal of wear and tear out of me. But, strange to say, my Yokohama friends have accepted my return as a matter of course, without the slightest reference to the years that have passed over my head, and the wrinkles they have developed, but treat it as if I had only been away a year!

Realizing that she would never return to China, Patton decided that she would visit Peking before leaving the country. However, given that both the train and the alternative steamer fares were too expensive, she settled for a visit to Nanking. Taking Ryo with her, Patton boarded the Shanghai-Nanking Railway for the two-hundred-mile journey ahead and saw the major sites of interest of Nanking over the following three days.

Patton left for Nagasaki in the first week of May but found she was suffering from “spruce”—a medical condition now identified as a chronic infection of the small bowel¹⁴⁶—which necessitated her travelling on to Yokohama and being admitted to the Bluff Hospital where she stayed until the end of June. Having recovered sufficiently, Patton renewed the lease on the same house—142a The Bluff—where she had lived prior to her period in Shanghai. Patton also visited her house at Kosé, but found the valley initially very depressing with few of her old neighbours still there. However, the local bathhouse had been rebuilt, new embankments along the river had been made and much tree planting undertaken. As for her own house, it was being restored and improved by Ryo and local help—all the debris from the flood had been removed and a Japanese garden with fountain, fishpond, pine trees and paving created and gave her much pleasure. Nevertheless, letters from Australia informed her of the death of several friends which caused her some distress.

Ever in sympathy with the Japanese population, Patton recorded her distaste for a series of articles in the *Melbourne Evening Herald* under the title of “Letters from Exile” by a correspondent, Randolph Bedford. In her letter to the Editor of the newspaper, she described his comments as being “a tissue of falsehoods and ill-natured representations” of the Japanese people without “the slightest foundation in fact” and protested “most emphatically against the

¹⁴⁶ According to Patton, spruce only effected Europeans living in China and Japan, local people being immune from the condition. The commonly-supported cure for spruce was a milk-only diet.

wanton and gratuitous insults heaped upon them”. It was characteristic of Patton, even in her later years, to oppose all prejudice and discrimination against the Japanese and to advocate that foreigners show greater appreciation and respect their character and culture.

Patton devoted much of the remainder of this Circular Letter to reporting on the multiple eruptions of the volcano Asama-Yama which, because of the explosions involving rocks falling on populated areas, caused major loss of life and property during August. Appeals for launched for the victims but, despite advocating charity and universal brotherhood, there were no donations for local Japanese people from Christian missionaries whose wives were still, according to Patton, “flaunting about Karuizawa in embroidered crêpe dresses and drawn-work silk blouses ... and making large purchases of embroideries and laces of all kinds ...” with no regard for providing charity for those Japanese severely impacted by the catastrophe. This type of hypocrisy continued to cause wrangle for Patton and again demonstrates her poor regard for many of the foreigners who so openly looked down on the people of their host country.

11. An Adventurous Life Well Lived

Emily Patton died at the age of eighty years from heart failure at her residence on the Bluff on 7 January 1912. She was cremated and her ashes buried alongside her daughter in the Yokohama Foreign General Cemetery on 10 January. As Patton had “found no attraction in the doctrines and rites of Christianity”,¹⁴⁷ she had instructed in her will that there was to be no religious ceremony at the graveside. However, in a tribute read by her long-standing friend John Cary Hall, the British Consul-General in Yokohama, Patton's character was described in the following terms:

On her first arrival here ... she was struck with a deep affection of the natural beauties of this country and the engaging qualities of its people, and with characteristic thoroughness, she continued to sympathise with the nation and made many friends among the Japanese, although not speaking the language.

It is above all as a teacher that most of us have known her, and it was her work as a teacher that she wished to live after her and as a teacher and by which she expected her memory to be chiefly preserved.

... [her] uncompromising determination to achieve perfection and completeness in everything she undertook was an inspiration to all who came within her influence, and is the key to the success she made often in the face of tremendous difficulties and drawbacks.

Endowed with great mental as well as physical strength and endless perseverance, she gained distinction in many departments of activity. ... A generous scorn for all that savoured of injustice, meanness or hypocrisy was a marked feature of her character, but she always gave a warm welcome to talent and industry and a quick response to friendly feeling and sincerity ...

The honesty, sincerity, benevolence and strenuous industry of our late valued friend and teacher will ever be an example to us all ...¹⁴⁸

Patton was described elsewhere as being very “pro-Japanese”, having many local Japanese people—including the Mayor of Yokohama, the Governor of Kangawa and many of the naval officers “from the Admiral downwards” in Yokohama—as close personal friends. By her own wish, the following Buddhist text was inscribed on her gravestone:

Transient are all:
They, being born, must die:
And, being born, are dead:

¹⁴⁷ *The Japan Gazette*, 10.1.1912, in Williams, n.d., p. 29a.

¹⁴⁸ *The Japan Weekly Mail*, 31.1.1912: 47.

at rest.



Figure 29. The gravestone of Emily Patton and her daughter Gwendoline in the Yokohama Foreign General Cemetery. Photograph by the author, 1997.

As described in the course of this narrative, Emily Patton's professional career was as a music teacher of piano and singing and as a strong advocate of Tonic Sol-fa as a means of achieving music literacy and sight singing. In addition, she had an obvious talent for organizing and directing children's choral and theatrical performances and drew on what seems to have been a rich grounding in other arts areas including dance, elocution and descriptive writing. Like many of her Tonic Sol-fa contemporaries, Patton engaged with the wider advocacy movement through teaching Tonic Sol-fa classes and examining candidates for Tonic Sol-fa College certificates, as well as by keeping abreast of the latest news and pedagogical methods through her subscription to *The Tonic Sol-fa Reporter* and *The Musical Herald*. She also purchased textbooks and musical scores published by J. Curwen and Sons. The catalogue of items in her library that were auctioned after her death appears to have been typical of other Tonic Sol-fa advocates at this time. For example, a similar library was collected by Arthur Batson who was also a Tonic Sol-fa

teacher and examiner in Melbourne and was Secretary of the Victorian Tonic Sol-fa Association.¹⁴⁹ Although Patton was obliged to earn her own living as a result of her financial losses in the collapse of the Oriental Bank Corporation in the economic slump of the 1890, she nevertheless she appears to have maintained a good standard of living. She was able to rent suitable residential and teaching premises and acquired a small bungalow retreat at Kosé.

Perhaps allied to her talent for invention, Patton developed considerable skill in descriptive writing through her Circular Letters and as correspondent for various newspapers for which she would have received writing fees. Patton also embarked on book publishing ventures which although possibly not particularly rewarding financially, nevertheless demonstrated her considerable entrepreneurial spirit.

In very many respects, Emily Patton did not fit the stereotype of a lady of upper middle class colonial background during the Victorian era. She was very much an individualist and, although relating to and at times being part of upper-class society, she nevertheless maintained her own value system, intellectual and artistic integrity, and independent spirit. The circumstances of her departure from Victoria in 1889—the deaths of her son, father and husband (followed by the death of her daughter in Japan in 1891)—meant that Patton was effectively without any family support. Although undoubtedly buoyed by supportive friends, she nevertheless had to make her own way in the world and chose to emigrate to a new life in Japan. The precise reasons for selecting Japan as her adopted home are uncertain, but it was perhaps something of her father's interest in travel and his sense of adventure that inspired Patton to seek a foreign destination as her new home. Nevertheless, from a contemporary perspective, Patton must surely be credited with a considerable degree of both courage and determination.

During her over twenty-two years in Japan and China, Patton demonstrated a respect for and an affinity with the culture, lifestyle and people of these two countries while, at the same time, retaining her own European identity. As well as being a long-time resident of Yokohama and Shanghai, Patton was an avid traveller in the region and, as an author, foreign correspondent and a social chronicler, she provided valuable insights—from a European perspective—into the life, customs and events in Japan, China and neighbouring countries at that time.

During her middle years in Melbourne, Patton displayed considerable intellectual, musical and pedagogical talents—these qualities are particularly evident in her publication *Harmony Simplified for Popular Use*. As a music teacher in Melbourne and then during her later years in Japan and China, Patton demonstrated a high level of commitment to Tonic Sol-fa which she obviously believed to be a highly effective pedagogical tool. Her work as one of the principal advocates of Tonic Sol-fa and of its associated choral repertoire in Japan at this time in the face of more established teaching methods and musical genres is yet another manifestation of her individualism and determination.

¹⁴⁹ The author was fortunate to be gifted this library of Tonic Sol-fa material by Miss Muriel Batson, the daughter of Arthur Batson, Secretary of the Victorian Tonic Sol-fa Association and now relocated to the Deakin University Special Collections.

Heller and Wilson (1982) point out that biography is an important aspect of historical narrative in that it is inspirational and motivational. They also point out that “biography serves not only to provide worthy models, but also to cast notables of the past in accurate, life-like (and therefore replicable) human models of behaviour”.¹⁵⁰ The work of Emily Patton in Japan provides a worthy model of such a commitment, not only to teaching music by the Tonic Sol-fa method, but also to the enrichment of the lives of people of all nationalities through music and performing arts education. However, perhaps Patton’s principal achievement, which came to the fore during the last decade and a half of her life, was her strength of character, her capacity for self-reliance, and her resilience in the face of the many tragedies she faced during her life.

¹⁵⁰ George N. Heller and Bruce D. Wilson. (1982), Historical Research in Music Education: A Prolegomenon, *Bulletin of the Council for Research in Music Education*, 69 (1982): 30.