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***Here from There*—travel, television and touring revues: internationalism as entertainment in the 1950s and 1960s**

*Entertainments depicting national distinctions attracted Australian audiences in the 1950s and 1960s. Touring revues from overseas afforded opportunities to see the nations of the world arrayed on the stage. Each of the major producers of commercial entertainments in Australia imported revues from Europe, Africa, the Americas and East Asia. Like their counterparts in Hong Kong and Singapore, entrepreneurs in Australia harnessed an increasing global flow of performers, at a time when national governments, encouraged by their participation in the United Nations, were adopting cultural policies to foster national distinction and sending troupes of entertainers as cultural ambassadors on international tours. In this article the author explores the significance of internationalist entertainment in mid-20th century Australia, focusing on *Oriental Cavalcade*, an “East Meets West” revue from 1959 which toured with performers from Australia and Asia. At a time when television viewing was becoming a domestic routine and international aviation was becoming an affordable indulgence, producers of internationalist entertainments offered audiences in the theatre experiences of being away from home that were akin to tourism and travel beyond the domestic scene. Jonathan Bollen is a Senior Lecturer in Drama, Flinders University, Australia*

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A desire to create a national theatre for Australia gathered momentum in the late-1940s and eventually gained traction.¹ Government support for the performing arts was introduced with the establishment of the Australian Elizabethan Theatre Trust in 1954 and the subsequent founding of new national opera, theatre and ballet companies and the National Institute of Dramatic Art, while government investment in venues for the performing arts

was led by the Sydney Opera House, on which construction began in 1959.² New Australian plays, fostered by playwriting competitions and the activities of the Playwrights Advisory Board, showed Australians at home on the stage.³ A different desire motivated the commercial producers of popular entertainment. Rather than domestic dramas of Australians at home, they offered audiences encounters with entertainers from elsewhere. *Here from There* was the name of one such revue, presented by David N. Martin at the Tivoli theatres in Sydney and Melbourne in 1949 and the Theatre Royal in Adelaide in 1950. A subsequent show, *The Tourist Trade*, billed as a “laugh-provoking, exotic, thrill-promoting revue,” played the Tivoli circuit for two years from mid-1950; after running for six months in Melbourne it toured to Sydney, Newcastle, Brisbane, Adelaide and around New Zealand. Both revues presented a mixed bill of variety with entertainers imported from overseas—from Great Britain, Europe and north America—and exotic spectacles performed by local entertainers in acts named “Jungle Fantasy,” “Casa Cubana,” “Mexican Madness” and “Voodoo Story.” The tourist theme on stage was echoed in the programs, with sketches of ships, planes and holiday destinations in each.⁴

The Tivoli’s travelogue revues anticipate an array of imported revues touring Australia in the 1950s and 1960s.⁵ As home-grown theatre was becoming a national priority, imported revues offered audiences “exotic” nights out at the theatre, experiences of being away from home, akin to tourism and travel beyond the domestic scene. Travel and television were extending the horizons of entertainment; the view from Australia was to the world beyond.⁶ The emergence of commercial air routes extended opportunities for international travel. More overseas entertainers were visiting Australia and Australians began travelling overseas in increasing numbers. Meanwhile, the introduction of television from 1956 promised to channel the world’s entertainment into the home, obviating the need to go out to the theatre for a night’s entertainment.⁷ This article explores how travel, television and international relations shaped the future of entertainment in the 1950s and 1960s. It addresses exoticism in entertainments imported by three entrepreneurial producers, Harry Wren, Laurie Smith and Tibor Rudas. It focuses on *Oriental Cavalcade*, an ‘East Meets West’ revue with performers from Australia and Asia, produced by Rudas with the advantage of aviation and promoted to audiences on television. With an array of revues touring the world, the article considers in conclusion how internationalism in entertainment coincided with the adoption of cultural policies to foster national distinction and efforts to liberalise immigration policies. In refracting the internationalist aspirations of diplomacy and the regional geopolitics of trade, these touring revues integrated displays of national diversity within circuits once dominated by imperial British and north American sources.⁸

‘Your special night out’—overseas entertainers and the advent of television

Harry Wren is well-remembered for his nostalgic variety revues and, for the most part, these were comfortably familiar, home-grown affairs.⁹ *Thanks for*

the Memory, the first of three, opened at the Princess Theatre in Melbourne in 1953 with a line-up of old-time vaudeville stars well-known to Australian audiences since the 1930s, including George Wallace, Jim Gerald, Morrie Barling, Queenie Paul and Beryl Meekin. The bill comprised comedy sketches, sentimental songs, romantic ballets, and sight acts of juggling, acrobatics and clowning. With an emphasis on home-grown talent and home-spun humour, the only exotic element was "A Breath of Paris" featuring the Sunkist Beauty Ballet performing a can-can.¹⁰ *Thanks for the Memory* played cities in Australia and New Zealand until 1956. Wren's follow-up show, *The Good Old Days*, was billed as "the crowning glory of vaudeville" and toured to Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide and Brisbane in 1956 and 1957.¹¹ George Wallace Junior took his father's spot in Wren's third nostalgic show, *Many Happy Returns*, a farewell tour for singer Gladys Moncrieff, which toured Australia and New Zealand with much the same cast until July 1961.¹²

Wren promoted the nostalgic appeal of his old-time vaudeville stars, as television was introduced to Australia. Yet advertisements in newspapers and the chorus on stage presented a modern outlook. In contrary motion to nostalgic memories of vaudeville past, Wren's use of nude show girls extended the appeal of his shows along a progressive path into an arena of erotic spectacle beyond television's reach.¹³ This home-grown mix of nostalgic memories and erotic spectacle was Wren's recipe for success but not his invention. Learning of Wren's initial success with *Thanks for the Memory* in 1953, Brisbane's resident producer of variety entertainment, Laurie Smith, reminded patrons that Wren's show was "almost an exact replica of our normal Theatre Royal productions, and 90 per cent of the artists have appeared here during the past 12 months."¹⁴ While the recipe sustained them in show business through the 1950s, by decade's end both Smith and Wren were tinkering with the mix.

In a program note for *Many Happy Returns*, Wren writes about the advent of television and the future of theatre. He sees television as an everyday kind of thing, aligned with the habitual and the homely: "a daily habit form of entertainment." In contrast, live theatre could offer something special, something different or unusual: it could offer an excursion, away from home, as Wren puts it, "your special night out."¹⁵ Accordingly, Wren added a third ingredient to his 1959 revue. Among the home-grown entertainers and show girls in *Many Happy Returns* were three overseas acts: "The Rivas, the world famous Apache team from Paris, last seen at the Copacabana Club in Japan" where they "broke all records for a European act ever to play in Japan;" The Clark Brothers, "the fabulous American coloured dancers who took Sydney by storm during a brief appearance here with Johnny Ray in 1955;" and Cherry Minato, a Japanese "muscle control dancer," who recently "concluded her 561st performance at the fabulous Monte Carlo Club in Tokyo" and "has also toured the Philippines, Saigon and Bangkok."¹⁶

In Wren's notes on these overseas entertainers, their exoticism is asserted by their originating elsewhere. Yet exoticism also accrues from their having toured with much success through the night clubs of the world. Thus not merely

here from there, they are here from there by virtue of their success *elsewhere*. The novelty of presenting exotic acts from elsewhere was such that, during a break in touring *Many Happy Returns*, in the month before its final season at Melbourne's Princess Theatre in September 1959, Wren corralled many of the performers, including the Clark Brothers and Cherry Minato—along with American magician John Calvert and the Filipino singer Pilita Corrales (“Spain’s nightingale of song”) who had recently arrived from Manila via Singapore and a shipwreck off the coast near Darwin—into a stop-gap revue at Sydney’s Empire Theatre. Wren called the show *From Outer Space*, which is about as far from home-grown as it gets!¹⁷

At Brisbane’s Theatre Royal, weekly reports in the programs of entertainers’ recent success at venues elsewhere encouraged the audience’s appreciation of their performance here. This appreciation, in turn, anticipated a future where international itineraries, agents’ bookings and fresh audiences would guarantee their continuing success. Although Smith had initially relied on a stable of home-grown talent for his change-weekly revue, acts from overseas appeared with increasing frequency. In the late 1950s Smith travelled regularly to Sydney by plane to meet with booking agents, attend auditions and scout live acts in night clubs for his theatre. In April 1958 he announced his intention of presenting even more entertainers from overseas, having negotiated a cost-sharing deal with the Tivoli theatres in Melbourne and Sydney.¹⁸ With broadcasts in Brisbane commencing in August 1959, Smith’s investment in booking overseas artists sought to offset an anxiety about television:

The advent of TV to Brisbane spurs us to seek high grade acts and to present to the followers of Live Artist shows really worthwhile entertainment and with this in view Mr Laurie Smith keeps in touch with all Overseas artists arriving in this country and you are assured that in the forthcoming weeks your entertainment needs will be fully satisfied.¹⁹

Overseas entertainers advertised as coming to Brisbane’s Theatre Royal include the Polynesian dancer Tatjani, the Maori Troubadors from New Zealand and Margo the Z-Bomb, a Puerto Rican who came to Brisbane via San Francisco, Hong Kong, Manila, Saigon, Singapore, Melbourne and Sydney, and whose solo floor-show at a Hong Kong night club is documented the 1958 Shaw Brothers movie *Mambo Girl*. Chinese-Malaysian Rose Chan, whose extraordinary career as a striptease artist and producer from 1954 scandalised authorities in Singapore and Malaysia for more than twenty years, was promised in program advertising during 1958, although ultimately she did not appear.²⁰ The regular entertainers at the Theatre Royal were also announcing with increasing frequency their departure for engagements overseas or reporting international success on their return. Among them were strippers Carmelita and Delores Nolan (Singapore, Calcutta), comedians Lucky Grills (Korea, Japan) and Terry Scanlon (Singapore, South Africa), and acrobatic dance acts Sigrita and Bogyo (Singapore, Hong Kong), the Duo Perrards (Hong Kong, Tokyo) and the Sadler Twins (Singapore, Hong Kong, Tokyo).²¹

'Exciting new holiday places'—tourism as entertainment

The problems of long-distance travel have always been factored into the business of bringing entertainment to audiences across Australia. In the 19th century, companies toured productions along shipping routes between coastal cities in Australia and New Zealand, and then along the railway lines that linked capital cities overland and spanned into the interior.²² Performers from Great Britain, the United States and Europe found receptive audiences in Australia, as did circus troupes from China and Japan.²³ Sailing the shipping routes of the British Empire into the 20th century, young Australian entertainers performed to cosmopolitans and expatriates in Singapore, Calcutta and Cairo, as they made their way to London and back again. For instance, Perth-born entertainer Coral Gunning left Melbourne after 1937 and toured widely, performing in Singapore, India, Egypt, Hong Kong, Japan and Burma and spent the war-years entertaining troops in Britain, before returning to Australia in the 1950s.²⁴

Yet the expansion of aviation opened new touring patterns for entertainers. In 1947 the Australian airline Qantas introduced long-range aircraft on the 'Kangaroo Route' to London via Singapore and Calcutta. Qantas also introduced weekly services north to Tokyo via Darwin and Manila, consolidating this route with the introduction of DC4 Skymasters and an extension to Hong Kong in 1949.²⁵ By 1953 Qantas was advertising Hong Kong, Manila and Japan as "exciting new holiday places—weeks closer!"²⁶ Other airlines serving Australia via Asia in the 1950s were the British Overseas Airways Corporation flying weekly from London via Singapore from 1948, Air India flying from Bombay via Singapore from 1956, and Cathay-Pacific flying from Hong Kong from 1959. On their return flights, each of these airlines also offered onward connections to cities across south-east Asia and to the north in Japan. By the 1960s the Australian government had invested heavily in the national airline (Qantas) and in building an international airport in Sydney, while the airline companies continued to invest in faster, more capacious aircraft and introduced economy class fares on major routes at much reduced rates.²⁷

Aviation enhanced the speed, frequency and reach with which producers and entertainers found audiences for their acts. By reducing intercontinental travel times from weeks at sea to hours in the air, planes enabled producers to send entire casts on tour. They also enabled solo entertainers, duo acts and trios to move more flexibly between cities and pass more frequently through night clubs and cabarets as international guests. Whereas Toni Lamond and Frank Sheldon had travelled by ship to Manila to appear with the *Bubla Revue* for three months from October 1954, by the decade's end most performers were travelling to and from Australia by air.²⁸ In October 1959 Tibor Rudas claimed to be presenting concurrent shows in Tokyo, Hong Kong, Calcutta, Manila and Singapore.²⁹ While not strictly true, the plausibility of his claim was enhanced by the increasing speed of air routes linking these cities to Australia and each other. Qantas had recently introduced Boeing 707 V-Jets on the Kangaroo Route from Sydney to London across Asia.³⁰

Aviation extended opportunities for spectators to travel overseas as well. Historian Richard White observes that the numbers of Australians travelling overseas increased substantially during the 1950s. By 1949 the number of Australians travelling overseas had returned to pre-war levels, with 24,163 temporary departures that year. The number continued to rise steadily each year, so that it reached 77,761 in 1960. White notes that from 1960 Australians were more likely to travel overseas by air than by sea; for visitors to Australia, air travel had overtaken sea travel in the early 1950s.³¹ Post-war reconstruction fuelled trade and travel across the Asia-Pacific region, with the governments of Australia and Japan formalising a trade agreement in 1957.³² White records that the number of Australians travelling to Japan increased five-fold from 1956 to 6,371 in 1964, noting that 'this is the number giving Japan as their country of disembarkation; a proportion of tourists travelling to Hong Kong and Singapore would have travelled on to Japan as well.'³³ Newspapers in the 1960s carried advertisements for affordable holiday tours to Asia, combining travel by sea, land and air: the outward journey from Sydney would proceed leisurely by sea with a sojourn in Manila; a week-long tour by road or rail would take in the major sights of Japan; while the homeward leg would include a stop-over for shopping in Hong Kong and the time-saving convenience of return travel by air. Travel writing also fed Australians' growing appetite for armchair travel and touring overseas.³⁴

Air travel enhanced the speed of tourism, endowing its spectacle with the scene-changing qualities of a travelogue revue. Travel agencies promoted the pleasures of holiday tourism as a kaleidoscope of cosmopolitan consumption, a passing parade of spectacular sights, shopping bazaars and enticing encounters in exotic places. Lavish theatrical revues and night club floor shows were among the attractions that enticed Australian tourists to travel to the 'new' holiday destinations.³⁵ In Tokyo's capacious theatres, these were delivered on a spectacular scale to audiences in their thousands by the Takarazuka Company, the Shochiku Kagekidan and the Nichigeki Dancing Team.³⁶ Audiences in Manila enjoyed live 'bodabil,' revue and burlesque styles of entertainment at the Manila Grand Opera House, the Clover and other theatres during the 1950s.³⁷ In Singapore and Hong Kong, and elsewhere in Tokyo and Manila, smaller-scale revues were no less lavishly presented in the intimacy—more interactive, more erotic—of night clubs and cabarets. Reflecting the holiday mood, many such revues took the form of travelogues, whisking audiences with set and costume changes on a whirlwind tour to one exotic locale after another.

Air travel also became associated with new trends in entertainment. In contrast with the gracious inertia of massive ships at sea, planes were lighter, faster, much smaller and more intimate. Whereas ocean-going liners had approximated—and, in some cases, actually ingested—the architectural splendour of 19th century theatres, the attentive intimacy of travelling by plane was more akin in its modernity to night club entertainment. Hence the continuities in gendered service from hostesses in the air and at night clubs, the rhetoric of club-ish exclusivity that air travel garnered to itself, and the jet-set vogue of bars and clubs styled after the streamlined interiors of planes. A Qantas

advertisement from 1963 depicts these gendered continuities between air travel from Australia and entertainment in Manila, Hong Kong and Tokyo.³⁸ Each destination is depicted as a woman's face in close-up: each a hostess-model-showgirl who greets the traveller with a welcome smile and made-up 'Asian' eyes; each framed as a baggage tag, a badge of passage, a token of the tour. This eroticised deployment of Orientalism to advertise holiday destinations in Asia was anticipated in the promotion of Tibor Rudas' touring revue, *Oriental Cavalcade*.

***Oriental Cavalcade*—from theatrical artifice to national authenticity**

The Hungarian-born Tibor Rudas arrived in Australia with his wife and brother in 1948 to perform as the acrobatic dancing team, Sugar Baba and the Rudas Twins, at Melbourne's Tivoli theatre in *Revue Continentale*.³⁹ They had previously performed at the Palladium in London and the Gaumont Palace in Paris. Sugar Baba danced at the Hungarian Opera in Budapest; the boys were dance students. The three fled to Turkey when war broke out and spent the war years preparing their act. In 1950 they settled in Sydney, where they opened a studio for acrobatic dancing above the Tivoli theatre with the intention of training a stable of young acrobatic dancers for the Tivoli to export in exchange for American entertainers.⁴⁰ Tibor Rudas' experience as a displaced person, touring entertainer and then migrant, lent his enterprise global scope and mobility.⁴¹ Whereas Laurie Smith and Harry Wren imported acts for theatres in Australia, Rudas built his dance studio into an export product for Asian markets.

In October 1958, Rudas flew eight Australian dancers to the Philippines for a month-long season at the Manila Grand Opera House. According to the *Manila Times*, the Rudas Dancers arrived in Manila "direct from Europe," but they were actually from Australia and had travelled via Singapore.⁴² A troupe of Rudas dancers had passed through Singapore on route to Calcutta in April that year.⁴³ They returned to appear at the Cathay Restaurant and Ocean Park Hotel in Singapore from May to June, and then transferred to the Paramount night club in Hong Kong from July to September.⁴⁴ After appearing in Manila, Rudas announced that the troupe would tour to Japan to perform at Tokyo's Monte Carlo Club. They were back in Singapore from December to February 1959. From May 1959, the Rudas troupe transferred to Hong Kong where they performed at the Paramount, Princess Garden and Golden Phoenix night clubs.⁴⁵ In June 1959, the troupe had flown back to Australia to prepare for a national tour, their numbers augmented with entertainers from the night clubs of Tokyo, Hong Kong, Singapore and Manila.⁴⁶

Promising to deliver "the mystery of Siam, the fascination of China, the excitement of Malaya, the enchantment of India, revealed in the most provocative, the most hilarious way," Rudas toured *Oriental Cavalcade* to theatres in Melbourne, Sydney, Brisbane, Bendigo, Ballarat, Perth, Adelaide, Newcastle and Broken Hill from August 1959 to November 1960.⁴⁷ In Brisbane over the summer holiday period, Rudas took advantage of his imported cast to present a matinee season of the pantomime *Aladdin*. Promotional imagery

recycled the eroticised tropes of Orientalism: the cover of the program for the Sydney season depicts two scantily-clad women in a harem scene, with Chinese dragons, Persian carpet, and exotic treasure highlighted in gold and red. However, hand-drawn sketches inside the program depict western travellers on the streets of Tokyo or Hong Kong. In program notes, Rudas describes *Oriental Cavalcade* as “an East-West theme” and a “theme and production of East Meets West.”⁴⁸ Adelaide reviewer Colin Kerr observed “a fast-moving variety show in which East bows to Western tastes but still manages to come out on top.”⁴⁹

Relational structures within the performance placed an emphasis on encounter, reciprocity and exchange, sentiments prominent in the “Cold War Orientalism” of the middlebrow American imagination that Christina Klein describes.⁵⁰ The stars of *Oriental Cavalcade* were the comedians: an Englishman, Freddie Sales; an American, Billy Rayes; and an Australian, Billy McMahon. For Lindsey Browne, reviewing the Sydney season, Sales “stole” the show.⁵¹ Their comedy sketches appear to have made gendered fun from encounters in post-war Asia: the three comedians opened the show in “East Meets West” with the “Oriental ‘Secretaries’ and the Tivoli Ballet,” and Freddy Sales and Billy Rayes appear with the Kawashima Dancers in “The New ‘Wing’ of Okinawa’s Teahouse of the August Moon.” In solo segments in the second half, however, the comedians appear to have presented their own material, not related to the “East-West” theme. The eight Kawashima Dancers from Japan “brought the house down” performing their burlesque of the ballet *Swan Lake*, dressed as kewpie dolls with over-sized full-head masks.⁵² They also appeared on stage in chorus-line with the seven Rudas Dancers from Australia. A Melbourne critic for *The Age* reported that the Kawashima dancers from Japan “high-kick with Hollywood precision” and the Filipino entertainers sang “rock and roll” and “crooned love songs in bodgie clothing.”⁵³ Among the Filipino acts in *Oriental Cavalcade* were Don Soliano (the “Elvis of Manila”), the Ricman Duo (“pocket-size sensations”), and Vic Soledad and the Blue Squire Trio, each of whom Rudas could have seen when they were performing at the Manila Grand Opera House between late 1958 and early 1959.⁵⁴ More recognisably “Eastern” were the Chinese juggling acts by Mana Koon, and Che Chung Chong, who had performed his fire-juggling at Hong Kong’s Paramount night club during November and December 1958.⁵⁵ By contrast, “Moonlight in India” was performed by the Duo Sylvanos, an Australian acrobatic-adagio duo who also performed in Singapore, Calcutta and Hong Kong.⁵⁶

Rudas hired publicist Betty Stewart who booked advertisers for the program and arranged for performers from the show to appear on television to promote the Sydney season.⁵⁷ The advertisers took advantage of the revue to cultivate Australian tastes for consuming Asian music, food and experiences on holidays. The program for the Sydney season carries advertisements for: The Sukiyaki Room at King’s Cross, “Australia’s only Japanese restaurant;” Miss Kawashima’s favourite recipe for fried rice, cooked with Australian-grown Sunwhite rice; a recording from RCA records of “music for a Chinese dinner at home,” with Chinese recipes on the cover; and Qantas and BOAC, the two main airlines flying from Sydney to Manila, Singapore and Hong Kong. For the TCN-9

television station in Sydney, Che Chung Chong and Mana Koon performed their chop-stick balancing, egg-and-cup trick and fire-twirling acts on *The Bobby Limb Show*.⁵⁸ Their televised segment segues into a performance by comedienne, Beryl Meekin, Australia's "moonfaced mountain of mirth," who had performed with Harry Wren's *Thanks for the Memory* and returned to join *Many Happy Returns* after "a record-breaking tour of Japan, Manila and Hong Kong."⁵⁹ Meekin appears in costume as a Chinatown madame, singing the Orientalist jazz standard, "Limehouse Blues," with six chorus girls, dressed in tabards, dancing with fans.⁶⁰

The juxtaposition of the two Chinese entertainers, presenting the corporeal signifiers of their national origin, with Meekin and the Australian dancers, performing as 'Chinese' in costume and make-up, records a transition in entertainment between the old-time theatricality of exotic artifice and the authenticity of touring artists.⁶¹ This transition in entertainers' representations of national distinction was enhanced by the mobility of aviation and well-suited to television. Air planes could deliver touring entertainers with greater speed and economy than had been possible by ship, so that the corporeal authenticity of entertainers diminished the need for theatrical artifice to represent national distinction. In television production, where close-ups and cropped shots conveyed to viewers an impression of the entertainers' presence, smaller gestures and more intimate styles of bodily presentation were favoured over the broad brushstrokes of theatrical artifice that had been designed to convey national distinction at a distance.

'A show from the United Nations'—internationalism as entertainment

With aviation enabling entertainers to circulate internationally in increasing numbers, Australian audiences of the 1950s and 1960s were afforded many opportunities for encounters with entertainment from elsewhere: *The Folies Bergère Revue* (1953) from France; *Coloured Rhapsody* (1954), *Harlem Blackbirds* (1955), *Katherine Dunham and her Dancers* (1956), and *American Dance Theatre* (1962) from the Americas; *The Chinese Classical Theatre* (1956) from China; *The Cherry Blossom Show* (1958), *Tokyo Nights* (1965) and *Japan by Night* (1968) from the Toho company of Japan; *The Maori Show* (1958) from New Zealand; *Tropical Holiday* (1959) from Brazil; *Tahiti, Enchanted Island* (1961) from the Pacific; *Alegrias de Espana* (1960) and *Luisillo and his Spanish Dance Theatre* (1958-1967) from Spain; *Dancers of India* (1962); *Bayanihan* (1964) from the Philippines; *Les Ballets Africains* from Guinea (1965), the *Ballet Folklorico of Mexico* (1966) and the *Inbal Ballet Company* of Israel (1966); and a set of state-sponsored shows from the Soviet countries of eastern Europe including *Kolo—The Yugoslav State Company* (1959), *The Moscow State Variety Theatre* (1962), *The Georgian State Dance Company* (1963), *The Omsk Siberian Company* (1964), *The Berioska Dance Company of Moscow* (1966), *The Osipov Balalaika Orchestra* (1967), *Mazowsze Dance Company of Poland* (1967), *The Great Moscow Circus* (1968) and *The Moiseyev's Dance Company* (1968).⁶²

Each of the major theatrical producers in Australia were involved in importing such revues to Australia. Along with Tibor Rudas and Harry Wren,

revues were toured around Australia by David N. Martin of the Tivoli, Garnet H. Carroll of Carroll-Fuller Theatres, Sir Frank Tait of J.C. Williamsons, and the independent producers Kenn Brodziak and David H. McIlwraith of Melbourne and Eric Edgley of Perth. Like their counterparts elsewhere in the region—Harry Odell in Hong Kong, Donald Moore in Singapore—they found theatrical success for their enterprise by tapping into an increasing global flow in performers of national cultures, some sponsored by local diplomatic missions, others passing through *en route* to conventions sponsored by the United Nations or the like. For instance, a meeting in 1960 between Eric Edgley and the Russian Ambassador in London led to an invitation for Edgley to attend the Ministry of Culture in Moscow where he gained access to the productions from the countries of the Soviet bloc.⁶³ Most of the revues were wholesale imports, offering Australian audiences direct encounters (or so it seemed) with performers from other places. National designations distinguished them from the travelogue-style of earlier revues, such as the Tivoli's *Here from There* and *The Tourist Trade*, which had represented exotic nationalities with theatrical artifice. By contrast, the imported revues promised the corporeal authenticity of their performers' nationality. In many cases, they toured with the state approval of their nation.

These imported revues evoke the international spirit of their time. The international diplomacy of the United Nations gathered momentum in the 1950s as air travel enabled national delegates to attend meetings with frequency and ease. National governments, encouraged by their participation in the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), adopted cultural policies to foster national distinction, and engaged in diplomacy and promotion by sending troupes of entertainers on tour as national ambassadors. UNESCO also established international institutes for theatre and music that assisted nations to preserve folk cultures, fostered cross-cultural comparison and convened fora for multi-cultural display.⁶⁴ Jet-age aspirations to array the nations of the world on stage were also expressed in international beauty pageants—Miss World and Miss Universe were first held in 1951 and 1952—and in films like *World by Night* and countless spin-offs that whisked audiences in the cinema on one-night-tours of the night clubs of the world. The post-war revival of world expositions in Brussels in 1958, Seattle in 1962 and New York in 1964 also furnished stages for international displays of national cultures. Disney's "It's a Small World" attraction, perhaps the most famous of these arrays, transferred from New York's 1964 World Fair to Disneyland in 1966.

International aspirations were changing the conception of Australia. The national origins among the Australian population were diversifying with the re-settlement of displaced people from post-war Europe. Some 2.7 million migrants settled in Australia between July 1949 and June 1970, notably from the nations of southern and eastern Europe.⁶⁵ Australian perceptions of national cultures and their difference—which had been shaped by the experience of war with Germany, Italy and Japan—were being reshaped by daily encounters between "new Australians" and their "good neighbours," as government policy encouraged Anglo-Celtic Australians to view migrants and themselves.⁶⁶ Perceptions of national difference were also being reshaped by unfolding world

events reported in Australian newspapers: the emerging Cold War between the Soviet Union and the United States, the advance of communism in China, Korea and Indochina, the independence movements in India, Africa and Southeast Asia, and the aspirations and activities of the United Nations and its agencies.⁶⁷

Australia's international relations were also engaged in the promotion and reception of the touring revues. An intervention from Prime Minister Robert Menzies altered the itinerary of the *Chinese Classical Theatre Company* to avert the potential for diplomatic embarrassment had the show been presented, as scheduled, during the 1956 Olympic Games in Melbourne, where athletes from the communist People's Republic of China and the nationalist Republic of China (Taiwan) were competing for the first time.⁶⁸ For *Oriental Cavalcade*, publicist Betty Stewart drew on Australians' military involvement in the post-war reconstruction of Japan by engaging Japanese migrant Cherry Parker, a 'war-bride' living with her Australian husband in suburban Melbourne, to welcome the troupe of Japanese dancers on their arrival, and by hiring a rickshaw brought back from Japan by a returned servicemen contacted through the Box Hill branch of the Returned Services League.⁶⁹ Touring *Tokyo Nights* from the Toho Company of Tokyo in 1965, Harry Wren introduced the revue as "a proven stimulant" for "Export and Import Trade between Australia and Japan" and expressed his "Opinion on the Real Substance" of the performance as "Better Understanding and Good Relations for Our Mutual Interests."⁷⁰

Audiences in Australia were attracted to depictions of national distinction. From travelogue revues of exotic artifice to state-sanctioned celebrations of folkloric tradition, the touring revues tapped into desires to see the nations of the world performed on the stage. These desires for international variety in entertainment reflect a "fascination" with "others" defined by their "exotic" difference from the British and Anglo-American sources of western capitalism that dominated cultural production and social life in Australia.⁷¹ Hence, the intermediary role played by the British, American and Australian comedians in *Oriental Cavalcade*, who relayed the physicality of the Asian acts—with their dance moves, acrobatics, juggling and musicality—into verbal comedy for English-speaking Australians to enjoy. In much the same way, the advertisements for Asian music and food in the program for the Sydney season of *Oriental Cavalcade* commercialised Asian cultures for consumption by an audience of white Australians.⁷² These desires are indicative of the Anglo-Celtic composition of the audience. So were any 'new Australians,' as migrants were called, attracted to the touring revues, to see their own nation on display, or something like it, if they could afford it? Many of the imported revues, those from Asia in particular, would not have found a substantial audience-correlate among migrant communities in Australia at the time. Moreover, opportunities were missed if marketing to migrant communities was a production rationale, since there appear to have been no imported revues from Italy or Greece, two countries which were the source of many post-war migrants to Australia. Nevertheless, it seems plausible that the revues from the communist nations of eastern Europe touring in the 1960s may have attracted some interest among communities of migrants from Poland, Yugoslavia and Russia.

'New Australians' were certainly drawn to *Café Continental*, a television variety show in which the international diversity of Sydney entertainment was arrayed fortnightly between 1959 and 1961. Modeled on a television show of the same name made by the British Broadcasting Corporation in London, the Australian Broadcasting Commission's version of *Café Continental* was hosted at the ABC studios in Sydney by Hal Wayne, a suave cosmopolite who spoke English with a French accent and welcomed the audience with "Bonsoir mesdames et messieurs."⁷³ Wayne presented a mix of song-and-dance acts by folkloric groups from Australia's migrant communities, alongside professional entertainers from around the world, some on tour with the revues, others imported by Sydney night clubs like Chequers (where Laurie Smith, of Brisbane's Theatre Royal, became a producer after 1959).⁷⁴ The Italian-Australian musician, Enzo Toppano and his Quintetto provided the music. The show was broadcast live and well-attended. The studio audience sat cabaret-style on the set, interacting with the performers, and taking to the dance floor at the opening and closing of the show.

As a measure of an episode's success, Wayne would sometimes recite the list of nations represented on the show. With "artists from Trinidad, Ceylon, Holland, England, Australia and Russia" on an early episode—and from China, Croatia, France, Germany, Greece, Indonesia, Latvia, Malaya and the Philippines on later episodes—it was, as Wayne proclaimed, "truly a show from the United Nations!"⁷⁵ With the prospect of satellite communications on the horizon, Wayne's exclamation recognised how aviation could deliver to audiences the revolution in entertainment that television promised for the future: the transmission of entertainers and their acts, brought 'here from there' in an instant (or so it seemed), in all their liveness, immediacy and authenticity. With the touring revues supplying *Café Continental* with many of its professional entertainers, Wayne's exclamation also recognised audience appetites for internationalist entertainments, rather than the nationalist sentiments then being invested in government-sponsored performing arts.

The internationalism of entertainment on *Café Continental* was doubly-underwritten: by the desire to consume national difference—cultivated widely with the touring of revues from overseas—and by the aspiration of the national government to assimilate migrants into the Australian way of life. Historian Gwenda Tavan records that, when introduced in 1949, the "Good Neighbours" program aimed at cultural homogenisation—as illustrated by "the 'Waltzing Matilda' folk ballet performed by 'New Australians' at the Jubilee Convention in 1951."⁷⁶ Demands were also made of migrant communities in the program to perform their national folk songs and dances, as they also did on *Café Continental*. Tavan questions whether these displays of folkloric traditions were ever successful "as attempts to help 'sell' immigration to Australians" beyond the program.⁷⁷ Sneja Gunew and other analysts of multiculturalism in Australia are also critical of folkloric display, where the continuity of traditions assumes cultural stasis and disconnection from modernity.⁷⁸ As Ghassan Hage observes, positive receptions of the nation's multicultural array—such as the ethnic diversity of restaurants in inner-city suburbs—reserve for white Australians the

managerial function of selection, promotion and appreciation.⁷⁹ These criticisms written in the 1980s and 1990s reflect the extent to which folkloric display—in touring revues, on variety television, at community events—informed the conception of multiculturalism in Australia during the 1960s and 1970s.⁸⁰

By the early 1960s the assimilation of migrants was a policy in transition. According to Tavan, the “monocultural model of the nation” was “abandoned” by those working within the “Good Neighbours” program: as “migrants resisted the attempts to absorb them completely into the dominant culture” and sought “to assert their presence within the national community...Australians committed to national development and to the success of the immigration program confronted the reality that their society was becoming culturally and ethnically mixed.”⁸¹ In analysing the progress of reform to Australian immigration policy and, in particular, the dismantling of the race-based restrictions of the White Australia policy which sought to exclude migrants from Asia,⁸² Tavan demonstrates how between 1959 and 1966, a reform movement led by “a relatively small association of middle-class professionals” mobilised university-educated Australians, influenced community leaders and the Australian Labor Party, and “helped create a domestic climate in which immigration reformers within government circles were able to initiate substantive policy changes.”⁸³ Yet polls of public opinion were already showing “majority support for a measure of Asian immigration” from 1959, the year the reform movement had formed.⁸⁴

If, as Tavan suggests, internationalism in Australia is understood as a doctrine that is “not overly concerned with issues of national identity or security” but rather “prioritises Australia’s standing in the region and the world, and its moral responsibilities to a global community,”⁸⁵ then the producers of commercial entertainment in the 1950s and 1960s appear to have shared their enthusiasms for internationalism with the later reformers of Australia’s immigration policy, anticipating the emergence of multiculturalism in the 1970s and 1980s as a national policy for the arts. The producers were certainly attuned to the optimism of public opinion. Over the period coinciding with the popularity of the touring revues, majority support for the government’s immigration program grew from around 50% in the mid-1950s to peak at 76% in 1966.⁸⁶ Thirty international revues touring state capitals and regional cities over fifteen years attracted widespread interest, reaching well beyond those actively involved in assimilation and immigration reform. As migration was transforming Australian society and the horizons of travel and trade were expanding across Asia, the producers of commercial entertainment accelerated the flow of entertainers in global circulation—transported by air, transmitted by television. In diversifying the national origins of ‘Australian’ entertainment, they anticipated the managerial production of a multicultural future and the geopolitical orientation of economic engagement within the Asia-Pacific region.

¹ Stephen Alomes, "The search for a national theatre," *Voices* 3:3 (1993) 21-37; Don Batchelor, "Political manoeuvring behind the scenes: the development of the national theatre idea in Australia during the 1940s," *Australasian Drama Studies*, 40 (2002): 58-73.

² John West, *Theatre in Australia* (Stanmore: Cassell Australia, 1978).

³ Leslie Ress, *The Making of Australian Drama: From the 1830s to the late 1960s* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1978).

⁴ Sketches of the Eiffel Tower, the Statue of Liberty, Big Ben and Tower Bridge from the program for *Here from There* are reproduced in the program for *The Tourist Trade*, with the addition of a South Pacific motif: beach with palm trees, and a dancing girl in grass skirt, bikini top and feather headdress (Programs for *Here from There*, Tivoli Theatre, Melbourne, 14 October 1949 and *The Tourist Trade*, Tivoli Theatre, Melbourne, 14 July 1950, Performing Arts Collection (PAC), The Arts Centre, Melbourne).

⁵ The travelogue was introduced at the Tivoli with *Forbidden City* (Melbourne, 6 May 1946), a revue set in the night clubs of San Francisco with Chinese-American entertainers, Ma Sui Lin and Lee Pak Fa, and the Chinese-Australian tenor, Chung Doo; the Australian actor and playwright, Sumner Locke Elliot, who also appeared, described *Forbidden City* as "a Chinese extravaganza with a Latin American setting" ("Novel Attraction for Tivoli," *The Argus*, 3 May 1946, 4; Frank van Straten, *Tivoli*, South Melbourne: Lothian Books, 2003, 172).

⁶ Cinerama, a wide-screen film format screening in Australia from 1958, also promoted travel as entertainment with titles such as *This is Cinerama*, *Cinerama Holiday*, *Seven Wonders of the World*, and *South Seas Adventure* ("Cinerama Arrives: Sydney first for new movies," *Australian Women's Weekly*, 10 September 1958, 72).

⁷ The prospect of an untrammelled flow of American television into homes prompted the development of policies prescribing a minimum ratio for the broadcast of Australian-made content. Cameron Hazlehurst, "The advent of commercial TV," *Australian Cultural History* 2 (1982-3): 112-14; Mungo MacCallum, ed., *Ten Years of Television* (Melbourne, Sun Books, 1968); Sandra Hall, *Supertoys: Twenty Years of Australian Television* (Melbourne: Sun Books 1976); Tom O'Regan, *Australian Television Culture* (St Leonards: Allen and Unwin, 1993).

⁸ Veronica Kelly, "A Complementary Economy? National Markets and International Product in Early Australian Theatre Managements," *New Theatre Quarterly* 21:1 (2005): 77-95.

⁹ "Farewells to well-loved artists and Tivoli revue," in *Entertaining Australia*, ed. Katharine Brisbane (Sydney: Currency Press, 1991), 289.

¹⁰ Program for *Thanks for the Memory*, Princess Theatre, Melbourne, 3 October 1953, PAC.

¹¹ Program for *The Good Old Days*, Tivoli Theatre, Sydney, 20 November 1956, National Library of Australia (NLA).

¹² Program for *Many Happy Returns*, Empire Theatre, Sydney, 28 January 1959, State Library of New South Wales (SLNSW).

¹³ Jonathan Bollen, "Don't Give Up the Strip!: erotic performance as live entertainment in mid-twentieth century Australia," *Journal of Australian Studies* 34:2 (2010): 125-140.

¹⁴ Program for *Nudes Ahoy*, Theatre Royal, Brisbane, 21 November 1953, Queensland Performing Arts Centre (QPAC) Museum collection.

¹⁵ Program for *Many Happy Returns*. See also Bruce Gordon, business manager of the Tivoli Circuit, quoted in "Television 'no threat' to Theatre," *The Advertiser*, 5 May 1959, 7.

¹⁶ Program for *Many Happy Returns*.

¹⁷ Program for *From Outer Space*, Empire Theatre, Sydney, 7 August 1959, SLNSW.

¹⁸ Program for *Follies Bergere, Edition Number 4*, Theatre Royal, Brisbane, 26 April 1958, QPAC.

¹⁹ "Theatre News," *Front Page Nudes*, Theatre Royal, Brisbane, 29 August 1959, QPAC. Brisbane's QTQ-9 commenced television broadcasting on 16 August 1959, followed by BTQ-7 on 1 November 1959 and ABQ-2 on 2 November 1959.

²⁰ Programs from the Theatre Royal, Brisbane, 1957-1958, QPAC and State Library of Queensland (SLQ).

²¹ Programs for Theatre Royal, Brisbane, 1949-1959, QPAC and SLQ.

²² "Touring," in *Companion to Theatre in Australia*, ed. Philip Parsons (Sydney: Currency Press and Cambridge University Press, 1995), 609-13.

²³ David C.S. Sissons, "Japanese acrobatic troupes touring Australasia 1867-1900," *Australasian Drama Studies*, 35 (1999): 73-107; Rosemary Farrell, "Sweat from the bones: politics, Chinese

acrobatics and Australia" (PhD diss., La Trobe University, 2007); Gillian Arrighi, "Circus and Sumo: Tradition, Innovation and Opportunism at the Australian Circus," *Theatre Research International*, 37:3 (2012): 265-282.

²⁴ Papers of Coral Tottie Gunning, MN 2093, Batty Library, State Library of Western Australia. Biographical cuttings on Coral Gunning, NLA, 378793 BIOG.

²⁵ See Jim Eames, *Sydney Airport: Eighty Years as the Gateway to Australia* (Edgecliff: Focus, 2000); the Qantas histories by John Gunn, *Challenging Horizons: Qantas 1939-1954* (St Lucia: UQP, 1987) and *High Corridors: Qantas 1954-1970* (St Lucia: UQP, 1988).

²⁶ "Qantas brings exciting new holiday places weeks closer!," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 September 1953, 4.

²⁷ Leigh Edmonds, "How Australians were made air-minded," *Continuum: The Australian Journal of Media and Culture* 7:1 (1993),

<http://www.mcc.murdoch.edu.au/ReadingRoom/7.1/Edmonds.html>, accessed 10 January 2012.

²⁸ Toni Lamond, *First Half* (Sydney: Pan Books, 1990), 78-94.

²⁹ Program for *Oriental Cavalcade*, Tivoli Theatre, Sydney, 19 October 1959, SLNSW.

³⁰ Robert Lee, "The Rise of Civil Aviation to 1970," in *Linking a Nation: Australia's Transport and Communications, 1788-1970* (Canberra: Australian Heritage Commission, 2003)

<http://www.environment.gov.au/heritage/ahc/publications/commission/books/linking-a-nation/index.html>, accessed 10 January 2012.

³¹ Richard White, "The retreat from adventure: popular travel writing in the 1950s," *Australian Historical Studies*, 28:109 (1997): 90-105.

³² Statement by John McEwen, Australian Minister for Trade and Industry, on signing of the Australia-Japan Trade Agreement, 6 July 1957, National Library of Australia, Menzies Papers, MS4936/21/440, Folder 18,

<http://www.info.dfat.gov.au/info/historical/HistDocs.nsf/vVolume/6A83660A6F3CAD1FCA256D9600111D2D>, accessed 10 January 2012.

³³ White, "The retreat from adventure," 101-102.

³⁴ In "The retreat from adventure" (101), White reports that Colin Simpson's *The Country Upstairs* (1956), a travelogue on "Japan today with a Philippines interlude," sold 50,000 copies in eight years; it was subsequently expanded for re-publication as *This is Japan* (1975). Other books on travel in Asia read widely in Australia at the time include Frank Clune's *Korean Diary* (1955) and *Flight to Formosa* (1958), Colin Simpson's *Asia's Bright Balconies* (1962) on Hong Kong, Macao and the Philippines, F. D. Ommanney's *Fragrant Harbour: A Private View of Hong Kong* (1962), James Kirkup's *These Horned Islands: A Journal of Japan* (1962) and *Tokyo* (1966), Les Such's *A Yen for Yokohama* (1963) and Hal Porter's *The Actors: An Image of New Japan* (1968).

³⁵ "See Japan in Autumn ... on this exciting low-cost four week's tour!," advertisement, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 August 1961, 14.

³⁶ Programs for Takarazuka Revue (series 01527-1), Shochiku Kagekidan (2368-1), Toho Revues (2646-3) and the Nichigeki Dancing Team (7583-1) in the archive at the Tsubouchi Memorial Theatre Museum, Waseda University, Tokyo.

³⁷ Other theatres advertising live performance in the *Manila Times* during the 1950s were the Center, the Astor, the Inday, the Royal, the Blossom and the Odeon. These theatres also screened movies, as did the Clover and the Opera House on occasion.

³⁸ "Qantas shows you the three faces of the east," advertisement, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 May 1963, 7.

³⁹ Tibor Rudas, *AusStage*, <http://www.ausstage.edu.au/pages/contributor/229102>, accessed 20 March 2013. Programs for *Revue Continentale*, Tivoli Theatre, Melbourne, 23 August 1948, NLA. *Sugar Baba and the Rudas Twins* also performed in *Variety Cavalcade*, Tivoli Theatre, Melbourne, 5 September 1949.

⁴⁰ John Brennan, "Unique school for young Sydney acrobats," *Sunday Herald*, 27 August 1950, 2; van Straten, *Tivoli*, 182. After marrying Tibor, Sugar Baba was known as Anna Rudas, dance teacher and choreographer.

⁴¹ Tibor Rudas signalled his intention to apply for naturalisation under the Nationality and Citizenship Act in 1953 in an advertisement in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 August 1953, 28.

⁴² “Fabulous Rudas Dancers feted at Opera House, Ang Tibay,” *Manila Times*, 5 October 1958, 18; advertisement for the Fabulous Rudas Dancers at the Manila Grand Opera House, *Manila Times*, 8 October 1958, 15.

⁴³ “Dancers off to Calcutta—but they’ll be back soon,” *Straits Times*, 6 April 1958, 4.

⁴⁴ Advertisements in *Straits Times*, 1 May to 14 June 1958, and *China Mail*, 25 July to 9 September 1958.

⁴⁵ Advertisements in *China Mail*, 29 May to 23 June 1959.

⁴⁶ “Opening Bill,” *Pix*, 13 June 1959, 17-19. The Rudas Dancers were Dawn Cabot, Mikey Collier, Robyn Isted, Evelyn Jago, Janice Kingham, Noeleen Race and Yvonne Whiting.

⁴⁷ Program for *Oriental Cavalcade*, Tivoli Theatre, Sydney, 19 October 1959, PAC.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ Colin Kerr, “East and West meet on stage,” *The Advertiser*, 23 April 1960, 6.

⁵⁰ Christina Klein, *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945-1961* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003) 14.

⁵¹ L. B. [Lindsey Browne], “Oriental accent in Tivoli show,” *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 October 1949, 28. There were some cast changes during the tour: Will Mahoney, Johnny Lockwood and Johnny Ladd took the comedian spots in subsequent seasons.

⁵² Betty Stewart, *A Survivor in a Star Spangled World: An Autobiography* (East Blaxland: Betty Stewart, 2000), 114. The reviewers in Melbourne, Sydney and Adelaide also admired the Kewpie Doll ballet. The Kawashima Dancers were Sachiko Kawaguchi, Chiaki Tanaka, Sumiko Ubara, Yoshiko Sekine, Ki Nin Shin, Eiko Shimuzu, Mitsuko Ezo and Tokiko Muto; choreographed by Asaku Kawashima.

⁵³ “Spectacle and color in new Tivoli show,” *The Age*, 19 Aug 1959, 16.

⁵⁴ Advertisements in *Manila Times*, 25 October 1958 to 28 May 1959.

⁵⁵ Advertisements in *China Mail*, 18 November to 13 December 1958.

⁵⁶ The Duo Sylvanos were Arthur Smith and Delores Harris. “Round the world—the ritzy way doing the light fantastic,” *Straits Times*, 6 July 1955, 5; advertisement for Sky Palace, Singapore, *Straits Times*, 12 January 1957, 10; “China Mail Entertainment Guide,” *China Mail*, 16 August 1960, 4.

⁵⁷ Stewart, *A Survivor in a Star Spangled World*, 109-115.

⁵⁸ *The Bobby Limb Show*, Episode 9, National Film and Sound Archive (NFSA), Title No. 12000. The date of first broadcast for this recording is not determined. Bobby Limb introduces Che Chung Chong and Mana Koon: “they have appeared all over Australia with the *Oriental Cavalcade*, they’ve been back to the Far East [presumably Hong Kong], and now we’ve got them back again” which would place the broadcast either in January or early February or between May and October 1960. Other acts from *Oriental Cavalcade* performed on television. The Ricman Duo appear on *Cafe Continental*, unidentified episode, NFSA, Title No. 746820. The Kawashima Dancers are credited in *The Bobby Limb Show*, Episode 11, c. 1960, NFSA, Title No. 13348, but their segment is cut from the recording. Likewise, the Fabulous Rudas Dancers are credited for *The Bobby Limb Show*, Episode 13, c. 1960, NFSA, Title No. 11983, but do not appear in the recording. Che Chung Chong also appears with Mei Lei in *Mobil Limb Show*, Episode 22, c. 1960, NFSA, Title No. 440290.

⁵⁹ Programs for *Thanks for the Memory*, Princess Theatre, Melbourne, 3 October 1953, and *Many Happy Returns*, Empire Theatre, Sydney, 28 January 1959, PAC.

⁶⁰ “Limehouse Blues,” written in 1922 by Englishmen Douglas Furber and Philip Braham, was first sung by Gertrude Lawrence. The song became a jazz standard in the 1920s and 1930s. It lent its title to a 1934 crime film, set in London’s Chinatown, starring the Chinese-American actor, Anna May Wong. It was also the subject of an Oriental fantasy, danced by Fred Astaire and Lucille Bremer, dressed in ‘Asian’ costumes and make-up, in the 1946 Metro-Goldwyn-Meyer movie, *Ziegfeld Follies*.

⁶¹ A similar transition was apparent when African-American singer and activist Paul Robeson appeared alongside blacked-up performers on Hal Lashwood’s black and white minstrel show; *Hal Lashwood’s Minstrels*, Christmas 1960, NFSA Title 331469.

⁶² Productions documented in AusStage, <http://www.ausstage.edu.au>. Audiences also enjoyed the ‘exotic’ within Australia: *An Aboriginal Moomba: Out of the Dark*, was produced and performed by an all-Aboriginal cast at the Princess Theatre, 23-27 June 1951 (Sylvia Kleinert, “An

Aboriginal Moomba: Remaking History," *Continuum: Journal of Media and Cultural Studies*, 13:3 (1999): 345-357). *Aboriginal Theatre*, produced by Stefan Haag of the Australian Elizabethan Theatre Trust with Aboriginal performers from communities in the Northern Territory, played at theatres in Sydney and Melbourne in 1963 (Programs for *Aboriginal Theatre*, PAC).

⁶³ Margaret Berkeley, "It took 18 months of patience, but Russian variety artists to visit Australia," *Australian Women's Weekly*, 9 May 1962, 7. Eric Edgley (1899-1967) was an English comedian and entrepreneur, who moved to Australia in the 1920s. In 1952 he established a production company with partner Clem Dawe, operating from His Majesty's Theatre in Perth, where they presented variety, revue and pantomime, either locally-produced or on tour from the east coast. The enterprise expanded in the 1960s to encompass national tours of imported revues, notably from the Soviet Union. Victoria Chance, "Eric Edgley," in *Companion to Theatre in Australia*, 199; Frank van Straten, "Eric Edgley 1899-1967," *Live Performance Australia*, 2007, <http://www.liveperformance.com.au/halloffame/ericedgley2.html>, accessed 10 January 2012.

⁶⁴ Fernando Valderrama, *A History of UNESCO* (Paris: UNESCO, 1995).

⁶⁵ John Murphy, "Immigration and assimilation," *Imagining the Fifties: Private Sentiment and Political Culture in Menzies' Australia* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2000), 149-167.

⁶⁶ Gwenda Tavan, "'Good Neighbours': Community orientations, migrant assimilation and Australian society and culture, 1950-1961," *Australian Historical Studies*, 28:109 (1997): 77-89.

⁶⁷ Murphy, "A war-haunted world," in *Imagining the Fifties*, 91-104.

⁶⁸ "The Prime Minister changes the itinerary," in *Entertaining Australia*, 284-5.

⁶⁹ Stewart, *A Survivor in a Star Spangled World*, 111-114.

⁷⁰ Program for *Tokyo Nights*, Her Majesty's Theatre, Melbourne, 29 March 1965, PAC.

⁷¹ These terms are used by Susan Sheridan in "The 'Australian Woman' and her Migrant Others in the postwar *Australian Women's Weekly*," *Continuum: Journal of Media and Cultural Studies*, 14:2 (2000): 121-132, and "Eating the other: food and cultural difference in the *Australian Women's Weekly* in the 1960s," *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 21:3 (2000): 319-329.

⁷² Earlier touring revues also provided opportunities to enrich Australian diets: African-American dancers Norma Miller and Barbara Taylor, who toured with *Colored Rhapsody*, and Katherine Dunham, each contributed recipes to the *Australian Women's Weekly*: "American fried chicken is ideal," 12 March 1955, 9; "A Spanish dish," 7 May 1955, 16; "Happy new year," 26 December 1956, 59.

⁷³ Episodes of *Cafe Continental*, ABC Television, Sydney, 1959-1961, NFSA Title Nos. 5281, 5118, 331554, 331557, 331610, 746820.

⁷⁴ Smith closed his enterprise at Brisbane's Theatre Royal in November 1959. Gloria Newton records that "Smith's first job in Sydney was with Chequers night club where he produced their floorshow" and that he "stayed there for two and a half years, at a fantastic salary" in "Father and daughter in close harmony," *Australian Women's Weekly*, 16 June 1971, 17.

⁷⁵ *Cafe Continental*, ABC Television, Sydney, 1959, NFSA Title No. 5281.

⁷⁶ Tavan, "Good Neighbours," 81. The "Good Neighbours" program was a government-led initiative that coordinated the activities of churches, charities and other voluntary organisations to assist the settlement and assimilation of migrants and to educate Australians to accept and welcome migrants.

⁷⁷ Tavan, "Good Neighbours," 84.

⁷⁸ Sneja Gunew and Fazal Rizvi, eds., *Culture, Difference and the Arts* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1994); Stephen Castles, Bill Cope, Mary Kalantzis, Michael Morrissey, *Mistaken Identity: Multiculturalism and the Demise of Nationalism in Australia* (Sydney: Pluto, 1988).

⁷⁹ Ghassan Hage, "At Home in the Entrails of the West: Multiculturalism, Ethnic Food and Migrant Home-Building," in *Home/world: Space, Community and Marginality in Sydney's West*, eds Helen Grace, Ghassan Hage, Lesley Johnson, Julie Langsworth and Michael Symonds (Annandale: Pluto, 1997) 99-153; Ghassan Hage, *White Nation: Fantasies of White Supremacy in a Multicultural Society* (Annandale: Pluto Press, 1998).

⁸⁰ Al Grassby, "Australia's cultural revolution: the effect of a multicultural society on the arts," *Arts in Cultural Diversity*, Proceedings of the International Society for Education through Art's 23rd World Congress 23rd, Adelaide, 1978, 161-165; Grassby was Minister for Immigration in

the Whitlam Labor government, 1972-1974, and an architect of the national policy on multiculturalism.

⁸¹ Tavan, "Good Neighbours," 89.

⁸² The White Australia policy describes the racial bias of laws, regulations and procedures governing immigration to Australia, stemming from the Immigration Restriction Act of 1901 and in effect until the early 1970s; see Myra Willard, *History of the White Australia Policy to 1920* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1923); Anthony C. Palfreeman, *The Administration of the White Australia Policy* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1967); Sean Brawley, *The White Peril: Foreign Relations and Asian Immigration to Australia and North America 1919-78* (Sydney: University New South Wales Press, 1995); Gwenda Tavan, *The Long Slow Death of White Australia* (Carlton North, Vic.: Scribe, 2005); Jane Carey and Claire McLisky, eds, *Creating White Australia* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 2009).

⁸³ Tavan, "Immigration: Control of Colour Bar? The Immigration Reform Movement, 1959-1966," *Australian Historical Studies*, 117 (2001), 200.

⁸⁴ Tavan, "Immigration: Control of Colour Bar?," 184, 195. See also J. Mackie, "The Politics of Asian Immigration," in *Asians in Australia: Patterns of Migration and Settlement*, eds. J. E. Coughland and D. J. McNamara (Melbourne: MacMillan Education, 1997).

⁸⁵ Gwenda Tavan, "Immigration: Control of Colour Bar?," 191.

⁸⁶ Statistical Appendix, Part 2, "Migrant numbers, Asian immigration and multiculturalism: trends in the polls, 1943-1998," in National Multicultural Advisory Council, *Australian Multiculturalism for a New Century: Towards Inclusiveness* (Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 1999); Katharine Betts, "Attitudes to immigration and population growth in Australia 1954 to 2010: An Overview," *People and Place*, 18:3 (2010): 32-51.