Musical Mavericks

The work of Roy Agnew and Hooper Brewster-Jones as an Australian counterpart to European modern music 1906–1949

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A thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Humanities Research Centre
Australian National University
April 2007
Declaration

The work presented in this thesis is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, original except as acknowledged in the text. The material has not been submitted, either in whole or in part, for a degree at this or any other university.

Kate Bowan
April 2007
Acknowledgements

This thesis has benefited from an outstanding supervisory panel. I am grateful to Professor Malcolm Gilles for his timely and important suggestions; to Dr Mary Eagle for her energy, enthusiasm and excellent ideas; to Professor Larry Sitsky who, with his deep and in many respects personal experience of the area, has greatly enriched this research; to Ms Deborah Crisp for her many useful suggestions; to Dr Bradley Cummings for providing indispensable assistance in musical and technological matters; and finally I wish to extend my heartfelt thanks to my chief supervisor, Dr Paul Pickering, whose supervision has been quite simply exemplary.

Many people have been kind in allowing me access to personal collections. I would like to thank the Brewster-Jones family, John and Rick Brewster-Jones and Ann Bartsch, for their generosity and faith in entrusting me with invaluable and precious material; Janie Maclay for finding the suitcase under the bed and for her encouragement; Margaret Morgan for her memories and the generous loan of the Agnew Family Autograph Book; Rita Crews for her generosity in giving me access to her own hard-won research; and Jill Roe for allowing me to examine her personal files.

The librarians and staff of several institutions provided generous assistance: the National Archives, the National Library of Australia, the Sydney Conservatorium Library, the University of Adelaide, the State Library of South Australia, the Mitchell Library, the UTS Archives and Registry Office, the Butlin Archives, the National Film and Sound Archive, the Australian Dictionary of Biography, and the ANU libraries. I am particularly grateful to Gordon Abbot, Head Librarian at the Elder Conservatorium Library; Elise Bennetto, Special Collections Archivist at the Barr Smith Library; Chris Bornet at the Royal College of Music Library; Naomi Blumensaadt at the Campbell Theosophical Library; Erin O’Neil at the BBC Written Archives Centre and Wendy Hiscocks for assisting me with research in England.

I wish to thank the numerous friends and colleagues at the Research School of Humanities and ANU School of Music for their support and helpful observations, particularly those who participated in the writing workshop as well as Ann Jones and Pam McGrath for the odd moments of much-needed technical assistance and their constant good humour, and of course Marguerite Bolland, Jenny Gall, Alistair Noble and Allan Walker for our many fruitful discussions. Many other people have provided invaluable assistance including: Dr David Pear, Dr Joel Crotty, Dr John Docker, Dr Debjani Ganguli, Dr Jill Matthews, Professor Desley Deacon, Professor Margaret Allen, Dr Nicholas Brown, Alan Jenkins, Nigel Butterley, John Painter, William Hoffman, Maria Prerauer and Philip Scowcroft.

I am indebted to my father’s careful reading of various drafts and his perceptive and informed suggestions and to Graham Millar for his painstaking proof reading. This thesis is dedicated to my parents and my daughters for their patience.
Abstract

In 1920 the *Lone Hand* reported that Sydney composer Roy Agnew (1891-1944) had “after much anxious consideration been forced to abandon the limitations of key and tonal relationship.” For this transgression, he was branded, among other things, a musical Bolshevik. Three years later in Adelaide, Hooper Brewster-Jones (1887-1949) wrote the first of his “formula” pieces which are part of a larger body of works that experiment with various aspects of musical language. In this thesis, I will argue that together certain works of these two isolated composers constitute an instance of what is known in conventional music history terms as “progressive” or “innovative” music. As such it can be seen as part of the wider international scene concerned with developing new means of musical expression at this time. This significant fact has been overlooked by musicologists and historians dealing with this interwar period, long dismissed as stagnant, producing only second-rate work: a pale imitation of British pastoralism and “light” salon music. This study seeks to revise that long-accepted story and show that there was an Australian musical intelligentsia in the early decades of last century.

Drawing from a wide array of primary sources, including contemporary newspapers, journals, letters, memoirs, unpublished music manuscripts and other archival material, I will first, through analysis of selected works, demonstrate how the music fits into a broader international framework, then, using biography as a lens, reconstruct their worlds in Sydney, Adelaide and London, describing networks and important relationships that provide a context for this music, and finally examine aspects of the two composers’ public output such as performance, radio broadcasts and newspaper criticism that strengthen the picture of these two composers as individuals who enthusiastically engaged with international modernism. Central themes that emerge to underpin the study of these two figures are: the relationship between exoticism, occultism and modernism (demonstrating that exoticism and occultism were driving forces behind the development of early modernism); exoticism as a process by which that from the outside is brought into and reinterpreted for the local and particular; an interpretation of the diverse meanings and uses of that much-contested term modernism; and the broad informal network of dissemination, communication and bi-directional influence offered by the transnational British world and direct engagement with America and Europe.
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Preface

I entered Adelaide for the first time by car on a warm evening in 2002, tired from the long, dry, flat drive from Canberra. I was a researcher for composer Larry Sitsky’s Australian Research Council-funded project on twentieth-century Australian piano music. His brief had been simple: “I’ve been told about an Adelaide composer, Hooper Brewster-Jones. Find the archive. Go and have a look.” I had tracked it down to the Barr Smith Library at the University of Adelaide. The next morning I went to the Elder Conservatorium Library where the entire uncatalogued archive had been moved into a small room for my convenience by Gordon Abbot, the enormously generous and helpful Music Librarian. I started sifting through the piles of aging yellowed manuscripts with a growing sense of disappointment. It seemed that this composer had never thought to sharpen a pencil and worked in an idiosyncratic shorthand. The majority of manuscripts were barely decipherable. I gravitated to the few works written in fine copy. In musical terms, they seemed disappointingly unadventurous. I turned from a quick perusal of the orchestral music, the dramatic works, and the chamber music to my chief focus: the piano music. There was a mass of it. Somewhat dispiritedly I began to go through it until I opened yet another manila folder and was faced with the title *Formula Series* (1924). The words leapt out at me, the implications immediate. For the last year I had been swamped with music of a similar vintage bearing titles, which, like *Formula Series*, reflected much about the music, but they were called such things as *By the Bathing Pool, Will o’ the wisp, The Leafy Lanes of Kent, Sea Surge*. The words “formula” and “series” suggested something altogether different. I turned to the first prelude, the opening chord caused me to jump up leave the room and find a piano. I played through with a growing sense of excitement; a feeling which only intensified as I looked through the remaining five preludes. This was music utterly different to that I had already found. It was a kind of music I had not expected to find. Its very existence challenges the generally accepted orthodoxies of Australian music history, demanding a re-examination of the period from which it came. I charged back downstairs and resumed work with a newfound energy.
Hooper Brewster-Jones, May 1923*

Hooper Brewster-Jones sat at his desk, a blank sheet of manuscript paper before him. On the desk was the usual large pile of books and journals. He had opened the latest treatise from America, *The Science of Musical Sounds*, and an old article by his friend George Clutsam on Scriabin’s harmonic experiments.¹ Through the open windows of his study he could hear the shouts of his boys playing in the garden. A bird called, he glanced in the direction of his notebook but decided against taking it down; it could wait until he went out to the Hills again with Heysen. It was May. A gust of cool evening air through the open windows was a sign that winter would soon arrive. Getting up to close the windows, he could see the silhouette of his wife, Gerta, giving her Wednesday voice lesson in the main house, gesticulating emphatically at some hapless student. Beside the window his portrait, recently painted by Ivor Hele, caught his eye. He liked it; Gerta did not. Returning to his desk he picked up the book and turned to the section on the overtone series. He found his pencil and began to jot down notes in the top left hand corner of the blank paper—low C, middle C, E, G. At first glance it looked conventional but when he added B♭, D, F♯, B♭, and B♯, it was transformed. Like Scriabin and yet unlike him in that it preserved the notes in the position they occurred in the series. He wrote the numbers of the partials beside the scrawled notes—1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 14, 15—providing a C major triad and augmented triad starting on B♭ and a B minor triad. Next he turned it into a scale by hastily drawing another staff and rearranging the collection

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* I have drawn from many different sources for the construction of the following two vignettes. While they have their basis in historical sources, they are nonetheless imaginary.

¹ There are alternate transliterations of many Russian names. Throughout my own text, I shall use currently accepted transliterations. I will however use “Scriabin,” instead of “Skriabin” or the less common “Skryabin.” Any other variants such as “Scriabine” or misspellings of Russian words when quoted directly from other sources will remain unchanged.
starting again from C: C, D, E, F#, G, B₃, B₅. It was a short walk to the grand piano standing in the corner to try the chord. Moving his hands up a fourth he tried it again, then up again, and again. He could begin to compose. Returning to the desk he decided to dedicate the piece to his friend John Jeffries. Brewster-Jones spent most of the following day teaching but he longed to return to the work to finish it. He had promised to show it to John that very evening but, looking at it, saw that it was virtually illegible; he hurriedly made a neater copy. After underlining the title “Prelude” several times, he wrote the date 9-10.5.23 and the tremendously significant words “on new formula” in the top corner.

Plate 1 Brewster-Jones notating a birdcall later in life. Courtesy of the Barr Smith Library, University of Adelaide.
Roy Agnew, October 1920

There was a knock on the studio door. On opening it Roy Agnew was met by a woman who offered her hand and identified herself as Frances Gordon from the *Lone Hand*. She thanked him for agreeing to an interview and assured him that she had had no problems following his directions to his teaching studio at the Palings buildings. He showed her to an armchair, sat down and lit a cigarette. She took out a notebook and pen, ready to take notes for her feature article. Given his reputation the talk quickly turned to the topic of modern music. Agnew listed the composers whose music he had recently heard: Stravinsky, Milhaud, Debussy and Ravel as well as the latest British composers such as Goossens. He remembered that Cyril Monk had a copy of Omstein’s last violin sonata but apparently did not yet dare play it in public. But it was the late music of Alexander Scriabin that resonated most strongly with Agnew, particularly the ninth piano sonata which he praised extravagantly, remarking on its new language. It opened up a new world of possibilities for him. When asked about his teachers, he spoke fondly of Emanuel de Beaupuis, who had died almost seven years earlier, and remarked on the support he still received from his widow who regularly held musical soirées at her home. He expressed his admiration for the composer Alfred Hill with whom he had studied briefly several years earlier but he was careful to note the differences in their approaches to composition. When pressed for what these differences might have been, he made the startling proclamation that, because of the music he urgently felt he needed to write, he had been forced “to abandon the limitations of tonality.”
In 1920, Sydney composer Roy Agnew told journalist Frances Gordon that he had been forced to abandon the limitations of tonality. Three years later in Adelaide, Hooper Brewster-Jones began his search for a new musical formula. These isolated and unrelated incidents have not been included in accounts of Australian musical history. Their significance has been lost. They point to a discrete body of work within the two composers’ oeuvres, a body that falls outside the realm of functional tonality and thus, I will argue in this thesis, involved Australia in a wider movement in modern Western music of that period. It is music that was influenced in particular by modern Russian and French music, both of which were considered “exotic” in England and Australia during the years that these two moved to and fro between their native cities and London. In order to understand this music it is necessary to transcend national borders. It is music that engages either directly or tangentially with three broader themes central to the thesis which themselves are closely interconnected: early twentieth-century modernisms, exoticism (including primitivism, archaism, and the occult), and transnationalism within and beyond the British world.

It is also music that challenges the long-accepted Australian musicological convention that most Australian music written before 1960 is a second-rate imitation of an undefined and implicitly inferior English pastoral style. Like many generalisations, this view has a good deal of truth to it. But in its sweep it has done an injustice to some very different Australian music of the early twentieth century and to a full understanding of a number of our composers. It has also done an injustice to a proper appreciation of Australian culture of the period.

The body of piano music I have identified as “progressive” is only a specific part of Agnew and Brewster-Jones’s wider, more varied output. Agnew was almost exclusively a composer for piano. He left over seventy extant works for piano solo including six sonatas, almost all of which were published. In addition, he wrote a number of songs, but only made two excursions into orchestral genres: The Breaking of the Drought for voice and orchestra, and an unfinished Anzac Symphony.

Brewster-Jones was enormously prolific. He wrote a large body of works for piano including several concertos and sonatas. There are literally hundreds of piano miniatures. The piano works have not been formally catalogued although various lists have been made over the years. These include the seven books of *Bird Call Impressions*, around 60 preludes, 39 *Ballet Preludes*, 25 *Portrait Waltzes*, a series of 22 pieces called *Horse Rhythms* as well as sonatinas and intermezzos. He also wrote several books of songs, an array of chamber music, ballets and operas (most of which are incomplete), and a number of orchestral works. It is difficult to describe this extensive output accurately because almost none of this music has been published and his papers are housed in four different locations, the main one being the archive at the Barr Smith Library at the University of Adelaide. Moreover, none of these collections have yet been formally catalogued.

Brewster-Jones and Agnew wrote in various musical styles; they wrote pedagogical music, music on nationalist themes, and the innovative music that is the focus of this discussion. Their lives and music remind us of the overly simplistic nature of the binaries that have dominated Australian historical and musical discourse: Australian cultural nationalism and international modernism; Australian radical nationalism and Empire; and programmatic and absolute music. This body of “progressive” music by Brewster-Jones and Agnew is therefore of the highest significance as it calls into question the generally understood orthodoxies surrounding this historical period. An investigation into how and why it was written in a society that has consistently been depicted as musically backward, parochial and insular helps to develop a deeper and quite different understanding of Australian art music and Australian musical life in the early decades of last century.

3 They both wrote what can be understood as overtly nationalist music. Brewster-Jones’s symphonic poem *Australia Felix* and Agnew’s *Breaking of the Drought* and his unfinished *Anzac Symphony* are examples of the grand nationalist symphonic gesture. They also wrote music inspired by the Australian environment, for example Brewster-Jones’s *Prelude for the “Australian Aboriganal [sic] Scene in ‘Heritage’”* written in 1936 for the South Australian Centennial, the seven books of *Bird Call Impressions* from the early twenties and Agnew’s symphonic realisation of his friend, the nationalist poet, Harley Matthew’s *The Breaking of the Drought*. Agnew’s final sonata, the *Sonata Legend* written in 1940, was subtitled “Capricornia” after Xavier Herbert’s novel of the same name.
I have used biography as a way to reconstruct the milieus in which Agnew and Brewster-Jones worked, to use it as a lens through which to look at the broader social and cultural context. Unlike an individual biography, parallel biography has the rich potential to compare and contrast, a potential not so great within the conventional “life and works” model of biography. The choice of both Agnew and Brewster-Jones has also opened up the sphere of inquiry to include two major Australian metropoles and cultural centres, Sydney and Adelaide. Agnew presented himself as a particularly suitable partner for Brewster-Jones. He wrote a similar kind of music born from similar influences during the same years. But in other ways his life was quite different. Much more than Brewster-Jones’s life, it was played out in the public sphere. Consequently, the public record provides a rich illumination of the musical world of the time that also sheds light on the great shadows surrounding Brewster-Jones’s experimental music which has remained very much in the private sphere.

I first came into contact with Agnew’s music many years before finding Brewster-Jones’s *Formula Series*, as a student of Larry Sitsky in the early 1990s when I turned pages for his recording of the complete Agnew piano sonatas. There was one sonata in particular, whose complex dissonant musical language made a lasting impact on me. It was a sonata Sitsky had found unpublished in the archive with only the date April 1929 on the cover. He therefore called it *Sonata 1929*. After preliminary research, I realised that Agnew had started writing music that was not conventionally tonal as early as 1919. It has transpired that all the music I have selected because of its relevance was written before 1930. This parameter turned out to have in a sense imposed itself. Agnew is a good foil for Brewster-Jones in many ways, not least because of the substantial and colourful reception history that offers an invaluable insight into musical tastes in Sydney. Unlike Brewster-Jones, who was unassuming, had virtually nothing published and allowed only his less innovative music into the public realm, Agnew had almost everything he wrote published. And, again in contrast to the gentle and encouraging press response to Brewster-Jones,

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Agnew’s music caused a minor scandal in 1921 when he was accused of “ultramodern extravagance” and branded an ultramodern and a musical Bolshevik.

Other case studies might have been chosen. Percy Grainger and the Melbourne composer Margaret Sutherland both wrote music in the 1920s and so stand as two other possible choices. However Grainger left Australia as a young child and never returned for more than a few months. And apart from her wonderful violin sonata written in 1923, deemed by her teacher, Arnold Bax, to be the best work he knew by a woman, due to marital pressures, Margaret Sutherland did not write any other works in the 1920s. Moreover, there is already a significant body of published literature on these two composers, particularly Grainger. Helen Gifford and David Symons have both written on Sutherland’s violin sonata specifically, and David Symons produced a study of her life and work in 1997. Grainger and Sutherland do, nonetheless, stand as two other Australian composers who produced music that supports this alternative understanding of Australian music history—the missing chapter that reinserts the heady, more exciting and exotic elements of the otherwise drab and dowdy picture that has been portrayed.

Roger Covell’s classic work, *Australia’s Music: Themes of a New Society* has been very influential in the creation of this dismal picture of pre-1960 Australian music. It is peppered with succinct and damning comments such as “the second-hand sound of most Australian music is a by-product of the unavoidably provincial nature of Australian society.” The book appeared in 1967, taking its place alongside other cultural histories such as H. M. Green’s work on literature (1951), Bernard Smith’s on painting (1962) and J.M. Freeland on architecture (1968) in what Hsu-Ming Teo and Richard White have identified as the “radical nationalist tradition in cultural
history." The general tenor of Coveil’s approach is captured in the second part of the book’s title. In his enthusiastic embrace of his own generation as the first to engage with modernism he essentialised what came before to emphasise the contrast. Perceiving previous composers as too close to Britain and Empire, Coveil failed to hear the music in its context, betraying what has emerged as a general tendency in Australian musical history towards ahistoricism, whereby music is interpreted or judged on current aesthetic standards rather than the ones prevailing when the work was written. Instead, Coveil championed the composers of his own generation such as Keith Humble, Nigel Butterley, Richard Meale, Larry Sitsky and Peter Sculthorpe who engaged either with high modernism or that which was distinctively “Australian” or both. This approach was very much of its time. As Joel Crotty pointed out in 1994 in his welcome and important reassessment of Australian musical historiography, Coveil was the voice of his generation: one of the “young Turks,” who, as Crotty remarks, felt that “for the first time they were joining the international stage.” The music of previous generations was rejected as “un-Australian;” the pre-1960s was Australia’s musical “Dark Ages.” “Australia’s musical past,” Crotty argued, became the commentator’s “whipping boy”, and with overt political intentions they sometimes described the music of the previous generations in negatively-grounded language—“derivative,” “English,” “conventional,” “old-fashioned,” and the worst sin of all, “tonal.”

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10 As late as 1988 Richard Haese was doing the same for the Heide artists, claiming the years between the Depression and the war as “a period in which Australian artists and writers made their first real contact with a twentieth century sensibility.” Richard Haese, *Rebels and Precursors: The Revolutionary Years of Australian Art*, 2nd ed. (Ringwood, Vic: Penguin, 1988), 2.


12 Ibid.
Covell, Crotty suggests, undertook to establish his own generation as the real
Australian composers who “represented the highest point in Australian
composition.” Almost forty years later, this assessment is still alive and largely
unquestioned. Covell’s version of events stands as the only available generalist
narrative musical history. The last forty years has not seen another. Geoffrey Serle
used Covell’s book as his main source for his history of Australian high culture From
Deserts the Prophets Come (1973), in which music is deemed “the laggard in the
arts,” even, as late as the 1940s, “rather more a phantom than a fact.” In 2002,
Adrian Thomas referred to the “belated arrival of musical modernism” which
coincided, he asserts apparently oblivious to suggestion of cultural cringe, with the
appointment of English conductor and administrator John Hopkins as the ABC’s
Federal Director of Music in 1963. There are no fewer than seven references made
to the “English pastoral legacy” in the Currency Companion to Music and Dance
published in 2003, and in 2004, Rhoderick McNeill also unquestioningly accepted
this interpretation which informed his work on the Australian symphony of the
1950s. A very recent and perhaps most pithy restatement of the Covell thesis was
expressed by Martin Buzacott in June 2006 when he wrote that the 1960s generation
composers, Peter Sculthorpe, Richard Meale and Nigel Butterley “took Australian
music by the throat and wrenched it out of its English pastoral stupor.”

Crotty was the first to historicise Covell and his work. Malcolm Gillies has
also questioned the generally accepted assumption that “nothing much happened in
Australian music before its miraculous ‘birth’ one weekend in 1963, in Hobart, when
it is generally understood that the then youngest generation of Australian composers
announced their “arrival” heralded by the controversial performance of Larry Sitsky’s

13 Ibid.
Heinemann Australia, 1987), 79.
15 Adrian Thomas, “The Climate of Change: The ABC as Patron of Australian Music During the
16 David Symons, Joel Crotty, John Whiteoak, “Composing Music,” in Currency Companion to Music
& Dance in Australia, ed. Aline Scott-Maxwell, John Whiteoak, and Currency House Inc. (Sydney:
Currency House in association with Currency Press, 2003), 164-68.
provocatively hard-edged Woodwind Quartet.”\textsuperscript{19} When music critic, and former student of Hooper Brewster-Jones, William Hoffman spoke up earlier than both Crotty and Gillies in 1987, describing as a “fallacy” the view that “worthwhile” Australian music had only been written since the 1960s, no one was listening.\textsuperscript{20} The conference in Hobart in 1963 has been long accepted as signifying the beginning of modern music in Australia, much in the same way that the \textit{1939 Herald Exhibition of French and British Contemporary Art} “first” brought modern art to Australia and the Heide artists were allegedly the first real Australian artists to engage with modernism in the late thirties and forties. The validity of the latter two myths has already been publicly questioned, and I seek to do the same with this interpretation of music history.

This is a story that has been obscured, in part by the narrow and biased filters of cultural cringe and nationalist concerns through which it has been viewed, and in part by incomplete assessments of the composers’ output. Many of the works studied here are still in manuscript or, in the case of Agnew, were only published relatively recently. Evidently Covell had not gone to Agnew’s archive in the Mitchell library to look at Sonata 1929 (then still in manuscript) or considered the loud, furious \textit{Dance of the Wild Men}, when he made the disparaging assessment of Agnew’s music that its dense, fuzzy homogenous language made “anything more than a small dose of it seem like a surfeit of clotted cream.”\textsuperscript{21} Nor had Elizabeth Wood or Adrian Thomas attempted to decipher Brewster-Jones’s admittedly almost illegible manuscripts when they wrote in the \textit{Groves Dictionary of Music and Musicians} that “[t]he music is always tonal, although on occasion he dispenses with key signatures…”\textsuperscript{22} The music examined in this study challenges this view.


\textsuperscript{21} Covell, \textit{Australia’s Music: Themes of a New Society}, 157.

\textsuperscript{22} Elizabeth Wood and Adrian A. Thomas, \textit{Brewster-Jones, Hooper} (2004 [accessed 30 July 2004]); available from http://www.grovemusic.com. The latter part of this statement regarding the lack of key signature is problematic. The argument that music can be tonal but not use key signatures, unless it is
Existing literature on Australian music is in the main piecemeal. General surveys from the 1940s onwards have most often taken a catalogue-like form in which a potted biography is followed by a list of works and sometimes recordings. As we have seen, this approach is coloured by worries about belatedness and lack of originality. Attitudes to Australian composition have often betrayed a lack of confidence borne of a public disregard expressed as a shortage of both publishing and performing opportunities.

The dearth of publishing opportunities has also adversely affected Australian musicology. In 1995, composer Vincent Plush, in Suzanne Robinson’s dramatic words, “threw down the gauntlet to Australian musicology.” He demanded to know not only “where are the books on Australian music?” but also “where are the musicologists?” While the examples of scholarship listed in Robinson’s rejoinder all lead to valuable additions to the body of research they are, almost without exception, small in scale. She concedes that “so much of it is confined to conferences,

in either C major or A minor is a difficult one to sustain. It is important to note here, however, that composer and musicologist Stephen Whittington has studied some of Brewster-Jones’s experimental music and even uses the *Formula Series* as an example of what he calls early Australian “constructivism” in his teaching at Adelaide University. He has not, however, published on this body of music.

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24 Thorold Waters, then editor of the *Australian Musical News* [hereafter AMN], pointed out the lack of publishing opportunities as presenting a serious obstacle to Australian composition far earlier in the 1930s. He complained: "The field of serious music by the Australian composer who has not gone overseas to turn off educational pieces at the bidding of the English publishers is thus practically closed. His only chance of making a living out of composing is to sling together ditties which may catch the man in the street." See Thorold Waters, “Here and Now for the Australian composer. Open up the Field which is his Heritage,” *AMN* 20, no. 8 (1931):5.

proceedings of conferences (on the rare occasion that they are compiled), and student publications...Opportunities for publication by commercial publishers, whether in compendiums or monographs remain extremely rare." One important corrective to this situation is found in the Centre for Studies in Australian Music founded three years earlier in 1992 at the University of Melbourne. The important research conducted at this Centre relating to this period of music history, however, focuses in the main on Melbourne composers, in particular Fritz Hart and G.W.L Marshall-Hall. *One Hand on the Manuscript*, a collection of thirteen conference papers published in 1995, does not stand as an exception to Robinson’s generalization but rather is invaluable for its focus on music and music making before 1950. Larry Sitsky, who has been the main force behind a revival of Agnew’s music, contributed an important article on Agnew’s piano sonatas to this collection. His recent *Australian Piano Music of the Twentieth Century* continues this process of restoration, and rescues many earlier figures, including Brewster-Jones. Not surprisingly, as a high modernist, his stance has been polemical and adversarial. Musicologist Andrew McCredie has assumed a similar role of champion for Brewster-Jones. Both have written articles and book chapters on the two. Australian composer, Graham Hair, has also made an important contribution to recent Australian musicology with the publication of *Modernism in Australian music, 1950–2000*. This set of eight case studies focuses on composers who came to maturity after the Second World War, and so falls outside the scope of this study.

There are a handful of unpublished theses on Agnew and Brewster-Jones. In an Honours thesis Lisa Ward has done extensive and valuable research on Brewster-Jones. She recognises his forays beyond tonality but does not make this the major thrust of her argument, which is instead a survey of his sonatas and suites for piano.

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26 Ibid.: 345.
27 Nicholas Brown et al., *One Hand on the Manuscript*.
29 Sitsky, *Australian Piano Music of the Twentieth Century*.
Her subsequent article “Hooper Brewster-Jones” in the 1994 issue Sounds Australian is an important contribution to Joel Crotty’s project of historical revision. There are three theses on Agnew. Two Masters theses from the 1980s: Faith Johnston’s “The Piano Music of Roy Agnew” (1981), Fiona McGregor’s “The career of Roy Agnew and his impact on Australian musical life” (1987) and Rita Crews’s doctoral dissertation, “An analytical study of the piano works of Roy Agnew, Margaret Sutherland and Dulcie Holland, including biographical material,” written in 1994. These theses, like Ward’s, offer invaluable primary research on these composers.

Apart from the entries in Sitsky’s book, published in 2005, nothing appears to have been written on Agnew and Brewster-Jones since 1994. Crotty’s explanation for this is that the surge of interest in Australian music in the 1980s brought about by the lead up to the Bicentennial did not have any real staying power. Although the existing research is valuable for laying out much of the groundwork, its focus is narrow; it is archaeological, taxonomic and lacks a critical edge. Both McGregor and Crews report Agnew’s important pronouncement to Frances Gordon but neither recognizes its historical significance. Agnew’s declaration is in fact an Australian equivalent to Arnold Schoenberg’s well-known “emancipation of the dissonance,” which marked a turning point in Western music history. Secondly, little attempt has been made to situate the lives and works of the two composers in a broader national and international social and cultural context, other than to pinpoint the obvious influences on their music. Previous scholars have failed to integrate sufficiently the music into the early twentieth century transitional music that sought new means of expression after the rupture of conventional tonality. It is exactly this kind of embedding that is needed to account for how and why the music was written.

35 Joel Crotty, personal communication, 2 August 2004.
My work also departs from existing scholarship in my decision to use post-tonal theory as an analytical approach to the music. In general, the current analysis of Agnew’s music consists mostly of descriptive commentary and does not deal effectively with his musical language that lies outside of functional harmony. The existing theses in particular, adopt a kind of comparative analytical approach which relies heavily on general description. Although Crews, Johnson and McGregor all recognise the “forward looking” side to Agnew’s music, they fail to communicate truly its historical significance, in part because they have neither clearly articulated the goals of their analysis nor chosen the most pertinent analytical method.

The thesis divides into three parts. As my argument is embodied in the music itself, the focus of the first chapter is therefore the music. I eschew the general survey for more detailed analyses of a small selection of works to demonstrate my argument that the music is centric and in some cases non-tonal, and as such stands as part of an early international modernism. Post-tonal theory offers a means of understanding

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36 McGregor refers to Agnew’s important statement about the need to abandon the limitations of tonality, but does not recognise that he articulated the point himself. She underplays the importance of the remark, asserting that this claim “implies a more radical approach on the whole than Agnew actually took,” but concedes that his music does contain “forward looking trends.” The vague quality of her generalities are unhelpful, as seen in the following comment, “[m]ost works have many chromaticisms while a few resort to an older style using modes,” but she neither attempts to explain what these “chromaticisms” are nor how they function. She notes the presence of “numerous accidentals” in Agnew’s music, but goes no further. Similarly, she points out the “oft-changing meters,” but does not attempt to account for them. Her comment that Agnew is “like Debussy” as “pedalling is an important factor in performing their pieces” is an observation that could be drawn between countless composers and so loses any real interpretative power. See McGregor, “The Career of Roy Agnew and His Impact on Australian Musical Life”, 12-13, 17. Rita Crews has dealt with a great deal of Agnew’s piano music in depth, including the sonatas, the programmatic miniatures and the pedagogical works in her PhD thesis. Her analytical methodology is, in her own words, “neo-Toveyan.” She defines it as “detailed, descriptive analysis which this writer believes best suits the works of the chosen composers.” She, like McGregor, recognises that tonal analytical procedures are not always adequate for an understanding of Agnew’s music, but her sidestepping of post-tonal theory, a discipline that has been in existence for the last fifty years, in favour of pandiatonicism is a strange decision. Nicholas Slonimsky invented the term pandiatonicism in 1937 to describe non-functional tonality. But the term is essentially descriptive and, as it offers no way into the music analytically, it has not been incorporated into the discourse of post-tonal theory. See Crews, “An Analytical Study of the Piano Works of Roy Agnew, Margaret Sutherland and Dulcie Holland, Including Biographical Material”, 61-63, 185-87. For the original discussion of pandiatonicism see Nicolas Slonimsky, Music since 1900, 5th ed. (New York: Schirmer, 1994), 1156-57. Lisa Ward does a comparatively better job in her Honours thesis on Brewster-Jones. She notes (unlike Woods and Thomas) that Brewster-Jones did indeed write non-tonal music and examines certain of his works, in particular the Suites and Sonatas for octatonicism and the use of the whole tone scale. Ward does not deal at all with the more musically interesting piano miniatures and her general frame of reference is narrow. See Chapter 5e “The Musical Language” in Ward, “The Piano Music of Hooper Brewster-Jones”, 93-106.
music outside of a tonal context without being constrained by ill-fitting tonal analytical tools. Making the semitone—the smallest musical interval in Western music—the basic unit to numerically represent pitches and intervals frees us from the requirements of tonal language and provides a rich and useful way to describe patterns and relationships in the musical fabric that lend the music coherence and “sense”. The discourse of post-tonal theory originated in America with theorists such as Allan Forte, George Perle and John Rahn, and is still being developed in rich and interesting ways by members of the next generation such as Robert Morris and Joseph Straus. As Straus himself has observed, “Set theory is not a single language, but a community of local dialects and subcultures. It is best understood not as a rigidly prescribed practice, but as an array of flexible tools for discovering and interpreting musical relationships.”

I have drawn upon the analytical techniques of post-tonal theory relevant to this endeavour. While recognising the importance of the parameters of rhythm, timbre, texture and dynamics in creating the effect of a piece of music, the main focus of my inquiry is pitch as this is the focus of Agnew’s and Brewster-Jones’s experimentation. I also draw upon ideas of contour theory propounded by Robert Morris and certain ideas of twentieth century formal design as theorised by Theodor Adorno. The analysis is straightforward and formalist as its objective is simply to substantiate the claim that the music has moved beyond functional tonality, is often centric and in some cases non-tonal.

The next four chapters explore aspects of the composers’ lives, looking for an explanation as to how this music came into being. What constituted their musical worlds? French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of a cultural field is helpful in reconstructing the cultural environments in Australia and England that facilitated the production of the music. Bourdieu’s idea of the cultural field liberates us from a narrow focus on the individual, who instead becomes one of many social agents (these can also be groups or institutions) working within the field. This sense of

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38 Sitsky and I are in accordance on this point, particularly with regard to Brewster-Jones. See Sitsky, Australian Piano Music of the Twentieth Century, 19.
freedom is, for Bourdieu, an “escape from the correlative dilemma of the charismatic image of artistic activity as pure, disinterested creation by an isolated artist...” The cultural field constitutes a space of possible artistic positions and possible artistic position taking. It allows us to ask the question of what choices were available to these creative artists, why they made them, and how did this then change the field itself? For, as Bourdieu reminds us, “the literary or artistic field is a field of forces, but it is also a field of struggles tending to transform or conserve this field of forces.”

Despite valuable discoveries of hitherto unused archival material during my research, which include an unpublished memoir written by Agnew’s wife Kathleen, a set of letters by Agnew to his wife, the oral accounts of surviving students and family members, and Brewster-Jones’s personal library of musical scores, the existing biographical information for both these composers is far from complete. However, thorough examination of many of the journals and newspapers from that time, conducted in order to better understand their cultural field, has also thrown up precious biographical information along the way. These publications have included contemporary journals and newspapers, both Australian and English. The major music journal of this time, the house journal of the music publisher Allans, the Australian Musical News (hereafter AMN) is a particularly rich source, as are the British Australasian, the Australian theosophical journal Advance! Australia, the Lone Hand, the Conservatorium Magazine, The Home, the Forum, the Royal College of Music Magazine and London’s Sunday Observer among others. These materials have also allowed me to reconstruct a more general picture and an account of the presence of modern European art music in Sydney, Adelaide and London in the period 1900–1940. The individual lives studied here provide a window onto, and were themselves bound up with, many of the critical cultural debates of the period as seen in the widening divide between high and popular culture. This divide was

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41 Ibid., 30.
42 Raymond Williams traces this development in his classic text Culture and Society. See Raymond Williams, Culture and Society, 1780-1950 (Harmondsworth: Penguin books in association with Chatto and Windus, 1963). For a particularly Australian discussion of high and low culture see John Docker,
itself connected to the vast transformative potential of the burgeoning reproducing technologies of modernity such as the wireless radio and gramophone that produced serious struggles over cultural authority. Many other figures emerge in these stories serving to show that there was a small but active cosmopolitan musical intelligentsia in Australia in the 1920s and 30s. This has involved much quarrying in a plethora of published and unpublished sources in libraries, archives and dusty attics and, as a consequence many lives, half remembered or long forgotten, have been restored to the public record. Sometimes this has involved the painstaking compilation of lists of individuals and their work but it is only through the accumulation of this detail that the richness of the cultural field is revealed. If these digressions sometimes lead us away from our principal subjects (although I hope never too far), it is surely a worthy act of historical recuperation.

These chapters set the scene for the final two chapters in which the young adventurers have grown into mature public figures. These last chapters look at aspects of Agnew’s and Brewster-Jones’s public output, other than composition, which demonstrate their broad understanding and knowledge of contemporary music movements. Building on Fiona McGregor’s work, I have used the extensive ABC file, the ABC radio logbooks, and the radio journals of the period to reconstruct the extraordinary story of Agnew’s long-running radio programme *Modern and Contemporary Composers*. This has necessitated the restoration of the programming in its entirety for the first time (see Appendix B). This discussion also adds a number of missing pieces to the story of Australia’s national broadcaster and takes us to the heart of the internal debate of its roles as entertainer and educator. In the final chapter, drawing upon previously available material as well as the private family collections held at Victor Harbor, South Australia, I look at Brewster-Jones’s considerable public presence as a pianist, composer, and critic and radio broadcaster. These accounts reveal the two Australian composers’ commitment and energy to championing and defending the new and unfamiliar and place on record their hitherto unrecorded contribution to Australian communications.

Modernisms

Robert Hughes deftly and wittily captures the problematic nature of modernism as a general aesthetic term. "Modernism is," he tells us in a recent review, "a weasel of a word, whose meanings slip and slide;" and reminds us that, "[t]hey always have." He is by no means alone in this view. The musicologist Walter Frisch, in his investigation of a phenomenon he identifies as historical modernism, notes its enormous diversity saying, "[o]nly more recently have we begun to understand that early modernism was a many-splendored thing, not restricted to late Mahler, Schoenberg and his pupils, and Strauss through Elektra." Leon Botstein identifies five strands of musical modernism including what he calls "indigenous Modernisms." These interpretations reveal the influence of ideas expressed in Foucault's seminal article "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History." Foucault identified the dangers of attempting to fix a moment of origin, suggesting, "[t]he search for descent is not the erecting of foundations; on the contrary, it disturbs what was previously considered immobile; it fragments what was thought unified; it shows the heterogeneity of what was imagined consistent with itself." Raymond Williams wrote Keywords after Culture and Society on recognising that some "key" cultural words do not succumb to one definition. "We find," he observes:

a history and complexity of meanings; conscious changes, or consciously different uses; innovation, obsolescence, specialization, extension, overlap, transfer; or changes which are masked by a nominal continuity so that words which seem to have been there for centuries, with continuous general meanings, have come in fact

to express radically different or radically variable, yet sometimes hardly noticed, meanings and implications of meaning.47

Historian Jill Matthews, in a comment reminiscent of Williams in Keywords, has also made the important point that the words themselves are atemporal.48 Ears too are ahistorical. And the music that was shockingly new for Sydney audiences in 1921 seems to our ears, which have experienced the high modernist extremities of Boulez or Stockhausen, not at all confronting. Hughes supports this argument with the example of the Catalan architect Domenech (then considered “the star of Catalan modernism”) and his concert hall called the Palace of Catalan Music. This hall was considered “modernist” in its time by the Catalan architects, but with its ceiling “encrusted,” as Hughes colourfully describes, “with giant polychrome pottery roses, each the size of a cabbage,” would hardly be thought of as such now, or even by his northern European contemporaries Gropius or Le Corbusier. Hughes concludes, “[o]nce, movements and works that no longer seem to match up with modernism as we understand it used to call themselves modernist.”49 In his classic study on modernism, All That Is Solid Melts Into Air, Marshall Berman writes: “For modernists, who sometimes call themselves ‘post-modernists’, the modernists of pure form and the modernists of pure revolt were both too narrow, too self-righteous, too constricting to the modern spirit.”50 Postmodernists needed to see modernism as their Other, causing them to perhaps emphasise its rigid, formalist, dualistic characteristics. With a little more distance there seems to have been a kind of postmodernising of modernism—allowing a discussion of a wider range of individuals’ artistic production. In response to a question by interviewer Andrew Ford for ABC radio about whether he considered Busoni, Proust and Joyce to be modernists when he played or read them as a young student in the 1950s, Australian composer Richard Meale’s answer revealed a startling instance of amnesia. “No,” he said, “for one, we

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47 Raymond Williams, Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society, Flamingo ed. (London: Fontana Paperbacks, 1983), 17.
48 Jill Julius Matthews, personal communication, 10 June 2006.
49 Hughes, Paradise Now.
didn’t have the word then.”^51 The meaning of the word “modernist” had undergone such a radical change for Meale that he did not understand it as the same word he must have heard in his youth.

As one of Williams’s key words of “culture,” “modernism” contains an enormous emotional and divisive power to vilify or exalt. It is a revealing and valuable exercise to examine its usage. Agnew’s reception history is a case in point. At a time when a deep fear of modernism took hold of much of the Western world after the Great War, modernism was viewed as dangerous. This was as true of Australia as of Europe. The terms modernism, ultramodernism, cubism and futurism were, as Mary Eagle has observed, used loosely but all with the same emotional colour, to describe something incomprehensible, foreign, and therefore highly suspicious.^52 Vituperative accusations were laid against Agnew; for those who hated his music he was denounced as a futurist, a modernist, a Bolshevik and an ultramodern. But for those highbrow progressives who were looking for their own local enfant terrible—an autonomous artist upholding art for art’s sake, the words modernist and ultramodern were embraced and used as a symbol of progress; a sign of endorsement used not to denigrate but rather to champion Agnew. In the hands of modernism’s opponents the word was a weapon, for its supporters a badge of honour.

Williams is surely correct to argue that words, such as “modernism,” involving ideas and values, are impossible to define.^53 I will therefore not attempt to define early modernism but rather wish to acknowledge the existence of a diverse array of early modernisms that emerged as aesthetic responses to modernity at different points in the latter half of the nineteenth century depending on whether it was art, literature or music, some containing aesthetic characteristics which bear directly on the thesis. There is a vast literature on modernism; my approach is to identify that which is germane to the argument. In this diverse and dizzying array of possibilities, the danger of relativism arises, and it is necessary to cut out distinct and

^52 Mary Eagle and Jennifer Phipps, Australian Modern Painting between the Wars 1914-1939 (Sydney: Bay Books, 1990), 9.
^53 Williams, Keywords, 17.
relevant parameters. Key characteristics of early modernism pertinent to this thesis are: novelty, difficulty, the desire and ability to shock, the belief in progress, an interest in experimentation and innovation, defiance of authority as expressed in polemics and manifestoes, a move towards abstraction, the fragmentation of existing syntaxes whether visual, lingual or musical, the search for new vocabularies, the reshaping of traditional languages, the adherence to the credo of art for art’s sake and its attendant elitism.\(^{54}\)

There is a tendency in the vast general literature on modernism, if music is dealt with in any depth at all, to present Schoenberg and Stravinsky as the iconic and canonical musical modernists.\(^{55}\) The atonality of the Second Viennese School comprising Schoenberg, Berg and Webern, is upheld as the central and most exclusive and difficult manifestation of modernism.\(^{56}\) This view narrows the picture. The reshaping of traditional languages signalling a break with common practice and the search for alternatives to tonality was a wider and more inclusive phenomenon which preoccupied many composers including Agnew and Brewster-Jones. While


\(^{56}\) For example Chris Rodrigues writes “modernist music is, of all the modernisms, the most elitist and remote from the feelings of contemporary society.” See Chris Rodrigues and Chris Garratt, *Introducing Modernism* (Cambridge: Icon Books, 2001), 7.
noting its "many-splendored" attributes, Frisch nonetheless isolates chromaticism and atonality as "the barometers of emergent modernism." In my discussion of the music, I draw upon Robert Morgan and Jim Samson’s explorations of the emergence of early modernism. These two, along with German musicologist Hermann Danuser, advance the generally accepted idea that the less extreme music of interwar neoclassicism and the late music of Scriabin and the subsequent Russian generation are other expressions of early modernism. Claude Debussy and the eccentric mystical Russian composer, Alexander Scriabin, play important roles as transitional figures in the history of early twentieth century musical modernism and also influence the particular stories of Agnew and Brewster-Jones. This is especially true of Scriabin. Regardless of what words are used to describe the two Europeans, or which categories they fall into, there is no doubt about the radical changes they effected upon Western musical language which, as I will show, reached Australian shores early last century. The radical departures of the Russian and the Frenchman were heavily informed by their immersion in many of the exoticisms of the day, particularly an interest in both the occult and the non-Western.

The lives and work of these two European composers falls into what John Docker has described as the "deeply divided, bewilderingly diverse [and] often highly contradictory nature of early modernism." In their discussions of alternative modernisms, Docker, Hughes and Peter Wollen identify what Docker calls "an anti-functionalist, ornamental modernism"; one found in the decorative art of early

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57 Frisch, "Reger’s Bach and Historicism Modernism," 296.
59 Danuser defines neoclassicism as "classicism in the spirit of new music," (p. 263) and suggests that the opposition understood to exist between classicism and modernism was swept aside by the neoclassicism that emerged during the 1920s. He argues that neoclassicism “can be understood as striving for a new unity between classicism and modernity in music...” (p. 264). See Hermann Danuser, "Classicisms of the Inter-War Period," in The Cambridge History of Twentieth-Century Music, ed. Nicholas Cook and Anthony Pople (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 260-85.
twentieth century Paris, Viennese Jugendstil and Russian orientalism. This idea of a decorative modernism is pertinent to a discussion of Brewster-Jones's aesthetic. It was a modernism directly informed by exoticism.

Exoticisms

Modernism and exoticism are inextricably bound up not only with each other but also with Empire; they were imperial enterprises. Modernism, according to Smith, "emerges, as did other expressions of the exotic in religion, politics and language, at a time when Europe was at the height of its colonizing supremacy." A fascination with the Orient has existed for centuries, but exoticism has a key role to play in the development of early modernism. Botstein, Louise Blakeney Williams, Raymond Williams and Smith are among a wide range of scholars who have noted the causal relationship between the two. Smith has been unequivocal in insisting on the connection between the two, stating "the exotic was early modernism's primal causal predicate." I understand exoticism as a broad term encompassing primitivism, Orientalism, archaism and the occult. Smith distinguishes "two main thrusts behind the emergence of early modernist art. One comes from the so-called primitive and oriental arts...The other thrust comes from non-European religions ..." Botstein says something similar about musical modernism: "Modernism also gained impetus from early 20th-century mystical enthusiasms and philosophies, such as theosophy, as

Lucia, Qld.: University of Queensland Press, 1999), 123. See also Hughes, Paradise Now; Peter Wollen, "Fashion/Orientalism/the Body," new formations, no. 1 (1987): 5-33.
63 In his book, The Politics of Modernism: Against the New Conformists, Williams observes that "[i]t is a striking characteristic of several movements within both Modernism and the avant-garde that rejection of the existing social order and its culture was supported and even directly expressed by recourse to a simpler art: either the primitive or exotic, as in the interest in African and Chinese objects and forms, or the 'folk' or 'popular' elements of their native cultures." See Williams, The Politics of Modernism, 58.
64 Smith, Modernism and Post-Modernism, 2.
65 Ibid., 2. See also Chapter 3: "Exotic Sources of the Formalesque" and Chapter 4: "Occult and 'primitive' sources of the Formalesque" in Smith, Modernism's History: A Study in Twentieth-Century Art and Ideas, 52-93.
well as from orientalist exoticism, primitivism and symbolism....\textsuperscript{66} So strong is musicologist Glen Watkins's sense of the importance of primitivism and Orientalism as "discrete topics in the early definition of Modernism," he has made them the focus of the first two parts of his study on twentieth century music.\textsuperscript{67} Unlike their Romantic predecessors, modernists tended to forgo direct representations of the Orient for an exploration into the techniques and procedures that informed non-Western art. Asian concepts of decoration, stylised patterning and design resonated with their desire for the abstract and non-figurative, and it is these concepts that Blakeney Williams isolates as methods with which Western artists experimented in order "to innovate in their own artistic practice."\textsuperscript{68} Roy Agnew's public statements on Indian music drew attention to this new approach. He saw a clear distinction between music he considered authentic and that which is Orientalised to the point of kitsch: "I, like a great many other musicians, had always been fascinated by the theoretical study of the different scales, or ragas, as they are called, of this to our ears strange music of India." He then makes the following comparison:

I, of course, am not referring to that almost insultingly childish stuff we used to hear in drawing rooms about temple bells and lonely caravans, etc. We unfortunately still hear this kind of thing under the label of Eastern Music at the pictures. This is as far removed from the genuine article as a flea from a railway engine.\textsuperscript{69}

There have been critiques of this modernist approach to exotic material. Many scholars influenced by Edward Said's important work, \textit{Orientalism}, have rightly and usefully criticised the essentialising Eurocentric basis of the Orientalist approach. I acknowledge that Said has revolutionised the way we understand the relationship between the West and its imagined Others, but I also agree with MacKenzie that this critical gaze can suffer from ahistoricism and that the historically determined

\textsuperscript{66} Botstein, \textit{Modernism}.
\textsuperscript{68} Louise Blakeney Williams, \textit{Modernism and the Ideology of History: Literature, Politics and the Past} (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 129.
\textsuperscript{69} Hooper Brewster-Jones, "Australian Composer Ecstatic over Indian Music," \textit{Progress in Australia} 5, no. 11 (1935): 12. This rare intersection between Brewster-Jones and Agnew will be discussed in Chapter 6.
“western filters” through which this material passes does not necessarily, as MacKenzie says, “invalidate the artistic experience of the new language that emerges.”

Musicologist Ralph Locke brings these thorny issues into the area of music while engaging with the ongoing debate between musical autonomy and music’s ability to represent. He politicises the issue by invoking the spectre of ethnic cleansing in his strong criticism of musicologists, such as Joseph Kerman, in relation to their attitudes to overtly Orientalist music:

If, such critics still seem to feel, the exoticism is on the surface, it cannot be organic, nor therefore can it be artistically cogent. Only once it is absorbed into the prevailing musical language of a composer—an achievement of first-generation modernists, such as Strauss and Debussy, that was carried further by Igor Stravinsky, Messiaen, and others—does it become clean enough to praise, precisely because it has shed most of its allusive power, its reference to a world beyond the West, its claim to represent another culture.

MacKenzie notes the importance of Eastern music as a great revitalizing force in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, extending the musical language in terms of craft and techniques as well as material. He draws our attention to the sustained interest many twentieth-century Western composers had in the setting of Indian, Persian, Chinese and Japanese poems. In addition to exotic poetry, composers also studied the formations of these other musics: the scales, the rhythms, the instruments. Brewster-Jones’s aesthetic outlook was imbued with and shaped by his deep and abiding fascination for the strange and unfamiliar. He experimented with possibilities of non-Western scales in the 1920s, imbibing what MacKenzie calls “the

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73 Ibid., 160.
Orientalism of the radical, cosmopolitan school of twentieth-century composers. His desire for the unfamiliar went beyond the non-Western to embrace popular musical styles and avant-garde Western movements such as surrealism.

Agnew used Chinese and Indian poems as song texts but, despite his professed interest in Asian musics, never explored their possibilities in his own music. His main connection to exoticism was through the occult origins of Scriabin’s late music. Scriabin himself was a nexus for the occult and the East. His interest in various strands of mystical and occult thought, including that of Theosophy, itself a kind of Orientalist potpourri of Eastern religious thought, infused his musical approach. The most tangible result is the so-called “mystic” or “Prometheus” chord. MacKenzie makes this link claiming Scriabin as a composer “who turned his vision of eastern eroticism into a major philosophical and spiritual approach to music ... For Scriabin, the East really was a career and all the radical elements of his music were rooted in his search for a philosophical and religious accommodation between East and West.”

The turning to “distant cultures” for new artistic material and techniques saw a revived interest in antiquity, folk culture and popular styles as well as the non-

74 Ibid., 138.
Western. The collapse of time and space did not worry the early Modernists, for ancient and “primitive” societies both provided new material for experimentation. The past was a foreign country. Primitivism therefore included ancient cultures as well as non-Western. If, as Smith has claimed, “the Greeks were Europe’s first primitives,” then by extending the argument one can postulate that the Celts were Britain’s first primitives. Celticism then can be understood as an indigenous primitivism, one in which both Agnew and Brewster-Jones partook.

This thesis argues that figures such as Scriabin were exotic presences in the British world. In a Western musical culture that had long been dominated by the German musical tradition, French and Russian music emerged as a powerful and influential force towards the end of the nineteenth century. In the early decades of the twentieth century this force assumed even greater command. Not only was it perceived as exotic, but also borrowed heavily itself from exotic sources. Musicologist Richard Taruskin, when writing about the appropriation of the Orient by European Russians notes “the further irony [in] the relationship between the original ‘imperial’ opposition of exotic Oriental versus Russian conquistador and what, viewed from further west, was an exotic, Orientalized Russia.” If we accept his premise that “[f]or the French ... Russian itself was East and Other,” we have only to cross the channel to the centre of the British world and both France and Russia become “East and Other.” Diane Collins and Sitsky distinguish certain types of art music as exotic in early twentieth century Sydney. Sitsky uses the term when writing about Agnew:

All around him in Australia was the safe English pastoral style which would have been easy to emulate and which Agnew knew how to emulate when he was writing

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77 Williams, Modernism and the Ideology of History, 114.
78 Danuser notes in his discussion of neoclassicism that some composers, when looking back in time, were concerned particularly with forging “a modern vision of the antique that emphasized the unfamiliar.” See Danuser, “Classicisms of the Inter-War Period,” 261. For Glen Watkins, Primitivism looked backwards in time, whereas Orientalism looked geographically outwards. See Watkins, Pyramids at the Louvre, 3.
79 Smith, Modernism and Post-Modernism, 1.
80 Richard Taruskin, “‘Entoiling the Falconet’: Russian Musical Orientalism in Context,” in The Exotic in Western Music, ed. Jonathan Bellman (Boston: Northeastern University, 1998), 216. For further discussion on Russian music and Orientalism see Watkins, Pyramids at the Louvre, 18, 32-60.
his more commercial pieces aimed at the educational market. He chose to follow a more difficult path derived from late Liszt, Scriabin and Busoni—a path which is still seen as somewhat esoteric, certainly exotic.  

John Docker lent this argument support with a humorous aside: “I’ve always thought that for the English the Orient started at Calais.”

In *From Cannibals to Radicals*, Roger Câelestin theorises exoticism as a process borne from the desire to translate the Other for “Home.” He understands exoticisation as “an individual’s attempt at translating an exotic otherness for Home” in which this individual “negotiates a position vis-a-vis both Home and the exotic.” Smith also understands the exotic as “an aesthetic mode of perception [allowing an] aestheticisation of the strange and the stranger.” This illuminates not only Debussy and Scriabin’s exoticisation of non-Western scales but also the Australians’ interpretations of these composers for their Home audiences in Australia. Perhaps one could even say that Brewster-Jones realised that his Home audience would not understand his own “translations”; hence he never presented them publicly. Non-Western culture provided a means of resistance for radical Western artists. The anti-hegemonic stance implicit in this process is identified by Câelestin who sees exoticism as “the means for the subject of a powerful, dominant culture to counter that culture in the very process of returning to it.”

**The British World and Beyond**

Agnew and Brewster-Jones were exposed to these influences in Australia and London so raising the question of transmission. By what channels did this information and music travel the world? The production of Western art music is intrinsically

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83 John Docker, personal communication, 18 August 2005. Docker’s quip seems to paraphrase the more offensively expressed but more familiar English saying, “the wogs begin at Calais,” coined by a Labor MP, George Wigg, in 1945.
86 Ibid., 3.
international. Music and musicians flow easily over national borders. There was a constant flow of musicians and musical material in the form of scores and recordings between Australia and Europe and America; international concert artists were touring Australia as early as the mid-nineteenth century. It was axiomatic that Australian musicians went to Britain or Europe to study. Informal musical networks were formed and then sustained through correspondence and return visits. Agnew and Brewster-Jones both spent formative periods of their lives in London. Their experiences in Britain, and in the case of Brewster-Jones, continental Europe, are considered for the effect on their engagement with modern music. In what ways did this expose them to new musical thought? The stories of Brewster-Jones and Agnew are really British World stories but they also extend out to the transnational. Both engaged with the exotic and occult, but this engagement took place in Sydney and Adelaide as well as London; both also had some dealings with America. In the late teens and 1920s, the AMN was outward-looking and international. This journal reported not only on musical events in Britain and Europe, but also covered much of what was happening in America; on occasion, the engagement with American journals was direct and lively. The AMN even consistently covered musical events in Ceylon, a stopping point on the journey from Europe to Australia. In the mid-1930s, Brewster-Jones knew enough about musical events in Durban to be able to report on them in the Advertiser. David Carter makes the important point that “Imperialism carried its own kind of internationalism. The imperial connection did not mean only that local culture was provincial. It could also mean cosmopolitanism, a sense of contemporaneity with literary and intellectual issues in London, Europe and America.” He might have used Agnew and Brewster-Jones as examples.

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88 Agnew had works published by the Boston music publishers Schmidt and some works performed in Los Angeles, and Brewster-Jones’s woodwind quartet was performed in San Francisco.
These facts push the study of Australian music beyond what Stuart Macintyre has described as "a rather tired and tyrannical orthodoxy" imposed by nationalist historians and the limitations of geographic borders.\(^91\) A useful conceptual framework in which to interpret this broader picture is found in recent work on the British world and transnational history developed by such scholars as Carl Bridge and Kent Fedorowich, David Cannadine and Ann Curthoys.\(^92\)

Curthoys differentiates transnational and comparative history, writing that "[t]ransnational histories are less concerned with comparison, and more with tracing patterns of influence and networks of connection across national boundaries ..."\(^93\) For Curthoys, "[t]he new imperial social history...is more interested in...the circulation of ideas and people within the Empire as a whole."\(^94\) She sees the Australian historical experience then becoming "part of the study of relationships, networks, and connections, traced back and forth and indeed around the Empire as a whole."\(^95\) In his influential book *Ornamentalism*, David Cannadine, in describing the British world, borrows the words of P.D. Morgan who identified a need to "integrate the local and the general." "Only then," Morgan continues,

will we glimpse whole worlds ... that have not been seen before. A synoptic view, bringing metropole and colony, colonizer and colonized, British and indigenous peoples into one frame, into a single analytical field, will reveal not merely a catalogue of differences and similarities, not just a series of intriguing parallels, but whole configurations, general processes, an entire interactive system, one vast interconnected world.\(^96\)

\(^{93}\) Curthoys, "Does Australian History Have a Future?,” 145-46.
\(^{94}\) Ibid.: 146.
\(^{95}\) Ibid.
\(^{96}\) P. D. Morgan, "Encounters between British and 'Indigenous' Peoples, c. 1500-c. 1800," in M Daunton and R. Halpern (eds), *Empire and Others: British Encounters with Indigenous Peoples*, 31
Helpful to this study is the idea of an interactive musical system or network, one that brings the "local and the general" and the "metropole and colony" under one "synoptic view." Carl Bridge and Kent Fedorowich redefine and extend the concept of imperial metropole out to the periphery, citing Melbourne, Toronto and Auckland as examples of the colonial metropole. Also useful for an understanding of this musical world is their concept of "intricate and overlapping networks and associations of all kinds." 

Equally important in establishing a conceptual frame for a study of Agnew and Brewster-Jones is the growing body of literature looking at the coexistence of Australian nationalism and Britishness. It is now generally recognised that, in Bridge's words, "[t]he rise of colonial national identities did not contradict or undermine imperial Britishness." Nonetheless the relationship was often a vexed and ambivalent one. Stephen Slemon and Gillian Whitlock have offered helpful conceptual frameworks in which to interpret the relationships between settler societies and Britain. Utilising these, I will explore the possibility that for Roy Agnew his years in London may not have been as stimulating and enabling as might have been assumed. This thesis shows the relative ease with which material and geographical distance could be overcome but underlines the strong and influential role that psychological distance played in the lives of these composers. This sense of

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98 Ibid.: 11.


psychological distance is the subject of Smith’s essay “The Myth of Isolation.” Peter Quartermaine characterises it not only as one of “Australia’s enduring self-deceptions, as of presumptions still prevalent in British attitudes not only to Australian culture, but to the Commonwealth more widely.”

This thesis joins other recuperative scholarly endeavours that question and revise existing myths and orthodoxies in Australian history; recent work that gives us what David Carter describes as a “renewed sense of the complexity—and originality—of earlier cultural formations in Australia.” Carter insists that: “[t]he situation of culture in Australia must be understood not merely in terms of insularity or belatedness. Australia has always been a point where a complex pattern of cultural flows converged. A model of cultural transference and transformation is more useful in describing this pattern than cultural evolution of ‘becoming.’” I mean to map those flows to show that there was a real and sincere engagement with modern musical ideas in the late teens and 1920s far earlier than, as is commonly thought, the 1960s. In so doing I will bring Australian art music into the discourse of early international modernism. It is an endeavour that must necessarily begin with the music itself.


104 Quartermaine, “Bernard Smith: The Death of the Artist as Hero,” 141.


Chapter 1

"with the enthusiasm of the modernist"¹

Must it be the fate of those regarded as minor figures to be compared, usually unfavourably, to so-called major figures? Why are they dismissed as passive receptors of influence and therefore capable only of derivative and inferior art? Given the similarities in approach between artists on the so-called margins and those regarded as central, must the latter be subordinated to the former? Or is it possible to imagine a twentieth-century world in which a general sphere of influence that could be understood as an international and transnational cultural field existed: where shared interests and inclinations led artists in widely dispersed places to similar conclusions?

I will show that such a world was possible. By the 1920s, Sydney composer Roy Agnew had abandoned the limitations of tonality and Hooper Brewster-Jones in Adelaide was exploring new compositional formulae. Their preoccupations mark them as part of an international musical scene. More precisely, the two Australian composers belonged to a select international group characterised by certain tendencies, which operated not just in music but had an equally galvanic effect on visual art, literature, linguistics, philosophy, physics, mathematics and the social sciences. We will see in later chapters covering Agnew’s radio programme, *Modern and Contemporary Composers*, and the extensive number of modern scores in

Brewster-Jones's personal library that Agnew and Brewster-Jones were aware of and engaged with this contemporary musical world.

Admittedly they wrote different kinds of music, showing them to be complex, multifaceted, creative individuals who defy simplistic classifications as either "nationalist" or "internationalist," "serious" or "light." But it is the more exploratory—and in the case of Brewster-Jones, overtly experimental—piano miniatures that I have chosen to analyse. I agree with Andrew McCredie's assessment of Brewster-Jones that "...the orthodoxy of his larger works..." contrasts with the "more exploratory idioms in his smaller works."² Brewster-Jones seems to have sustained a clear division between music suitable for public consumption and private music in which he explored new possibilities. There is also truth in Larry Sitsky's assessment of Agnew as having "two compositional personas": the "profoundly important one of the series of Sonatas, Poems, Preludes and certain other solo works; and the more commercial style, aimed at an educational market."³ As with most composers, Agnew and Brewster-Jones cannot be neatly pigeonholed.

The focus of my study will be musical compositions that could be understood in conventional music-history terms as "cosmopolitan" or "progressive"—those that go beyond tonality or seek a "new formula". Jim Samson, in his 1977 study *Music in Transition*, describes this kind of early twentieth-century music as "transitional": written in a centric and in some cases non-tonal musical language.⁴ "Transitional" is the term to use. It implies a gentle slide from one state to another, not the extreme shift found in the atonal and twelve-tone music of the Second Viennese School. The Australians belonged to the wider world of composers who felt that as tonality had become stretched to the limit, steps had to be made toward other ways of writing music. So they stepped out, sought to redefine tonality, to explore new possibilities of

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³ Larry Sitsky, *Retrospect: Pre-War Australian Piano Miniatures,* [CD liner notes], Tall Poppies TP049, 1995. In a later chapter, I shall complicate the picture of the simpler commercial style, arguing that there were other factors at work that turned Agnew to a "simpler" musical style.

musical expression. It has not generally been recognised that this kind of music was being written in Australia in the late teens and early twenties of the twentieth century.

The piano miniature will be my main analytical focus for both these composers, with the occasional reference to a larger-scale work. At this time the piano miniature was a popular medium in which to experiment with the musical parameters of pitch, interval and harmony. This is true of Agnew’s and Brewster-Jones’s miniatures, as it is for those of Alexander Scriabin, Ferruccio Busoni, Arnold Schoenberg, Alfredo Casella, Béla Bartók, William Baines and many others from this transitional world. Samson makes this point in his discussion of Busoni’s “progressive” works: “It is significant that Busoni’s most ‘progressive’ works should have been small-scale structures such as these. The short piece can restrict itself to a relatively narrow range of expression and can explore new methods of organisation unhampered by problems of structural planning on an extended scale.” Several of Bartók’s Fourteen Bagatelles op. 6 were written specifically as “experiments.” Scriabin’s final Five Preludes op. 74 are glistening little examples of this, as are Schoenberg’s Piano Pieces op. 19. And of course, Liszt’s astonishing late miniature, the Bagatelle without Tonality, could be seen as the archetype for this kind of radical experimentation. In his Nine Piano Pieces op. 24, Casella, too, investigated an objet sonore of his choice, exploring the possibilities of a singular musical idea much as Brewster-Jones does in his Formula Series. As it was more difficult to sustain large-scale forms without the general structural framework of tonality to rely upon, the miniature, the fragmentary, the aphoristic or music accompanied by text came to concern these more adventurous composers.

It transpires quite unintentionally, but perhaps significantly, that all the works selected for discussion in this chapter were written in the 1920s (one exception being Agnew’s Dance of the Wild Men written a year earlier in 1919). Rather than providing a survey-like coverage of relevant works, I will present detailed, though not

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5 My use of the word “little” refers to the tradition of the “kleine Klavierstück” or “little piano piece” that stretches back to Mozart and Clementi, but flourished in the nineteenth century in the music of Schumann, Chopin, and of course the extraordinary late piano works of Liszt. It encompasses the many genres of the instrumental character piece that became so prevalent in the nineteenth century.
6 Samson, Music in Transition, 27.
8 Samson, Music in Transition, 75.
exhaustive, analyses of a small number of works. My aim is simple and straightforward. Using basic post-tonal analysis I will identify the more general characteristics of transitional music in these particular examples, thereby supporting my assessment that these two composers were active participants in the transition to non-tonal music.

Scriabin and Debussy exerted far-reaching influence on more than one generation of composers. This influence is felt in the work of Agnew and Brewster-Jones, without their work being necessarily inferior on that account. I suspend such assertions, and instead ask why the techniques found in late Scriabin were attractive to Agnew and Brewster-Jones? One possible answer that emerges from an analysis of the music is that, responding to certain musical innovations, they needed to find a means to circumvent the demands of functional tonality. Given that this need was felt generally, direct musical comparisons are less useful than identifying the shared terrain of techniques and approaches that characterise innovative early twentieth-century music. In this chapter I will explore some of these techniques and approaches and see how they inform the music of the two Australians.

Standing between two worlds: early twentieth century music

What then was this transitional world and who inhabited it? The world of early musical modernism was diverse and its sources varied. It was born out of the extended chromatic harmonies of Wagner, Mahler and Strauss, the technique of “developing variation” in Brahms’s music, the use of “exotic” non-Western scales by composers such as Rimsky-Korsakov, Mussorgsky and Rebikov, and the extraordinary and visionary late music of Liszt. A general understanding of transitional or, as it is also known, post-tonal music, is critical for a richer understanding of the music of Agnew and Brewster-Jones.⁹

The early twentieth-century European world was convulsed by successive artistic revolutions as a wide range of composers, artists and writers developed new

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⁹ In the ensuing discussion I am particularly indebted to the work of Jim Samson, Robert Morgan and Joseph N. Straus, and draw extensively upon their ideas about this early twentieth-century transitional music.
ways of hearing, looking, perceiving and thinking. French sociologist and philosopher Henri Lefebvre argues the “absolute sovereignty of modernism was ushered in around 1910 by a rupture with the classical and traditional vocabulary...”\(^{10}\) In the first decade, as in the visual arts, there was in music a general move towards abstraction; objects were broken up into their constituent parts and rearranged “into new, more abstract configurations.”\(^ {11}\) As composers experimented with new possibilities, musical grammar experienced a kind of fragmentation, similar to that which was occurring in literature and painting. As music theorist Robert Morgan writes “the established syntax of Western music” underwent a “radical dismantling.”\(^ {12}\) Musical pioneers such as Debussy, Busoni, Schoenberg, Scriabin, and Stravinsky as well as Brewster-Jones and, to a lesser extent, Agnew, sought new musical vocabularies.

This move beyond tonality found different modes of expression among a range of diverse composers. At one end of the continuum is the radical athematicism of Schoenberg and Webern’s most extreme atonal music (the final works before the development of the twelve-tone method) and at the other we have music by, to name a few, Stravinsky, Bartók, Scriabin, Szymanowski and Debussy, whose connection with the tonal world renders it more familiar because, as Joseph Straus says, it “evokes the sound of earlier music.”\(^ {13}\) Agnew and Brewster-Jones belong to this latter group. This music has come to be known as centric; although not functionally tonal, it nonetheless centres around a particular pitch or tonal centre. As post-tonal theorist Joseph Straus suggests, non-tonal music covers a wide range from the extreme of twelve-tone music with “little or no sense of centricity” to “the other extreme marked by a deep preoccupation with questions of centricity.”\(^ {14}\) Bartók had made a similar observation far earlier in 1921. He understood that the “new way of

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\(^{11}\) Morgan, *Twentieth-Century Music*, 15.


\(^{14}\) Straus, *Introduction to Post-Tonal Theory*, 93.
using the diatonic scale brought freedom from the rigid use of the major and minor keys, and eventually led to a new conception of the chromatic scale, every tone of which came to be considered of equal value and could be used freely and independently.”15

Before examining ideas of centricity in more detail, it is necessary to define functional or “common practice” tonality. Straus explains succinctly: “[f]or a piece to be tonal, it must have two things: functional harmony and traditional voice leading.”16 Morgan, too, restricts his definition of tonality to that of “common practice” or “functional” tonality which was the lingua franca of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.17 Functional tonality, based on the major-minor key system, is founded on an hierarchical system of relationships18 and relies for its meaning on the basic idea of tension and resolution of dissonance to consonance. In this hierarchy the dominant/tonic relationship reigns supreme. It is the most important key-defining progression. By the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries traditional tonality had been vastly extended to allow for “the incorporation of complex harmonic phenomena within a single tonal region”.19 Samson has a far more fluid definition of tonality, one which allows for centric or, as he calls it, transitional music. He reduces it to an underlying principle: “the requirement that all the events in a musical group should be co-coordinated by, and experienced in relation to, a central point of reference.”20 The distinction between Straus and Morgan’s understanding of tonality and Samson’s is important. Samson’s definition allows for works guided by the principle of centricity rather than functional harmony to be considered in some ways as “tonal.” In this chapter I set up a dichotomy between functional tonality and centricity, arguing that the work of Brewster-Jones and Agnew falls into the latter.

In 1947 Stravinsky explained his new attitude to tonality in his Norton Lectures at Harvard (later published as his Poetics of Music): “My chief concern is not so much with what is known as tonality as what one might term the polar

16 Straus, Introduction to Post-Tonal Theory, 89.
17 Morgan, Twentieth-Century Music, 1.
18 Ibid., 2.
19 Samson, Music in Transition, 151.
20 Ibid.
attraction of sound, of an interval, or even a complex of tones."\textsuperscript{21} In 1963 the American theorist Arthur Berger introduced the notion of centricity—tonal centre (as different from functional tonic) and pitch priority—to great effect in his discussion of Stravinsky's music. The opening of this seminally important article is usefully cited here:

Anyone who undertakes an investigation of the essential relationship of tones in the works of Stravinsky may find himself somewhat at a disadvantage as a result of the fact that no significant body of theoretical writing has emerged to deal with the nature of twentieth-century music that is centric (i.e. organized in terms of tone centre) \textit{but not tonally functional}. There are, to be sure, a number of labels in circulation for referring to this music: pantonality, pandiatonicism, antitonalism, modality, tonality—even "atonality" has been stretched to embrace it. \textit{But their function is largely identification}, and where any of them presumes to represent a theory, this is more likely to be \textit{descriptive of surface detail} than in the nature of an interpretation of internal relations or structural significance.\textsuperscript{22}

The redefined conception of tonality from the early twentieth century lacks the highly systematic organisation of twelve-tone music and so has proved challenging to music theorists. More recently, new theories such as contour theory and similarity relations have been developed to come more adequately to terms with the centric musical language of Stravinsky and others.

One important characteristic of this centric music is its static quality. With the dismantling of traditional functions, dissonance is freed to varying degrees from its tonal obligation to resolve to consonance—consequently the sense of tension and resolution upon which tonal music rests becomes greatly diluted if not altogether absent. Removal of goal-directedness leads to static harmonic complexes that do not \textit{need} to go anywhere. The result is an altogether different sound world. This new

\textsuperscript{21} Stravinsky's \textit{Poetics of Music} (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1947), 36, in ibid., 102. \textsuperscript{22} Arthur Berger, "Problems of Pitch Organization in Stravinsky," \textit{Perspectives in New Music} 2, no. 1 (1963): 11[my italics]. Like Straus and Morgan, Berger understands tonality in a more restricted way than Samson. For Berger tonality is "defined by those functional relations postulated by the structure of the major scale," (p. 11) This article was written over thirty years before the work of Crews, Johnston, McGregor and Ward. Post-tonal theory has undergone significant advances since the time of Berger's article. As noted previously, the failure of these scholars to come to grips with the analytical tools at their disposal has had serious consequences for their understanding of both Agnew's and Brewster-Jones's music and therefore the quality of their analysis.
sound world allowed not only the principle of transposition to become an important compositional technique. This figures in much of Scriabin’s music where it took over from diatonic relationships, but also is informs the chord parallelism of Debussy, Busoni and Szymanowski and, as we will see, in Agnew’s approach to formal structure and the pattern repetition of Brewster-Jones.

Although other strategies of organisation have taken precedence over tonality, much transitional music still contains vestiges of diatonic function in varying degrees of attenuation. After all, many of these composers sought to redefine traditional tonality, not reject it altogether. Lingering tonal elements can be found even in the atonal works of Schoenberg. As Samson observes: “Certainly tonal reminiscences are present in many of the early atonal compositions of the ‘Second Viennese School’, of Skryabin, Szymanowski and other composers without providing a justification for regarding the works as tonal when viewed as a whole.” Numerous transitional works resist rigid classification as tonal or atonal; many can, to some extent, exist in both the tonal and non-tonal worlds.

The example of an isolated sonority—the French sixth—is helpful here. In the tonal world the French sixth, which in C major involves the pitches A♭, C, D and F #, functions as a chromatic predominant chord and demands a very particular resolution to the dominant harmony G, B, D. Thus, the French sixth becomes a vital part of the goal-directedness of functionally tonal music. However, in the music of early twentieth-century composers, such as Scriabin and Agnew, this particular sixth chord is left unresolved with increasing frequency. Our expectations then are increasingly thwarted until they dissolve in the attenuated tonal world of this music in which functional tonality has become more and more deeply submerged. In its unresolved state, the French sixth leaves the tonal world and takes up residency in the non-tonal world where it forms the subset (0268) of the whole-tone scale (0268T), a symmetrical, and therefore tonally ambiguous scale. This chord then lives quite

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happily in both worlds but with a distinctly different personality in each. And it is exactly this split personality that made it so attractive to these transitional, exploratory composers. This then begs the question, when is an unresolved French sixth still a French sixth? The answer is always context-driven and contingent upon the surrounding music.

As functional harmony was no longer used to provide a solid structure for a musical composition, composers sought other ways to create coherence and meaning in their music. Post-tonal works became increasingly self-referential. Motivic shapes and harmonic progressions become characteristic of the individual work and so create its own unique world. Straus again puts it well: “not constrained by the norms of tonal syntax in post-tonal music, motives become independent and function as primary structural determinants.” The motive, as a vehicle for organisation and coherence, had much earlier achieved a level of importance in the music of Beethoven although there it was always embedded in a functionally harmonic framework. It is a central element in both the motivic transformation of Liszt and what Schoenberg retrospectively called Brahms’s technique of “developing variation”. But as tonality collapsed and, using Morgan’s words, “[a] fixed and conventional conception of musical structure gave way to one that was variable, contingent and contextual—dependent upon the specific attributes of the particular composition,” the motive emerged as a chief structural unit. It now operated at a basic structural level in the musical background as well as in the foreground. Morgan noted earlier: “[o]ne way to view the revolution in musical language during these years is as a transformation in the relationship between compositional foreground and compositional background—that is, between the musical surface and its formal

26 Gottfried Eberle has made the “between two worlds” nature of Scriabin’s late music a main focus of his approach. See Gottfried Eberle, Zwischen Tonalität und Atonalität: Studien Zur Harmonik Alexander Skrjabins, Berliner Musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten (Munich: Katzichler, 1978).


This reduction of musical language to motive, cell and interval is a specific instance of the more general modernist preoccupation with the fragmentation of language: the focus is on the micro, the elements that make up a language. Agnew and Brewster-Jones were part of the response to the fin de siècle crisis of musical language.

The elevation of the motive as a prime "structural determinant" went hand in hand with an interest in unifying the horizontal and vertical aspects of music. Many composers sought a unity of musical space. The harmonic and melodic are derived from a common interval source and become two different ways of presenting the same pitch material. Many of these composers thought it possible to develop a harmonic language consistent with the intervallic characteristics of the melodies. Pieces are constructed of similar cells related by intervallic content.

As noted in the introduction, the influence of non-Western cultures had a profound and transformative effect on early modernist Western music. Exoticism found a direct expression in the use of certain non-Western scales such as the pentatonic, octatonic and whole tone which are symmetrical and therefore intrinsically tonally ambiguous. They were exotic culturally and in terms of material. In both senses they lay outside Western conventional tonality. Jeremy Day-O’Connell suggests, “For Debussy and Ravel, the [pentatonic] scale’s inherent tonal ambiguities were surely as attractive as its exotic implications.” Many early twentieth-century composers, including Agnew and Brewster-Jones, responded positively to the ambiguities of these exotic scales. The appropriation and use of non-Western musics by the early modernists, for example those of Debussy and Scriabin—their particular orientalism—differed profoundly from the earlier practice of mere decorative imitation. Granville Bantock’s Omar Khayyam is a classic example of fin de siècle

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30 Morgan, Twentieth-Century Music, 57, 69, 105-06.
32 Bartók wrote extensively on the rich potential of “peasant music” “as well as the ecclesiastical and “more primitive” modes, such as the pentatonic scale. He saw them as alternatives to the major-minor system and standard rhythmic and metric conventions. In the same “Autobiography” (see fn. 15) where he discussed diatonicism operating outside the major/minor tonal framework, he also wrote that “peasant music” and the Greek modes revealed to him “the possibility of complete emancipation from the absolute rule of the major and minor scale system.” He, like Satie and Ravel for example,
English musical orientalism that is merely imitative. The textures are, as Peter Pirie observes, “solidly homophonic, and such chromaticisms that appear are usually found in semi-oriental arabesques.” A similar texture is found in Rachmaninov’s setting of Pushkin’s nostalgic lament for the far shores of distant Georgia, “Ne poi krasavitsa pri mnye,” as found in the orientalised piano opening and ensuing interludes, which make much of the augmented second (see Example 1.1).

By contrast, the early modernists absorbed non-Western scales into their musical language. In some early modernist works, exotic scales do not merely colour diatonic substructures with “oriental” filigree but become fundamental alternatives to major-minor tonality and functional harmony, so bringing about a shift in their role from the referential to the structural. They become part of the aforementioned transformation between foreground and background. MacKenzie has also noted this difference between a musical orientalism he describes as “merely a musical arabesque, a derived ornament of little structural significance” and “a genuine extension of language, form and mood” that extended through twentieth-century Modernism. This shift will be explored in the analysis of Brewster-Jones’s use of non-Western scales.

Two composers in particular demand a more detailed examination, if only for the deep influence they exerted upon generations of composers including many named above. These are Debussy and Scriabin. Morgan summarises Debussy’s achievements thus: “Debussy’s new approach to scale, harmony, and tonality represents one of his most significant contributions to early twentieth-century music, as far-reaching in its historical implications as the continued development of chromaticism in Germany and Austria.” Debussy revolutionised not only harmonic and formal procedures but also, in a subtle way, rhythm. He destroyed the tyranny of

understood the capacity of the old modes to revitalise contemporary music: “It was evident that the ancient scales, no longer used in our artmusic, had by no means lost their vitality, and that their use also made possible new harmonic combinations.” He notes in the same sketch Debussy’s use of the pentatonic scale and correctly identifies the influence of the Russian school on the Frenchman in this regard. See Béla Bartók, “Autobiography,” 410.

35 Morgan, Twentieth-Century Music, 45.
Example 1.1 Rachmaninov, “Ne poi krasavitsa pri mnye,” bb. 1–8 and 17–19.
the barline. As metre and pulse retreat into the background and expectations dissolve, the ear turns instead to harmonic progression or melodic line. These developments combine to produce a new sense of musical time. In her analysis of Agnew’s music, Crews makes much of Agnew’s frequent metre changes. She notes, for instance, that there are eleven changes of time signature in Dance of the Wild Men and likens the frequent rate of change in Sonata 1929 to Stravinsky’s use of rhythm and metre.\textsuperscript{36} I would suggest, however, that Agnew’s use of metre change has nothing to do with Stravinsky’s music which, owing to its close associations with dance, foregrounds rhythm, but in fact shares much with Debussy’s “flexible and unassertive rhythms.”\textsuperscript{37} The metrical changes in Agnew’s music, like Debussy’s (and completely unlike Stravinsky’s) occur so as not impede the flow of the music. The music is essentially rhapsodic. This has certain implications for phrase, metre and pulse.

For Debussy, the colour rather than the function of a chord was now the driving force. He was a central agent in the dissolution of goal-directedness in music. His music is not made up of harmonies whose differences demand certain resolutions but rather static harmonies sharing similar properties that shift as blocks. In its most extreme form this appears as parallelism and in other instances a particular sonority dominates the whole piece.\textsuperscript{38} That famous instance of his exposure to gamelan music at the 1889 Paris Exhibition also influenced his approach to musical time as well as scale.\textsuperscript{39} His fascination with the East, in particular the manifestation that found direct musical expression in his use of non-Western scales, pointed the way for many young composers.

Debussy’s rejection of German music, his own exoticism, his nationalist desire to create a truly French music combined to produce a radically reconfigured musical language; one that provided an alternative for many composers,\textsuperscript{40} such as the

\textsuperscript{37} Samson, Music in Transition, 34.
\textsuperscript{38} Morgan, Twentieth-Century Music, 44-48.
\textsuperscript{39} For one account of the Exhibition and the enormous affect it had on composers such as Debussy see “Paris and the Far East at the Turn of the Century” in Glenn Watkins, Pyramids at the Louvre: Music, Culture, and Collage from Stravinsky to the Postmodernists (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1994), 19-32.
younger generation of English and Australians who were looking to break away from the German hegemony that had dominated their musical worlds for decades. As Samson notes, "... the impact of Debussy’s harmony extended far beyond France, acting as a liberating influence on composers whose search for a national style turned them away from prevailing German models." Debussy was an exotic presence in the British Empire. For the English musical renaissance it was French music as well as folk music and the Celtic Twilight that set music along new paths. This liberating influence quickly extended out to Australia. For example, the champion of modern music in Australia, violinist Cyril Monk, along with pianist Frank Hutchens, performed the Sydney, and possibly Australian, premiere of Debussy’s Violin Sonata in 1918 only a year after its publication in Paris.

The fascination with the exotic, as Samson notes, provided a point of contact for French and Russian cultures. The Russian composer Alexander Scriabin took what ultimately became an all-consuming obsession with the East, particularly Eastern philosophy and religion, and injected it directly into his music to a far greater degree than Debussy had. Whereas Debussy’s influence on Agnew and Brewster-Jones was general, Scriabin’s was direct. The late music of Scriabin (c. 1908–1914), which is felt so strongly in Agnew and Brewster-Jones’s music of the 1920s, was systematic to the point that in terms of its adherence to its own internal rules it was not unlike Arnold Schoenberg’s twelve tone system. With his so-called “mystic chord,” Scriabin created his own synthetic scale upon which all works from his orchestral tone poem Prometheus (1908-1910) onwards were to some extent based. The chord, a combination of whole tone and octatonic elements, provided Scriabin a non-tonal environment in which to compose.

\[ \text{Example 1.2 Scriabin’s “mystic chord.”} \]

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41 Samson, Music in Transition, 66.
42 Ibid.
43 Ibid., 34.
Russian musicologist, Leonid Sabaneev, a close friend and champion of Scriabin, formulated an early influential explanation of the chord’s derivation, describing it as having as its basis the overtone series. This was taken up by early proponents of Scriabin’s music and has a direct bearing on Brewster-Jones’s compositional approach.

The origins of the mystic chord can be detected in Scriabin’s early works. From his Preludes op. 11 onwards he shows an ever-increasing liking for unresolved dominant-type chords. He was not alone in this; Debussy and Szymanowski were also attracted to the dissonance of the unresolved dominant-type chord. In Scriabin’s later music this dominant-type chord actually becomes a kind of tonic; it is set free from its traditional functional role and becomes the basic building block for the entire work.

Scriabin’s compositional method is actually very simple. The collection of unordered pitch classes, usually some version of the mystic chord, can be expressed vertically and horizontally. He said famously, “[t]he melody is dissolved harmony; the harmony is a vertical melody.” More than any other, he sought the aforementioned unity of musical space. Once he had established the pitch collection he merely shifted it to different transpositional levels in an often quite methodical way. Samson notices the similarity to serialism in his description of the process: “The harmonic system of later works has much in common with serialism in that each work is based on a given set (usually comprising six notes) which acts as a source of both harmonic and melodic material and which is transposed onto different degrees of the scale, inevitably giving rise to many invariant features.” An important difference between Scriabin’s method and that of the Second Viennese School is that the latter fixed the order of pitch classes, whereas Scriabin did not.

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45 Quoted in Morgan, Twentieth-Century Music, 57.
For all his innovative accomplishments and influence, Scriabin was a fundamentally flawed composer. This did not go unnoticed by his contemporaries. Importantly for this study, both the Australian expatriate composer George Clutsam (who was to play such an important role in the life of young Brewster-Jones) and Arthur Eaglefield Hull (an English writer on music and friend of Agnew in London) wrote extensively and penetratingly on Scriabin’s late music. In his 1916 monograph on Scriabin, Hull wrote the following:

Many people have wondered where the purely physical development of music on the lines adopted by Debussy and others was leading us; Scriabin shows us its fullest possibilities—and its limitations. He gives us a completely new system of harmony; he abolishes the major and minor modes; he annihilates modulation and chromatic inflection; he abandons all key signatures; and finally applies his ideas to the most modern scale we have reached so far i.e. the “Duodecuple.”

Hull isolated the “mystic chord” or, as he calls it the “foundation” chord, for discussion, describing it as a “concord structure of fourths.”

In a recent article, music theorist Catherine Nolan identified Eaglefield Hull as one of a group of writers on music who sought “to articulate the nature and organisation of harmonic or pitch materials in a contemporary early twentieth-century repertoire that introduced novel, radical sonorities and combinations of pitches for which traditional theories of harmony were ineffectual.” Hull was effusive; Scriabin’s work, he claimed, “has brought about an artistic revolution unequalled in


\[\text{49 Ibid.}

the whole history of the arts."51 It demanded "a new language, a new scale, a new way of listening and of composing."52 But he realised too, as did others, that the system contained the seeds of its own destruction. It was too limited. Scriabin’s monomaniacal obsession with the mystic chord as an expression of his mystical beliefs severely limited his compositional palette.53 The endless transposition of the same sonority resulted in a kind of sameness that after a time began to pall. Scriabin also restricted his innovations to pitch and harmony, never venturing into the areas of form or rhythm. However, his achievement is of central importance to the development of early modernism. Like Debussy, Scriabin’s music provided a way forward for many in the younger generations of composers. His music experienced a particular vogue in England in the late teens; again this extended out to the Dominions and had a powerful effect particularly on the young Roy Agnew and Hooper Brewster-Jones in the early 1920s.

This general discussion of transitional music, its departure from conventional goal-directed harmonic motion and the identification of some of its key characteristics, in particular the emergence of the motive as determining structure, the use of exotic scales and the employment of large-scale transposition of sonorities, provide a framework for understanding the music of Roy Agnew and Hooper Brewster-Jones selected here for analysis.

**Abandoning the limitations of key and tonal relationship**

A gifted instrumentalist was observed standing in a corner leading to the artist room, looking quite ill and with his hands over his ears. He said it was the siren of a Balmain ferry boat that he had just heard, and that he could not establish its relationship, as he was unable to determine the key of the Dance of the Wild Men.54

The anonymous instrumentalist, given his pained reaction, erred in attending Roy Agnew’s 1923 farewell concert. His reaction to the music indicates that Agnew in

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52 Ibid., 265.
54 “Roy Agnew Farewell,” *AMN* 12, no. 12 (1923): 17 [my italics].
this work had moved beyond tonality. The gifted instrumentalist was correct. Even when unhindered by the blast of the ferry siren, I too am unable to determine the key of *Dance of the Wild Men*. My analysis of this work and others between the years 1919 and 1929 will attempt to answer the question of how these “tonal limitations” have been overcome.

The absence of a key signature in music from this period is telling. It indicates a distance from tonality and suggests that the music, rather than being in C major or A minor, is in fact not conceived of as being in a key at all. This is certainly the case with Agnew’s six Poems published between 1922 and 1927, many of his seven Preludes and at least three of the six sonatas. It is also true of his exuberant, unashamedly rambunctious work *Dance of the Wild Men* written in 1919. This work, along with *Deirdre’s Lament* (one product of Agnew’s attraction to the Celtic Revival) and his *Toccata tragica* (also known as *Poeme tragique*), caught the ear of the visiting pianist, Benno Moiseiwitsch. Moiseiwitsch’s inclusion of these three works in his Sydney concerts of 1920 brought Agnew his first real fame and notoriety in Australia, as well as his first English publications. *Dance of the Wild Men* was published by the English firm, Chester in 1922. At that time Chester was recognised for championing “ultra-modern” music. From 1915 the firm had entered into contracts with such composers as Casella, Falla, Malipiero, Poulenc and Stravinsky as well as the Englishmen Bax, Berners, Goossens and Ireland.

On a superficial level, the composition’s conventional and familiar rhythmic patterning and homophonic texture, as well as recurrences of melodic and harmonic ideas, establish a deceptive feeling of normality.55 Structurally too the work is simple: a bi-partite form AB A′B′. The first B Section sits on a C# pedal which is transposed down a major third to A on its return. However, on further analysis it becomes evident that despite there being audible arrival points in the music there are no underlying harmonic progressions or obvious cadential points that clearly identify the key of the piece. Musical continuity and coherence occur outside the framework of functional tonality.

Figure 1.1 Bipartite structure of *Dance of the Wild Men*.

The dissonance of the opening theme is not only striking, it also shows that Agnew is thinking intervalically. Certain intervals inform both the vertical and linear aspects of the piece. The linear motion of the opening motive is made up of a minor second, a major second and a minor third. These intervals provide the characteristic intervallic material for the whole piece. It is supported vertically by parallel chromatic major sevenths in the right hand and minor thirds in the left. The dissonance of the opening two chords is sharpened by the tritone span between bottom and top. Agnew is experimenting, as did Scriabin and Bartók, with the idea of using the same intervals that make up the melody as harmonic support in an attempt to unify the musical space.

In a general sense the contrast between the main sections A and B is achieved through juxtaposing chromaticism with a kind of modal writing. However, the distinction between chromaticism and modality that signals the larger divisions of the composition’s formal sections is found at play at a more local level throughout the opening section. It creates an expectation for the appearance of Section B. An examination of the first thirteen bars reveals this interplay.
To Benno Moiseiwitsch

Dance of the Wild Men

Fiercely with the utmost intensity About $\frac{\text{d}}{\text{d}} = 176$

Example 1.4 Juxtaposition of chromatic and modal writing, bb. 1-13.
In an intensely chromatic opening, the introductory phrase and its answer are repeated, riding above an ever-descending chromatic bass line of minor thirds, until it is broken off by an ascending chromatic flourish. The subsequent phrase from b. 7 is formed from a B-scale on E. The second phrase reappears at b. 9 now metrically displaced to just after the downbeat of the bar. Although the accompaniment does not depart from its chromatic motion, it appears now a major seventh below its initial appearance. (Another example of how the basic intervallic material informs the musical fabric.) Bar 11 invokes the modality of bb. 7 to 9 but is now highlighting the Bb using what could be understood as an F-scale on Bb, only to be interrupted again by the now familiar figure in bb. 12 and 13 beginning a semitone lower on the A. The chromaticism that saturates the surface also establishes a tension based on semitone slippage such as that between D/D and A/A starting at b. 14. The appearance of the theme of the second section is a semitone higher than the opening G.

Coherence is also created in the tightly knit motivic relationships. For example, the startling and nervous opening phrase is found later in an altered, more expansive and stable form in the modal second section.
Example 1.6 Comparison between the opening bar and the opening of Section B, b. 1 and bb. 29-30.

Both share the all important semitone and descending minor third. In the phrase of section B the shape of the opening three notes has been inverted; nonetheless, the interval of the semitone is retained and both end with a falling minor third, one can hear the similarity between the two phrases. Although this kind of motivic relationship can be found in earlier music, the way this is connected here, via a three-note shape or contour that is to be found throughout, is perhaps of more importance. It helps to give the piece its characteristic sound and provides a strong sense of continuity. Current theories of musical contour can help to analyse this shape.

Contour space (c-space), argues Robert Morris, a theorist who has written pioneering articles on contour theory, is “a type of musical space consisting of elements arranged from low to high disregarding the exact intervals between the
elements." He calls these elements “c-pitches” (cps). They are numbered from low to high beginning with 0 up to n-1, therefore three ascending pitches translates as <012>. Contour theory bypasses actual pitches to describe a general characteristic shape or gesture. In doing this it takes its place among other theories of similarity relations which try to say penetrating and illuminating things about parts of a piece that sound the same and produce a similar effect on the listener or perform a similar role in the music but nonetheless are different enough in terms of actual pitch content to evade the exactitude of more conventional set theory.

The contour segment (cseg) that dominates this work in its prime form is <021>, or, as Morris labels it, 3-2, the second of the two three-member cseg classes. Below I give the four possible expressions of this shape both numerically and graphically.

As we can see, this entails no more than varying patterns of up and down or down and up. The contour, 3-2, first appears at the end of the opening phrase in its retrograde form of <120>. This is answered a bar later at the end of the following phrase by <021>, the prime. We can see then that the relation between the two is that of retrograde: the second is simply the first in reverse order. If we then turn to the first modal passage, bb. 7-8, b. 7 features the retrograde inversion <102>, and b. 8 the inversion <201>, again the relation between these two is retrograde.

Example 1.7 A contour comparison between phrase beginnings and endings, bb. 1-2 and bb. 7-8.

There is a kind of call and response or question/answer process at work in the first thirteen bars of the work. We can begin to see that by associating particular shapes with a particular quality of writing—chromatic or modal—Agnew creates a sense of coherence, before blurring the distinction in the more transitional material that follows. The table below shows this distinction between chromaticism and modality and the division between the two groups of cseg 3-2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bar numbers</th>
<th>chromatic</th>
<th>modal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1–2</td>
<td>&lt;120&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;021&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3–4</td>
<td>&lt;120&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;021&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7–8</td>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;102&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9–10</td>
<td>&lt;021&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;102&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12–13</td>
<td>&lt;021&gt;</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.1 Distinction between chromaticism and modality and their relative cseg 3-2 expression.
Applying Morris’s idea of contour reduction, by relating the first and last note and the lowest therein, to the main motivic shape, we can see “modal” cseg <102> is maintained in the motivic patterning in Section B.57

Example 1.8 Cseg <102> maintained in Section B, b. 29.

Although this music is not functionally tonal, it is diatonic and does have certain centric qualities. From the outset, priority is given to the pitch E. Initially it is foregrounded only in the melodic line, where it appears twice as an emphatic and obvious arrival point after a chromatic gesture. It is then highlighted as a more general goal in the modal writing of bb. 7 and 8. These preliminary indications are satisfied when the first really obvious harmonic landing point of the work occurs at b. 20 on a low and loud E octave and again at b. 25. This introduces the passage that begins the inexorable transition to the next section nine bars later. From its beginnings as a prioritised pitch, E ultimately transforms into a tonal centre later on in the section. Samson’s comment about Bartók that “a tonal argument need not be dependent upon triadic harmony but can be built around pitch polarities which are established through repetition and emphasis,” can then also be understood in the context of this work.58

58 Samson, Music in Transition, 33.
Example 1.9 Transition from E as prioritised pitch to tonal centre, bb. 1-4, 7-8, 19-20 and 24-25.
As the piece unfolds, the pitches E, C# and A, which are heard as E–C#–E–A, emerge as particular centres outlining an A major triad (see Figure 1.1). However, the piece is not “in A,” in the sense of being in A major or minor. The approaches to these two parts, in which C# and A are centric pitches, are not functional: in both cases the chromatic approach is the same, but the second time Agnew rather crudely adjusts the final four notes to facilitate the arrival on the A.

Example 1.10 Non-functional approaches to Section B, bb. 26-29, 63-66.
There is continuity in the shared pitch material between the end of the A section (bb. 20-28) centred around E and the B section centred around C#. This evokes the relative minor relation but in actuality they are merely the same pitches revolving around a different centre with no trace of functional harmonic progression. The E major triad is the dominant of A, but there is no sense of harmonic progression or obvious voice leading that would clearly establish a key. A pedal point is by nature static and, once the arrival on the pedal point is established, the section goes nowhere harmonically until Agnew slips back into the first section. The fact that the pedal lacks the third of the triad, leaving its quality unclear, compounds the ambiguity. These B sections are characterised by harmonic stasis, approached by a mad confused frenzy of chromaticism. Section A is heard both times as a kind of breathless unstable, chromatic upbeat to the more settled B section. It is frenetic motion moving to a place of unstinting sameness. Rhythmically too, the second part is more stable. The shift is heightened by the rhythmic change from a simple feel to a compound feel.

The instructions to play “furiously”, even to “bang”, and the final extreme dynamic direction of üüüüü produced music whose extremes of violent emotion and volume caused jaws in the Sydney audience to drop. The music’s sheer ferocity and attack was challenging. As a result, Agnew was seen as transgressive and labelled an ultra-modernist, a Bolshevik, an “Australian Stravinsky.” In Dance of the Wild Men the idea of the exotic as barbarous comes into play and this piece could be understood as an early instance of Australian primitivism. In fact, the work has long since been regarded as a depiction of a corroboree, on the basis of a passing reference in the AMN uncorroborated by the composer. I suggest an alternative theory of the work’s provenance, one that does not impinge upon this more “nationalist” understanding but can easily coexist alongside it. In my view, whereas the piece may or may not essay white depictions of indigenous Australia, it is directly connected with the Russian Futurist composer-pianist Leo Ornstein. My theory also helps to account for a prominent feature of the work: the dirtying up of quite simple triadic structures and other patterns with added notes as found in bb. 14-17 and 25-26. A cluster-like effect is created when played at the indicated speed.

Example 1.11 Cluster-like effects à la Ornstein, bb. 14-17, 25-26.

In 1920, in the chic new lifestyle magazine *The Home*, George de Cairos Rego, a friend of Agnew and the dedicatee of his ever-popular *Rabbit Hill*, reviewed Harriette Brower’s book *Piano Mastery* (1917) published in New York by Frederick Stokes. Brower’s interview with Ornstein, the originator of cluster technique, was singled out for detailed discussion in Rego’s review which we may assume Agnew was aware of. That chapter includes a long description of Ornstein’s own work *Danse Sauvage* or, in Brower’s translation, *Wild Men’s Dance*. Ornstein told Brower about the cluster technique that permeates this piece: “I must here use a palm of my hand as well as the fingers; the former depresses the white keys below, while the fingers
touch the black keys above them."\(^{60}\) Agnew’s clusters are a less extreme version of Ornstein’s. He need not have seen or heard Ornstein’s *Danse Sauvage* to experiment in his own way sonically with what he had possibly only read—in effect translating words into sound. Moreover he was translating with a particular audience in mind, invoking both Cäelestin’s idea of translation plus the triangular relationship Cäelestin sets up between subject/exotic/Home where “[t]he subject negotiates a position vis-à-vis both Home and the exotic.”\(^{61}\)

Whereas Ornstein may have influenced Agnew’s approach in *Dance of the Wild Men*, Scriabin’s influence was more powerful and pervasive. The presence of late Scriabin is strongly felt in many of Agnew’s pieces from this decade. One such work is his beautiful little Poem no. 1 published in 1922 in Australia by Allans.\(^{62}\) It gives itself easily to a post-tonal approach and can serve as a kind of diminutive exemplar for the subsequent poems and preludes. As with *Dance of the Wild Men* there is no strong sense of tonal centre in Poem no. 1.\(^{63}\)

Like *Dance of the Wild Men*, this work is structurally straightforward: a bipartite form with a coda—AB A’B’ (A”). The first part (bb. 1–20) divides into two sections: bb. 1–11 and 12–20. The second section itself is derived from material of the first. The second part (bb. 21–40) is virtually identical to the first but has been transposed down a minor third. Thus, Agnew reveals his knowledge of Scriabin’s late

\(^{60}\) Harriette Brower, *Piano Mastery: Talks with Master Pianists and Teachers (Second Series)* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, c1917), 190-91.


\(^{62}\) Frances Gordon refers to this Poem in her article of 1920, two years before its publication.

\(^{63}\) Crews and Johnston have both recognised the “progressive” nature of this musical language. Crews speculates that the Poem “could well have been the vehicle for much of the criticism levelled at Agnew...” Johnston suggests that Agnew’s music from these years constitutes “a unique species among the post-romantic works popular in Australia at that time” in which “[t]raditional boundaries are defied in a search for personal expression.” Unfortunately, the analytical discussions do not rise above basic description, and difficulties arise when trying to use traditional tonal analysis within a non-tonal context. Crews’s description of the Poem as being “based almost exclusively on fourths of varying quality” is a case in point. The “varying qualities” of a fourth, which have real and distinct meanings and expected resolutions within tonality become meaningless in a non-tonal world where major thirds and tritones, no matter how they are spelt, are individual and distinct entities and cannot be heard as, nor do they behave as, diminished, or augmented fourths. Moreover the intervallic differences between them are of vital importance. See Crews, “An Analytical Study of the Piano Works of Roy Agnew, Margaret Sutherland and Dulcie Holland,” 140; Faith Johnston, “The Piano Music of Roy Agnew” (M Music Performance, University of Western Australia, 1981), 13.
procedures, using *transposition* as a means of generating structure. The coda from b. 41 repeats the opening phrase, but again at a different transpositional level.64

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part 1</th>
<th>Part 2</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bars 1-11</td>
<td>12-20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1.3 Bipartite structure of Poem no.1

It is already evident that this work is generated from a limited set of materials which is rearticulated in different ways. The motive operates as a major organizing element. A detailed examination of the opening bars will reveal what Straus calls the "motivic and contextual nature of post-tonal music."65

The first eleven bars form the opening statement, which consists of four phrases each starting from the last pitch of the previous one. As in *Dance of the Wild Men*, contour plays an important role in continuity. The general shape of <021> set up by these ever-rising phrases gives the work its uniform character of yearning. The symmetry is immediately striking. Whereas the first melodic phrase is symmetrical by way of retrograde, the second is symmetrical by inversion around the arrival point of G. The (014) pitch class set initially dominates. This set is, as Friedmann notes, "one of the most characteristic trichords in early noncentric music..."66 The (014) pitch class set then gives over to (015), which has also been present since the outset.

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64 The nomenclature adopted for the description of the manipulation of pc sets is that developed by John Rahn in *Basic Atonal Theory* (New York: Longman, 1979).
65 Straus, "A Primer for Atonal Set Theory," 1.
Example 1.12 Poem no. 1, bb. 1-11.
The play between $E_b$ and $E$ is significant too, as is the resulting interaction between the $E_b$ augmented chord, $E$ minor chord and in the second phrase the $E_b$ major chord that emerges from the melodic line in the first four bars.\textsuperscript{67} In fact, the piece as a whole is saturated with pitch class sets (014), (015), (037), (036) and (048). How does one account for collections of different things that seem to be of significance but cannot be related to each other?

Straus comes to our rescue here, with his suggestion that: “In analyzing post-tonal music, one must be sensitive not only to the motivic interplay of the surface, but to the larger referential collections that lurk beneath the surface.”\textsuperscript{68} By thinking more broadly, we can see that in fact Agnew is working within a larger collection that includes all these smaller motives. This larger collection creates a domain that allows him to freely pass between the smaller elements without relying on functional harmonic progression. If we begin to think of these diverse sets as being subsets of the larger collection—$E_b$, $E$, $G$, $B_b$, $B_s$—(01478) or 5-22—the music begins to make more sense. It is the only pentad to contain all possible triads—major/minor (036), diminished and augmented (048), the trichords (014) and (015)—as well as the tetrachords (0147) and “that favorite of Second Viennese composers,” (0148).\textsuperscript{69} 5-22 is then rich in its possibilities to make tonal allusions outside of a tonal framework. It is also, as Agnew shows us in the second phrase, inversionally symmetrical, in this case as two (014) sets around $G$ mirroring the shapes of the beginning and ending of the first two phrases.

Example 1.13 Symmetrical structure of 5-22.

\textsuperscript{67} Crews too senses the importance of the “mixture of $E_b$ and $E$” but she is again restricted by her decision to approach the music on tonal terms, as seen by the following statement: “The tonality alludes to a mixture of $E_b$/E, somewhat confirmed by the first treble note ($E_b$) and the last bass note ($G$) of the first phrase, as well as the $E$ minor arpeggio in bar 1.” Crews, “An Analytical Study of the Piano Works of Roy Agnew, Margaret Sutherland and Dulcie Holland,” 140.

\textsuperscript{68} Straus, \textit{Introduction to Post-Tonal Theory}, 101.

\textsuperscript{69} Morris, “New Directions in the Theory and Analysis of Musical Contour,” 209.
Allen Forte discusses 5-22 in some detail in an article on late Liszt. He makes the important point that in Liszt’s use of this collection he is using “sonorities (pitch-class sets) that are not part of the central syntax of tonal music but that derive, in the most extreme instances, from a process of accretion to the augmented triad and the diminished triad…”

It is useful here to heed Morris’s advice and think about intervals being “maximized” in the sense of being expanded out by semitonal slippage seen in the relationship between subsets such as (014) and (015), and (037) and (048).

In his use of 5-22 Agnew shows, like Liszt, a “special sense of selectivity” with regard to “the pitch-class set inclusion relations” found in this work.

5-22 permeates the piece in various ways. Comparing the first three phrases, we can see that there is an enriching additive process at work. The opening phrase comprises the subset 4-19 as it lacks the B♭ (this appears in the next phrase). In the third phrase, an A♭ and D♭ are added. However, the 5-22 can be extracted easily from the melodic line as it constructs the frame of the phrase. The B♭ that appears as the second beat also appears as the final point of pattern completion at b. 7 and the E♭/D# acts as the lower neighbour to the high E. 5-22 is found in the high points and ultimate destinations of each phrase. If one takes only the high points of the phrases found as the downbeats of bb. 2, 4 and 6 we get the notes of an E minor triad, and if the arrival points are seen together (the downbeat of every second beat of the same bars) an E♭ major triad is formed. Combined they form the all-important 5-22. Furthermore, if the endings of each phrase are viewed alongside each other, it becomes clear that Agnew stays within the collection. The end of each phrase continues to climb the scaffolding of the collection until coming to rest on the B♭.

72 Ibid., 102.
Example 1.14 Comparison of first three phrases, bb. 1-7.
Texturally the work is linear and the initial division between the two lines supports my parsing of the pitch material. I have been concentrating exclusively on the upper lines of music. If the bass line is examined independently from the treble, we see that bb. 2, 4, 5 and 6 are all derived from the same whole tone collection (even allowing for the fact that Agnew created a bass line by extracting different bass notes).

At b. 7 the whole tone collection changes and we can see then the A₅ and G₃ of bb. 1 and 3 fit into this collection. The addition of A₅ and D₃ in the top voice of the final phrase brings the pitch material closer together until it coalesces in the whole tone collection of b. 7. The whole-tone sonority produces a sense of motionlessness, diffusing the tension created by the previous phrases.
Agnew changes the larger referential collection for the section’s final phrase bb. 8-11.

Example 1.17 Change of larger referential collection for final phrase, bb. 8-11.

This phrase is itself an altered transposition of the opening phrase by pitch-class interval 5. The initial (014) motive is here expanded into an (015). Thus the (015) motive common to both collections is kept intact as is the emphasis on E₅ and B₅, both critically important common tones to both collections. The appearance of the E₅ and B₅ as the high point and destination of this phrase harks back to 5-22 and so creates a line of aural continuity. In fact, the change allows these two pitches to remain invariant and maintain their position as the central pitches of the phrase despite the transpositional shift.

The surface motivic content also works on deeper levels, demonstrating again this general desire for a unity of musical space. For instance, the opening bars of the second “contrasting” section (bb. 12-14) features in a local sense the diminished triad, but outline an augmented triad (C#-F-A). These are both common to 5-22. Despite the more rapid rate of change, the material is clearly derived from the opening.

Example 1.18 Contrasting second section, bb. 12-14.
The A–B–C movement in bass line of the final bars is yet another different expression of (014) bringing the work to its conclusion over the E₅ in the upper voice.

Example 1.19 (014) in the bass line, bb. 42-45.

More importantly, the (014) actually articulates the overall structure of the work. If the two major parts comprising the work along with the coda are compared, each features a repeat of the opening phrases at a different transpositional level. The three levels are E₅, C and E. These notes themselves form the pitch class set (014). It is a case of the micro informing the macro.

Example 1.20 Comparison of the major structural division outlining an (014).

Moreover, the final transpositional level has been chosen to allow for a return of the E/E₅ in the melody. The piece ends as it began with a reversal of the important two opening pitches. It is an example of what Morgan describes as one of the key
characteristics of early modernist music: "...a projection of musical phenomena previously considered to belong solely to the foreground...onto the structural background."\textsuperscript{73}

Agnew uses the method later in articulating the structure for a much larger work, his *Sonata 1929*, a work that remained unpublished during his lifetime. Again the opening motive, which is also pc set (014), is a means of articulating the overall structure through large-scale transpositions and provides the mirror image of the motivic shape in the long term.

The presence of Scriabin is strongly felt in this sonata that was written at the end of his first five years in London. In fact, I believe that Scriabin's ninth sonata was a compositional model in the classical sense. It is clear that Agnew knew and deeply admired the work. The resemblances between the openings are striking: the similarity of vertical sonorities, the rhythm, the shape of the opening five-note motive, the voicing and the use of imitation.

\textsuperscript{73} Morgan, "Secret Languages," 43.
Agnew is in dialogue with Scriabin’s ninth. Through writing his own work he comes to grips with Scriabin’s late compositional techniques. He adopts Scriabin’s use of one sonority undergoing various transpositions to create a unique musical world for his work. The opening sonority, like the mystic chord, is a rich combination of the octatonic and whole tone scales although, given the perfect fifth in the bass, Agnew’s sonority has a more anchored quality than Scriabin’s.

Example 1.22 Openings of Agnew’s Sonata (1929) and Scriabin’s Sonata no. 9.

Example 1.23 Opening sonority from Agnew’s Sonata (1929) and Scriabin’s “mystic chord.”

More large-scale similarities of structural design can also be found between the two pieces.
Until now, Agnew’s debt to Scriabin’s ninth sonata has gone unnoticed. Agnew never published *Sonata (1929)*; the close association with Scriabin’s ninth may well have been a reason. The similarity does not warrant a charge of plagiarism in my view. In rejecting such an accusation on Agnew’s behalf, I would here call upon T.S. Eliot’s words in his influential essay “Tradition and the Individual Talent,” in which he notes our “tendency to insist, when we praise a poet, upon those aspects of his work in which he least resembles anyone else,” and suggests instead that “if we approach a poet without this prejudice we shall often find that not only the best, but the most individual parts of his work may be those in which the dead poets, his ancestors, assert their immortality most vigorously.” Charles Rosen writing specifically about musical influence makes a similar point: “The most important form of influence is that which provokes the most original and most personal work.” These two observations capture the process of transformation that has taken place in Agnew’s *Sonata 1929*. It is important to note here too that Sitsky recalled that many of his compositional colleagues felt this sonata to be the best of the six.

In his large-scale forms, Agnew is often unable to sustain the striking quality of his openings, falling victim to what Samson has described as “the difficulty of structuring extended paragraphs of instrumental music in the absence of tonality…” Another startling opening is found in his *Symphonic Poem* for piano. The subtitle, *La belle dame sans merci*, reveals Keats’s poem as the literary inspiration for the work and one clearly feels the “cold hill’s side” on which the epic tale is played out in the “very cold and desolate” opening of Agnew’s sonata. He captures the spirit of the poem in the eerily lost opening of chromatically descending augmented ninth

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74 Sitsky has noticed the more obvious debt to Scriabin in this particular sonata but also proposes that it was the progressive harmonic language of *Sonata 1929* that prevented Agnew from seeking its publication. See Larry Sitsky, “The Piano Sonatas of Roy Agnew: Some Personal Musings,” in *One Hand on the Manuscript: Music in Australian Cultural History 1930-1960*, ed. Nicholas Brown, et al., *Humanities Research Centre Monograph Series; No. 9*. (Canberra: Humanities Research Centre, Australian National University, 1995), 73.
79 Although this manuscript is undated, Gordon mentions this sonata as well as Poem no. 1 in her article, proving that it was written in 1920 or before. See Gordon, “Roy Agnew—Composer,” 29.
chords. This tonally ambiguous sonority dominates the opening page of the sonata before becoming normalised into a tonal setting later on. The ultimate goal of this opening is the bass C in b. 11, but its arrival is blurred by the surrounding musical movement.

Example 1.24 Opening of Symphonic Poem, bb. 1-13, LH descending to C at b. 11.

80 Sitsky puts forward a similar explanation for why this work was not published during Agnew’s lifetime. He argues again that it was possibly its “harmonic audacity” that prevented its publication. See Sitsky, “The Piano Sonatas of Roy Agnew,” 73.
In the two miniatures and *Sonata 1929*, Agnew has not used normative formal structures. The bi-partite structures of *Dance of the Wild Men* and Poem no. 1, as well as the larger structure of *Sonata 1929*, have come about by his use of wholesale transposition, a direct influence from late Scriabin. Ideas about musical form as theorised by the Marxist philosopher and aesthetician Theodor Adorno are illuminating here.

Adorno had highly complex and sophisticated theories about musical form involving the relationship between “material”, “content” and “form”. For Adorno the ground for the three terms was “material.” “Material” includes “all that is being formed”; it is “all that the artist is confronted by, all that he must make a decision about…”81 In terms of composition this would include pitches, timbres, durations, dynamics and also forms and genres themselves. Material is “historically and culturally preformed before any individual act of composition even begins.”82 “Form” and “content” are more difficult to separate. Max Paddison in his study *Adorno’s Aesthetics of Music* has interpreted Adorno’s idea of content as “what ‘happens’ to basic material in the process of its shaping and of its unfolding through time.”83 The content shapes the piece, and this shape becomes in a sense its form. Adorno distinguishes between two ideas of form: form “from above” and form “from below”. Form “from above” can be understood “in relation to the handed-down pre-given genres and formal types imposed upon the material from above, whereas form “from below” comes out of the “inner necessity of the material.” Form “from above” is normative, form “from below” is nominalist or particular.84 In music using conventional forms it is the tensions that arise between the normative and the particular that are of interest. Judged by Adorno’s terms these works of Agnew’s are examples of form “from below.”

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82 Ibid., 149.
83 Ibid., 151.
84 Ibid., 181.
On a new formula

As with Agnew, the 1920s were an extraordinarily productive time for Brewster-Jones. The hundreds of miniatures written during this decade cover a large array of ideas, techniques and materials. The majority of them are brief, aphoristic, even fragmentary, and many remain in virtually illegible sketch form. Many, such as the Bird Call Impressions, the Horse Rhythms and the series of Nature Preludes, are products of his passionate interest in the natural world. His mimetic Bird Call Impressions, in particular, reveal a strongly empirical bent. He spent hours in the bush with his friend, the painter Hans Heysen, jotting down birdcalls to add to his enormous body of research that included collections of articles on birds from around the world. This ornithological fascination makes an interesting comparison with Messiaen but predates the French composer by two decades. Other miniatures such as his preludes and etudes reveal investigations into matters primarily musical. A distinct stream can be isolated within the latter body of work in which he developed his own idea of “the formula.”

The idea of a formula brings to mind objectivity, calculation, abstraction, method, process and system. As such it resonates strongly with the early machine-age functional modernism of visual artists such as the Russian Constructivists, Rodchenko or Malevich, or the Dutch modernist Piet Mondrian. It also has something to do with what Morgan has described as the “unprecedented emphasis on

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82 Brewster-Jones’s estate is in a fragmented state. The bulk of his archive is held at the Barr Smith Library, University of Adelaide, but unfortunately remains uncatalogued. There are also three private family collections, one in the possession of his granddaughter, Anne Bartsch, and the other two reside in two different attics in the South Australian seaside resort of Victor Harbor. In addition to these, there are three separate files on Brewster-Jones in the ABC archive held at the National Archives of Australia in Sydney. See University of Adelaide: Barr Smith Library, Special Collections; Hooper Brewster-Jones Papers (uncatalogued) [hereafter Barr Smith: Brewster-Jones Papers]; National Archives of Australia: Australian Broadcasting Commission; C663/T1, H. Brewster-Jones, 1939-1955 [hereafter NAA: C663/T1]; National Archives of Australia: Australian Broadcasting Commission; C1737/P1, H. Brewster-Jones [hereafter NAA: C1737/P1]; National Archives of Australia: Australian Broadcasting Commission; SP1011/2, Brewster-Jones, H., 1939-1955 [hereafter NAA: SP1011/2]; Hooper Brewster-Jones Papers: Private Collection in the possession of Anne Bartsch [hereafter HBJ Bartsch]; Hooper Brewster-Jones Papers: Private Collection in the possession of the Brewster-Jones Family (Yelki, Victor Harbor) [hereafter HBJ Yelki]; Hooper Brewster-Jones Papers: Private Collection in the possession of the Brewster-Jones Family (Victor Harbor) [hereafter HBJ Victor Harbor].

86 For an account of both Russian Constructivism and Mondrian see Christina Lodder, Russian Constructivism (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983); Michael White, De Stijl and Dutch Modernism (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003).
purely formal elements at the expense of conventional representational ones,” found in the paintings of French post-Impressionist artists Seurat and Cézanne and the poetry of Mallarmé, Verlaine and Rimbaud.  

Brewster-Jones’s first extant experiment with what he himself called a “new formula” is found in a little prelude he composed on 9 and 10 May 1923. There are three versions of this piece extant. Of these three, two are of particular interest: the ink-over-pencil version, the only one to include in the title the crucial words “on new formula,” and the other much rougher pencil sketch that has vitally important marginalia in the top left corner pointing to his compositional method.

Prelude on New Formula

to John Jeffreys

Example 1.25 Ink-over-pencil copy with words “on new formula.”

The marginalia, shown below, consists of the prelude’s opening sonority and next to it a linear expression of the collection. This instance of a vertical and linear expression of the same pitches indicates an intention “to unify melody and harmony” and is a clear example of Brewster-Jones’s desire to create a “unity of musical space.” Brewster-Jones has allocated certain numbers to the pitches making up the vertical sonority. These numbers describe the position of the notes as partials in the

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87 Morgan, Twentieth-Century Music, 40.
88 The ink-over-pencil version whose title includes the works “on new formula” was found in the family’s personal collection in Victor Harbor in 2004 whereas the other two versions are held at the Barr Smith Library archive. This particular instance provides a clear example of the need to bring these separate collections together.
89 Samson, Music in Transition, 159.
90 Ibid., 144.
overtone series over the fundamental tone C1. And although the choice of which pitches to take from the series was his own, the overtone series as his point of reference fixes the pitches of the sonority in a certain register and so determines the spacing of the vertical sonority. Hence the relation of the pitches to each other is fixed regardless of transpositional level.

The overtone series forms part of his selected pre-formed material from which he selects his governing sonority. How then did he choose to construct or organise this material that determined what Adorno calls the unfolding of the music? In this prelude, the opening nine-note sonority undergoes five transpositions; it cycles through a chain of fourths—before breaking the pattern and returning to the opening chord. (For a score of the prelude see Appendix A.)
The transpositional shifts are demarcated by pedal changes. Through this almost too rigid adherence to the technique of transposition Brewster-Jones developed a system remarkably like that of his contemporary, the Russian composer, Nikolai Roslavets. Roslavets’s approach was akin to that of Scriabin, and he also, like Brewster-Jones in this instance, demarcated changes of collection through changes of pedal. Roslavets’s dogmatic inflexibility with regard to his compositional system, according to one critic, ultimately led to his creative suicide.91 Brewster-Jones’s reduction of the sonority into a synthetic scale invites comparison with other contemporary investigators of synthetic scales including the aforementioned Roslavets and his synthetakkord, Busoni and his “invented scales”, and the music theories of Joseph Schillinger, another Russian-turned-American composer and theorist, in particular his theory of the kaleidophone presented some years later in his book *Kaleidophone: new resources of melody and harmony; pitch scales in relation to chord structures.*92

The prelude, along with the illuminating sketches, provides irrefutable evidence that Brewster-Jones was thinking in a way radically different from tonality. The overtone series from a single fundamental tone is a world away from the major/minor key system. Indeed, the development is vitally important. It shows that Brewster-Jones was not seeking to “redefine” tonality; he was looking for other ways of organising sound.93 He himself alludes to this in a later lecture broadcast in 1932.

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92 Joseph Schillinger, *Kaleidophone; New Resources of Melody and Harmony; Pitch Scales in Relation to Chord Structures; an Aid to Composers, Performers, Arrangers, Teachers, Song-Writers, Students, Conductors, Critics and All Who Work with Music.* (New York: M. Witmark & Sons, 1940).
93 Brewster-Jones’s interest in the overtone series as a possible alternative to conventional tonality presages Hindemith’s more concerted efforts based on a similar premise as found in his theoretical
in which, during a discussion about "formulas of today," he credits the equal temperament of the piano with the emergence of twelve-tone music, saying:

The significance of this tuning has only recently been realized by composers. Out of the equal temperament system of tuning has sprung, suddenly—two centuries later—an harmonic expansion of almost limitless possibilities. Harmony has suddenly discovered the new basis of the twelve divisions of the octave and the Pure scale has been thrown overboard in composition. [It] has opened up the vast possibilities of the "Duodecuple" scale, with its twelve semitonal divisions, the "Tonal" scale with its six tonal divisions and other empirical divisions of the octave as the bases for harmonic and melodic writing. It is the "other empirical divisions of the octave" that are under investigation in this prelude. Although this little work is actually extremely simple both in conception and organisation it constitutes a wonderful instance of experimental music in Australia from the early twentieth century.

Clues to the origin of this line of inquiry by Brewster-Jones are found on the back of a prelude from 1928 in the form of some preliminary sketches outlining the harmonic series of the G and D string, and, notated above, a kind of dynamic plan. Next to the sketches are page numbers and an author's name, "Miller."

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95 Ibid. [my italics].
Example 1.29 Sketches taken from Miller’s *The Science of Musical Sounds*.

These examples were taken from *The Science of Musical Sounds*, a book published in New York in 1916 by the American acoustician Dayton Clarence Miller. Miller, who won a Franklin Institute Medal for his invention of a 32-element harmonic synthesizer, made his most important contribution as an acoustician by developing the ‘phonodeik’ in 1909. That Brewster-Jones should look to the world of science for material with which to forge a new musical language betrays an “almost scientific attitude to research”; such an attitude according to Chris Rodrigues was characteristic of the avant-gardists, who were “sure of the value of their exploratory work as being part of a progressive unveiling of the truth of the modern world. They possessed a supreme self-consciousness of being part of a new set of sensibilities, a new way of looking at the world.”

Leon Botstein, too, has argued for an understanding of

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97 Miller’s phonodeik “incorporated a diaphragm of thin glass closing the end of a receiving horn” allowing an analysis of “waveforms of various instruments—by means of a thin wire attached to the centre of the diaphragm, which passed over a spindle pulley, the rotation of the spindle (due to movement of the diaphragm) was recorded by light reflected from a mirror affixed to the spindle. See James F. Bell, R.W.B. Stephens, Murray Campbell, *Miller, Dayton Clarence* (2006 [accessed 31 January 2006]); available from http://www.grovemusic.com.
98 Rodrigues and Garratt, *Introducing Modernism*, 30. This is also seen in Brewster-Jones’s exhaustive work on birdcalls; research that was essentially empirical but also drew on secondary sources.
“[e]mpirical experimentation (following the example of science)” as an “essential part of musical modernity.”

The overtone or harmonic series continued to interest Brewster-Jones for the next five years. A lost violin sonata with the subtitle *On a new Formula* is listed with no date in John Antill’s catalogue of Brewster-Jones’s works made while working as Music Editor for ABC in 1951. In 1925 Brewster-Jones also wrote two preludes, one on the G string and the other on the D. Loose among his manuscripts is a title page, *Preludes on Harmonic Series Formula*, which probably should precede these two pieces. Musically they are not as interesting as the 1923 prelude.

Brewster-Jones’s most substantial foray into the formula was a set of six preludes, the *Formula Series*, written in 1924. The term “formula” no longer functions as a subtitle but has moved to centre stage. It is a provocative title, one for which it is hard to find many musical counterparts. It shows an affinity with the modernist embrace of the manifesto by artistic groups such as *De Stijl*, Constructivism and the French Purists. This last, led by Le Corbusier, proclaimed their new aesthetic stance: “There is a new spirit; it is a spirit of construction and synthesis, guided by a clear idea.” In the *Formula Series*, perhaps realising the limitations of the overly formulaic nature of the 1923 prelude, Brewster-Jones’s idea of formula has expanded. Rather than as in 1923, focusing narrowly on the possibilities of the harmonic series, he now systematically experiments in each prelude with a different musical element such as a particular vertical sonority, interval or scale. This is music concerned wholly with musical matters; it realises Clement Greenberg’s modernist ideal of the “pure self-referential art object.” In effect, each prelude creates its own unique, self-contained sound world.

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100 NAA: C1737/P1.
101 The experimental orchestral work *Tone Roads* by the American Charles Ives from 1915 is one possible exception.
The striking opening chord of the first prelude consists only of superimposed major and minor thirds forming a ten-note pitch collection. (For a complete score of *Formula Series* see Appendix A.) It sounds like jazz. Considering this chord in the context of the whole work, it becomes clear that it has been conceived as three stacked seventh chords. Throughout the work, the left hand (LH) consists of one particular seventh chord, namely a major triad with an added major seventh. The LH chord appears in various transpositions, travelling from D♭ via G to G♭. This order is then reversed to reach the final D♭, creating a symmetrical structure. Immediately from the opening chord, the right hand (RH) provides variety with different combinations of seventh chords: augmented, diminished and minor triads with added major or minor sevenths. The melodic material is created through the arpeggiation of these chords.

![Opening chord and RH chords](image)

**Example 1.30 Reduction of *Formula Series*: Prelude no. 1.**

The second prelude is built almost entirely on the interval of the perfect fourth. Seven- and occasionally eight-note chords are built upwards from the bass. When certain pitches have been omitted, Brewster-Jones has spaced the chords so that they could be inserted without interfering with the pattern of stacked fourths. The crosses in the example show omitted fourths, as is seen clearly in the spacing of the
final chord. Interestingly, if the omitted pitches were added into the equation, the final chord would consist of all twelve tones. Contrast is offered by way of the semitonal shift first seen at b.5. This is then transformed from the vertical to the linear in b.7 and becomes an important melodic motive in the central section. Even here, however, the chromatic line ascends by fourths. The final two chords separated by a semitone highlight the importance of the interval, a fact heightened by the D-D♭ grace note in the last bar.

bars: 1–3 4 5 6 7 8 9–12

Example 1.31 Reduction of Formula Series: Prelude no. 2.

Inversion is central to the third prelude. The opening chord—C, F, B, E, B♭, E♭—provides the basic material for the work. It is a synthetic chord, forming the symmetrical pc set (012567) and is voiced so that the RH is an inversion of the left. The LH pitches C, F, B form the subset (016), and the RH presents its inversion (B♭, E♭, E) around E♭ at T3I. The chromatic melody of the middle section, although
aurally quite different to the opening, is also derived from a subset of the original pc set and appears at T6 and T11 (in both cases the first pitch is omitted). These transpositional levels themselves form the subset (016). Like Agnew, Brewster-Jones allowed the micro to inform events at a more general level.

Example 1.32 Reduction of *Formula Series*: Prelude no. 3.

A similar procedure is found in the fourth prelude. The opening chord is again voiced so that the hands are mirror images of each other. Again the pc set (0247) played in each hand are inversions of each other, this time around C# at T11. The sonority travels through various transpositional levels before coming to rest.
In the fifth prelude, Brewster-Jones concentrates on the transformation of the vertical into the linear, as seen in the LH where the opening vertical sonority comprising a six-note subset of the octatonic collection (013469) becomes a prominent melodic feature in subsequent transpositions.

Example 1.34 Reduction of *Formula Series*: Prelude no. 5.

In the final prelude of *Formula Series* we find three pentatonic scales combined—a kind of polypentatonism. Combinations of two or three pentatonic scales appear throughout the work. The opening two bars contain three: E-pentatonic,
D-pentatonic and D♭-pentatonic. Combinations of two or three pentatonic scales appear throughout the work. From b.3 on, each hand has its own pentatonic scale creating a more obvious "polytonal" effect. The music slides between pentatonic scales by means of common tones. The main melodic feature, pc set (025), is a fragment of the scale. It is an immediately more accessible and showy work. One can understand why Brewster-Jones chose this prelude to copy neatly and give to his sister-in-law, Gwen Homburg.

This work indicates another preoccupation of Brewster-Jones: "exotic" or non-Western scales. He uses the "exotic" pentatonic, whole tone and octatonic scales thereby dipping into a "tradition of musical experimentation" established earlier by Russians such as Rimsky-Korsakov and Mussorgsky.104 A prominent feature of this tradition, Morgan suggests, was "the use of modal and 'exotic' non-Western scales, especially those with symmetrical qualities such as the whole-tone and the ... octatonic (regularly alternating half steps and whole steps)."105 This tradition had a profound impact on Debussy, particularly through the music of Mussorgsky. For Brewster-Jones the whole tone scale was a sonority of "rare beauty."106 He gives his own interpretation of historical events, acknowledging the whole tone scale’s Russian roots:

104 Morgan, Twentieth-Century Music, 55.
105 Ibid.
106 Modern French Piano Music.
Claude Debussy was generally supposed to be the originator of the whole tone scale. Academic circles heaped anathema upon his head for the crime. That was twenty years ago. Now there are many claimants for the honour of introducing this useful adjunct to harmonic expression. There are even Academic claimants! So time changes; Debussy did not use it first. It was a vogue in Russia much earlier.107

Brewster-Jones does not use these scales to decorate a tonal framework but rather uses them as alternatives to functional tonality. The first of his Ten Etudes (1928-29) engages with this scale exclusively using the major third as the main feature—the descending chromatic movement in the bass forces an alternation between the two whole tone collections. In its ferocity of attack and dynamic it presents an atypical use of this scale in terms of affect, which is more often the characteristic gentle murmuring effect of works such as Debussy's *Cloches Travers les Feuilles*.

Example 1.36 Etude no. 1, bb. 1–4 (whole tone collections)

Another "post-tonal favorite,"108 the octatonic collection, forms the material of the fifth etude of this series.

107 Ibid.
The patterning of the RH not only provides a technical study of tenths but also outlines the ascent of Collection 2 as two voices a minor third apart over an accompanying ostinato figure drawn also from the collection. The exposure to the octatonic scale for Brewster-Jones again came by way of Debussy. He tells us this himself in his puzzlingly idiosyncratic description of a scale that combines “three intervals of the tonal scale with the seven diatonic intervals in some of his compositions.”109 He continues, “[w]hat a simple step forward and yet how strange and new Debussy sounded to our ears when first we heard his innovations.”110 These two Etudes are unusual in their uniform adherence and simplistic, almost crude, treatment of the two scales. Importantly though, the scales are not embedded in a tonal framework. By making these scales substance rather than filigree orientalism is moving from ornament to form. Now it is the properties of these scales that inform the constructive or organising principle of the work.

Other works use or allude to the octatonic collections in more subtle sophisticated ways. Many of these miniatures explore the possibilities of the octatonic scale. As we have already seen, the fifth prelude from *Formula Series* is based on a large 6-note subset of the octatonic collection. Other works, such as Preludes nos. 2, 6

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109 Modern French Piano Music. In 1932, when Brewster-Jones wrote this unusual description of the octatonic scale, the term octatonic had not yet been designated to this particular 8-note scale. It was much later in 1963 in his article “Problems of Pitch Organization in Stravinsky,” that Arthur Berger described the scale using this term. See Berger, “Problems of Pitch Organization in Stravinsky.”

110 Modern French Piano Music.
and 8 from the set of Twelve Preludes commenced towards the end of 1923 and completed in January 1924 (six months before commencing the *Formula Series*), feature the non-triadic pc set (016). This trichord, which is, as Friedmann says, “highly characteristic of Bartók and of the Stravinsky of the *Rite of Spring*,”\(^{111}\) occurs eight times in the octatonic scale. The opening phrase of Prelude no. 2 begins with two expressions of the pc set (016), themselves a tritone apart, taking advantage of the common tones of G and Ds. The ending of this symmetrical phrase in turn dictates the transpositional level of the second canonic expression starting on G, again a tritone from the opening. The two trichords together form a symmetrical subset of the octatonic scale (0167); in this expression the inversional axis is B⁵/B, two pitches that assume priority in the odd contrasting punctuations at bb. 10, 13-14, 18-19 and also conclude the work.

The symmetries and tonal ambiguities of these scales render them non-
teleological and by using them, Brewster-Jones set his music free to circle on itself.
Possibly taking a cue from the repeat patterns of birdcalls, he began to use repetition
as a device; repetition transforms phrases into patterns, creating a kind of musical
abstraction. This approach is not dissimilar to the idea of decoration sought by well-
known early twentieth-century Australian painter, Margaret Preston (also originally
from Adelaide), who understood “pattern as a dominant element of design,” and
who, like Brewster-Jones, used non-Western cultures as sources of inspiration. These
little preludes are filled with instances of repeating patterns—not normative
conventional patterns, but patterns that are unique to the work and contribute to its
own characteristic sound. The patterns occur not only at different transpositional
levels but also, even more unusually, as extended straight repetitions, in some cases
of one sonority only. To continue the fine art parallel, Brewster-Jones provides an
instance of “decorative” modernism in music. As Eagle suggests, “[i]n fine art in the
first decades of the twentieth century, ‘decoration’ meant the work of creating a
design to express an idea.”

Brewster-Jones’s fourth prelude from the *Formula Series* provides an example of
both these kinds of repetition. The opening sonority moves unchanged to different
transpositional levels taken from the intervals of the sonority itself. The ostinato-like
accompaniment (a common feature of these pieces) heightens the feeling of
wandering. An affect of stasis is achieved more insistently by the repetition of the D#
that transforms toward the end of the piece into an F# over an unchanging G sonority.
Our perception of time is altered in these extremely brief pieces. They provide
musical instances of the timelessness suggested in Blake’s lines:

> Hold infinity in the palm of your hand
> And eternity in an hour.  

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113 Mary Eagle, personal communication, 22 March 2006.
Sons, 1959), 333-37.
The first of the Twelve Preludes is a more dramatic piece; here violent fragmented gestures are juxtaposed with the strange trance-like passages (similar to those in the following prelude) until, in a similar gesture again to Prelude no. 2, a dissonant sonority comprising a subset of a whole tone scale is introduced at b.13 and is repeated unchanged for the next four bars.
Example 1.40 Prelude no. 1, bb. 1-16.

The approach to harmonic rhythm has a profound affect on our perception of musical time. Ostinato-like accompaniments occur frequently in these pieces, heightening the feeling of directionlessness. In Danse Prelude (no. 7) the almost naive dance melody unfolds over the simple oscillating pattern which breaks a chord of superimposed 5ths of C#, G# and D#.
Likewise in *Sea Prelude* (no. 12) the four-note repeating pattern is offset against the triplets creating different rhythmic shapes out of the same material. Here again both in the ostinato accompaniment and the repeated RH figure pc set (016) dominates.

Brewster-Jones often introduces the tritone into the bass line to further obviate any sense of tonality. The tritone stated as a dotted half note in the opening bars of *Valse Lente* (no. 8) is extended at b. 8 into a repeated figure that now expresses the inversional possibilities of pc set (016) by imitating the phrase shape of the melodic opening.
Example 1.43 Valse Lente (no. 8), bb. 1-14.

The accompaniment of Etude no. 5 extracts a tritone and perfect fifth from the octatonic collection with no functional voice leading relationship and by oscillating between the two intervals provides a background for the perpetual motion of the melodic line (see Example 1.37).

His use of the diatonic collection in his miniatures is used, as is often the case with post-tonal music, to borrow Straus’s words, “without the functional harmony and traditional voice leading of tonal music.” Straus, Introduction to Post-Tonal Theory, 94.

In the second of his Ten Etudes, the opening section uses the diatonic collection on B₃. This larger referential collection is reduced to three (027) trichords. The non-triadic partitioning in terms of voicing and spacing of the chords undo the “functional” content of the pitch collection. Straus focuses on the pc set (027) in his discussion of the diatonic collection, noting its marked presence in Stravinsky’s diatonic music: “In post-tonal diatonic music, triads are also used but other harmonies also occur. For example, 4-23 (0257) and 3-9 (027) are diatonic subsets that occur in tonal music only infrequently and as dissonant by-

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115 Straus, Introduction to Post-Tonal Theory, 94.
products of voice leading.” In this Etude, the spacing of the trichord is constant throughout and is arranged symmetrically. The intervals of the RH are arranged as $<+2, +5>$ while the LH plays the inversion: $<+5, +2>$.

Example 1.44 Etude no. 2, bb. 1-5, non-tonal treatment of the diatonic collection.

The moto perpetuo first section is harmonically static, it does not move to any other collection. In the second section the (027) trichord is freed from the diatonic framework and is found at five transpositional levels over a tonally ambiguous bass rolling between the tritone G and C#. The coda bears no relation to the B♭ opening but again features (027) in the now characteristic spacing of $<+2, +5>$. The initial section of this prelude is indisputably diatonic but in no sense traditionally tonal.

\[\text{Example 1.44 Etude no. 2, bb. 1-5, non-tonal treatment of the diatonic collection.}\]

\[\text{The moto perpetuo first section is harmonically static, it does not move to any other collection. In the second section the (027) trichord is freed from the diatonic framework and is found at five transpositional levels over a tonally ambiguous bass rolling between the tritone G and C#. The coda bears no relation to the B♭ opening but again features (027) in the now characteristic spacing of $<+2, +5>$. The initial section of this prelude is indisputably diatonic but in no sense traditionally tonal.}\]

\[\text{116 Ibid., 95.}\]
Example 1.45 Etude no. 2, bb. 17-28, second section and coda.

In 1932 Brewster-Jones told his listening audience that “[p]olytonality, however need not detain us now, for it is one of Music’s most recent developments – although an extremely important one …”\textsuperscript{117} However, we can see that early in the previous decade, for instance in the final prelude from \textit{Formula Series}, he himself was detained by its possibilities. For Brewster-Jones, polytonality had its sources in nature:

Our aural perception is strained still more by the “Polytonality” of today; but if we listen to nature as the murmuring stream ripples its accompaniment to the sighing of the breeze, we know that the tinkling cow bells in the distance, although they be pitched in a third key, do not sound discordant—but harmonic with the dual tonalities of breeze and stream. To repeat the analogy; when the mating birds of Spring awaken the day with refulgent sound their mixture of tonalities and timbres are not discordant.\textsuperscript{118}

He described Francis Poulenc as a “self-styled Polytonalist”; “a young apostle of ‘Simplicity.’” But, he claimed, Poulenc’s polytonality “only exhibit[ed] itself at rare intervals in some of his works.”\textsuperscript{119} The same can be said of Brewster-Jones’s use

\textsuperscript{117} Modern French Piano Music.
\textsuperscript{118} Ibid. Brewster-Jones’s connection with the external world and natural sounds is not unlike that of the Czech composer Leos Janaček’s. His highly original music was shaped by a similar relationship. For examples of his musical notations of human speech and everyday sounds see Leos Janaček, \textit{Leaves from His Life}, trans. Vilem and Margaret Tausky (London: Kahn & Averill, 1982).
\textsuperscript{119} Modern French Piano Music.
of polytonality. Nonetheless it was another musical possibility that he experimented with in the 1920s. The opening of the third Etude is not polytonal in the true sense, as neither of the musical lines can be understood in terms of a key. Nonetheless, the gliding melodic line featuring a recurrent octave shift appears in unison but a tone apart. The distance of a tone is retained for the second part of the Prelude in which the left hand is resolutely prioritising A♭ under a B♭ major melody.

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\begin{music}
\example{etude3}
\end{music}
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Example 1.46 Etude no. 3, bb. 1-6 and 23-27, the two voices are set a tone apart.

The *Ballet Prelude* no. 17 subtitled *Waltz Prelude* (1925) is more straightforward. This ironically elegant little waltz is indisputably pitting the graceful E♭ major melody against an unchanging even comically insistent E major triad. The dissonant clash of the semitone throughout creates a parodistic, almost grotesque affect.\(^{120}\)

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\(^{120}\) Some of this writing did find its way into his later sonatas, particularly his sixth. They were both written in the same time period. Ward discusses the presence of bitonality and octatonicism in these works. See Lisa-Jane Ward, “The Piano Music of Hooper Brewster-Jones: With Special Reference to the Sonatas and Suites” (BMus Honours thesis, University of Adelaide, 1992), 98-101. Even so, in general the language in Brewster-Jones’s large-scale works retains closer ties to his more conventional tonal style described by McCredie as the “orthodoxy.” See McCredie, “Hooper Brewster Jones 1887-1949: A Post Centennial Tribute,” 241.
The *Waltz Prelude* points to a fundamental difference in sensibility between the two Australian composers. Implicit in the affective content of this work is a sense of emotional distance; it is not hyperexpressive and febrile like many of Agnew’s. Brewster-Jones’s use of popular dance types produces witty and sophisticated music. The *Waltz Prelude* is not the only example of highly stylised popular dance type. The tenth and eleventh of his Twelve Preludes, the grotesque *Valse Prelude* and the deliberately vulgar *Fox Trot Prelude*, are further examples of the brief, highly-stylised musical vignette.\(^1\)\(^2\)

Composers such as Busoni, Stravinsky, Casella, even Schoenberg, used these distorted dance patterns, but they are most often associated with the anti-romantic sensibility of interwar French neoclassicism. Brewster-Jones, like the members of *Les Six*, heeded Cocteau’s call to order that brought about a major cultural and aesthetic shift during the interwar years: one that not only privileged clarity of composition and economy of means but also sought to evoke the dance and music halls, the cafe-concert and jazz band as a means to disperse the “Debussian mist” and “Wagnerian fog”.\(^1\)\(^2\) As we will see in Chapter 7, Brewster-Jones remained open to popular music, particularly jazz, even when he was no longer composing during the 1930s.

\(^{1}\) Morgan, *Twentieth-Century Music*, 154-57.
\(^{2}\) Ibid., 159. *Les Six* was the name given in 1920 to the a group of early twentieth century French composers comprising Auric, Durey, Honegger, Milhaud, Poulenc and Tailleferre who rose to prominence in the interwar period. For a general history of early twentieth century French music see
Tempo di Valse

Example 1.48a Valse Prelude (no. 10), first section, bb. 1-14.

Tempo di Fox Trot

Example 1.48 b Fox Trot Prelude (no.11), bb. 1-8.

We know from both his personal library of scores and his lecture broadcast on modern French piano music in 1932 (both discussed in Chapter 7) that he had a wide knowledge of contemporary French composition. In the lecture alone he mentions a wide range of French composers including Debussy, Dukas, Magnard, Ravel, Roussel and Sévérac, as well as older figures such as Saint-Saëns, Franck, d’Indy and Fauré, and the younger generation including Les Six (the “six young innovators”) in addition to Schmitt, Inglebrecht and Rhené-Baton. The music he selected for special mention reveals his attraction to the “lowbrow” allusions in this music. He highlighted works such as Auric’s *Adieu New York* (which he describes as a humorous fox trot; Louis Durey’s *Impressions de Cirque*; Milhaud’s *Printemps* (“which is only an index to his remarkable sense for harmonic colour of a new order”); Germaine Tailleferre “jeux de plein air” for two pianos (which “has created a sensation in musical circles”); and Poulenc’s Sonata for four hands (“a humorous reaction against the profundity of the philosophical and profound works of the classical masters”).

Unlike Agnew’s music, much of Brewster-Jones’s experimental music is non-developmental. It is not organic in the sense of Schoenberg’s and Adorno’s Idealist understanding of organic form. Their’s was an organicist conception shaped by German Idealist philosophy. In Brewster-Jones’s music things do not transform into other related things; rather the music is of non-teleological shifting blocks of sound. As with Agnew’s music, the form is generated by the constructive and organising elements at work in the music. Responding to the requirements of the new material, the forms have shaped themselves through the working out of the material. It is, as Adorno would say, an unconscious “response at the level of form...to the inherent tendencies of the preformed material.” Again they are forms “from below” in the sense that Brewster-Jones manipulates the material into patterns.

The above discussion suggests that Elizabeth Wood and Adrian Thomas are mistaken when they claim that Brewster-Jones’s music “is always tonal,” even allowing for the varied and flexible definitions of tonality at our disposal. By providing this incorrect assessment they give a misleading and incomplete appraisal

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123 *Modern French Piano Music.*
of Brewster-Jones's work and do much to misrepresent him, perhaps because the illegible state of his manuscripts has to date proved too much of an obstacle for in-depth investigation. His compositional approach is utterly unlike any other in Australia at the time. His last known work of the 1920s, the final Etude written in 1929, ends with a perfect cadence in C major, an extreme instance of reversion, a sigh of exhaustion or resignation. He only wrote one work in the 1930s, a short commissioned piece for the Centenary of the founding of South Australia, and very few in the 1940s, including a piano sonata written in 1945 and a set of Preludes in which the musical language now seems ossified and stagnant. These little experiments from the 1920s fundamentally differ even from the rest of his considerable musical output. They reveal a questing mind interested in new possibilities, new techniques; one fascinated by the very elements of music itself.

The immediate context within individual outputs

To position the selected music within the two composers' general output with particular regard to the performance, recording and publication of their own works raises questions about the tensions, pressures and ambivalences present, not only between the composers and their societies, but also, as a consequence, in their own attitudes to certain parts of their output.

Brewster-Jones had virtually nothing published, and never actively pursued publication. His published works include the *Gavotte* (published by Allans), the *Moorland Suite* that was only privately published, and some early patriotic songs written for the First World War.126 He performed a deal of his own music but none of the music discussed above appears in the programmes. An ABC file current between the years 1939 and 1955 details the particular works that were offered for consideration. None of the works I have examined were included. In general the works publicly performed by Brewster-Jones (or the ones put forward for consideration to the ABC by his son Arthur who worked for the commission) differed

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126 In 1932 the *AMN* claimed that Allans had published four books of piano music "years ago." I have not come across these, and believe the claim to be erroneous. See "Australia and Its Composers. Arthur Benjamin and H. Brewster-Jones," *AMN* 21, no. 6 (1932): 13.
radically in style from the experimental miniatures. It is this “public” music that exists in legible fine copy whereas very few of the experimental miniatures do. In the instances that they do they seem to have been presented to the dedicatee. A clear line of division exists between the public and private music demarcated by the state of legibility. During his lifetime there were performances of the Nightingale Suite, Scherzo for orchestra, Indian Serenade, Pastoral Concerto and the symphonic poem Australia Felix (played in Melbourne under Heinze in 1948). Willy Redstone’s assessment of his Gavotte can be extended more widely to encompass this “public” music: “Quite a simple composition, rather ordinary and common place, yet well done and orchestrated, very light and unassuming.” It only takes a glance at the published Moorland Suite and the illegible state of the first prelude from Formula Series to understand the very different idioms of Brewster-Jones’s private and public music.

127 The Pastoral Concerto in its version for two pianos and studio orchestra and the symphonic poem, Australia Felix, were broadcast on the ABC. The ABC file C663/T1 contains a record of all works submitted to the ABC for consideration for performance, broadcast or recording. These included his Cello sonata no.2, Sonata in E minor for violin and piano, two local broadcasts of the Pastoral Concerto performed by him and Nadra Penalurick, numerous songs, Sonatina no. 3, Thistledown for piano and the first two intermezzos. Thistledown and Sonatina no. 3 were considered “doubtful” by C.W. Fraser on 2 February 1951 and were rejected for recording. A letter from 1939 from Brewster-Jones to ABC Music Director, William James, indicated that the popular and well-known piano duo, Lindley Evans and Frank Hutchens, played By the Waterfall in Sydney. See NAA: C663/T1.
128 Memo from Willy Redstone to William James, 11 April 1949, NAA: C663/T1.
Example 1.49 Comparison between *Song of the Night* from the *Moorland Suite*, bb. 1-8, and Prelude no. 1 from *Formula Series*.

There were exceptions: a volume of *Bird Calls* and the *Horse Rhythms* were sent to the ABC. Neither was programmed. Some later concerts of his students featured his lesser-known works. In May 1940, the Adelaide *Advertiser* reviewed a concert of Australian music. It included works by Arthur Benjamin, W.G. Marshall-Hall, Spruhan Kennedy, Linda Phillips, and William James as well as Brewster-Jones. His student, Nadra Penalurick, performed *Japanese Cradle Song*, *Impressions of Nursery Rhymes* and *Birdcall Impressions*.129 These were exceptions to prove the rule; in the mid-1950s it was still unadventurous works such as the *Rhapsody* in B minor, the *Impromptu* in G and *Intermezzo* in E flat that were either performed, or

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129 Monday, November 18, 1940, *Advertiser*: 14. Fifteen years later, in March 1955, an ABC memo tells us that well-known Australian pianist, Clemens Leske, performed *Dance of the White-Browed Babbler*. See NAA: C663/T1.
approved for recording by the ABC.\textsuperscript{130} This was still the case decades later. In 1995, 5CL produced a special retrospective broadcast of Brewster-Jones’s music that was designed to restore his position. The works selected for broadcast all came from his public repertoire, the only exception was his \textit{Birdcall Impression} for piano, \textit{The Reedwarbler}.\textsuperscript{131}

In 1951, the composer John Antill was sent as ABC Music Editor to assess and catalogue Brewster-Jones’s music. In a memo to William James, then Director of Music, he singled out the \textit{Horse Rhythms}, the piano and string sonatas, the sonatinas and suites and songs for recommendation. There is no mention of the preludes (other than the Ballet Preludes) or a “new formula.” Antill only had a week to perform a gargantuan task. He noted himself, in his assessment submitted to James, the “physical impossibility to examine thoroughly all the works available” (again perhaps the state of the manuscripts proved too daunting). His assessment in 1951 that “[t]he style is not new but compares very favourably with the period” does not differ in essence to my argument.\textsuperscript{132} William Hoffman, Brewster-Jones’s composition student in the 1930s and music critic for the \textit{Canberra Times} for many years, never knew of the experimental miniatures from the 1920s. By the time Hoffman studied with Brewster-Jones he had, in Hoffman’s view, no time for Scriabin, even though his music from the 1920s is so heavily indebted to the Russian’s compositional approach.\textsuperscript{133} Explanations for this \textit{volte-face} will emerge in the following chapters.

Unlike Brewster-Jones, almost all of Agnew’s output was published. So it is not insignificant that two of the works discussed above, and major sonatas at that, \textit{La belle dame sans merci} and \textit{Sonata 1929} remained unpublished until the early 1990s. Agnew developed a close relationship with the upper echelons of the ABC in the late 1930s, and in 1942, in an unprecedented move, the ABC offered him the opportunity to record his entire output in a six-part recording series which was to stand as his

\textsuperscript{130} The final memos in the ABC file tell us that on 25 February 1953 songs and \textit{Rhapsody} in B minor approved for recording and on March 10, 1955 Lance Dossor played \textit{Impromptu} in G and \textit{Intermezzo} in E flat. These were very much representative of the public side to Brewster-Jones’s creative output. See NAA: C663/T1.

\textsuperscript{131} State Library of South Australia: ABC Radio 5UV; Oh 324, Hooper Brewster-Jones, 1887-1949, 19 September 1995; Music of Hooper Brewster-Jones (Radio programme) [sound recording] Producer: Shirley Green.

\textsuperscript{132} Memo from Antill to James, 28 December 1951, NAA: C663/T1.

\textsuperscript{133} William Hoffman, personal communication, Saturday, 8 October 2005.
legacy. The word “entire” is misleading, for without exception Agnew did not include the “ultramodern” works I selected for analysis in this recording project, whereas other works were recorded more than once. There is no evidence to suggest that the sonatas were ever publicly performed and Poem no. 1 and Dance of the Wild Men do not appear in Agnew’s programmes after 1920. The less than positive reviews of his music that appeared in major journals such as the Musical Times during his first stint in England go some way to explain this. His music was deemed as overly reliant on Scriabin, who at this time was already seen by some English commentators as passé (these issues will be dealt with in detail in Chapter 3). This is perhaps why he may not have sought publication for Sonata 1929. It also helps to understand the ensuing stylistic change that occurred after arriving in London. From this time on Agnew can also, like Brewster-Jones, be seen to be working in two distinct styles: one simpler, more “pastoral” style, and the other complex and technically demanding that has much in common with late Scriabin.

I agree with Faith Johnston’s assessment that Agnew’s work became “simpler” after the criticism he received in English journals for being overly reliant on Scriabinesque harmonies.134 Crews believes that his last work, Sonata Legend, pointed the way to “a more innovative style.”135 She draws a direct comparison between the openings of the Sonata Legend (1940) and Sonata 1929 to highlight similarities between the opening themes. What actually emerges from this comparison is that the language of the earlier sonata is far less “tonal”; in fact the opening of the Sonata Legend is almost that of a tonicised version of the earlier work, one stripped of its strangeness and placed safely within a key.

Although there are aspects of compositional procedure and musical language in common between the two composers, they were writing for different purposes. Agnew was writing pieces of music intended for public output and to build a career and reputation, Brewster-Jones was experimenting in private. Agnew put the techniques at the service of his expressive desires while Brewster-Jones was trying things out to see how they worked; Agnew’s expressive world was subjective and essentially romantic, Brewster-Jones embraced the objective stance of French neoclassicism. Nevertheless, the two composers shared a common desire to move beyond functional tonality. They participated in a cultural field that flowed over national and geographic borders enabling new ways of composing in a twentieth-century world where a general sphere of influence did exist; where shared interests and inclinations did lead artists in widely dispersed places, Australia no less than Britain and Continental Europe, to similar conclusions. Bartók made an almost identical point with regard to Stravinsky in Russia. “It seems therefore” he contended, “that, in our age, modern music has developed along similar lines in countries
geographically far away from each other.\textsuperscript{136} Presumably, he never imagined that this was also true of a country as geographically remote as Australia.

Why did this music sit so uncomfortably within Agnew’s and Brewster-Jones’s general output? What were the places and circumstances that gave rise to its creation and shaped its reception? The ensuing four chapters will explain how these composers came to write this music by tracing individual relationships and social networks and reconstructing their respective milieus: in short by examining the worlds in which this music came about.

"It was the most excruciating evening I ever spent in all my life. I hope I shall never have to attend another like it."

This was the remark made to me by a distinguished instrumental artist in reference to the programme submitted by the local branch of the British Music Society at the second of the present series of Director's lecture-chamber concerts in the Conservatorium. The remark was not made at the conclusion of the concert, but several days afterwards, a circumstance which made it all the more significant. And this expression of opinion conveys the feelings of most people who were present. The critics in Sydney, usually so mild, meek, good-natured and never-say-an-unkind word about anything or anyone, were this time unanimous in telling some home truths about the compositions played. One writer justly remarked that a concert like this was calculated to do real harm to the cause of British music. The audience was large, and consisted chiefly of pronounced advocates and admirers of ultramodernism. Nevertheless, I distinctly saw one of the most enthusiastic, who is besides a very able musician, place his fingers in his ears during the playing of the "Toccata Tragica" of Roy Agnew. Bracketed with this was "Wild Man's Dance" by the same composer, who is a very clever musician, though he has allowed his better judgment to be obscured by ultra modern extravagance. "Wild Man's Dance" was certainly atmospheric. It was very wild. I think you would get something near the effect if you put somebody who knew how to leave discords unresolved, but whose fingering on the piano was not too facile, to play chords at the bass and treble, and
then to sit on the middle of the piano, repeat the chord playing and sit on the treble, again repeat the chords and sit on bass, middle and treble. In fact, I have heard it done that way, I won't say by whom or where, and it sounded quite impressive.1

("Ultramodern Extravagance," *Australian Musical News*, June 1921)

Forty-two years later, Roger Coveil identified the audible hissing that broke out after the performance of Larry Sitsky's Woodwind Quartet at the 1963 Hobart Convention as a turning point in Australian musical history. It was, he wrote, “like the breaking of a long drought of indifference. For once an Australian composer was being listened to with an emotion stronger than polite apathy.”2 The concert that provoked the scathing review “Ultramodern Extravagance” (cited in full above) presents another signal example of an Australian audience being shaken out of “polite apathy” by challenging and complex music. This review, however, appeared in 1921. The charge of “ultramodern extravagance” sets Agnew apart from his fellow Australian composers.3 Whereas it was acceptable to be “modern,” to be “ultramodern” was not. In England and Australia, this word had the power to signal a transgression beyond the respectable; Agnew’s music was scandalous.

Eight years before this in 1913, the Australian publishers Nicholsons had published Agnew’s set of six miniatures for piano, *Forest Pieces*, which include *Gnome Dance; When Evening Shadows Fall; Forest Nymphs at Play; Night in the Forest; By a Quiet Stream* and *The Forest Grandeur*.4 The simple, straightforward nature of the openings of *Gnome Dance* and *Forest Nymphs at Play* do nothing to counter the Victorian whimsicality of the titles.

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3 One other Australian composer who was labelled ultramodern was Percy Grainger. An article from the *New York Post*, reprinted in the *AMN*, compares Grainger to Strauss, Schoenberg and Stravinsky, with regard to his “virtuosity of technique” and “dissonantal audacity” seen particularly in his pitting of unrelated chords against each other. See “Grainger’s ‘In a Nutshell:’ (An appreciation from the New York Evening Post),” *AMN* 7, no. 1 (1917): 5.
4 Roy Agnew, *Australian Forest Scenes* (Sydney: Nicholsons, 1913). These pieces are dedicated to Annette Scammell. Scammell was an Adelaide pianist who returned to Sydney after studies in Europe in 1911. She included works by Debussy and Dohnanyi at her Sydney debut at the King's Hall. The friendship between Scammell and Agnew was ongoing. They met several times in London in later years.
No. 1 Gnome Dance

Playfully

Example 2.1 Australian Forest Pieces, openings of Gnome Dance bb.1-4 and Forest Nymphs at Play bb. 1-5.

No. 3 Forest Nymphs at Play

With humour

They are light salon pieces designed to entertain, and as such take their place in a popular Victorian genre that served the flourishing sheet music industry. They are also pieces that Agnew soon came to reject. In 1923 Musical Australia reported that Agnew was a “severe critic” of his early works, and was “somewhat impatient with those who choose to prefer those to his later and more daring compositions.” The profound change that had occurred between the writing of these Forest Pieces and the two “more daring” works analysed in the previous chapter requires explanation. What had shifted in Sydney’s musical world to enable Roy Agnew to produce such different music; music which was complex both technically and emotionally and proudly carried the banner of “art for art’s sake”?

This chapter explores changes in Sydney’s “cultural field”—a term derived from the work of French sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu—in the decade before 1923 that

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5 There was, and continued to be for many years, a huge sheet music market for “light” miniatures in Australia. For a time it worked hand in hand with the growing recording industry before being virtually subsumed by it in later years. Titles such as Woodland Flowers, On the Heather and In Poppyland saturate the pages of the AMN in the early years of the twentieth century. See Jill Julius Matthews, Dance Hall & Picture Palace: Sydney’s Romance with Modernity (Sydney: Currency Press, 2005), 3, 85, 126.

facilitated Agnew’s move beyond tonality. This will necessitate an account of the presence of modern European music in Sydney, both that which was written about in the journals and newspapers and that which was actually performed. The review “Ultramodern Extravagance” itself signals some potential avenues to pursue: the British Music Society, the New South Wales Conservatorium, its first director Henri Verbruggen, “the cause of British music” and “the admirers and advocates of ultramodernism.” What will be revealed is the network made up of music critics, performers, associations and various currents such as Theosophy and Celticism which came together to create the particular world in which Agnew moved and which provided him with, in Bourdieu’s terms, a reconfigured “set of possible choices.” It was this musical world of the late teens and twenties that made possible Agnew’s later radio programme. It consisted of a handful of forgotten figures in a small cultural elite in an enormous country with a tiny population geographically distant from the European cultural centres. There were those in Agnew’s milieu who were cognizant of the major musical currents and developments of their time. In many cases they were participants in these currents through performance, writing, or, in Agnew’s case, composing. They were part of a broader transnational field. This realisation forces us to jettison the notion of the pilgrimage to London as a necessary liberating and transforming experience for an Australian artist. In fact, the following chapter shows that for Agnew very much the opposite is true.

Little is known of Agnew’s activities between 1912 and 1923. Documentary evidence is scant. Two concert programmes survive: one from 1912 and the other from 1918 revealing that the concert was given under the auspices of Alfred Hill and drew upon Sydney’s finest performers including the dynamos of modern music performance: the Austral String Quartet. After the death of his piano teacher, Emanuel de Beaupuis, in 1913 Agnew studied composition with Hill for a year

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7 “Allegro Guisto”, “Ultramodern Extravagance.”
8 Mitchell Library; MLMSS 4922 and MLMSS 1653/87, Agnew, Ewing Roy, Papers and Music Compositions, 1912-1944; printed concert programmes [hereafter Mitchell: MLMSS 4922 and MLMSS 1653/87].
9 Beaupuis, himself, provides an unexpected connection between Agnew and Brewster-Jones. Beaupuis came to Australia with an opera company, arriving in Adelaide in the mid-1890s. He remained there for two years before moving to Sydney. Adelaide organist, William Sanders, attests to this in his scrapbook. In his summary of events for 1895 he notes that “Signor de Beaupuis has now taken his departure from us, and Adelaide is musically the poorer for his loss. This will be all the more felt as he was the only performing pianist who was often heard in public. Why do not our local
sometime between 1913 and 1915 at Hill’s Austral School of Music in Sydney. Early in 1917 the *Theatre Magazine* ran a story naming Agnew as a founding member of the new Academy of Music and Dramatic Art, itself “about to embark upon an energetic career.” According to *Theatre* part of the Academy’s *raison d’etre* was to give work to musicians who had missed out on a position at the Conservatorium. No mention of this institution appears again; perhaps energy alone was not enough. Agnew did not serve in the war but we do not know why. His brother Jack did fight, and as Stuart Macintyre reminds us, for some families it was acceptable for one son to stay home while the other one served. We know that Agnew taught privately in various Sydney suburbs (his sister remembers having to polish his brass plate at Ashwood) as well as at the teaching studios at Palings Publishing House and the exclusive Kambala Church of England Girls’ School in Rose Bay. His works were brought to the attention of visiting pianist Benno Moiseiwitsch in 1920 who programmed some in later concerts both in Australia and London, a fact that was excitedly reported in the *Bulletin*:

> Moiseiwitsch [sic] has heard some of Roy Agnew’s compositions, and has offered to introduce one or two of them into his Melbourne programmes, America, too, is to hear Roy’s work from the nimble fingers of the pianist; and, what is more, Moiseiwitsch is quite sure, after hearing “The Wild Man’s Dance” and “La Belle Dame Sans Merci,” that he can find a publisher for the young Australian’s compositions in Yankee-land.

It was Moiseiwitsch’s decision at this time to perform *Deirdre’s Lament*, *Toccata tragica* and *Dance of the Wild Men* that brought Agnew to public attention. And it was in 1920 that Agnew publicly announced his move beyond tonality. Public reaction was not all positive. As the columnist for the *Bulletin*’s “Woman’s Letter”

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12 Marjorie Beer, Interview with Marjorie Beer, Roy Agnew’s sister, by Rita Crews [transcript], 19 April 1996.
13 “A Woman’s Letter,” *Bulletin*, 17 June 1920, 42. We know that Moiseiwitsch did perform Agnew’s music in London but cannot confirm the Bulletin’s claims about performances in America.
tells us, there were critics who accused him of producing “compositions in discords.”14 The strong reaction in the article “Ultramodern Extravagance,” a year later, suggests that this adverse impression had not faded. Some music critics, however, such as the prolific and opinionated highbrow Thorold Waters, took up Agnew’s cause from Melbourne, where he lived, with an enthusiasm bordering on zeal. Early in 1923, as the new editor of the Australian Musical News, actively advanced the picture of Agnew as a provocative “modernist” and highlighted the differences which set him apart, in Waters view, from the parochial backwater of Australia. He ran a series of articles describing Agnew as an “advanced modern,” “a real live Australian ultra-modern composer,” even an “Australian Stravinsky.” He published interviews in which Agnew was able to defend himself against the grave charges of Bolshevism and “Stravinskyisms.”15 Many years later, in 1936, Agnew expressed his gratitude for Waters’s support by dedicating the Sonata Poème to him.16 This picture of Agnew as a “modernist” outsider was not restricted to Waters’s journal. Musical Australia, the magazine of the New South Wales Conservatorium,

14 “A Woman’s Letter,” Bulletin, 13 May 1920, 50. Coverage of music and visual arts was often found in the women’s pages. This attests not only to the fact that music in Australian society was seen as essentially feminine, but also to the important role a group of Sydney society women played in patronising the arts during these decades, a subject which is the central focus of Jane Hunt’s PhD dissertation. See Jane Elizabeth Hunt, “Cultivating the Arts: Sydney Women Culturists 1900-50” (PhD, Macquarie University, 2001).


16 Thorold Waters in many ways typified the progressive highbrow. During his years as editor of the AMN (1923–1946), he wrote about the big issues including music education, the educational potential of the recording technologies, broadcasting, funding for permanent orchestras, matters of taste and class, music and labour, performing rights and the state of Australian composition. As with many of these musicians, he was a transnational figure who made frequent visits back to Britain and Europe, always reporting in detail the modern music that he had heard while away. For a discussion of the tension between the high and low brow and the hierarchical structure of early Australian culture see John Rickard, “Music and Cultural Hierarchy 1918-1939,” in One Hand on the Manuscript: Music in Australian Cultural History 1930-1960, ed. Nicholas Brown, et al., Humanities Research Centre Monograph Series; No. 9. (Canberra: Humanities Research Centre, Australian National University, 1995), 181-88. For further details of Waters’s multifaceted and colourful life, see Thorold Waters, Much Besides Music: Memoirs of Thorold Waters (Melbourne: Georgian house, 1951). For a comprehensive list of Waters’s AMN editorials see his entry in Lina Marsi, Index to the Australian Musical News, 1911-1963 (Melbourne: Lima Press, 1990).
also presented Agnew as an “uncompromising modernist.”¹⁷ George de Cairos Rego, a powerful force in Sydney’s musical world, was another champion of Agnew (he received the dedication of Rabbit Hill in 1928 in acknowledgement of his support) possibly wrote these words. And in an article for the Forum Cairo Rego made a particular effort to distinguish Agnew from both his former teacher, Alfred Hill, and Percy Grainger by saying that “[n]either of them is identified with ultra modern movements.” He described Agnew’s compositions as “eminently advanced” and therefore not “expected to appeal to conservative listeners” and concluded that it was accordingly “more interesting to speculate upon the future development of Mr. Agnew.”¹⁸

Who were these “conservative listeners” sitting in the audience in 1921 reeling in horror at the dreadful sounds emanating from the piano? What were they accustomed to, if the Toccata tragica packed too strong a punch for them? Diane Collins describes the musical scene in Australia in the second half of the nineteenth century as one filled with Liedertafels, philharmonic societies and brass bands. Most music was imported: opera troupes, minstrels, English church organists, impresarios, teachers and conductors. Nineteenth-century Sydney society, she writes, was “neither practised in the pursuit of art music nor endowed with large numbers of wealtholders who even valued cultural aspiration.”¹⁹ Standard musical fare in early twentieth-century Sydney apparently still had much in common with the Vienna of the 1860s, described disparagingly by Eduard Hanslick as filled with “little dances, practice pieces, and the basest kind of brilliant piano music,” a Vienna which made, he continued, “no secret of its spiritual and technical poverty.”²⁰ These “conservative listeners” were not unlike “[t]he extensive and widespread bourgeois audience in Europe of concert-goers and amateurs before World War 1” identified by Leon Botstein; an audience that “was seen as addicted to art as comforting entertainment and affirmation, and unable and unwilling to confront the unique characteristics,

transformative power and ethical character of true musical art." The more serious kind of music offered by the new Director of the New South Wales Conservatorium, violinist and conductor Henri Verbrugghen, after 1915 in concerts series such as his Beethoven Festivals and chamber music series was quite different from the usual fare of the Sydney musicgoer, let alone the modern music performed by the musicians in whose circle Agnew moved.

The conservatism of Agnew's detractors mirrored a more general cultural conservatism. The interwar period has been portrayed by historians such as Stuart Macintyre, Geoffrey Serle and John Williams, among others, as a miserable period; one that turned away from the pre-war active engagement with the rest of the world and receded into itself, embracing cultural isolationism and conservatism. It was dominated by a paranoid fear of the foreign. The Bolsheviks were coming and the Yellow Peril lurked. Ideas of a British race gained a new currency and alien laws were introduced in 1920. The cultural scene stagnated producing a kind of artistic Dark Age. Modernist art was reviled as Futurist or Bolshevik and therefore contaminated.

While this general picture is substantially correct, it is not complete. As Jill Matthews argues: "Historians, too, have generally rendered elite responses to the modern world as thin and one-dimensional...reduced to an undifferentiated anti-modernism." Not surprisingly an ongoing engagement with modern thought occurred outside the central formal institutional structures of which many of these historians such as Williams write. The work of Jill Matthews, Drusilla Modjeska and John Docker as well as art historians Eileen Chanin, Judith Pugh, Steven Miller, Helen Topliss and Mary Eagle has shown that active engagement with international modernism continued after the war into the twenties and thirties in the areas of popular culture and the visual arts. It is found in lifestyle magazines such as The

23 See Matthews, Dance Hall & Picture Palace: Sydney's Romance with Modernity, 195.
24 See Matthews, Dance Hall & Picture Palace: Sydney's Romance with Modernity; Drusilla Modjeska, Stravinsky's Lunch (Sydney: Picador, 1999); John Docker, "Dilemmas of Identity: The
Home and in the work of women painters such as Margaret Preston and Grace Cossington-Smith, who were themselves relegated to the margins by virtue of their gender; and it is at the margins where artistic experimentation usually occurs. Powerful figures such as Lionel Lindsay and J.S. McDonald, both one-time Directors of the NSW State Art Gallery, were virulently anti-modernist; their domination of the cultural scene obscured more minor, but artistically more interesting, figures. The Lindsay brothers' short-lived but vitriolic periodical Vision stands as part of the legacy of this quite ferocious anti-modernism, but many of the leading cultural figures were more nuanced and less unequivocal. In 1896, Christopher Brennan produced the amazing experimental work Musicopoematographoscope à la Mallarmé (with whom he corresponded), but also wrote jingoistic war poetry; Nettie Palmer, Bernard O'Dowd and J.F. Archibald, editor of the Bulletin, tempered their nationalism with a love of French Symbolist poetry; Archibald went so far as to construct an imaginary French Jewish mother. Cosmopolitanism and nationalism were not mutually exclusive and it is wrong to retrospectively impose a false binary upon them. As Matthews remarks, this approach conveys "too absolute a story of opposition, pitting isolationist forces of reaction and tradition against internationalist

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25 To sample the extremes of Lionel Lindsay's antimodernism see Lionel Lindsay, Added Art (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1942). For a discussion of Lindsay's views in a more general context see Williams, The Quarantined Culture: Australian Reactions to Modernism 1913-1939.

forces of change and renewal, the anti-modern against the modern ..." Anti-
modernism was not exclusively Australian, rather it formed part of a wider international current, one that found a particularly powerful expression in Max Nordau's *Degeneration*.\(^{28}\) The story of Agnew's reception in Sydney provides an alternative to the dominant narrative. To make the story more complex and diverse is to ultimately render it richer.

Many cultural journals from the period before the war and into the twenties were eclectic and outward looking. They borrowed from a variety of English and American periodicals. From its inception in 1907, the Sydney journal *Lone Hand* contained regular missives from Paris about French poetry and drama. Its contents ranged from discussions of Stanislavsky's theatrical revolution to accounts of the recent events of the Irish National Theatre. Its pages were saturated with a fascination with the Orient. In 1908 it declared that "Omarism became a cult long ago."\(^{29}\) Australia's major music publishing house, Allans, produced the *Australian Musical News* (hereafter *AMN*), the major Australian music journal of the first half of the twentieth century, in 1911. In its mission statement the *AMN* promised both to "keep in touch with the latest English and foreign doings" and to "elucidate ... the abstrusities of modern works."\(^{30}\) To achieve these goals it had engaged correspondents in the major European centres and relied heavily on personal communication from travelling Australians and visiting artists. The *AMN* printed articles from many overseas journals including the *Music Trade Review*, *Musical America*, *Musical Courier*, *Chesterian*, *Musical Observer* (NY), *Albany-Times Union*, *New York Herald*, *Musical America*, the *Musical Quarterly* and the *Musical Times*. For a short time it was even embroiled in a feud with the *Musical Courier*, an American journal, demonstrating that Americans read the Australian journal as well as vice versa.\(^{31}\)

\(^{27}\) Matthews, *Dance Hall & Picture Palace: Sydney's Romance with Modernity*, 195. Similarly, Geoffrey Serle points out the "paradoxical fact" that many of the literary nationalists such as Vance and Nettie Palmer, were also "staunch internationalists." See Serle, *The Creative Spirit in Australia: A Cultural History*, 143.


\(^{29}\) *The Lone Hand* 4, (1908-1909): 693.


\(^{31}\) See for example "American Humour," *AMN* 11, no. 5 (1922): 252. In this article, the editor of the *Musical Courier*, that "chivalrous champion of the Yankee Doodle," takes the Australian journalist
Popular and “high” music coexisted quite happily on the pages of the *AMN* until well into the twenties, and discussions of modern art music nestle amongst advertisements for recordings and popular salon and dance sheet music. The latest technological advances were actively promoted: the Pianola, the phonograph, then the gramophone, piano rolls and the radio. Film music, broadcasting, rolls and records were soon reviewed in their own dedicated columns alongside the big debates about Australian orchestral and operatic activities and the educational potential of broadcasting and recording.32 There was a desire to report the unusual and exotic. We discover, for instance, that “Nearly every Turkish harem is now equipped with a gramophone. The Turk has found that no present gives so much pleasure to his favourite wife as this modern musical instrument—coupled with a selection of up-to-date records.”33 Also advertised was *Allah’s Holiday Foxtrot*: “The irresistible American dance tune that has captured the Dancing World and is played everywhere.”34 Even if, as Docker has observed in the case of *The Home*, a generally anti-modernist perspective marked Australian music criticism, it nonetheless covered a wide range of contemporary music.35 It was there for those who chose to embrace it, as Agnew obviously did.

Agnew’s defiantly controversial works appealed to a certain group of people. His position as artist allowed him into influential social circles otherwise not available to him. There were those among the Sydney social scene who came out in strong support. In 1920 the *Bulletin*’s “Woman’s Letter” contained the following words:

Roy Agnew… has become quite a protégé of T.H. Kelly, and last week he and Mrs. De Beaupuis invited some of the elect to hear Roy play his fantasies, which are not entirely, as his critics declare, “compositions in discords.” Commodore Dumaresq, a music enthusiast, came, and Captain and Mrs. Cumberlege; Mrs. Sep. Levy and Mrs. Frank Otter gave a clap to aspiring genius; and Maorilander Luttrell. Hard

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32 For examples of the eclecticism that shaped the early years of the *AMN* see the *AMN* 7, nos. 10-12 and *AMN* 8, nos. 1-6 covering the months between April and December, 1918.
34 “Allah’s Holiday Foxtrot,” *AMN* 9, no. 3 (1919): 67.
35 Docker, “Feminism, Modernism, and Orientalism in *The Home* in the 1920s,” 297.
work and patience and determination added to a genius of which Australia is one
day going to be very proud, have brought Roy so far. But he is full of ambition to
hump his swag across the old-world tracks.36

Madame de Beaupuis was the widow of Agnew’s piano teacher. Their friendship
continued well after his death. A colourful figure in Sydney society, she visited
Agnew many times in London in the 1930s and became a friend to his younger sister
Marjorie. Marjorie later in life remembered her as a “real character, a Bohemian,
from way back” who would take her out to “the Cross” from the privileged private
Protestant girls’ school, Kambala.37 Agnew himself used to take his sister to cafés in
that then centre of artistic and bohemian life to meet and talk with friends. Before his
departure in 1923 his reputation spread to Melbourne, no doubt thanks to the efforts
of Thorold Waters, and he received the support of such powerful Melbournians as Sir
James Barrett.38

Writers on music in the Sydney press amounted to only a handful and they
often wrote for many publications at once. For example, George de Cairos Rego
wrote for the Conservatorium Magazine (later Musical Australia and Music in
Australia), the Daily Telegraph, The Home, and the Forum among others. T.H. Kelly
also wrote briefly for The Home. A.L. Kelly contributed to the Lone Hand, the Triad
and the AMN. Ladislas de Noskowski wrote for many of the Sydney papers including
the Sydney Mail, The Home, the Forum, the Australian Phonograph Monthly, and the
Conservatorium Magazine. Keith Barry, another committed and effective supporter
of Agnew, also wrote for the Conservatorium Magazine and later became editor of
Music in Australia between 1928 and 1931. “The pages of the Conservatorium
Magazine,” as Diane Collins observes, “soon became one of the few arenas in

36 “A Woman’s Letter,” Bulletin, 13 May 1920, 50. T.H. Kelly, a wealthy Sydneysider with a villa in
Italy, was also an enthusiastic amateur musician who also wrote for The Home magazine and was
probably related to the critic A.L. Kelly.
37 Beer, 1996.
38 Barrett was an enormously energetic cultural progressive who involved himself in many imperial
and educational causes. Music was also important to him. He advanced the positive educative potential
of the gramophone and in 1925 became the president of the Phonograph Society of Victoria. He was
also the chairman of the Lady Northcote Orchestral Fund and in this capacity became involved in the
complicated processes of hiring orchestral scores from overseas including Manuel de Falla’s Nights in
the Gardens of Spain in 1933. For a detailed biographical essay see “James William Barrett: 1862-
1945” in Michael Roe, Nine Australian Progressives: Vitalism in Bourgeois Social Thought, 1890-
Australia at this time that hosted an essentially academic rather than moral debate over the relative merits of modernism.” 39 The Melburnian, Thorold Waters, because of his public support of Agnew in the AMN, whose coverage of music was nationwide, can also be counted among this group.

In her discussion of Sydney’s small cultural elite, Jill Matthews reminds us of the words of the English cultural journalist, Arnold Haskell, who observed that “night after night the same two hundred forgather to dance, laugh and gossip.” 40 Among this small coterie were some of the “advocates and admirers of ultramodernism,” the radical highbrows, as opposed to the conservative. They were important figures in the most progressive faction within Sydney’s musical elite; the cognoscenti who kept in touch with what was happening in Britain, Europe and America. They included performers and writers and, within these two groups, those who can be understood as the “Organisers.”

Chief among these “Organisers” was the piano teacher and music critic George de Cairos Rego. Arundel Orchard described him as “[a]lways a modest personality who kept himself in the background,” telling us that “G. de Cairos Rego was a highly-esteemed teacher of the pianoforte and has since done highly important work as Organiser, especially in connection with the Musical Association...” 41 In addition to his writing and teaching he was also interested in the scientific aspect of music and went so far as to patent a “vibrator for massage purposes” intended to soothe musicians’ tired muscles. 42 In an interview with Lorna Stirling for the AMN, Cairo Rego mentions a recent piece, “Music’s New Phase” written for Art in Australia in which he advocated “the openmindedness which is avid of new ideas, slow to repudiate, patient in the search for beauty.” He held that “the most advanced modernism has its roots in the past” and suggested “there are no more intelligent

39 Collins, Sounds from the Stables, 35.
40 Matthews, Dance Hall & Picture Palace: Sydney’s Romance with Modernity, 193. Haskell was describing the café society of ten years later. In the case of a musically interested elite from the late teens and twenties the number would probably have been fewer.
41 W. Arundel Orchard, The Distant View (Sydney: Currawong, 1943), 22.
admirers of the classics than those who have taken the trouble to train their receptive powers to assimilate the newly extended boundaries of the art.\textsuperscript{43}

Cairos Rego himself illustrates the fact that if Australians really wanted it they could get it, despite their geographical isolation. As a cultural progressive his thirst for the new was unquenchable. He was a transnational figure, making several trips to Europe and Britain. Before a trip to Europe in 1923, he wrote:

\begin{quote}
And I am looking forward to facing all this new art work at the fountainhead. I do not expect it to tell me the story which I know already or which I might surmise from what we know of it here. If as musicians, we want to remain young, we cannot ignore this music.\textsuperscript{44}
\end{quote}

Implicit in this statement are an underlying sense of inferiority and an admission of Australia’s cultural backwardness; the “fountainhead” was elsewhere. This tendency towards self-denigration found here was only to intensify for many of these progressive intellectuals. It found expression in P.R. Stephenson’s renowned essay, “The Foundations of Culture in Australia,” produced in 1936, and can be seen slowly unfolding in Thorold Waters’s editorials for the \textit{AMN} from 1925 onwards. In 1958, A.A. Philips finally hit on the powerful expression, “cultural cringe.”\textsuperscript{45}

In his long stint as critic for the \textit{Daily Telegraph}, Cairos Rego introduced his readers to an astounding array of modern music in his weekly Saturday column. He was able to get hold of Universal Edition’s \textit{Musikblätter des Anbruch} (a periodical dedicated to modern music) and told his readers about such heady stuff as Schoenberg’s atonality (in an earlier column Cairos Rego goes so far as to quote the dedication in Schoenberg’s \textit{Harmonielehre}), Mollendorf’s bichromaticism and

\textsuperscript{43} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{44} George de Cairos Rego, “Realm of Music,” \textit{Daily Telegraph}, 1 September 1923, 13. The \textit{British Australasian} informed their readership of Cairos-Rego’s travels, announcing, “Mr. G. de Cairos Rego, the well-known musical critic of the Sydney Daily Telegraph, is now in Berlin. He travelled from Sydney by the R.M.S. China to join Mrs. De Rego and his son and daughter, both of whom are studying in Berlin. Mr. De Rego is taking the opportunity whilst in Germany of attending the Bayreuth Festival, the Wagner and Mozart Festival in Munich. Later he will visit Venice, Florence, and other Italian cites before rejoining the mail steamer at Port Said on September 20.” See “Australians in Europe,” \textit{British Australasian}, 20 August 1908, 18.
Busoni’s speculations on the tri-section of tones. He quoted from Casella’s “Tone Colour in Music” and Milhaud’s writing on the possibilities of polytonality, both found in La Revue Musicale, as well as recent issues of the Italian journals Il Pianoforte and La Critica Musicale. He followed Soviet music closely, reporting on the activities of the Soviet Commissar for Culture, Anatole Lunacharsky, as well as announcing the appearance of two important Russian music periodicals: K novym beregam (Towards New Shores) in Moscow and the Sovremennaya Muzika (Contemporary Music) in what was then Petrograd. A month later he followed up with a report on the appearance of the emigre publication Muzika produced in Berlin by Sabaneev and Nabokov, mentioning at the same time the post-Scriabin composers Krein, Feinberg and Alexandrov. Again, these three Russian journals were dedicated to the promotion of new music.

In 1921 Cairos Rego introduced a work that has since assumed canonical status in the modern piano literature, the American composer Charles Ives’s Concord Sonata. In it he detected a debt to Leo Ornstein’s “flights of genius.” He noted, almost as an aside: “It would look very hopeless for Australian composers after this, did we not remember the ‘Wild Man’s Dance,’ by a composer whose powers of imagination and dynamic resources in composition have yet to be reckoned with by this new American musical phenomenon.” Like his Melbourne counterpart, Thorold Waters, Cairos Rego was one of the highbrow progressives impatiently waiting for a figure such as Agnew to appear. Agnew’s works of the late teens and newfound status of enfant terrible held powerful appeal for the “ultra modern set.” Here was an Australian version of the dedicated autonomous artist alienated and misunderstood by society; it was exactly what they wanted. Agnew’s adverse reception gained him

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47 The references to both Casella’s article on tone colour and the Italian journal Il Pianoforte is found in “Music,” Daily Telegraph, 7 June 1921, 6. The reference to Milhaud appears in “Music ,” Daily Telegraph, 18 August 1923, 13; and Cairos Rego’s report on Italian music criticism from La Critica Musicale is found a week later in “Music,” Daily Telegraph, 25 August 1923, 13.

48 The Nabokov referred to here is Nikolai Nabokov the composer, not the famous writer Vladimir Nabokov.


symbolic capital in the eyes of these individuals. His words to Hill, later from London in 1926, encapsulate his position as artistic hero:

for it is a nice thing as you know to be attempting to do things, attempting is the right word for nothing seems like achievement to a composer, at least that is how I feel, that terrible restlessness that seems to be the unfortunate birthright of the creative mind, drives one relentlessly on and on, I often wonder to what end.51

The presence of Scriabin touches almost all writing on Agnew’s music from this time on. The Australian music critics, particularly Waters, were deeply uneasy about it, finding it a strange exotic presence needing, if not exorcism, then a kind of sanitising, even masculinising, process. Scriabin was seen as foreign, a dandy, effeminate, almost poisonous in an overripe decadent way.52 Agnew’s interest in this “decadent modern,” who epitomised what many understood as all that was wrong with exhausted and jaded post-war Europe, coincided with an emergence of Norman Lindsay’s new artistic neo-Nietzschean Dionysian creed elucidated by himself and his supporters in the short-lived journal Vision. This was a credo that promoted energy, youthfulness and vitality; a healthy robustness particular to the virile and “alive” Australian artist which contrasted starkly to the neuroses of the decrepit European.53 These attitudes are present in the persistent line presented by Waters that, although Scriabin influenced Agnew’s music, Agnew’s music was more masculine and vital; it resisted “infection” from the Russian’s perceived effeminacy. “[H]is was,” in Waters’s own words, “a more masculine Scriabin element.54 Others, such as

52 In August 1927, an article appeared in the AMN claiming that although Agnew had been under Scriabin’s “spell,” he had not developed any of the Russian’s “metaphysical sickness.” See “Roy Agnew Makes ‘Opuses’: Fantasie-Sonata and Others,” AMN 17, no. 1 (1927): 13. In 1936, in an article announcing the publication of Agnew’s latest sonata, there is again a reference to that fact that there had been a time when Agnew had been “under the influence of Scriabin” but the readers are quickly reassured that “his work escaped the somewhat nauseating element of the Russian’s later work.” See “Roy Agnew’s New Sonata: Publication is Australian Venture,” AMN 26, no. 10 (1936): 23.
54 “Australia and Its Composers: The Modernism of Roy Agnew,” AMN 21, no. 2 (1931): 14. This rejection of Scriabin was not peculiar to Waters, Australia or this time period. As Susan Garcia has argued, “Few composers have been subjected to such vicious diatribes. Scriabin, by merging an eclectic set of mystical, erotic, satanic and messianic vision with his music, gained many disciples [including Agnew], on the one hand, yet on the other left himself open to sharp condemnation by many
the critic for *Musical Australia*, however, revealed an unusual level of disinterest in his/her appraisal of Agnew in May 1923:

> At present his style and outlook are far removed from the modern British school as exemplified in Ireland, Vaughan Williams and Frank Bridge. Agnew more nearly resembles Scriabine in his harmonic colour and emotional intensity.\(^{55}\)

For Waters, however, it was more reassuring to say that by 1927 Agnew had broken away from the seductive power of Scriabin and had turned instead to the “healthier” Celtic Twilight for his inspiration.\(^{56}\) The fact that his fascination for both Scriabin and things Celtic went hand in hand was expediently ignored. Agnew’s admiration of the American composer Edward Macdowell’s *Keltic* Sonata was expressed in the same interview in which he declared his love of Scriabin’s Ninth Sonata. *Deirdre’s Lament*, the *Ossianic* Sonata and *Le belle dame sans merci* were written around the same time as his Poem no. 1 and before his *Fantasie* Sonata and Sonata 1929. Yeats, the father figure of the Celtic Twilight, embraced Theosophy and other streams of occult magic in addition to Celticism; they were in no way perceived as mutually exclusive.\(^{57}\) The Australian critics’ anxiety was bound up with larger questions of national identity and fear of the foreign. After 1917 this was felt particularly in the fear of things Russian as potentially Bolshevik.

Agnew’s professed love of Scriabin’s late sonata in 1923 Sydney is startling and demands further exploration. What kind of presence could a “sophisticated” and “cosmopolitan” Russian composer with a world view drenched in arcane mysticism have in the “parochial,” “stagnant” and “insular” Sydney of the 1920s? In fact Scriabin was surprisingly well covered in the press, particularly between the years 1921 and 1923 and, of particular significance, it was his late experimental music that attracted most attention. If coverage in *The Times* is taken as an indicator English interest in Scriabin peaked in 1921, a phenomenon possibly related to the

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55 “Mr. Roy Agnew: Pianist-Composer.”

56 This interpretation of Agnew’s stylistic development first appears in 1928 in the *AMN*. See “Roy Agnew Returns: A Twelve Months’ Visit,” *AMN* 17 no. 12 (1928): 26. It is reiterated throughout the 1930s. See “Australia and Its Composers: The Modernism of Roy Agnew” and “Roy Agnew’s New Sonata: Publication is Australian Venture.”

overwhelming surge of spiritualism and interest in the occult brought about by the mass grief following the Great War. 58 This interest also manifested itself in Australia. Years earlier in 1914, the AMN covered his important London premiere of Prometheus only weeks after the event. The Australian press of the 1920s was cognizant of Scriabin’s mature style, describing him as “very futuristic” and “this most radical of ultra modern composers.”59 In the Sydney Mail, Noskowski identified the new harmonic system, rapturously extolled the virtues of the “wonderful fifth sonata” and the Satanic Poem, and then expounded with some expertise on Scriabin’s unfinished final work, the Mysterium, a work intended to transfigure the world.60 In an article for the Conservatorium Magazine, “A. Sverjensky and New Russian Music,” Noskowski hailed the Russian pianist as an ideally suited interpreter of Scriabin’s music. Noskowski’s admiration of Scriabin was deeply felt: “The day of Scriabine is dawning in Australia and even if his most advanced and modern compositions will never be understood by many, his earlier works will ensure him an immortal position amongst the world’s greatest composers.”61 Noskowki’s musical erudition is impressive, a fact also noticed by Peter Dart who describes Noskowski’s musical writings as “exceptional in their breadth of musical culture.”62

Cairos Rego, surprisingly, given his embrace of modern music, was one of those who found Scriabin’s late music unacceptable, complaining that Scriabin needed a “keyboard of quarter tones.”63 Nevertheless, he had earlier in 1921 informed his readers of the English composer Cyril Scott’s views of Scriabin (as told to Musical America) and, in

58 Using The Times Digital Archive 1785-1985 it is possible to ascertain that there were at least seventy-three articles on Scriabin in 1921. This number stands out as unusually high when compared to the surrounding years. In 1918 there had been only two pieces, in 1919 there were twenty-one and forty-five in 1920. In 1922 the number of articles again dropped steeply to a mere twenty-four and did not rise much beyond this in the years to follow. Even in the years 1913 and 1914 that saw Scriabin’s two visits to London the number of pieces on Scriabin in The Times did not reach twenty: they were sixteen and eighteen respectively. In his study of spirit photography, Martyn Jolly provides a general discussion of Spiritualism in early twentieth-century Britain. See Martyn Jolly, Faces of the Living Dead : The Belief in Spirit Photography (Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Publishing, 2006). Arthur Conan Doyle was enormously active in the Spiritualist movement after the death of his son in the Great War. He gives a first hand account of this phenomenon both in Britain and Australia in his memoir written in the same year as the interest in Scriabin peaked, The Wanderings of a Spiritualist (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1921). Peter Washington provides a historical account of spiritualism both in Britain and Australia as well as America in Madam Blavatsky’s Baboon (New York: Schocken Books, 1995).

60 Ibid., 16.
a later issue of the *Daily Telegraph*, reviewed English writer Alfred J. Swan's monograph on the Russian.\(^{64}\)

There were a handful of Sydney pianists who threw caution to the wind and performed Scriabin regardless of whether the music was understood. Between 1921 and 1923, Winifred Burston, Frank Hutchens, Wilfred Arlom and Henri Penn performed Scriabin frequently. The *Daily Telegraph* summed up performances of Scriabin for 1923: "Sydney has in a sense been more fortunate than were other cities in its manner of becoming acquainted with the work of Scriabine” because of the chronological way in which the music was presented to the public. It announced that in 1923 Burston played the third Sonata, Hutchens the fourth, Arlom the fifth, and Penn finished the year with Scriabin’s final work, the remarkable *Vers la flamme*.\(^{65}\)

The last two works were from the late period. All these performers, including Alexander Sverjensky after his decision to emigrate, were personal friends and professional colleagues of Agnew and played his music. Sverjensky and Burston were to record and teach his music. Hutchens studied composition with Agnew for a short time, received the dedication of the *Sonata Ballade* (1937) and later wrote Agnew’s obituary for the *AMN*.\(^{66}\) Due to his position on the repertoire selection committee of the British Music Society, Wilfred Arlom was partially responsible for the programming which elicited the response in “Ultramodern Extravagance.” Arlom’s love of late Scriabin abided and he became a major exponent, appearing frequently on Agnew’s radio show playing, among other things, Scriabin’s late sonatas. The Belgian pianist Penn was early on identified as part of the “ultra modern set.”\(^{67}\) It was he who played *Dance of the Wild Men* at Agnew’s farewell concert in

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65 “Realm of Music: Scriabine’s Music in Sydney,” *Daily Telegraph*, 8 September 1923, 13. Two years earlier Burston had also performed Scriabin’s Piano Concerto. For a review see “Music and Drama,” *Sydney Mail*, 13 July 1921: 25. The *AMN* also reports that Penn had earlier indulged in some “ultramodern weirdness” with his performance of Scriabin’s Etude op. 65 no.3. See “Goossens and Other Moderns,” *AMN* 11, no. 5 1922: 267. Furthermore, in late 1923 Arlom had, again according to the *AMN*, presented “a very interesting group of Scriabine compositions…” See “Arlom Recital,” *AMN* 13, no. 5 (1923): 46.
67 The journal, *Forum*, includes an advertisement for the Beale piano showcasing Henri Penn. The advertisement itself gives a short biography of the “celebrated English concert-pianist.” The Belgian-born Penn reportedly studied at London’s Royal Academy of Music before coming to Australia in 1915. He was brought out by the entrepreneur Tait to tour with both the singer Antonio Dolores and violinist Henri Verbruggen. See “Art, Music and Drama,” *Forum* 2, no. 14 (1923): 21.
1923 and received two dedications: the *Toccata tragica* (1922) and *A Dance Impression* (1927).

Winifred Burston is an important presence in both Agnew’s story as a close personal friend and public supporter, and also in the story of the modern musical scene in Sydney.Originally from Brisbane she studied in Europe, and worked in Russia for an aristocratic family prior to the Revolution before winning a position at the Cincinnati Conservatorium. There she met Ferruccio Busoni not long after he had written his prophetic essay, *Sketch of a New Esthetic of Music* (1907). She returned to Berlin to work with him and his disciple, the pianist Egon Petri. During her time in Berlin, through her connection with Busoni, she came into contact with current artistic trends and throughout her life championed modern or “little known” works. She joined the Sydney Conservatorium in 1919 and taught there for over forty years. In addition to her roles as performer and teacher she actively participated in the workings of cultural organisations, becoming in effect an “Organiser” like Cairós Rego. She became the first female president of what was by then the British and International Music Society, she was the first woman elected to the Council of the New South Wales Musical Association, and for a time she ran music sessions for women on ABC radio. She travelled extensively in Britain and Europe throughout her life. As was the case with many other musicians, her ties to continental Europe were direct, not filtered through London. She again demonstrates an open-minded attitude to modern art and technology. After one trip to the continent she brought back not only new musical scores but also a double keyboard piano developed by Emanuel Moor. She considered Moor’s piano to be “one of the greatest modern-time inventions.” Her students included the internationally acclaimed accompanist Geoffrey Parsons, the fine pianist Gordon Watson, and two of the main figures in the post-WWII generation of Australian composers: Richard Meale and Larry Sitsky. In

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68 For a detailed account of Burston’s life and musical activities see Alistair Noble, “The Australian Pianist, Winifred Burston, 1889-1976” (M Music, Australian National University, 1994).

69 Despite Burston’s long and successful career at the Sydney Conservatorium and her central role in producing some of Australia’s leading pianists and composers such as Richard Meale, Geoffrey Parsons, Larry Sitsky, Alan Jenkins and Gordon Watkins, she remains mysteriously absent from Diane Collins’s history of the institution. See Collins, *Sounds from the Stables.*

70 The Moor double keyboard piano, one of the few remaining in the world, now resides at the ANU School of Music. Larry Sitsky rescued it from the Sydney Conservatorium’s basement where it had been used as a practice keyboard for apprentice piano tuners. Larry Sitsky, personal communication, 5 July 2004.
one of his radio broadcasts of Agnew’s music, Sitsky mentioned that one of the prize possessions in his library is Winifred Burston’s copy of Busoni’s *Fantasia Contrapuntistica*. “On it,” he told his listeners, “Winifred had written, ‘Used to belong to Roy Agnew’.” For Richard Meale, she was “a broad mind...a culture of influence.” She introduced him not only to the composers Bax, Bliss and Bloch among many others, but also to the modernist writers Proust, Joyce, Faulkner and Stein. He remembered her intellect as profound. For Meale, she “really represented an artistic way of thinking and living and being.”

There are other possible explanations of an earlier presence of Scriabin in Sydney. These are connected to the enlivened activities of the Theosophical Society and the establishment of the New South Wales Conservatorium. These two are themselves, as we will see, inextricably bound together from 1915, the year of the Conservatorium’s foundation.

In 1915 C. W. Leadbeater, escaping allegations of pederasty, decided to move to Sydney to lead its Theosophical Society. The Society bloomed with the presence of such an exalted member, reaching its heyday in the twenties. Early that same year Belgian-born British musician and committed theosophist Henri Verbruggen accepted the position of Director at the New South Wales State Conservatorium scheduled to open the following year. The convergence of these events was not coincidental.

From the outset there was a close tie between the two institutions. The Conservatorium during the Verbruggen years hosted several lectures by such eminent Theosophists as C. Jinarajadasa (who was recruited as a boy in Ceylon by Leadbeater and later became president of the Theosophical Society) and Leadbeater himself. Verbruggen, despite his personal dislike of modern music, was a good Theosophist and gave a lecture with the rarefied title “Light and Music” in 1922 in

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73 For an account of these events see Jill Roe, *Beyond Belief: Theosophy in Australia, 1879-1939* (Sydney: New South Wales University Press, 1986).
which he discusses Scriabin’s synaesthetic theories on colour and music, going so far as to mention the *tastiera per luce*. Diane Collins, in her history of the Conservatorium, writes that, “In 1916, in overwhelmingly Anglo-Celtic Sydney, the new Conservatorium must have seemed like a hotbed of cosmopolitanism…” The international character of the Conservatorium, she continued, “must have encouraged the notion that art music was a world apart, an exotic import, a cultural curiosity in Australia.”

From the outset Theosophy was an orientalist enterprise borrowing extensively from a range of Eastern religions and philosophies. It was founded on idealistic notions of progress, free thought and cultural advance. In their Australian journals, theosophists wrote of the unjust treatment of Aboriginal people, advocated the humane management of prisoners and animal rights, pioneered new educational approaches such as the Kindergarten, embraced Eurythmics and wrote on the merits of vegetarianism. They were not unlike the Socialist “cranks” against whom Orwell vented his vitriolic spleen in *Road to Wigan Pier*, in a viciously funny, if unfair, description:

In addition to this there is the horrible—the really disquieting—prevalence of cranks wherever Socialists are gathered together. One sometimes gets the impression that the mere words “Socialism” and “Communism” draw towards them with magnetic force every fruit-juice drinker, nudist, sandal-wearer, sex-maniac, Quaker, “Nature Cure” quack, pacifist, and feminist in England.

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75 Henri Verbruggen, “Light and Music,” *Musical Australia* 3, no. 4 (1922): 25. The *tastiera per luce* was a type of colour organ intended by Scriabin for use in performances of *Prometheus*. In this article Verbruggen criticises Scriabin’s efforts as unscientific. There was an Australian equivalent to this kind of experimentation. The *Lone Hand* wrote about Sydney inventor A.B. Hector’s colour machine (a keyboard connected to a series of coloured lamps) in 1913. This instrument took its place among a wider international enterprise which included of course Scriabin’s own *tastiere per luce*. See “Color Music,” *Lone Hand* 13, July (1913): 240-244. This synaesthetic enterprise found more everyday expressions; for instance, the painter Roy de Maistre, whose ideas on colour music culminated in the exhibition *Colour Music* of 1919 with fellow modernist Roland Wakelin, roomed for a time with Verbruggen’s son.


77 Examples of these can be found in Australian theosophical journals such as *Advance! Australia, The Star in the East and Theosophy in Australia*. The Campbell Theosophical Research Library based in Sydney maintains the *Union Index of Theosophical Periodicals* online. This can be accessed at http://www.austheos.org.au/indices/pindex.htm#australia.

78 George Orwell, *Road to Wigan Pier*, Part 2, Chapter 11.
Theosophists were accepting, even encouraging, of experimentation in the arts. Jill Roe has argued that, "theosophy appears to have played a vital role in the emergence of modernism."\(^{79}\) She later refers to Bernard Smith who, she notes, when "pondering the origins of modernism in Australia, proposed that ‘a thorough account of the history of spiritualism, theosophy, and anthroposophy in Australia as abroad is much more relevant than say Einstein’s theories’."\(^{80}\)

It was high culture the theosophists sought to advance; popular musics such as jazz were regarded as degenerate and diseased. For them, classical music held the supreme position among the arts for the same reason that it had for nineteenth-century Romantics. Its ineffability—its inability to represent—rendered it more pure than painting or literature and therefore closer to the spiritual realm. Music was not merely to entertain people but rather to transform them, to bring about transcendence. During the twenties, theosophists were particularly active in the dissemination of high culture, focusing on the promotion of classical music—organising concerts, starting a Music-Lovers Club, founding an orchestra, providing their halls as concert venues, even founding their own radio station, 2GB (named after the initials of the heretic Giordano Bruno), which aimed to educate and uplift the listeners.\(^{81}\) 2GB, as Roe explains, was to be “resolutely highbrow.” In this general civilizing and educating endeavour two composers in particular emerge as “prized theosophical figures,”\(^{82}\) Scriabin and the English composer and ardent mystic, Cyril Scott. These composers provide important exceptions to Roe’s claim that “…Australian theosophy in the late twenties did not take the observer close to the sources of innovation in the arts, that is, European innovation.”\(^{83}\)

One Sydney theosophist, Phyllis Campbell, was tireless in her advocacy for music, in particular modern music and especially that of Scriabin and Scott. Campbell was prolific as a composer, poet and dramatist, and active as a violinist, violist and pianist. She left England in 1920 to marry the Sydney University academic Ellison

\(^{79}\) Roe, *Beyond Belief*, 318.
\(^{81}\) Roe provides an overview of these activities in *Beyond Belief*. See Roe, *Beyond Belief*, 297 ff.
\(^{82}\) Ibid., 315.
\(^{83}\) Ibid.
Campbell. Once in Sydney she busied herself promoting modern music.\(^{84}\) She lectured and wrote extensively on modern music in Theosophical journals. As part of a lecture series for “Crusade for a Beautiful Australia,” she presented a free lecture at Adyar Hall (the Society’s major hall) with detailed title: “Modern Music: What it is and what it is not...Included: The relation of jazz to modern music. The use of discords. How to listen to modern music. Its message to the present age. Where is it leading us? Is it spiritually uplifting?”\(^{85}\) The lecture touched upon composers such as Stravinsky and Schoenberg as well as the influence of non-Western scales on modern music. Scriabin appeared in the address, but was later to demand her undivided attention. She dedicated articles to him alone. In “Lives of Great Men: Scriabin” she hailed him as a pioneer spirit who advocated the experimental in art. She understood his mystic chord as “Nature’s chord” with its origin in the harmonic series.\(^{86}\) In 1927 she organised an all-Scriabin concert to be performed by Scriabin’s personal friend Paul Vinogradoff, a Russian pianist, who had Scriabin’s stamp of approval as an exponent of his music. The highlight of the programme was the developmentally important fifth sonata.

The following year Campbell contributed a seven-part series on nationalism and music to the Theosophical journal, *Advance! Australia* in which she looked at the nationalist movements of America, Australia, England, France, Russia and Scandinavia.\(^{87}\) She detected “the vivid colourful influence of the East” in Russian music.\(^{88}\) Her article on French national music involved a discussion of Debussy and

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\(^{84}\) For a general biographical account of Campbell’s life see Noel Sanders, “A Woman Attuned to Her Times: The Life and Work of Phyllis Campbell (1891-1974),” *Theosophy in Australia* 62 (1998): 80. In addition to this there is an extensive collection of Campbell’s work numbering over forty boxes, including many musical and literary manuscripts, that was brought to the University of Technology Sydney by Noel Sanders. It still remains to be processed and catalogued. See University of Technology Sydney; Phyllis Campbell Collection (uncatalogued), [hereafter UTS: Phyllis Campbell Collection].

\(^{85}\) Concert programme. See UTS: Phyllis Campbell Collection.

\(^{86}\) Phyllis Campbell, “‘Lives of Great Men’: Scriabin,” *Advance! Australia* 2, no. 6 (1927): 261-64. Note here the similarity in approach with that of Brewster-Jones’s in his Prelude on *New Formula*. The Phyllis Campbell Collection also contains a draft copy of an article by Campbell on Cyril Scott, “A Modern Musician—Cyril Scott,” written in 1922 in Sydney.


\(^{88}\) Campbell, “Nationalism in Russian Music,” 55.
the whole tone and pentatonic scales. The American Edward Macdowell was deemed a mystic in her discussion of American nationalism, during which she also referred to John Alden Carpenter’s jazz-influenced work *Skyscrapers* and defined the American spirit as one derived from a combination of “Jazz,” the “Negro spiritual,” “Red Indian music” and the “pioneer spirit.” Agnew and Brewster-Jones are declared to be part of an Australian national music. Brewster-Jones was singled out for particular praise: “Then, there is Brewster-Jones, of Adelaide, whose fine violin and piano sonata was performed in Sydney eighteen months ago, at one of the British Music Society’s concerts.” Clippings in her archive on modern music from radio journals such as the English *Radio Times* show that she kept up to date on the most recent developments. She wrote to Grainger in 1926 sending scores of her music along with the letter and later became interested in his ideas of free music. She also broadcast and performed regularly on 2GB.

There are glimpses of Agnew in her archive suggesting a connection between the two. Like Agnew she studied with Alfred Hill, but much later in 1922 as a Conservatorium student. Agnew’s name appears tantalisingly in her archive, listed among other musical friends and associates, as does a catalogue of his published works. Given her interests and connections to the Conservatorium it is not surprising that she did share many mutual colleagues and friends with Agnew. These included: Frank Hutchens, Wilfred Arlom (her works were performed alongside his at concerts in the mid-twenties), violinist Cyril Monk (with whom she played), the private teacher Shadforth Hooper (one-time pupil of Carreño, devotee of the music of William Baines and dedicatee of Agnew’s *Drifting Mists*) and Keith Barry. Agnew’s close friend, Barry was instrumental in getting Campbell’s music published in

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89 This work was premiered in Melbourne several years later in 1935 with Grainger at the piano and Heinze conducting.
91 In the Phyllis Campbell Collection there is a letter from Grainger dated 3 August 1926 attached to a newspaper clipping of a much later article from the *Sydney Morning Herald* from 26 January 1934 called “Percy Grainger: Theory of ‘Free’ Music. Elimination of Intervals.” In the letter Grainger assures Campbell that he would be “very happy to see your Music on my return to Sydney, if you will be kind enough to write me in advance of my concerts there.”
92 Hill announced at the end of their time together that he had taught her all he knew. Her husband recounts this, saying that Hill taught composition ranging from solos to orchestral sketches. Hill brought the lessons to a close saying, according to Elliston Campbell, “I have taught you all I know, I now consider you as an equal.” See UTS: Phyllis Campbell Collection.
England. Interestingly, she also corresponded with another important associate of Agnew, Eaglefield Hull, whose work on both Scriabin and English music she referred to often in her writings.

As a composer, she emerges as a kind of kindred spirit to Agnew (and Brewster-Jones). She knew Cyril Scott personally and received his strong encouragement to pursue composition. In her later writing on Scott, she maintained that the greatest influence on his music was his eighteen-year-long study of occultism. Before coming to Australia, she studied violin and composition at the Royal College of Music where she, like Brewster-Jones, was taught by Stanford as well as Norman O’Neil. Once in Australia she played violin in the orchestra of Henri Verbruggen, a personal friend. She shared Brewster-Jones’s fascination for non-Western music. Her handwritten notes contain extensive passages on Buddhist musical practice, Indian music, non-Western scales including the whole tone and twenty-two-note Indian scale. Roe mentions the influence of Egyptian and Indian modes, as well as Hinduism and Sufism in Campbell’s music. Campbell, herself, recognised the “tremendous influence of the East, its rhythm...its complexity of intervals, of scales.” Her mystical beliefs directly touched her music. She wrote of the fourth dimension: the “consciousness in rocks and in trees.” She sought to “translate

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93 Barry knew both Campbell and her husband, perhaps because of his duties as Sydney University organist. His letter from London, dated 9 October 1934, thanks her for sending him the copy of her book and also for a dedication of a musical work. He then mentions their mutual friend, the pianist, Frank Hutchens. He continues: “Your compositions are at present with the Oxford Press but can tell you nothing further about them at the moment. I happen to know the Manager quite well...” Barry concludes with a comparison between the Australian and English musical scenes: “My kindest regards to your husband. I hope that all goes well with the University Musical Society. Music is very greatly to the fore in the schools and universities here and a comparatively small school a mile or two away from where I am living has just done the B Minor Mass. Would that our people could see the value of these things.” See the Phyllis Campbell Collection.

94 In a letter dated 13 March 1928, the year of his death, Hull wrote to Campbell: “I have received your manuscripts safely, and shall have much pleasure in looking into them later on. They look very interesting. I am glad to hear that you know my books. Do you know the last one? [This is his Music, Classic, Romantic and Modern that mentions Agnew.] If not I will send you an autographed one out post free for 10s 6d, that is I will make you a present of the cost of the postage.” See UTS: Phyllis Campbell Collection.

95 Campbell, “A Modern Musician—Cyril Scott,” Sydney, 1922. Campbell mentions her interaction with Scott briefly at the end of this draft article: “About two years ago I had the great privilege of an interview with him regarding some of my own composition. Situated in a quiet road of one of London’s busiest thoroughfares, his home has an atmosphere of music which I think few could fail to sense. His criticism is keen, searching, yet sympathetic and most helpful.”

96 Roe, Beyond Belief, 326.
Nature” into music. This spiritual desire brought about a musical language similar to that discussed in the last chapter found in her preludes and other works such as her Nature Studies. The two examples below taken from her Prelude XIX and Seaweed both written in 1926 show that she too belonged to the world of transitional centric music.


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The publishers who rejected her scores regarded her musical style as modern, even ultramodern. In a letter dated 15 June 1934, the publisher Allans wrote the following:

From a musical point of view, we quite like them [the pieces in question]. They are very clever and atmospheric, however, we regret to say that we have not had any success so far with this ultra-modern type of work. The average teachers are inclined to fight shy of anything too modern when in the easy grades. While there is a
growing tendency to take up the modern works, we are afraid we cannot find sufficient output here for them.  

Another rich vein of influence available to Agnew during this period, in addition to the exotic Scriabin, was the Celtic Revival begun by Anglo-Irish dramatists such as Lady Gregory, Yeats and Synge in the late nineteenth century. McCredie attributes the entire credit for the arrival of the Celtic Twilight to Australia to the British composer Fritz Hart, an important musical figure in Melbourne for many years after 1909.  

But the Celtic Twilight would have been long known about in Sydney as it was elsewhere in Australia.  

Docker remarks that the Celtic Twilight was already "a considerable literary movement in the Nineties in Australia."  

In 1918, comparatively late in the day, the Sydney Repertory Theatre opened featuring these playwrights.  

Despite his Scottish and Irish descent, Agnew did not look to Britain for Celtic influence. Instead he looked to America, to the music of Edward MacDowell.  

He was effusive about the American, declaring, "...his music is wonderful...Just to have written McDowell’s Celtic Sonata—why I’d give everything."  

He had himself produced a group of “Celtic” works in the late teens including *Deirdre’s Lament*, the *Ossianic Sonata* and the *Symphonic Poem* based on Keats’s poem *La Belle Dame sans merci*.  

Musicologist Peter Tregear interprets Fritz Hart’s interest in Celticism as driven by nostalgia and therefore conservative.  

But Hart came to Australia a  

98 This letter is in the Phyllis Campbell Collection. The pieces submitted bore the seemingly unchallenging titles of The Dancing Doll, The White Duck, The Lonely Shack, English Autumn and The Skipping Girl.  


100 Brewster-Jones’s piano teacher, Bryceson Treharne, started the Adelaide Repertory Theatre twelve years earlier in 1906.  


104 "Australia’s ‘Stravinsky’: Roy Agnew Interviewed.”  


For a general, but detailed, account of the Celtic Twilight, its origins and impact on English music see “Chapter 12: The Celtic Twilight” in Stephen Banfield, *Sensibility and English Song: Critical Studies*
mature man; he was in no sense an Australian. For Hart, Celticism was harnessed to a cause he felt strongly about (and one that had suffered "real harm" through Agnew's music): the cause of British music. Whereas Celticism for Agnew was one of many possible sources from which to draw, for Hart it helped to keep the foreign at bay. In a bizarre essay written for *Art in Australia* in 1922, he makes this objective quite clear:

If a gifted young Australian composer should steep himself in the idiom of Stravinsky or Scriabine, and then proceed to interpret in terms of music his impressions of the bush, the result could not be of any value to Australian art. Whereas, on the other hand, if his enthusiasms had led him to the profound study of the music of Henry Purcell, Weelkes, Byrd, or even of Arthur Sullivan, it is quite possible that his impressions of the bush would find expression in music that would ultimately be proved to possess genuine national qualities...It is absolutely impossible for a school of Australian creative music to arise that is not founded directly upon British music.106

Hart’s vision of Australia was not dissimilar to the Arcadia envisioned by Norman Lindsay and his followers, although it was more narrowly Anglocentric.107 He warns of the danger of slavishly imitating Continental models:

The Australian composer, must, of course, know the music of all schools, ancient and modern. He must know his Bartók of to-day, and his Gluck of a previous day. He must even know what Schoenberg and Stravinsky are doing at the present time—and he must learn from every composer something, even if only what to avoid!...The Australian composer without a firm belief in his artistic ancestry will endeavour to assume many a mantle that will not fit him, and will pose as a modern

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Beethoven, Mendelssohn or Wagner; unless—which is every whit as bad—he poses as a kind of Australian Debussy or—horror surpassing all other horrors—an Australian Stravinsky.108

In the above excerpts, Hart not only pinpoints the two figures that Agnew praised so effusively in 1923—Scriabin and Stravinsky—he also coins the loaded expression “Australian Stravinsky,” the very term of opprobrium publicly attached to Agnew the following year. It is not impossible that Hart had Agnew in mind when he wrote these words. Hart’s violin sonata was performed in the same June concert of 1921 in which Agnew provoked the hostile reaction described above, but being in a more conservative style it received a more positive response. Hart could possibly have met Agnew even earlier in 1913 when in Sydney organising the Australian Opera Guild with Alfred Hill, who was at that time Agnew’s composition teacher. Despite his fear of imitation and the energy with which he promoted British music, Hart did not reject European modern music outright. As Stephen Banfield has observed, he joins a group of lesser-known British composers who showed some interest in modernism.109 In conjunction with the modern music champion, Melbourne pianist Harold Elvins, he gave lectures on modern French music during these years. Earlier, in 1917, he had himself explored new possibilities of composition in his unpublished *Fourteen Experimental Pieces for Piano*. Several of these miniatures, for example no. 9, delve into the not particularly adventurous region of asymmetric metre.

Others, such as no. 9, are harmonically far more adventurous.\footnote{Peter Tregear has commented on the “progressive” aspects of Hart’s harmonic language, noting what he has described as the “harmonic ambivalence” present in the “Upon Julia’s Clothes,” from Twenty-One Songs for voice and piano, op. 23 written in 1916, a year before the Fourteen Experiments. See Peter Tregear, “The Songs of Fritz Hart,” in One Hand on the Manuscript: Music in Australian Cultural History 1930-1960, 61.}
For some Australians, the idea of the Celt offered an alternative to “Englishness.” Celticism became a site where ideas of Australian national identity and Britishness were played out. It offered possibilities to break away from English domination. As such its function was oppositional. Andrew Blake in his study of the construction of English musical identity notes that the “many characterisations of the Celtic heritage were used to construct difference.” He contends that the “strongest of these invented traditions,” is “the ‘natural’ musicality of the Celts.” Far earlier in his article, “Are Australians a Musical People?” of 1920 Alfred Johnstone foreshadows this essentialising idealisation of Celticism. “Yes, emphatically, yes,” he answered, but only because the Irish and Scottish parts of the Australian makeup countered the phlegmatic, unemotional and therefore unmusical English. Whereas the English were not musically spontaneous, the Irish were “brimful of that ebullient temperament, of that Celtic fire, of that imaginative dreamy nature, which constitutes some of the elements of musical genius.” He continued, “Scotland, too, is musical. There also the Celts lack neither imagination nor emotion,” concluding that: “We are, then, the children of the rather unmusical English, the soft and slightly melancholy, but musical Irish, and the martial, strong and musical Scotch. It is not a bad ancestry on the whole.” Whereas Celticism was for Hart a way to bring Australian music into one unified homogeneous “British” music, Johnstone used the Celtic stereotype to emphasise the difference of the Australian character.

Beyond a specifically Australian context there is still another important alternative interpretation of Celticism to Tregear’s equation of it with tradition and nostalgia. In his work on Orientalism, John MacKenzie has observed that for the English composer an interest in Eastern music often coexisted with an interest in folk music or the Celtic Revival. He identifies the folk along with the exotic elements as key routes out of conformity. It is useful here to reinvoke the importance of

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112 J. Alfred Johnstone, “Are Australians a Musical People?” *AMN* 9, no. 12 (1920): 398. Gibson Young, then editor of *AMN*, also indulged in this essentialised and idealised stereotype of the Celt, when he wondered publicly if the Australian conductor, Joseph Bradley, possessed the “glowing fire” and “impulsive depths” of the Celt, and even if there was not in Hart’s own personality a sign of the “highly-tinted undercurrents of Celtic brilliance?” See “About Joseph Bradley,” *AMN* 10, no. 6 (1921): 253 and Gibson Young, “F. Bennicke Hart (A Biographical Study),” *AMN* 9, no. 12 (1920): 393.
archaism in the formulation of modernist primitivisms more generally as well as in this particular discussion of the Celtic Twilight, specifically the potential of Celtic mythology to play a vital role in the construction of national identity. For Joshua Esty, this construction necessitated the fetishising and primitivising of Britain’s own past.\textsuperscript{114} Gregory Castle has also noted the Revivalists’ essentialist desire for an “authentic primitive” to counter modernity’s condition of alienation and dissociation.\textsuperscript{115} The Celtic Revival can then be seen as part of early modernist discourse about primitivism. The ancient Britons were undergoing a process of exoticisation. As such they provided a fertile source of inspiration for English composer Arnold Bax, a self-constructed Celt from Surrey, and one of Agnew’s favourite composers.\textsuperscript{116} A reference to “Bax and his Celtic modernism,” found in Sydney’s short-lived journal \textit{Forum} early in 1923, makes the association between Celticism and modernism patently clear.\textsuperscript{117} Perhaps for some, such as Hart, an Englishman away from home, the Celtic Twilight was essentially nostalgic, but for others it was revitalising, offering new artistic paths. For Hart, an English emigré, who ultimately left Australia, Celticism was central to the construction and expansion of British music, for Agnew it was but another avenue of artistic exploration.

In the same 1923 interview that highlighted Agnew’s fascination with Scriabin’s ninth piano sonata and Macdowell’s \textit{Keltic} Sonata, we discover that

\textsuperscript{115} Gregory Castle, \textit{Modernism and the Celtic Revival} (Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 24. As mentioned in the introduction, Louise Blakeney Williams makes a similar point in her work on English modernist literature. As does Raymond Williams in \textit{The Politics of Modernism} when he asserts that, “[i]t is a striking characteristic of several movements within both Modernism and the avant-garde that rejection of the existing social order and its culture was supported and even directly expressed by recourse to a simpler art: either the primitive or exotic, as in the interest in African and Chinese objects and forms, or the ‘folk’ or ‘popular’ elements of their native cultures.” See Louise Blakeney Williams, \textit{Modernism and the Ideology of History: Literature, Politics and the Past} (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 114-15 and Raymond Williams, \textit{The Politics of Modernism: Against the New Conformists} (London: Verso, 1989), 58. Cf. Bartók, “Autobiographical Sketch,” see f.n. 82, p. 143 in Chapter 1.
\textsuperscript{116} Bax, who actually hailed from Surrey, went so far as to construct an “Irish” personality replete with the pseudonym, Dermot O’Byrne for his literary endeavours that were written mostly in Ireland. cf. Banfield, \textit{Sensibility and English Song} Vol. 1, 250.
\textsuperscript{117} “Tomi”, “Some Notes on Recent Melbourne Music,” \textit{Forum} 1, no. 18 (1923): 20 [my italics]. In an interview with Melbourne pianist, Edward Goll, who had only recently heard Bax play his own music in London, Goll told an \textit{AMN} reporter that Bax got “down to the barbarian,” so providing another example of the Celt as primitive. See “The ‘Three B’s’ Are Now Four: Bach Beethoven, Brahms and Bax: Edward Goll Finds Modern’s Secret,” \textit{AMN} 13, no. 8 (1924): 26.
Agnew had also heard Stravinsky’s *Firebird* and *Petrouchka*.\(^{118}\) In looking for possible explanations as to how he came to hear this music it is necessary to tell the story of contemporary European music in Sydney, in particular that of French and Russian music. The transmission of this music came through formal and informal networks involving imperial channels and direct links to Europe itself. It was common then, as it still is, for Australian musicians to study in London or other major European centres; many of the important musicians in this story were transnational figures. In 1923, Cairos Rego provides wonderful evidence of the availability of modern scores in Australia. In April 1923 he exhorts his piano-playing readers to go and buy the score of Milhaud’s *Saudades de Brasil* and not even two months later he told his readers: “It is not generally known that a Paris publisher (Senart) issues half yearly a wonderful collection of music that strongly appeals to those interested in the modern composers.” He went on to outline the eclectic contents of the latest issue, which included “Milhaud’s Fifth Quartet, piano pieces by Malipiero, songs by Matsuyama (Japanese composer), Petridis (Greece), violin works by Dupuis, Orban and Auberts (concerto), for ‘cello, sonatas by Boulnois, Glamert...”\(^{119}\)

Australia had shared England’s emulation of and reverence for German musical culture. The First World War was to change this attitude dramatically for both countries. The growing interest in French and Russian music, initiated at first by the *Entente Cordiale* of 1904 and the ensuing Tripe Entente of 1907 later became a major preoccupation after the outbreak of war with Germany. This led to a rejection of everything German. The music of Ravel and Debussy came to dominate the contemporary music scene in the major Australian cities as it did in London and Europe.\(^{120}\) Visiting artists, such as the pianists Leonard Borwick and Debussy’s personal friend Harold Bauer, brought some of this repertoire to Australia in the early teens. The Agnew family autograph book contains both these artists’ signatures.\(^{121}\)

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\(^{118}\) “Australia’s ‘Stravinsky’: Roy Agnew Interviewed.”


\(^{120}\) An article in the *AMN* provides a particular instance of when French and Russian music replaced programmed German music. It reported that “even in London, in deference to popular protests, a Beethoven symphony and a Wagner item were excised to make way for French and Russian composers.” See “Music and the War,” *AMN* 6, no. 8 (1917): 226.

\(^{121}\) The Agnew Family Autograph Book: Private Collection in the possession of Margaret Morgan. Although the provenance of this book is unclear, it stands nonetheless as a wonderful historical document capturing much of the musical life of the period. Among the many inscriptions, poems and
The admirers and detractors of Debussy's music, both local and international, debated the merits of his work in the *AMN*. An example illustrating the smallness of this musical world and the consequent importance of personal communications between individuals is found in Miss Jessie Masson's "Travel Impressions" published in the *AMN* in 1915. She declared "I went to Paris in search of the moderns," and find them she did, at the International Music Congress, where she heard Ravel and Debussy perform.122

Among the detractors were Thomas Edison and Saint-Saëns. In 1914, an article by Saint-Saëns on modern music reprinted from *Musical America*, warned of the danger "of gravitating towards an imitation of the Debussy-Ravel-Schoenberg school."123 An interview with Thomas Edison in 1917, reprinted from the American *Sun*, was harnessed to this debate. Edison was scathing in his appraisal of Debussy:

I liked everything but cubist music, which is hideous. I mean for example 'Debussy'. One can acquire a taste for almost anything. But I can't stand the type of music that is like a cubist picture. There is no melodic invention in 'Debussy', not a single note that is related to its predecessor. Why, I can turn the phonograph backward and make better music than that.124

Five years earlier, the *AMN* had published an interview with Debussy himself from the French journal *L'Excelsior*.125 Within a short time, full-page advertisements for Debussy piano rolls appeared in the Australian journal claiming him as "one of the best known musical personages of to-day whom no one can ignore."126

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124 *AMN* 6, no. 11 (1917): 315. Edison's unusual equation of modern music with cubism, a particular style in the visual arts and Saint-Saëns's unusual decision to associate Schoenberg with Debussy and Ravel provide examples of the tendency to understand things that are fundamentally different but which are feared and disliked for their incomprehensibility as therefore being the same.
125 "An Interview with Debussy by Georges Delaquy from *L'Excelsior*," *AMN* 2, no. 1 (1912): 15.
126 "The Music of the World At Your Disposal if You Own a Player Piano," *AMN* 6, no. 12 (1917): frontispiece. The piano rolls, which were available at Allans, included some of his more challenging
As well as pianists such as Hutchens and Penn, other Australians embraced the modern French piano literature. One of these was Laurence Godfrey Smith, a student of Leschetitzky in Vienna, who later performed on Agnew’s radio programme, “Modern and Contemporary Composers,” and the other, a close friend and supporter of Agnew, was the expatriate William Murdoch. Originally from Bendigo, Murdoch went to England on the Clarke Scholarship to the Royal College of Music between 1906 and 1910, becoming a colleague of the young Brewster-Jones. He returned to Australia often on tour and on one such tour in 1912 was presented as “an evangelist of the modern French school...A missionary of the new Gospel according to Debussy and Ravel,” who themselves were seen to comprise a new “ultramodern school.” This “unconventional” pianist did not limit his attention to these two composers. During an interview in 1916 conducted in his London home he was asked what he thought of the “modern extremists?” The interviewer described his reaction: “Mr. Murdoch left the piano for a well-stocked set of music shelves. ‘Ornstein’, he murmured, as he began to search.” During this process the interviewer continued a conversation on the merits of Schoenberg with Murdoch’s duo partner the celebrated English violinist Albert Sammons, until interrupted by the sounds of Murdoch playing Ornstein’s Impressions of Notre Dame.

By the late teens and early twenties the music of young French “ultramoderns” such as Milhaud, Rhené-Baton, Florent Schmitt and Roussel emerged onto the Australian scene. And it was available, as Cairo Rego demonstrated with his instruction to his readers to go and buy the aforementioned Saudades de Brasil.
Around this time the young generation of Italians such as Pizzetti, Casella and Malipiero also began to feature on programmes in Sydney.\footnote{Around this time the \textit{AMN} began to feature imported English articles by E.H.C Oliphant which covered, among other subjects, the music of Roussel (an article that also touched upon Debussy, Ravel and Stravinsky) as well as the young Italians Pizzetti, Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Malipiero, Francesco Santoliquido and Vito Frazzi. See E.H.C Oliphant, “An Acquired Taste; Albert Roussel and the French Spirit,” \textit{AMN} 10, no. 12 (1921): 497 and E.H.C. Oliphant, “Young Italy. It’s Departure from Tradition,” \textit{AMN} 11, no. 2 (1921): 77.}

Russian music gained in popularity in the years up to and beyond the Revolution, and was often heard alongside French repertoire, occasionally giving rise to a “Franco-Russian” concert. The Austral Quartet performed works by Taneyev and Glière. The Sydney Symphony Orchestra performed symphonic works by Borodin, Glazunov, and Rimsky-Korsakov.\footnote{In 1915 the Austral Quartet performed a quartet by Taneyev. See “Musical Notes,” \textit{AMN} 4, no. 12 (1915): 336. In that same year the Sydney Symphony Orchestra performed Borodin’s Symphony no. 2. See “Symphony Orchestra,” \textit{AMN} 5, no. 6 (1915): 180. And the following year the Austral Quartet introduced a quartet by Glière to Sydney audiences. See “Allegro Guisto”, “Sydney: Austral String Quartet,” \textit{AMN} 5, no. 12 (1916): 364.} Full scores of Russian songs were included in issues of the \textit{AMN}. In 1915 the \textit{AMN} included a long biographical list of Russian composers including Mussorgsky, Rebikov, Stravinsky and Scriabin.\footnote{“A Biographical List of Russian Composers,” \textit{AMN} 5, no. 2 (1915): 60.} In 1919 Gregory Ivanov, the Russian emigre violinist, contributed an article the title of which summarised its thesis: “Russian Music and Composers, Brighter Days of the Future In Spite Of the Present Darkness.” He saw the Australian interest as part of an international phenomenon, remarking that “[a] glance in any of the modern musical journals of England, France or America show us the important position of Russian music and performers.” He was not adverse to autoexoticisation, mentioning the young Russian school’s “liking for Eastern colour,” “a touch of the Orient, and “a drop of Tartar blood.” After all they had been influenced by “the fantastic, mystic, religious and psychological element” of the group of influential nationalist composers, The Five. In his discussion of Rebikov and the whole tone scale, Ivanov mentioned a long and informed list of composers including Mussorgsky, Gretchaninov, Glière, Solotariev, Krasin, Koreshchenko and Tcherepnin, who, in his opinion, did it better. Stravinsky was praised for his ballets the \textit{Firebird} and \textit{Petrouchka}. Ivanov finished with a quote from the English writer, Montagu Nathan,
who saw Russian music not as a “conquering” but an “inspiring force.” 133 Musical Australia also used Montagu Nathan as a source in its series on Russian composers in 1921.134 This “inspiring force” had become so powerful that Cairo Rego in 1922 wrote an article for the Forum called “The Conquering Russian,” in which he noted the Russian domination of all things musical: performers, composers and dancers. He went on to outline all recent visits to Australia by Russian performers, including the famous bass Chaliapin, and informed his readers that Rosina Buckman had given excerpts of Boris Godunov and that the New South Wales State Orchestra had played Rimsky-Korsakov’s Scheherazade and symphonic works by Borodin and Rubinstein.135

Much modern music was reported but never heard. This unrealised music could still, as we have seen in the case of Ornstein and Agnew’s Dance of the Wild Men, exert a considerable power upon the imagination. Reviews of overseas concerts often appeared in the press, particularly ones that caused a furore.136 These inevitably included music of the latest ultramoderns. Of particular relevance to an understanding of Agnew’s music was the appearance of two reviews side by side in the June issue of the AMN in 1914. Published only two months after the actual performances themselves, they covered Scriabin’s first English appearance at the Queen’s Hall where he performed his own piano concerto and Henry Wood conducted his “latest”

133 Gregory Ivanov, “Russian Music and Composers, Brighter Days of the Future In Spite Of the Present Darkness,” AMN 8, no. 9 (1919): 266-67. His words, “the present darkness,” refer of course to the Russian Revolution of 1917. The Five, or the Mighty Handful as they were also known, are the group of enormously influential nationalist Russian composers: Mussorgsky, Borodin, Cui, Rimsky-Korsakov and Balakirev that transformed Russian music in the mid-nineteenth century. Rebikov actively experimented with the whole tone scale in particular, for example his piano piece Les Démons S’amusent is entirely derived from one whole tone scale.
136 The following two examples are taken from a large number of similar articles found in a wide range of journals. In 1922 Musical Australia reports on four orchestral concerts organised by Eugene Goossens that provoked both “controversy and discussion.” The works performed included John Ireland’s Symphonic Rhapsody, Malipiero’s Oriente Immaginario and Stravinsky’s In Memoriam Claude Debussy, which received some detailed coverage. It was also noted that Ansermet had recently premiered Honegger’s symphonic work, Horatius Triumphant. See “Conductors Abroad: Eugene Goossens, Mr. Ansermet,” Musical Australia 3, no. 1 (1922): 24. In his published interview with Moiseiwitsch for The Home, Noskowski also takes the time to inform Sydney reader of a concert of music by Milhaud and Honegger in New York that “nearly caused a riot.” See Noskowski, “The Possibilities of Ultra-Modern Music”, by Benno Moiseiwitsch written down by L. de Noskowski,” The Home 4, no. 2 (1923): 88.
symphonic work *Prometheus*, and Ornstein’s infamous London concert in which he performed works by himself and Schoenberg.\(^{137}\)

Ornstein sustained an unusually ferocious attack. In the 1914 review he was accused of mistaking the piano for a punching ball. In “Futurists in Music,” an article written two years later the attack was resumed: Ornstein’s music was declared “freak music” which made “one’s flesh creep,” and once more the use of boxing gloves was recommended. The mockingly derisive tone found in the Ornstein reviews (a tone adopted in an effort to contain the music’s transgressive power) is similar to that of the review of Agnew’s music as “Ultramodern Extravagance.” Both reviews suggested that the desired musical effect could be better obtained by simply sitting on the keyboard. Although much of this press had a strong anti-modernist bias, it nonetheless brought the music to public attention for spirits like Agnew to wonder about. The 1916 article on Ornstein even went so far as to include examples of the music thereby allowing interested musicians a glimpse of his musical language.\(^{138}\)

The music of Bartók and particularly Schoenberg was often described in the Australian journals in tones of fascinated horror. Iconic works of early modernism such as Honegger’s *Pacific 231* and Schoenberg’s *Pierrot Lunaire* were wondered at long before their Australian premieres. A broad range of modern music was covered in print. “Modern Musical Tendencies,” a lengthy article by Henry Tate, the Melbourne composer and polemicist, appeared in 1918 exhibiting an extensive knowledge of modern European music. Eschewing anything German he examined the major national schools. Beginning with the Moorish influence on the Spanish composers Albeniz, Turina, Granados and de Falla, Tate then moved on to Stravinsky and Scriabin, the chief focus in his discussion of Russian music. Kandinsky (wrongly identified as a Pole) and Rimbaud are included in the context of Scriabin’s synaesthetic view of art. This is followed by a mention of Italian Futurism and its championing of the machine, in particular the philosophies of the futurist composer,

\(^{137}\) “Notes,” *AMN* 3, no. 12 (1914): 381. The Australian expatriate composer, Frederick Septimus Kelly attended Ornstein’s London concert and gives a first hand account of it in his meticulously kept diaries, of which excerpts have recently been published by the National Library of Australia where his archive is held. See Thérèse Radic, ed., *Race against Time: The Diaries of F.S. Kelly* (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 2004), 325.

Francesco Pratella as articulated in his polemic “Down with Tango and Parsifal.” And it is the eccentric Eric Satie who takes prime position in Tate’s discussion of French music. The considerable erudition of Cairos Rego is displayed in his article “The New Music” which, in 1921, explored such topics as, to use his own words, “the pentatonic scales of Moussorgsky and Debussy, the scales of Scriabin, Stravinsky, even Ornstein; even maybe the barbarous, exotic and African scales of the future, the 113 scales of which Busoni speaks.”

The following year Noskowski introduced his Forum readers to the “new composer” Szymanowski, highlighting his recent success in London.

Through the writing of such individuals the Sydney musical world was introduced to a wide range of modern music.

The AMN published the English music critic Ernest Newman’s fascinating account of the rise of French and Russian music in England during, and because of, the First World War. Evans observed that “Societies sprang up everywhere for the performances of the new Russian and French music.” This happened in Australia as well. The French Music Society began in 1916. Concerts included works by Chausson, Milhaud, Dukas and Franck, performed by musicians such as Cyril Monk and the Austral String Quartet, Winifred Burston and Cairos Rego’s daughter, Iris de Cairos Rego.

1912 saw the inauguration of the Musical Association of New South Wales. Arundel Orchard recounted in his memoirs: “Great credit is due to G. de Cairos Rego

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139 Henry Tate, “Modern Musical Tendencies,” AMN 7, no. 10 (1918): 260-261. Like the Palmers and his friend, Bernard O’Dowd, Tate is another example of the cosmopolitan nationalist. He is now known primarily as the author of two slim musical manifestos espousing an Australian national music: Australian Musical Resources: Some Suggestions (1917) and Australian Musical Possibilities (1924).


for the success of this Association, which was largely due to his foresight and
splendid organising and administrative ability."  

Cairos Rego served as president. Cyril Monk and Winifred Burston were also to take up this position after his retirement. Under these enlightened individuals the Association became a mecca for those keen to keep abreast of things. Cairos Rego arranged for half-price tickets for members, who also had the opportunity of meeting all visiting artists at the various Association functions; the dining hall at the well-known department store Farmers was often the venue for concerts and dinners. Cairos Rego hosted Moiseiwitsch’s welcome party at Farmers in 1920 where “society and art elbowed one another in the big room at Farmers.” Some representatives of art included the pianist Laurence Godfrey Smith and the artist Elliot Gruner.

It was here that Agnew probably met Moiseiwitsch, and also perhaps where the Russian was given the Australian’s music. Moiseiwitsch was again feted at Farmers on his return trip in 1923, where he was informed about Agnew’s impending move to London. The Bulletin reported happily that the Russian pianist “glowed with enthusiasm over Sydney’s determination to send Roy Agnew to Europe,” adding that Agnew’s music compared “favourably with those of the modern group who are now holding musical London.”

The Association’s meetings in the new Palings concert hall often included lectures. One such lecture “The Trend of Modern Music” was given in August 1921. Not only was Stravinsky’s Rite of Spring discussed during this lecture, but excerpts of the Firebird were also “given,” providing one possible opportunity for Agnew to hear it. Agnew never lost the support of this Association. They were later to be public defenders of his radio show, and sent a moving letter of condolence to his widow soon after his death.

144 Orchard, The Distant View, 44.
149 Letter from Helen Morton, Secretary of the New South Wales Music Association, to Kathleen Agnew dated 21 November 1944. The letter is quoted in full by Kathleen Agnew in her unpublished memoir “Just as It Happened.” See Kathleen Agnew, “Just as It Happened,” 53-54, Papers of Roy and
Another important organisation that sought to further the cause of modern music was the British Music Society. It began in London January 1919 as the brainchild of a figure who was to be critically important to Agnew on his arrival in London: Arthur Eaglefield Hull. Hull set the society’s objectives out in no uncertain terms. They were:

1) TO FORM Centres and Branches all over the World; 2) TO FIGHT for a recognised place for music in education; 3) TO STIMULATE the appreciation of music by lectures and concerts; 4) TO CHAMPION the cause of British composers at home and abroad; 5) TO FEDERATE all musical activities in Great Britain for greater strength; 6) TO ESTABLISH music libraries all over the Kingdom.

He actively lobbied Australians to take up the cause. He found a willing supporter in the extraordinary Melbourne philanthropist and champion of new art, Louise Hanson Dyer. Hull approached her during a visit to London. She reported, “most of the leading musicians were intensely interested in the artistic doings of the Dominions…and especially was Dr. Hull anxious for the furtherance of the British Music Society idea in Australia.”

Dyer opened the Melbourne branch and Verbrugghen the Sydney branch. It was from the outset a truly transnational enterprise. The AMN reported in 1922 “prosperous centres” had been formed in Melbourne, New York and Brazil, “the latter centre recently sending to the London headquarters for over £200.” The Australian branches long outlived their English counterparts and became one of the main venues for hearing performances of not only modern French, Russian, English and Italian music but also one of the few that actively promoted and encouraged...
Australian music. Significantly, it was the Sydney branch that changed its name to include the word “International.”\textsuperscript{155} Much later, in 1940, it was still claimed that:

A broad view and a spirit of progress can be set down to the credit of the British and International Music Society. Music from far and wide, irrespective of nationality, school or race, appears consistently in its programmes... The newer modes are better looked after by this Society than by any other local body...\textsuperscript{156}

One important meeting place for Sydney musicians, particularly before the opening of the Conservatorium, were the rooms at Palings Publishing House. Orchard remembered Palings as “the centre of music in Sydney.” He recalled: “On any day one could meet there the leading musicians of Sydney, Palings then being the rendezvous of all those interested in music.”\textsuperscript{157} Cairo Rego was always in the Palings building.\textsuperscript{158} Vost Janssen, the second violinist of the Austral String Quartet, and Agnew himself taught there, as his former teacher Sydney Moss did before him. This was where Agnew met his future wife Kathleen O’Connor.\textsuperscript{159}

Many of these musicians who congregated around Palings were the so-called “admirers and advocates of ultramodernism.”\textsuperscript{160} They organised and performed in the modern music concerts. Almost all of them participated in Agnew’s later radio series. Several have already been mentioned: Arlom, Hutchens, Burston, Penn, for example. Arlom’s commitment to new music was generally known. In 1934, the \textit{AMN} observed that “[t]here are few musicians in Australia who range more intelligently and extensively over the field of contemporary music than Mr. Wilfred Arlom.”\textsuperscript{161} His love of Scriabin’s late music extended to that of Scriabin’s English disciple William Baines. In an article on Baines written for the \textit{AMN}, Arlom noted the close connection between their styles, remarking that: “[w]ith the Seven Preludes we meet

\textsuperscript{156} “British and International: Programmes True to Title,” \textit{AMN} 31, no. 1 (1940): 8.
\textsuperscript{158} Stevens, “Harmony and—!!.”
\textsuperscript{159} Agnew, “Just as It Happened,” 33.
\textsuperscript{160} “Allegro Guisto”, “Ultramodern Extravagance.”
the influence of Scriabin to a very marked extent..."162 Frank Hutchens shared Arlom’s musical tastes. Although his interest in modern music was not evident in his own music, he said in 1923, “I freely admit my interest in the moderns, I have introduced a number of works of the modern school to Sydney audiences.”163 He often teamed up with Cyril Monk and other members of the Austral to play music of the “very advanced type.”164

A.L. Kelly was one of many who recognised Monk as a valiant champion of new music.165 Kelly’s review of a concert of 1921, which featured Ornstein’s piano piece China Town, Debussy’s En blanc et noir and the two-piano version of the Danse Russe from Stravinsky’s Petrouchka, extolled the virtues of Monk, “whose entusiasms for new ideas and musical progress,” he wrote “dates back a good many years.” He also included Penn in “this way of thinking.”166 The following year Henry Penn, Cyril Monk, Gladstone Bell and Arthur Benjamin premiered works “by some of the men whose music caused storms of controversy during the last London season.” Despite the fact much of the music caused “acute musical indigestion,” the reviewer conceded “...it was good to keep apace with the times, and hear everything possible from the ultra moderns, who are making the big stir in the musical melting pot.” Penn and Bell performed Goossens’s Rhapsody for cello and piano, and Monk’s offerings included Malipiero’s Il canto della Lontanazzo and the Stravinsky Pastorale.167 Their contribution was recognised by Diane Collins decades later. “Arthur Benjamin, Henry Penn and especially Cyril Monk,” she writes, “were responsible for bringing performances of modernist repertoire to audiences long

164 “Monk-Hutchens Recital,” AMN 7, no. 1 (1917) 21-22. In 1926, while on a trip to the USA, Hutchens happened to lunch with Prokofiev. One of the topics discussed over lunch was the Soviet orchestral experiment Persimfans, a conductorless orchestra. This account was included in a letter he sent back to the AMN. See “Unconducted Orchestras. Russia’s Little Experiment. As Told to Frank Hutchens,” AMN 15, no. 9 (1926): 49.
before the arrival of Verbrugghen." Moore MacMahon was another musician who showed an interest in modern music from the early 1920s. Like so many of these musicians he lived a transnational life. He left Australia to study with renowned Hungarian violinist, Szigeti, and then lived for a time in Paris and Geneva before returning to Sydney. Along with duo partner pianist Frank Warbrick, Moore MacMahon was to play an essential role in Agnew’s “Modern and Contemporary Music.”

Monk was the central figure in Sydney’s modern music scene. He founded the Austral Quartet in 1910. An important part of its platform was to introduce modern works to Sydney. Its personnel changed over the years, but its founding members were Monk, Vost Janssen, Alfred Hill and the cellist Carl Gotsch. It ran in its first formation until 1917, when it gave way to the recently arrived Verbrugghen Quartet. During these years it introduced many French and Russian works including those by Franck, Debussy, Ravel, Chausson, Milhaud, Glazunov, Taneyev, and Glière, as well as playing new Australian music, in particular that of Alfred Hill. In addition to his quartet playing, Monk introduced a remarkable number of violin sonatas to Sydney. He worked with many of the established pianists including Hutchens, Iris de Cairos Rego, Burston, Arlom, Benjamin, Penn and Godfrey Smith. An impressive array of sonatas was presented including those by Franck, Debussy, Milhaud, Rhené-Baton, Emile Bernhard, Joseph Jongen, Elgar, Bax, Benjamin, Howells, Ireland, Goossens, Dale, Bowen, Ropartz, Dohnanyi, McEwen, Lazzari and Sjogren.

During an in-depth interview for the *AMN*, Monk revealed some of the existing tensions between the modern artist and Sydney society. After showing journalist Lorna Stirling some recent arrivals from overseas including sonatas by Piszetti and the “ultramodern” Amsterdam composer Willem Pijper, he turned to another: “Here’s one I shall never play in public’, he chuckled, opening the Leo Omstein sonata and revealing...a positive haemorrhage of notes.” He told Stirling that he also had the score to Eugene Goossens’s first violin sonata, but admitted that

he had not yet had the courage to play it in public (although he had done it a lot privately). Because, he explained “[p]arts of this sound very queer, the violin playing in a key a semitone higher than the piano ...”

Debate on the musical questions of the day was not left entirely to writers such as Waters and Cairo Rego. Many of Agnew’s friends and colleagues, including Frank Hutchens, Cyril Monk, Vost-Janssen, Keith Barry and Dorothy Helmrich were at various times editors of the Conservatorium Magazine. The performers also thought about and engaged with the bigger cultural debates such as the potential of the reproducing machines. In 1925, Monk, then President of Musical Association of New South Wales, gave a lecture, The Phonograph as an Adjunct in Musical Culture. Three years later, he joined Arlom and Moore-MacMahon in a lecture for the First Annual Conference of Music Teachers on “musical development, progress of orchestral writing, importance of accompaniment; the effect of duotonalism; the rise of the British school; and the future of Australian composers.” Monk was advocating for modern music well into the thirties, calling upon people to open their ears, be ready to change and to accept the new and different. In 1934, more than a decade after Kelly’s pronouncement, the AMN still insisted that: “No more ardent champion of new ideas and progress in music is to be found in Sydney.”

Set against this surprisingly rich cultural field, presented in the wealth of contextual detail found above, Agnew’s knowledge of modern music and his forays into more exploratory musical idioms no longer seems startling or shocking. He was in fact working within a small but committed milieu, who encouraged him to “hump his swag across the old-world tracks.”

For such was the power of Moiseiwitsch’s consecration that, in June 1923, an “energetic and influential” committee of the Citizens of Sydney, in an “unprecedented move,” raised £1000, approximately $50,000 in today’s terms. They

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175 G. S. L., “Music in Sydney: Cyril Monk’s Activities.”
176 See p. 121.
envisaged Agnew joining “the band of young British composers in England” headed by their “High Priest,” Eugene Goossens. The AMN commented that it was “about the first time that a composer and instrumentalist had such a profitable and significant departure.” 177 A Farewell Concert was held at the Town Hall. By all accounts the concert was a notable event and was attended by many powerful members of society. “[E]veryone was there,” insisted the AMN, “from the Governor-General and Lady Forster to the humble followers of Euterre way down under the Eastern Gallery.” 178 The Bulletin vividly captured the atmosphere:

The Roy Agnew concert on Saturday netted a crowded Town Hall. Flutters of prettily-dressed young things, many of them students of Roy’s, sold programmes for 6d.—“autographed by the composer one shilling: really written, not rubber-stamped,” they impressed on the buyer. A waiting-room so filled with flowers that it smelled like a hothouse even on that chilly night drew every passing eye; hundreds of girls and boys crowding out the cheaper seats; the G.G.’s very appreciative on their strip of carpet; handsome evening wraps purring against the Woy Woy Wolf of the young business woman; a contingent of party-frocked Kambala girls; and a very small sister of Roy’s in the front row, fair bobbed head very sleek under a proudly erect blue bow—it was the sort of audience that only Sydney could know, and for size and variety was a monument to the organisation of Mrs. Alexander Gordon and Gertrude Barton. 179

In an otherwise overcrowded and badly organised programme, it was Agnew’s own works that were of chief interest. Although the discomfited “gifted instrumentalist” could not ascertain the key of Dance of the Wild Men, the “young ultra-modern set showed signs of frightful excitement” when it was performed. “Their aggregate temperatures registered several thousands of degree…” 180 Bolstered by this generous display of financial and emotional support Agnew left for London late in 1923.

177 “Roy Agnew Farewell.” Eugene Goossen’s interest in occult magic, which was to later bring about his downfall, public disgrace and expulsion from Australia, was apparently already known years earlier. For an account of this incident see Collins, Sounds from the Stables.
178 “Roy Agnew Farewell.”
180 “Roy Agnew Farewell.”
Chapter 3

London—“a centre city of the world...”

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London: 1923–28

Agnew arrived in London on Christmas Eve, 1923 determined to make a name for himself. The *British Australasian* introduced him as, “a modernist, and a disciple of Scriabin.” To further titillate the readers, the journalist then raised the recent controversy surrounding his music in Sydney. With two English publications already under his belt, Agnew’s intention was to study orchestration to correct a perceived deficit in his compositional skills. This study was to be conducted privately for, as an Australian obituary subsequently stated, “his style was already too individual to conform to the conventional standards” of the musical institutions. This chapter will examine Agnew’s movements between London and Sydney and argue that rather than London having a galvanising force on his musical development, the opposite occurred. Nevertheless his continued and increased exposure to contemporary European music and models of musical production had direct consequences for his

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1 This quotation is taken from an interview with William Murdoch. See *Australian Musical News* [hereafter *AMN*] 2, no. 12 (1913): 340.
2 “An Australian Composer,” *British Australasian*, 21 February 1924, 15. A few months later in May, Dr G.A. Pfister returns to Agnew’s early successes, noting that “our Australian ‘modern’ composer, has attracted considerable attention, and has succeeded where other more famous composers have failed.” Noting his publishing contracts with Curwen and Ashwood, he announced with pride that “Well, Roy Agnew walked right in, and came out triumphant first go.” See G.A. Pfister, “Two Australian Singers and a Composer.” *British Australasian*, 14 May 1924, 19.
3 From an unidentified obituary cited in “Just as It Happened.” See Kathleen Agnew, “Just as It Happened,” 50 in Papers of Roy and Kathleen Agnew: Private Collection in the possession of Janie Maclay (Sydney) [hereafter Maclay: Papers of Roy and Kathleen Agnew].
courageous and pioneering radio show “Modern and Contemporary Composers” that ran between 1937 and 1942.

London and Britain more generally was recovering from the trauma of the Great War and 1918 flu pandemic. Although it never fully regained the optimism of the Edwardian years, London continued to expand during the interwar years. For many Australians, the city was at once an intrinsically familiar and a romantic, idealised place. For Alfred Johnstone, an Australian visitor to London writing to the *Australian Musical News* [hereafter *AMN*], being there was like being at:

> the deep heart of the world, and you have a curious consciousness that you are a part of the great city, with its throbbing vitality, its immensity, its universality, its majesty. It is the one place where you are instantly at home, and where you know yourself to be a citizen of the world.4

Back from a London visit also in 1920, John M. Prentice told the *AMN* that it was not so different from wartime, a bit more vulgar perhaps with the appearance of the nouveaux riches and war millionaires, but he thought the music better, naming among other things, the rage for jazz, the Russian ballet and a “Scriabene concert [sic].”5 Earlier, in 1913, the *AMN* had exclaimed, “Murdoch can tell you what a metropolis of music London is—a centre city of the world…”6

Murdoch himself gives a somewhat grim picture of Agnew’s early days at the centre of the world:

> He arrived in London about the end of 1922 [actually 1923]; and, as with very many of his countrymen, he knew no one and no one knew him. But after a time he began to create an interest among musicians with his compositions, and before long more than one publisher was glad to have his name in their catalogues.7

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6 *AMN* 2, no. 12 (1913): 340.
The *AMN* reports a different version of events. After only a few weeks, on 10 January, Agnew was invited to a function of the British Musical Association where he met, among other prominent musicians, Bax, the critic, Edwin Evans, and the renowned pianist Myra Hess. Two days later, on the twelfth, he attended a concert by Murdoch and afterwards went to dinner with him, the violinist Albert Sammons and the teacher and educator Yorke Trotter. Murdoch was so impressed with Agnew’s own performance of one of his “advanced” works that he asked for permission to play Agnew’s sixth sonata at a later concert. On the fifteenth his old supporter Moiseiwitsch played *Toccata Tragica* in Queen’s Hall for which he received four encores and, on the eighteenth, Trotter invited Agnew to play at the Lyceum Club, whereupon he “received many warm words of congratulation and encouragement upon his work.”

He had a limited amount of success before the publisher Augener took him up in 1927. Between 1924 and 1925 the Oxford University Press published a set of three preludes dedicated to his orchestration teacher Gerrard Williams, and Curwen published *Pangbourne Fields* and an Etude, both dedicated to the Italian pianist Solito Solis who toured London during this period. His BBC broadcasting debut came early in 1924 on a wireless concert, “Australians in the Air,” in which he played his fourth sonata. Ironically, the programme once again included a performance of Hart’s Sonata for violin and piano. There were two further broadcasts in 1925. The first was part of Australia Day celebrations and featured among other pieces, a short work, *Sur la Mer*, by his teacher Beaupuis. This broadcasting experience undoubtedly brought him into contact with an important figure in the BBC, Kenneth Wright, to whom he dedicated *Capriccio* in 1927.

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8 It is impossible to say which sonata this is. At the time of his arrival in London, Agnew reportedly had seven sonatas under his belt, most of which are no longer extant. Months before his departure to London he informed the *AMN* that he was working on his seventh sonata. See “Australia’s ‘Stravinsky’ Roy Agnew Interviewed;” *AMN* 12, no. 7 (1923): 311. Waters makes a reference to the seven sonatas as late as 1931. See Thorold Waters, “Australia and its Composers: The Modernism of Roy Agnew,” *AMN* 21, no. 2 (1931): 14. An additional and slightly earlier reference to “his seven sonatas” is found in the *Sydney Mail*. See “Music and Drama: Roy Agnew,” *Sydney Mail*, 1 May 1929, 9.


10 *Pangbourne Fields* (London: Curwen, 1925) and Etude for piano solo (London: Curwen, 1924).

11 It is unclear which sonata this is, and whether it is in fact still extant. See f.n. 6.

12 Emanuel de Beaupuis, *Sur la Mer: etude caracteristique* (London: Ricordi, no date).

music department of the BBC. Director of Music Adrian Boult described Wright as “the hub of the music department”; his many roles included assistant music director and later overseas music director. Agnew’s association with Wright gave him a direct connection to the BBC’s contemporary music programming. Wright was to be the right hand man of Edward Clarke, the director of programming for the BBC in the years that saw the apex of the Corporation’s championing of modern European music.

The reality of surviving in a big metropolis such as London was far harsher than many Australians expected. In 1924 the Dominion Artists Club was established in Clifton Gardens. A main function of the club was to provide physical and emotional support for the many struggling Australian musicians (mostly singers) who had come to London to pursue their dreams of fame and fortune. As well, the Club had two grass tennis courts, a beautiful music room with 150 seats and provided hostel accommodation. Agnew attended the inaugural dance and participated in many of the concerts held there. The club provided a meeting place for expatriates enabling them to continue friendships and make new contacts. Agnew was to see many of his Australian friends there such as Madame de Beaupuis, Lute Drummond, Nathalie Rosenwax, Doris Barnett, Gertrude Johnson, his future student Beatrice Tange as well as other composers such as Arthur Benjamin. This was also where he met the New Zealand pianist Esther Fisher.

15 Correspondence between Wright and Kathleen Agnew is held in files at the BBC Written Archives Centre in Reading, UK. The warmth of the friendship between Wright and Agnew is evident in his letter of condolence to Agnew’s widow. He writes, “...I always thought with pleasure of the many meetings Roy and I had while he was here and hoped that some time he would come back.” See Letter from Kenneth Wright to Kathleen Agnew, 20 February 1946, BBC Archives; RCONT 10, Roy Agnew, 1939-1949.
16 “Phyllis,” “In the Looking Glass,” British Australasian, 11 December 1924, 14. See also “Dominion Artists’ Club: Sixth Subscription Concert,” British Australasian, 17 December 1925, 15. According to “Phyllis,” Sydney musician and journalist, Lute Drummond, was also at the first Dominion Club concert. She was later to write an extended article on Agnew published adjacently to Murdoch’s in the Monthly Musical Record. See Lute Drummond, “An Australian Composer: Roy Agnew,” Monthly Musical Record 60, no. 712 (1930): 97-98. She is mentioned specifically by Helen Morton in her letter of condolence to Kathleen Agnew quoted in her “Just as It Happened.” See Chapter 2, p. 117, f.n. 145.
17 Madame de Beaupuis, Doris Barnett and Esther Fisher were all to receive dedications from Agnew. A May Day (London: Oxford University Press, 1927) was dedicated to Madame de Beaupuis, Contrasts (Boston: Schmidt, 1929) was dedicated to Barnett and Fisher received the dedication to Three Lyrics (London: Augener, 1927). Fisher was to be Cyril Scott’s duo piano partner and the teacher of his son Desmond, as he himself told me. (Desmond Scott, personal communication, 17 September 2004.) Nathalie Rosenwax frequented Madame de Beaupuis salon parties in Sydney in the
It was the Australian singer, Gertrude Johnson and Esther Fisher who brought Agnew into contact with Cyril Scott. Agnew was, however, already acquainted with Scott’s “strange wandering tonalities.”\(^{18}\) He had been playing them since 1920.\(^{19}\) On at least two occasions Johnson included works by the two composers on the same programme. In her Wigmore Hall concert of May 1927, Scott accompanied Johnson in his own songs, Agnew was in the audience and they met presumably during rehearsals and behind stage.\(^{20}\) They also came into contact at various “At Homes,” including one of Agnew’s own, held early in the 1930s. The “At Home” was a standard type of informal concert, originally an Edwardian custom, and continued to flourish during these years.\(^{21}\) George Sutherland, a director of Allans, reported back to Australia that Agnew was “catching on,” in part because he, Sutherland explained, was “getting a good deal of work at ‘At Homes’ and other functions.” Sutherland predicted that he was going to “make a niche for himself.”\(^{22}\)

Unfortunately Agnew’s timing was poor. He arrived two years after the wave of interest in Scriabin had broken. His work quickly came under fire for depending too heavily on the Russian.\(^{23}\) The turn against Scriabin was as powerful as it was

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18 George Lowe, “The Music of Cyril Scott,” *AMN* 5, no. 10 (1916): 317. Lowe’s description of Scott’s music, in particular his Piano Sonata op. 66, identifies it as similar in harmonic language to that of Agnew and Brewster-Jones; music that would now be discussed in terms of its centric qualities. He admired Scott’s refusal to comply with the rules of modulation and chord resolution. Of the sonata in particular he wrote: “In this curious work the composer has written with an avowed disinterest for any regular rhythm and any fixed tonality ...On the first page alone there are fourteen different time signatures, and the music wanders from key to key without relying on any central key, round which to rotate.”

19 See “A Woman’s Letter,” *Bulletin*, 11 March 1920, 42. A concert in which Agnew accompanied the singer, Winifred Jenner, is mentioned in the column. In addition to songs, Agnew also played solo piano works by Cyril Scott, Edward MacDowell and himself. Scott’s music was deemed “vague and purposeless,” while one of the two of Agnew’s own compositions was described as “a mad jazz.”


22 “Greatest Musical Message for Australia: America is its Sender,” *AMN* 14, no. 4 (1924): 11.

23 As will be discussed later in this chapter, one of the main criticisms of Agnew’s music was its perceived over reliance on Scriabin. One of the first examples of this (others are included later in the chapter) is found in a review of his *Poeme Tragique* in the *Musical Times* from 1925. After
recent. What was left in the wave’s wake was, on the one hand, a common practice to include a small set of early miniatures as a bracket in a recital programme. (Scriabin’s name had acquired a certain chic as seen in a synopsis of the play “The Last of Mrs. Cheyney” in The Times, when to while away the time the “ravishingly beautiful Mrs. Cheyney” who is “a stranger in the fashionable set she now moves among...sits down at the piano and plays a little Scriabin.”)24 On the other hand there remained a small group of true believers, comprising pianists such as Edward Mitchell and Katherine Heyman, who specialised in the later works, the conductor Albert Coates (who conducted Scriabin’s works in Russia and knew him personally) and writers such as Alfred Swan whose brand of ardent devotion was cult-like in its fervour. Swan’s panegyric is a wonderful instance of florid hyperbole. His description of Scriabin’s ninth sonata, Agnew’s favourite, sensationalises its connection to the occult, heightening its dangerous potential. He described the “poisonous” sonata as a “diabolic nightmare, a deed of black secret magic, the most perfidious piece of music ever conceived.” The second theme was no less than “poisoned and distorted by Evil incarnate.” He reminded the reader “Scriabin was himself surprised at the creation of this truly satanic work and avoided playing it overmuch.”25

On 24 September 1924 Agnew sent a postcard of Scriabin to his sister. It was acknowledging that the work itself was a “big effort,” the reviewer noted the unevenness of its quality and went on to note that: “Probably he knows well enough that he is more than influenced by Scriabin, who himself carried his manner as far as it will go, or farther: it would be too obvious to be commented upon if one did not feel that Mr. Agnew has a personality of his own to develop, without borrowing that of another man.” See anon., “New Music: Pianoforte,” Musical Times 65, no. 974 (1924): 424.

24 “The Last of Mrs. Cheyney,” The Times, 23 September 1925, 10. Edward Mitchell, in particular, focused on the late works of Scriabin. He performed many works by Scriabin during the 1920s. The Times announces a five-part concert series to be given by Mitchell, of which the fifth will be devoted to Scriabin. It described him as “a pianist who has concentrated his attention on the moderns, of whom for him Scriabin is chief.” See “Modern Piano Music: Mr. Edward Mitchell’s Recital,” The Times, 7 February 1928, 12 and “Week-End Concerts: Mr. Edward Mitchell,” The Times, 13 February 1928, 10. See also “Recitals of the Week: Mr. Edward Mitchell,” The Times, 25 February 1927, 12. Katherine Heyman was also giving all-Scriabin recitals during the same years. See “A Scriabin Recital,” The Times, 4 May 1928, 14. The English conductor, Albert Coates, was born in St Petersburg although his parents were English. After studying with Nikisch at Leipzig, he held the position of conductor of the Marinsky Theatre. It was during this time that he met and worked with Scriabin. He later championed Scriabin’s orchestral works in London. See Michael Kennedy, Coates, Albert (2007 [accessed 18 January 2007]); available from http://www.grovemusic.com. Noskowski kept Sydney informed of Coates’s latest conducting activities in St Petersburg which included Scriabin’s Divine Poem. See L. de Noskowski, “Modern Russian Music,” Sydney Mail, 26 May 1920, 16.

25 Alfred J. Swan, Scriabin (London: John Lane The Bodley Head Ltd., 1923), 105.
Agnew informed his sister that: "[t]his is a very good picture of Scriabine, so I am told by people who knew him." The actual "people" Agnew was referring to are a matter for conjecture. One possibility is William Murdoch, who incorrectly and presumptuously claimed to have single-handedly "introduced [Agnew] to most of the Scriabin he knows." Arthur Eaglefield Hull almost certainly fell into part of the group of Scriabin loyalists. His monograph on Scriabin was published two years after Scriabin’s final visit to London and the year after his death. This little-known figure was a remarkable individual. Hull tapped into the contemporary currents on the Continent. Eminent scholars of modern music such as Henri Prunière and Scriabin specialist Boris de Schloezer contributed to his *Dictionary of Modern Music and Musicians* (which included entries on both Agnew and Brewster-Jones). Recent theorists have acknowledged his contribution to modern theory set out in his book *Modern Harmony: Its Explanation and Application*, in which he rightly recognised that new music demanded new theoretical and analytical approaches. His article of 1914, "The Discrepancies Between Present Musical Theories and Modern Practice," complained that "[n]o attempts whatever on the part of English theorists have been made to join the present developments to the work of the past." In it he offers a critique of writings by modern French theorists; for example Ansel Viné’s *Principe de l’harmonie, theoretique et appliquée* and Louis Villermín’s *L’Harmonie ultramoderne* and refers to Schoenberg’s *Harmonielehre*. There are letters from Hull to Schoenberg held at the Arnold Schönberg Centre in Vienna regarding his editorial role in the English publication of Egon Wellesz’s book, *Arnold Schönberg*. The

27 Murdoch, "Roy Agnew: A Personal Note."
32 Details of the letters dated respectively 6 September 1922 and 12 May 1925 are available on the Arnold Schoenberg Centre web site: [http://www.schoenberg.at/6_archiv/correspondence/letters_inventory_e.htm](http://www.schoenberg.at/6_archiv/correspondence/letters_inventory_e.htm) [accessed 18 January 2016].
breadth of his knowledge of modern music in these works and in his other writing, particularly *Music: Classical, Romantic and Modern*, is impressive. The last part of this book offers a remarkably broad-ranging discussion of modern music; he devotes a chapter each to the Second Viennese School, neoclassicism, and, under the heading “Mysticism in Music,” Scriabin and his followers. This is where Agnew appears in the company of some avant-garde post-Scriabin Soviet composers including Alexander Mosolov, Nikolai Roslavets and Arthur Lourie.33

An exoticising, essentialising process is present throughout Hull’s writing on Scriabin. He pronounces complete ignorance in the field of mysticism but notes that East and West meet in the new cult of Theosophy. Tropes of the feminine and languorous “fairy” East and the pure and primitive Slavs pepper his prose; he alludes to the *caftan*, the *chapan* and the *moujik*. Hull’s book is not as extreme as Swan’s work and ultimately it is the music he concerns himself with, giving a detailed account of Scriabin’s new harmonic system. The revolutionary, experimental nature of it excited Hull, who exclaimed: “Few will deny to Alexander Scriabin the designation of Modernist; many may bestow on him the somewhat dubious appellation Ultra-Modernist.”34 Hull’s writing falls into the less extreme and more considered group which also included the esteemed musicologist Calvocoressi, with whom he wrote *The National Music of Russia: Mussorgsky and Scriabin*, and the Russophile and music writer Rosa Newmarch.35

There were those in the English music community who, while energetically working to construct a national identity, perceived the Continental European—“the foreigner”—as a threat.36 For the founder of the British Music Society nationalism...
and cosmopolitanism were not mutually exclusive; Hull did not accept the simplistic binary opposition. His writings also included a monograph on the English composer Cyril Scott and he championed many composers of the new British school including Agnew and William Baines. Modern English music fitted within a wider embrace of modern music.

As Phyllis Campbell’s writings show, Hull’s books were in circulation in Australia. His book on Cyril Scott was published in 1917. It is entirely possible that Agnew read his 1918 article “Can One Man Invent a Scale,” in the AMN. In it he interrogates the cultural specificity of tonal worlds, pointing out that while Western music was comprehensible to Western “civilized” nations, it had no meaning to Eastern people. He claimed, however, that the “Easterns appreciate the enharmonic system, whilst we are only just on the fringe of the chromatic.” Scriabin’s new scalar and harmonic systems sit among his theorising on Eastern scales. It is in his final, personally disastrous work, Music: Classic, Romantic and Modern (1927) that we find direct links to Agnew. Here he singles out Agnew for special mention in his section on Scriabin and musical mysticism. He wrote: “One of the most gifted disciples of Scriabin is the Australian composer, Roy Agnew.” Agnew’s copy, now in the possession of Larry Sitsky, is signed, “Yours always, A. Eaglefield Hull.” Elsewhere he hailed Agnew as “a new and important arrival in the field of pianoforte composition,” whose music evinced a “new individuality.” “We have been looking for a new personality in modern piano composition,” Hull announced, “and he now comes from an unexpected quarter of the globe—from Australia—in the person of a

and that there is a too great readiness to seize upon idiomatic similarities in detail to the methods of the masters of the past and even to those of more or less tentative foreign contemporaries, instead of the attention being directed to the points of departure from these. This is sometimes carried to a quite grotesque pitch and it is the rule to assume that when a British writer perpetrates anything strange or difficult of comprehension he is ‘insincere’ and indeed merely imitative of the latest foreign fad.” See Lewis Foreman, Bax: A Composer and His Times (London: Scolar Press, 1983), 104 [my italics]. Meirion Hughes and R.A. Stradling caused some controversy in arguing that the historiography of British music has been shaped by a nationalist agenda, and that composers who did not fit the mould fell by the wayside. This thesis has some parallels to the one I present in this study with regard to the historiography of Australian music. See Meirion Hughes and R. A. Stradling, The English Musical Renaissance, 1840-1940: Constructing a National Music, 2nd ed. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001). Andrew Blake also claims that the reinvention of the English musical tradition was shaped by a “Euro sceptic tendency.” See Andrew Blake, The Land without Music: Music, Culture and Society in Twentieth-Century Britain (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1998), 50. Hull, “Can One Man Invent a Scale?” AMN 7, no. 11 (1918): 305.

highly gifted musician born in Sydney.” 39 The connection between Agnew, Hull and Scriabin is conclusive.

Hull’s remarkable final work was exposed by rival music writer, Percy Scholes, to be not entirely original. Hull had borrowed too freely from other sources. He was internationally disgraced by charges of plagiarism, or, as the AMN described more gently, “certain charges of injudiciousness due to a certain impulsiveness” and shortly after threw himself under a train at his native Yorkshire town of Huddersfield. He did not die immediately but suffered amnesia as a result of head injuries sustained during the suicide attempt and died shortly afterwards of complications. His death coincided with Agnew’s return to Sydney and in a real sense marked an end to a fruitful period for the Australian.40

Nineteen twenty-seven was an important year for Agnew and not only for the public consecration he received in Hull’s book. It marked the beginning of a spate of publications brought out by Augener. It is no coincidence that Augener also produced the journal Monthly Musical Record, of which Hull was editor. Hull was undoubtedly involved in facilitating the arrangements between Agnew and Augener and in 1927 they brought out eight works by the Australian. Agnew was justifiably thrilled. He wrote to his old teacher Alfred Hill effusively and with more than a touch of braggadaccio:

What do you think of Augener taking me to their hearts as they seem to have done? Williams tells me that it is quite a feather in my cap, as Augener is the most difficult firm to get in with in London, he, Williams [his orchestration teacher], has never been able to get them to take any of his original stuff, although they have taken some of his arrangements.41

There was apparently competition for the rights to publish, as he told Hill in the same letter:

On Monday last I went in to see Foss of the Oxford University Press to gather some advance royalties for some more compositions which they had written about a couple of days before accepting. I felt rather uncomfortable as I had promised to let them have the first chance of accepting or refusing the Sonata [Fantasie] - But when I told him that Augener had got in first and taken it together with half a dozen other smaller compositions, he (Foss) congratulated me heartily, and made me promise to let his committee have the first chance of the next one. Anyway to cut a long story short, before a week had passed, practically every musician in London knew that Augener had accepted the Sonata. Williams told me this last Sunday, I was quite astounded I can tell you.42

As an Australian composer Agnew’s publishing success is unrivalled; he had almost every work he wrote published.43 Several English firms published around forty piano works; Augener alone published seventeen of these. As an extra feather in his cap Agnew had come to the attention of the American Austin Smith, an agent of the Boston publishers Schmidt. Schmidt was known as a “pioneer publisher of American music,” publishing works by the New England composers Amy Beach, Horatio Parker and Arthur Foote. In 1899 they had also became the chief publisher for Agnew’s beloved Edward MacDowell. Schmidt published Agnew’s piano suite *Contrasts* in 1926. Agnew was delighted with this further international success, proudly informing Hill of his “American publisher.”44

The most important of the Augener publications was his *Fantasie Sonata*. Published early in 1927 it was dedicated to Murdoch who featured it in performances throughout the year. The London correspondent for the *AMN* made much of its connection to Scriabin: “There is no mistaking the source from which the young Sydney composer has taken his inspiration. It is Scriabin of the later period, vigorous, and passionate in character.” For this writer at least Scriabin and Debussy were not seen as belonging to the same camp, remarking that Agnew’s “emphasis of expression is indeed very different from the opal tintings of the French innovator.”45

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43 I am not including here permanent expatriate composers such as Percy Grainger, George Boyle or Ernest Hutcheson.
For the London *Daily Mail* it was “a difficult stormy piece of music”; for the *Daily Telegraph* it was “full-blooded, forceful and passionate.” The *Daily Chronicle* found in it “a riot of sound and harmonic colour” and for Eric Blom of the *Manchester Guardian*, it displayed “many signs of originality” and was “a work of supreme ability.” Agnew’s friend Percival Garratt went further, describing it in the *Sackbut* as revealing “a standard of pianoforte writing which has not been excelled by any composer on the Continent during the past decade.”

While it is not surprising that these press notices, collected in Agnew’s ABC publicity folder, are uniformly positive, there were detractors. Two of London’s most powerful players, *The Times* and the monthly music journal, the *Musical Times*, were less enamoured of Agnew’s music. *The Times* commented on the sonata’s “turgidity” and, in another review, remarked on the “lack of interesting thematic material,” concluding that the effort to listen closely “was not rewarded with any musical enjoyment.” From their initial review of his songs in 1924, which they described as “depressing essays with more heavy, lumpish clay and uglinesses than are necessary, surely,” until their final review of his posthumously published *Sonata Legend*, the reviewers for the *Musical Times* were consistently negative. It was invariably the Scriabinesque harmonic language that they complained about. Occasionally the comments were downright condescending. After describing the harmonic language of his Three Preludes (1927) as “ languidly conventional,” the reviewer continued to disparage the music, saying: “Self-conscious originality is misleading: but if a composer relied nowadays upon the harmony of Scriabin his music does not ring true. This is a pity, but it’s a fact.” In July 1928, reviewing Prelude no. 4 and Two Pieces, the reviewer charged Agnew with dropping into “hackneyed clichés.” He identified the kind of music that would receive his endorsement. The second of Two Pieces, *An English Lane*, met with his approval. “Here,” he wrote, “the gentleness and quietness are out of the ordinary; there is not a trace of affectation, and the result is an extremely attractive little work.”

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46 Excerpts from these English reviews are found in ABC Press Notices, NAA: SP1558/2.
47 ‘Week-End Concerts,’ *The Times*, 12 December 1932, 10 and *The Times*, 17 January 1927, 10.
49 See f.n. 21.
missed by Waters in Melbourne, who noted ironically, “[e]ven those who are fond of deprecating his present devotion to the idiom of Scriabin—Beethoven was devoted to Mozart and Haydn in his time and Wagner to Weber—at least consider him worthy of extended deprecation.”52

With Hull, the chief supporter of his Scriabinesque style, dead and Augener keen to publish a certain kind of music, there was a discernible shift in musical style, found mostly in what Sitsky has subsequently called his “educational pieces.”53 From early 1928 the AMN detected a clear break in style. In February the reviewer was startled “to find him so simple and diatonic…” and in April remarked on Agnew’s “new mode of almost extreme simplicity.”54 Waters explained the change as a turn from Scriabin to Celticism, perhaps influenced in his interpretation by the greater presence of modal writing in Agnew’s music from this time.55 In a 1929 review of Agnew’s Rhapsody we find a celebration of its “jolly swinging rhythm” and the composer’s transformation referred to in the past tense: “Ninths and that sort of thing are not nearly as alluring nowadays for Roy Agnew as they used to be…”56 Ninths in particular had earlier come under fire in the Musical Times; on several occasions the critic denigrates the use of consecutive ninths which, in his opinion, “had borne the burden and heat of a long day, and should be allowed rest.” He then went on to praise the comparatively unadventurous White Peacocks by Thomas Dunhill.57 Agnew’s work was more musically complex and better crafted than some of the minor English composers, such as Dunhill, who received favourable press. William Murdoch also noted Agnew’s stylistic shift. Invoking the binary of effeminacy versus masculinity, he interpreted this shift as a move away from the “nervous, not to say neurotic” transitions of his earlier music, and attributed it to an improvement in his health and

54 Anon., “New Music Arrivals from Augener’s,” AMN 1, no. 9 (1928): 31.
55 See Chapter 2, p. 126.
56 “New Music: Budget from Augener’s. Simplicity and Cleverness,” AMN 18, no. 6 (1929): 27.
an improved stability and self-reliance, which Murdoch felt sure would result in music "of a more manly and vigorous character in consequence." 58

Faith Johnson has also observed that Agnew's move to England had an impact on the kind of music he wrote. She suggests:

The long period spent in England caused Agnew to come under the spell of this country's music. Thus many of his works published between 1923 and 1935 display melodic lines of Celtic quality, triplet groupings, gentle pastoral sentiments and impressionistic harmonies. A certain degree of independence is shown in works written before and after his "English" period. 59

Johnson ultimately concludes that Agnew's decision to return to England for the second time was miscalculated and that "the unique style he was developing was stunted by English influences." 60 I would amend this, arguing that this process of stultification began towards the end of his first stay in London. Much earlier Waters offered another perspective to Agnew's stylistic change in his damning critique of the state of Australian music publishing: "The field of serious music by the Australian composer who has not gone overseas to turn off educational pieces at the bidding of the English publishers is thus practically closed." 61 The influence of more stylistically conservative composers such as Percival Garratt and Gerrard Williams, who were to become Agnew's close friends, probably added to the pressure to shift stylistically, particularly without the corrective of the more adventurous Hull.

The enormous power contained in the English publishers' recognition and validation of Agnew's music was intensified by the complex psychological relationship that many Australians had with England. Agnew was recognised where it counted: in London. As such he was conceivably more vulnerable to the adverse criticism he received and more open to changing or "simplifying" his musical style. Augener specialised in educational works. It was recognised in Australia as the most conservative of the publishers; positioned at the other end of the spectrum from

58 William Murdoch, "Roy Agnew: A Personal Note."
60 Ibid.
61 Thorold Waters, "Here and Now for the Australian Composer," AMN 20, no. 8 (1931): 5.
Chester, who had earlier published *Dance of the Wild Men*, and who provided, as Bax pointed out, “the principal musical link between ourselves and the Continent.”62 Agnew, seduced by his success and in need of money, proved willing to conform to Augener’s demands. Despite his jubilant missive to Hill, Agnew was more ambivalent later in life about England and its publishers. In a letter of 1938 to Keith Barry bemoaning his erstwhile student Dulcie Holland’s imminent return to Australia without the artistic benefit of a stay in Paris, he observed, “It would also help to prevent her from becoming just another Australian writing English music.”63 He was also later to embrace (or rationalise) Australia’s isolation:

I can do my best work in Australia. Here, one is away from the little coteries in England and Europe that have their influences on a composer. There are too many musical fashions overseas. A composer can sit on the fence in Australia, see musical developments more clearly in their proper perspective, and follow his own course. In fact, he can be himself. Scores of contemporary works are now obtainable here, and may be judged musically, without the influence of the composer’s personality affecting one’s judgement.64

He had earlier tried to dissuade Dulcie Holland from going to London, citing the difficulties of living conditions and warning her “how arduous it would be to advance her composing career there.”65

Post-colonial theorists, in particular Stephen Slemon, Alan Lawson and Gillian Whitlock, have written about the complicated position of settler colonies in the discourse of post-colonial studies. Slemon’s theories about the Second World throw light on this phenomenon. He sees the settler colonies as standing outside of the clearer binary opposition between “us” and “them”—the First World and the Third World. Even though this is in itself an overly simple division, he does nonetheless capture a vital and fundamental difference between colonised subjects and settlers in the Dominions. He describes the Dominion colonies as occupying a

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63 Letter from Roy Agnew to Keith Barry, 10 July 1938, NAA: SP1558/2.

64 ABC Publicity Release, 25 October 1941, National Archive of Australia: Australian Broadcasting Commission; C1737/P1, “Agnew” (Mr Roy); Box 1 [hereafter NAA: C1737/P1, Agnew].

neither/nor space—requiring an internalisation of the binary opposition that could in many cases manifest itself as a kind of self-denigration more generally known as the cultural cringe. Whitlock, in her article “Outlaws of the Text,” raises the key issues in her opening statement:

Responses to Empire in settler societies, like Australia and Canada, comprise a site of contesting and conflict, an array of identifications and subjectivities which refuse to cohere neatly into oppositional or complicit post-colonialisms. Settler post-colonialism confounds the positions of self and other in relation to discourse and discursive strategies; as a number of theorists of settler cultures argue, these ‘second world’ spaces are characterised by the ambiguity and ambivalence of both oppositional and complicit positions.

Murdoch demonstrated this tendency towards conflicting identifications in his refusal to countenance the possibility Agnew could have heard Scriabin in Sydney. He noticed the leaning towards Scriabin in Agnew’s earlier work and presumptuously thought this “remarkable inasmuch as he had heard very little Scriabin before he came to England.”

The negative responses of some English critics show that the ambivalence that the settler colonials held for the imperial centres worked both ways. Some English musicians were filtering Australians like Agnew through a collection of anxieties connected to an agenda of identity building and reaffirmation of their own indigenous musical tradition. It was infused with a dislike and rejection of the continental which dominated their musical world since Handel. This came through clearly in Hart’s pronouncement on what constituted healthy, authentic Australian music. The British were also concerned with questions of authenticity and originality. Agnew’s wife, Kathleen Agnew relates an incident illuminating this attitude, in which Agnew at a London gathering of composers won a prize for the best Celtic tune with his

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68 Murdoch, “Roy Agnew: A Personal Note.”
Winter Solitude. According to Kathleen this was “…much to the amazement of the other composers—coming from the pen of an Australian.”71 To take a broader view, the negative response in the British press to the 1923 Exhibition of Australian Art in London provides another example of this attitude, but in this instance the anti-modernist self-censorship of Australians like Lionel Lindsay determined the conservative, traditional nature of the Australian works selected.72

Craig Wilcox writes of the “crushing condescension” an Australian colonial could face. The English embraced the myth of the “freshness and vigour of frontiers” and welcomed Australians that fitted into this stereotype of brawny masculinity: the larrikin; the “wild young Australian.”73 But that a “colonial” should turn up pronouncing himself both a “modernist” and “disciple of Scriabin” was to some English critics unpalatable and unacceptable—beyond the pale. And it was Agnew’s perceived lack of originality and overindebtedness to Scriabin that earned their scorn and gave them an excuse to disparage him, whereas the Australian critics, although ambivalent about Scriabin’s influence, attempted to underplay it in order to accentuate both his originality and his masculinity. The mix of not always implicit condescension with which many English treated Australians and the modernist imperative for originality and innovation proved to be a deadly weapon wielded against many Australian artists including Agnew. The accusations of being passé and derivative hit hard. As John Docker argues, “[m]etropolitan cultural imperialist attitudes [such as assumptions of English superiority and Australian mediocrity] enforced in Australians a neocolonial dilemma, feelings of fear and uncertainty and doubt about the value of their own cultural efforts.”74 Similarly, Bernard Smith’s observation that “[n]eo-colonial art, on the other hand was rarely collected or discussed by Europeans because it was assumed to be second-hand and derivative, a

kind of old-fashioned mimicry of European art,” applies also to their attitudes to neo-colonial music.  

Did Agnew see his relationship with Scriabin’s late music as oppositional, a form of resistance? The majority of the remainder of his output particularly that written after living in London, leans more obviously towards the pastoral. In some cases this is made explicit in the titles; it belies this picture of him as an “Outlaw” (to borrow Gillian Whitlock’s term) but, as she reminds us, “Confusion of complicity and resistance in these cultures makes the identification of outlaws in settler territory a perilous enterprise. On these frontiers outlaws and sheriffs are not in predictable and fixed opposition but related and interdependent, mixed in hybrid forms which confuse the rule of Law.”

Ironically, despite the consecration and legitimisation of his publishing successes, for which Agnew sacrificed his, to use Bourdieu’s language, “symbolic capital,” he could still not earn enough to survive. Financial pressure had been earlier alluded to in a 1926 letter to Hill, “After calm consideration I have decided to return home to Australia for awhile [sic] at any rate, with the hope in my heart that I can make some money, what do you think of it?” Williams, who thought him “mad” to leave, may have helped to dissuade him, for he postponed his departure until 15 May 1928. Despite the financial hardship, health problems and homesickness it was a difficult decision:

But how I hate leaving this life, even for awhile. I get quite depressed when I think about it in fact I have even entertained the wild idea of trying to sell my ticket. But I suppose all musicians are mad. But I am sure you will understand how I feel.

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77 According to Randal Johnson, Bourdieu conceptualises the field of cultural production as comprising two sub-fields: the field of restricted production and the field of large-scale production. Bourdieu’s notion of “symbolic capital” is one that rejects economic profit. As such he sees it as being located in the sub-field of “restricted production” or “high art.” One gains symbolic capital, not through economic profit (which is usually disdained by those seeking symbolic capital), but through prestige, consecration and artistic celebrity. The autonomous artist gains symbolic capital by not seeking material profit. See Randal Johnson, “Editor’s Introduction,” in *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*, ed. Randal Johnson (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993), 15.

78 Letter from Roy Agnew to Alfred Hill, 17 September 1926, Mitchell: MLMSS 6357.
London has been so good to me (for the last 18 months anyhow) socially and otherwise, and I seem to have made so many friends. O! but why talk of it - Practically every week I am taken motoring somewhere, I have seen quite a lot of dear old England. Last Saturday I went to Cambridge. Going over the different colleges was a sheer delight. The Sunday before I went to Tunbridge Wells, the Sunday before that to Eastbourne, and the Caterham Valley etc. The countryside is just beginning to look lovely again after the bleakest of winters. And what a winter it has been to be sure, but the least said about it the better.  

Back in Australia Waters had earlier questioned Agnew’s decision to return:

Somewhat to my regret I have heard that Roy Agnew, the young Sydney composer with advanced views as to the usefulness of sevenths and ninths, is now talking about coming back to his own land. If he does so, that will probably be the end of creative exploration for him. He will fall back on teaching as a main chance and leave a few dispirited manuscripts in a box under the bed. Roy Agnew is worth a good deal more than that to Australia. He is one of the rare creative minds who ought to be encouraged to stay among the fountains of his art, for the very discerning can see something beyond the ordinary in Roy Agnew.  

What Waters had not realised was that it was the pilgrimage to the fountains of his art that had effectively halted his creative explorations begun years earlier in Sydney.

Return to Sydney: 1928–1931

Agnew was received as a conquering hero. Much was made of his English successes; the words of Hull were quoted in most of the newspaper articles. His return coincided with those of several of his compatriots. Fellow composer Arthur Benjamin was back in town after eight years, as was William Murdoch and his wife. Murdoch was publicly disapproving of Agnew’s decision to return:

79 Letter from Roy Agnew to Alfred Hill, 28 March 1928, Mitchell: MLMSS 6357.  
Roy Agnew? I’m sorry that he came back here. I advised him against doing so for he has great talent in composing, and had just put his foot on the ladder of fame. He is a piano-writer from whom we expect much and it’s no good him staying here.81

His friends in the New South Wales Musical Association organised a welcome home concert for him at the Conservatorium with an impressive guest list including the Governor General’s wife, Lady De Chair. The British Music Society Quartet and his friends Cyril Monk and Laurence Godfrey Smith performed.82 A feature of the programme was the premiere of the recent Two Songs without Words for voice and clarinet written in London for Agnew’s much-admired friend, the Australian mezzo-soprano Dorothy Helmrich. An unusual departure from his more conventional vocal writing, these songs stand out; they are essentially modal and are written without a key signature.

Example 3.1 Agnew, opening of Song without Words for voice and clarinet no. 1, bb. 1-8.

Although accepted for publication by Winthrop & Rogers, these songs remained in manuscript until 2006.83

Dorothy Helmrich, who had first gone to London in 1919, had carved out a successful performing career both in England and America. She is another musician who fits into the mould of the open-minded and forward-looking “Organiser.” Described by the AMN as “one of the most brainy singers,”84 Helmrich, a theosophist, remained committed throughout her life to the improvement of Australian cultural life. She was on the editorial board early on in the life of the Conservatorium Magazine; in 1938 she became the President for the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts, which became an important stage in the creation of the Australia Council.85 She wrote the entry on Agnew in the Australian Dictionary of Biography.86 Along with Benjamin and Murdoch she had returned temporarily to Sydney in the late twenties and performed Agnew’s songs at her Farewell Concert, at which Agnew also played his new Sonata Poeme.87

Sonata 1929 is dated April of that year. Therefore, the bulk of it would have been written while Agnew was in London or in transit just prior to his return. There was mention of an unfinished sonata that Agnew had brought back to Sydney with him. It has long been assumed to be the Sonata Poeme, but it could very well have been Sonata 1929.88 It is not surprising given the amount of criticism already received from the English critics that he kept this sonata, perhaps the most

83 In a letter to Hill of 1928, Agnew mentions the forthcoming publication of the two pieces for voice and clarinet. It never eventuated, although the manuscript itself is stamped with the seal of Winthrop & Rogers. See Letter from Roy Agnew to Alfred Hill, 28 March 1928, Mitchell: MLMSS 6357.
84 AMN 16, no. 212 (1927): 52.
85 Australian National University: Noel Butlin Archives; Z401/12 Press Clippings [hereafter ANU: Butlin, Z401/12].
88 See “Roy Agnew Returns,” AMN 17, no.12 (1928): 25. The article reports Agnew’s belief that the unfinished sonata “will carry a long way further than even his Fantasie-Sonata, which has claimed considerable attention in England…” This statement lends strength to the hypothesis that the sonata in question may be Sonata 1929.
"advanced" and "turgid" of the six and the closest in language to late Scriabin, under his hat. There is no evidence that he played it publicly or showed it to anyone else. It became invisible and inaudible.

Agnew spent these years playing at local music clubs and he was featured at the Music Association’s welcome party for the renowned German pianist, Wilhelm Backhaus. There was even a short-lived rumour that he was writing a ballet for Anna Pavlova’s next visit to Australia. In 1929 the fruits of his study with Williams were publicly displayed in the premiere of his orchestral work Breaking of the Drought, which initially received positive reviews, although later its inexpert orchestration and lack of originality were noted. Ila Turnbull who was, like many local musicians, to assume an important role in “Modern and Contemporary Composers,” sang the soprano part.

Agnew returned to Sydney to find the spectre of the Great Depression looming. Already the local musicians were struggling in the face of the burgeoning technologies of the “talkies” and sound recording. Their situation created the “Canned Music” debate of the late twenties. They had been literally “talked out” as the Daily Telegraph wryly observed. Theatres were closing down and reopening as cinemas. Mountains of sheet music lay in the basements of the Sydney theatres rendered useless. Agnew had left a similarly depressing scene in London and, with the General Strike of 1926 fresh in his mind, spoke to the AMN of the “chaotic” state of the concert world in London and Europe, describing the high level of unemployment among musicians as “almost too heartrending to talk about." The 1929 Crash compounded the plight of already struggling musicians. Lunch hour concerts were held in Hyde Park to raise money for jobless musicians, a civic orchestra was established to alleviate unemployment and orchestras played on the

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89 See “Harmony was in the Air: Modern Orpheus in Backhaus, Musical Reception,” Daily Guardian, 25 April 1930.
90 See the concert programme for the Rose Bay Music Club, 16 April 1929 in Mitchell: MLMSS 4922 and MLMSS 1653/87. For a description of Backhaus’s welcome reception see “Music and Drama, Sydney Mail, 1 May 1929, 19.
92 Daily Telegraph Pictorial, 13 July 1929, ANU: Butlin, Z401/12.
Manly ferries. In a desperate measure the State Cabinet gave £1000 of aid.\textsuperscript{94} The disaffected musicians closed ranks. The Musicians' Union forced the government to implement an embargo on foreign musicians; non-Australian performers could not exceed 10 per cent of the orchestra. This insular and xenophobic trend worsened after the Second World War and had an adverse affect on the state of Australian music.\textsuperscript{95}

The modern music scene had continued apace without Agnew. By the late twenties the music of Bartók, the new British school and the French neoclassicists were frequently performed. The most current music such as Krenek's jazz opera \textit{Johnny Spielt Auf} and Berg's \textit{Wozzeck} was discussed in print. The first International Society of Contemporary Music (ISCM) concert took place in Sydney in May 1928 under the auspices of the British Music Society.\textsuperscript{96} In comparison to much of that which was being performed and discussed, Agnew's music and his own musical taste begin to seem less current. Memories of \textit{Dance of the Wild Men} were fast receding (in part because he never again played it in public) and instead he was becoming known for his very successful but very tame miniature \textit{Rabbit Hill}, a favourite on the Australian Music Examination Board (AMEB) syllabi. In 1930, he advertised two possible programmes for music clubs in \textit{Music in Australia}. The first included songs by Cyril Scott, Arthur Benjamin and Gerrard Williams, and piano works by Debussy and Ravel. The second featured songs by Rebecca Clarke, Edward MacDowell, Gerrard Williams and Bax. The solo piano works included Scriabin's \textit{Vers la flamme}, and his preludes op. 32 and op. 37 as well as Moiseiwitsch's favourite, Stravinsky's \textit{Etude in F#}.\textsuperscript{97} Agnew's musical taste as a performer had not noticeably changed since the late teens.

\textsuperscript{94} Press Clippings, 1929-1930, ANU: Butlin, Z401/12.
\textsuperscript{95} The then Secretary of the Musicians' Union, Frank Kitson, was an extreme and unpleasant example of this bigotry and intolerance. He frequently expressed such views publicly as seen by the following example drawn from the \textit{Daily Telegraph}: "It is important that we have Britishers in our orchestras. The union would strenuously oppose the importation of foreign musicians, particularly those exiled from Germany as a result of the Hitler regime. We are clearly specifying Jews, because Dr Sargent may have some idea that his imported talent is coming from Palestine." See "Will Welcome Only British Players, Musicians would object to Jews or Foreigners, is claim." \textit{Daily Telegraph}, 29 July 1938, Press Clipping 1934-, ANU: Butlin, Z401/12. Thorold Waters had far more compassionate and enlightened views. As early as 1933 he was publicly supporting the German Jews and denouncing the Nazis. See Waters, "Editor Says: A Hit Back At Hitler," \textit{AMN} 24, no. 2 (1933): 3.
\textsuperscript{96} "Contemporary Composers (Sydney)," \textit{AMN} 17, no. 10 (1928): 21.
\textsuperscript{97} \textit{Music in Australia} 6, no. 2 (1930): 17.
An important mitigating factor in Agnew's decision to return to Australia was to continue his relationship with Kathleen O'Connor. He had first met her in Sydney before 1923. She was the daughter of Justice Richard O'Connor, founding father, leader of the Senate, founding High Court Justice, friend of Deakin and Garran.\(^{98}\) They met again in London whereupon Agnew became her accompanist and occasional composition teacher.\(^{99}\) She left him prior to 1928 to join her brother at a property in Canberra acquired through the repatriation scheme.\(^{100}\) After his return Agnew spent some time with them in Canberra until the Depression forced them back to Sydney, where Kathleen got a flat in Kings Cross. The *Sun* announced their engagement in September 1930. They were married in St Mary's but because he was Protestant the union did not receive full religious rites. However, in the words of his niece, Margaret Morgan, they were married “behind the altar,” and soon after sailed for England.\(^{101}\)

Kathleen O'Connor's unpublished memoir “Just As It Happened” is an invaluable document. It reveals a rich and varied life of a member of Sydney's cultural elite; a member of the wealthy, well-educated upper echelons of Australian society. O'Connor was widely travelled and her memoir is filled with references to theatre, literature, art, and music—including the many concerts she attended. She was also an accomplished composer and singer. She studied singing in Belgium, had sung to Melba, and showed her work to a range of established composers including Parry,
Bax and, in Italy, Castelnuovo-Tedesco. She even encountered Puccini in a Monte Carlo casino.\textsuperscript{102} For Agnew, a lower middle class Protestant of Scottish and Irish origins, marrying a privileged upper class woman from an important and once wealthy Catholic family brought professional as well as obvious personal benefits. He was brought into contact with a powerful network of influential people who assisted him in Sydney and London including the former Governor General, Lord Northcote. O’Connor was also involved in the modern art world. She lived in the bohemian Kings Cross on more than one occasion. Her neighbour, Stella Scroggie, a cousin of artist Thea Proctor, ran the Lodestar Gallery (until its eventual absorption into the better-known Macquarie Galleries) where she exhibited a range of modern Australian artists including de Maistre, Wakelin, and Cossington Smith as well as modern European art. Agnew dedicated his \textit{Holiday Suite} to Scroggie in 1937.

The financial insecurity brought about by the Depression along with his marriage to Kathleen O’Connor increased the pressure on Agnew. He returned to London, the place of his former successes, presumably assuming it would be easier there to support his new wife.

\textbf{London 1931–35}

Bitter winds of change had swept through London bringing with them a bleak and cynical worldview. In the cold light of financial ruin and personal suffering people’s priorities had necessarily shifted towards the brutal reality and away from spiritualism. The Irish poet, Louis Macneice, captured this change in his \textit{Bagpipe Music} (1937):

\begin{quote}
It's no go the Yogi-man, it's no go Blavatsky
All we want is a bank balance and a bit of skirt in a taxi.\textsuperscript{103}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{102} An unidentified newspaper clipping reports that Kathleen Agnew had had a lullaby published in New York before giving up composition “in favour of her brilliant husband.” See Maclay: Papers of Roy and Kathleen Agnew.

\textsuperscript{103} The complete poem is available at http://www.artofeurope.com/macneice/mac6.htm [accessed 18 January 2007].

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The Agnews' return was announced in the *British Australasian*: "Mr. Roy Agnew, a noted pianist and composer from Sydney with Mrs. Agnew, has come to London. They have taken a flat on Camden Hill for some time."¹⁰⁴ In some respects life returned to normal for Agnew. He continued to broadcast recitals, give concerts at various clubs including again the Lyceum Club, and at George Woodhouse's studios.¹⁰⁵ He also toured Scotland, performing in Glasgow to appreciative audiences. His works made it to Europe; pianist Norman Fraser premiered the Toccata (1932) in Geneva. Gertrude Johnson repeated her 1927 recital programme, once again with the accompaniment of Cyril Scott. This time the High Commissioner and the Agent-Generals attended. Agnew had moved into the established set. He and his wife now received invitations to Australia Day celebrations.¹⁰⁶

Now, rather than playing at others' "At Homes," the Agnews held their own. They organised three: two in 1933 and the final one in 1934. The account of the latter reveals that they did not use their own home as it was only a small flat, but instead exploited their wealthier social connections to hold them in other people's homes.¹⁰⁷ At the 1934 "At Home" held at Mrs W.E. Collingridge residence at Launceston Place, Agnew and Gertrude Johnson were among the performers who played to an audience including Mr And Mrs George Woodhouse, Madame de Beaupuis (who was once more in London), Esther Fisher, Iris de Cairo Rego (who saw a lot of Agnew during this period), Dorothy Helmrich, Misses C. and M. Roseby (students at Kambala), Dr Kent Barry (presumably Keith) and Cyril Scott. Agnew played *Drifting Mists* and *Rabbit Hill*. The pianist Beatrice Tange, at one time a student of Agnew's,

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¹⁰⁵ I have been unable to discover who George Woodhouse was. However, the newspapers seem to recognise the Woodhouse studios as a legitimate venue.
¹⁰⁷ For details of these events, such as musical programmes, performers and audience members, see "Australian Abroad," *British Australasian*, 27 July 1933, 9; "Australians Abroad," *British Australasian*, 28 December 1933, 8 and "Australians Abroad: Mr. And Mrs. Agnew's At Home," *British Australasian*, 26 July 1934, 14.
also performed. She was to return to Australia and make a name for herself as a musician interested in new music.  

Barry’s attendance at this concert had long-term consequences for Agnew. Barry had only recently arrived in England. After recovering from a near fatal attack of tuberculosis in Sydney he had worked his passage to London as a ship’s doctor with the intention of studying developments in radio in England and Germany. During his time in England he broadcast regularly for the BBC. It is possible that Agnew’s own connections with the BBC proved helpful to Barry. Also possible was that Barry, although he had not yet taken up his permanent position as the ABC’s Director of Programmes (this appointment was made in October 1936), used his connections and put into motion Agnew’s longstanding relationship with the ABC, of which “Modern and Contemporary Composers” was the most important product. It was presumably during this time that Barry broached the idea of an Australian tour with Agnew, which brought Agnew back to Australia. He was to become perhaps Agnew’s most loyal supporter. Agnew’s overseas success was enormously important to Barry; for Barry he was the nearest thing to an Australian genius.  

As a personality Barry stands alongside Rego, Waters, Burston and Helmrich as a chief “Organiser” in the musical elite. He involved himself in many facets of musical life in Sydney. In his writerly persona he was an outspoken critic of Australian cultural attitudes, railing against perceived apathy and inertia. Although trained as a medical doctor, Barry chose to immerse himself in music instead. He wrote prolifically on music, was Sydney University Organist for many years and the President of their Musical Society (this explains his relationship with Phyllis and Elliston Campbell). He was on many committees to further Australian music and represented Australia at UNESCO and the International Music Council. He also

108 For an article focused on Tange’s championing of modern music, in this particular case the piano sonata of Constant Lambert, see Percy Piccolo, “Gossip of the Month, Musical Australia 6, no. 9 (1931): 6.  
109 Barry’s views of Agnew’s abilities as a composer expressed in the Daily Telegraph are quoted in the AMN. See “Roy Agnew Sonata Commended. ‘Bulletin’ and Others Like It,” AMN 26, no. 11 (1936) 20. This same article includes the following mysterious statement by Barry: “I found in London recently that Roy Agnew is held in international esteem as a composer for the piano. A new German text book speaks enthusiastically of him, his works are known in America, while London and the B.B.C. listeners hear him often.” I have been unable to locate the German textbook referred to by Barry.
lectured in music for the University Extension board and wrote one of the first
Australian music appreciation texts, *Music and the Listener* in 1933.\(^{110}\) Barry was an
extreme highbrow. His cultural elitism strayed disturbingly into the realms of
political ideology. Earlier in 1930, citing Spain and Italy as examples, he publicly
announced, “Of course the day of Parliaments is just about done... ‘One man one
vote’,” he insisted:

> is just about the most stupid proposition in the world, meaning as it does that a
drunken semi-imbecile has just as much say in the management of the country as the
University Professor of Economics.\(^{111}\)

This was, by today’s standards, an outrageous remark and provides a classic example
of how elitist notions of taste were often at variance with fundamental principles of
democracy.

Agnew did not escape the effects of the Depression. Despite the couple’s
more established position in predominantly expatriate musical circles in London they
suffered financially. Agnew’s relationship with Augener never regained its previous
momentum and there were only two further publications, one in 1932 and the
posthumous appearance of the *Sonata Legend* in 1949. Murdoch’s and Williams’s
misgivings proved to be well-founded. However the situation was not utterly bleak.
Letters to his wife in late 1934 during a prolonged stay in hospital with a throat
problem (that was to eventually kill him) show that he was in contact with various
publishers and working hard on proofs. He also mentions the attention of the
conservative critic Watson Lyle:

> What a blow not being able to see W.L. for lunch today, it is just my rotten luck,
judging from his letter he seems to be very whole hearted about me and my work.
Do for heaven’s sake ring up Rose Standfield and give her the news, you might
mention the six songs and three piano pieces etc it won’t do me any harm I can
assure you, and don’t forget to mention that I have promised to let Winthrop Rogers

and Mullens, 1933). For further biographical information on Barry see Clement Semmler, “Barry,
Keith Lewis (1896 - 1965),” in *Australian Dictionary of Biography* vol. 13 (Melbourne: Melbourne
University Press, 1993).

have some more work from Australia, it will do them good to know that I am sought after by other publishers.\(^{112}\)

Lyle, who did write publicly and positively about Agnew, also published interviews with Bax.\(^{113}\)

The privations of the Depression combined with his ongoing health problems presented real financial challenges. The pressure to support his wife was a source of torment. In a letter to her dated 30 October, 1934, he exclaimed: "I did so hate parting with you tonight my precious one, it is moments like these that make me realise what a dear woman you are and what you mean to me, O my dear how can I ever make up to you for all the misery I have caused you?" A week later he was more explicit: "What makes me so sad my dear is my seeming inability to be able to give you all the things of this world which I feel so much you should have."\(^{114}\) With marriage came responsibilities and Agnew, in an uncharacteristic move, took a job as a pianist for a theatre company. As Kathleen said in a bright voice: "Money was short, so someone suggested that Roy should take a job as pianist in a touring company—musical comedy!! 'Wild Violets'!!! [the exclamation marks speak volumes]." She noted that, despite the day-to-day difficulties they got through it all "and got a lot of fun out of it."\(^{115}\)

Despite these difficulties, in London Agnew did have far greater and easier access to the latest works, often played or conducted by the composers themselves, and he was fortunate to be there during the years of the visionary series of contemporary music concerts organised by the BBC’s Edwin Clark. Kathleen remembers their first night back in London as newly-weds: “One thing I remember

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\(^{112}\) Letter from Roy Agnew to Kathleen Agnew, 1 November 1934, Maclay: Papers of Roy and Kathleen Agnew.

\(^{113}\) An extract of Lyle’s writing on Agnew is found in his column for the English journal *Great Thoughts*. In it he describes Agnew as a “creative mind of attractive originality” who wrote music in “a strongly individual idiom.” It was for Lyle, “live music, for, in listening to it, and playing it through, its speech is so spontaneous and convincing, one is scarcely conscious of the often unusual harmonic progressions employed to create the emotional state …” See Watson Lyle, “A Page About Music: An Australian Modern,” *Great Thoughts*, October (1933) found in NAA: SP1558/2. For a transcript of Lyle’s interview with Bax see “Interview with Watson Lyle (1932),” in Foreman, *Bax: A Composer and His Times*.

\(^{114}\) Letter from Roy Agnew to Kathleen Agnew, 8 November 1934, Maclay: Papers of Roy and Kathleen Agnew.

\(^{115}\) Agnew, “Just as It Happened,” 47.
was that first night in London. The ‘Rite of Spring’ of Stravinsky was on the programme of a concert at Queens Hall. We went as, by that time, Roy was mad about the music of Stravinsky.”

Late in 1934, his national tour featuring his own works now finalised by the ABC, Agnew and his wife left once more for Australia.

Sydney 1935–44

Agnew’s final return to Australia occurred on the same day as his initial arrival in London, Christmas Eve. The couple arrived in Fremantle, Western Australia. Kathleen recalls the first broadcast in Perth: “Roy was very nervous and highly strung and the broadcast became a bit of a nightmare, however we got through it all.” He gave thirty-two recitals in Adelaide, Melbourne, Hobart, Brisbane, Sydney as well as Perth. Waters indicates in a review that Agnew not only played but also gave verbal analyses of his music. After the conclusion of the tour he briefly toyed with the idea of settling in Melbourne—maybe because of the strong support he had received from Melbournians such as Waters and Barrett. However, he was soon back in Sydney due perhaps to a poor response to a public recital in Melbourne after the tour.

This final period saw some landmarks for Agnew. In 1936 Allans published his Sonata Poeme, the first Australian publisher to publish an Australian piano sonata. Visiting pianists such as Viennese pianist Paul Schramm played his music. There was also talk of Walter Gieseking including some works in his Australian tour. In 1941, Agnew’s music was reportedly performed in America. The

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116 Ibid., 45-46.
117 Ibid., 49.
121 Correspondence between Kathleen Agnew and Walter Gieseking is held in the private collection, Maclay: Papers of Roy and Kathleen Agnew.
American pianist John Crown took some works back to the US. They received a positive review from at least one Los Angeles critic. His teaching continued in a studio at Kings Cross; photos survive of him demonstrating at the piano surrounded by students with an inevitable cigarette hanging from his mouth. After “Modern and Contemporary Composers” folded in 1942, the ABC made him an unprecedented offer to record his musical legacy on six discs. Nine months before his death he was at last offered a teaching position at the Conservatorium. But the landmark of most consequence to Australian musical culture was his “Modern and Contemporary Composers.”

This radio show became Agnew’s outlet for his interest in the new and modern. Although he was singled out for his up-to-date knowledge of modern music—as the *Sydney Morning Herald* announced: “Having returned from London, Mr. Agnew is abreast of contemporary thought in composition”—the programme did not happen in a vacuum. Bernard Heinze had, in 1931, premiered some iconic works of modernism in Melbourne and Sydney including *Pacific 231* and Mosolov’s *Iron Foundry*. The journals clearly show that much of the repertoire Agnew took to the air had already been performed, in some cases many years earlier, in the small societies and clubs, revealing a fluid give-and-take between Agnew’s tastes and the performers own interests—a wonderfully symbiotic relationship with the modern music scene in Sydney. As Waters noted: “The various spirited music clubs in the bigger capitals are all the time introducing chamber music and pianoforte works in the contemporary idioms.” There were other small societies running at the time apart from the British Music Society. Other outlets for new music enthusiasts included the Sydney Recorded Music Society (which played, among other works,
Berg’s *Lyric Suite* in 1938) the Dante Alighieri Society, and the Collegium Musicum.\(^{126}\)

The Collegium Musicum was the creation of cellist Carl Gotsch. Gotsch, a native of Sydney who studied in Dessau, was renowned as “a stout champion of the ‘modern.’”\(^{127}\) The *AMN* recounts the inception of the Collegium Musicum in a review of their concert of little-known Bach:

Moved by a fervour for the more unusual types of beauty, and endowed with pertinacity as well, Mr. Gotsch established the Collegium Musicum some years ago, since when his ardour in the cause has never flagged. Nor has it failed to inspire many of the very finest of our young instrumentalists and singers.\(^{128}\)

This review reveals that not only did the Collegium Musicum perform modern music but also lesser-known early music, becoming one of the first historical performance movements in Sydney.

Gotsch had been a founding member of the Austral String Quartet with Monk, Vost-Janssen and Hill back in the early years of the century. Following the quartet’s disbandment in the mid-teens he migrated to Java where he became the instructor and conductor to the orchestra of the Sultan of Jogiakarta. His Australian compatriots, including Monk and the cellist Bryce Carter, visited him there.\(^{129}\) On his return, according to the *AMN*, “he made his presence felt at once as an advocate of tolerance and investigation in music. His point of view is that the leading composers of the day should be heard in Australia …”\(^{130}\) He helped to reform the New Austral Quartet in which he performed a new array of modern works including quartets by Malipiero, Pizzetti, Hindemith and Respighi. Hindemith was a particular love. During the thirties he organised ABC broadcasts dedicated entirely to Hindemith.\(^{131}\)

\(^{126}\) There has as yet been no general study of Sydney’s music societies and associations.


\(^{129}\) “Music and Drama,” *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 April 1921, 8.

\(^{130}\) A.L.K., “Music in Sydney: Carl Gotsch’s Cello Art.”

\(^{131}\) See *Wireless Weekly* 29, no. 9 (1937) 26. This issue of *Wireless Weekly* advertises Gotsch’s third complete Hindemith programme.
Perplexingly, coverage of the remarkable “Modern and Contemporary Composers” does not appear in any musical journal outside of those devoted to radio. It is seemingly invisible and inaudible to many musicians, even those who knew him personally such as Waters and A.L. Kelly. Waters seemed completely unaware of Agnew’s broadcasting activities, complaining in 1938:

Some of the seed falls on barren ground of course, but this sowing of seed is going on and must continue. So far there has been no more than a sprinkling of it. For instance, as far as one can gather, no single note of Arnold Schonberg [sic], archpriest of atonalism, has yet been sounded in Australia, nor yet of the creations of his disciples Alban Berg and Anton Webern. 

As we will see in Chapter 6 this is simply untrue. More surprisingly, given his Sydney location, Kelly does not acknowledge Agnew’s programme. In a review of a concert by the Moore-MacMahon/Warbrick duo, he wrote, “After a lapse of six or seven years, Moore-MacMahon has again been heard in recital.” This duo had of course performed on air over thirty times in that period. It was as if the radio show did not exist.

This story has revolved around a group of Australian musicians who moved across borders easily, mainly between London and Sydney, but also taking in Europe and America, meeting each other and continuing their musical relationships easily and naturally as they renewed contact. They were utterly transnational individuals. Distance itself, geographical and material, had narrowed with the technological advances of the reproducing machines, broadcasting, and the improved postal systems. What emerges from Agnew’s story is the surprising realisation that it was the early period in Sydney that provided him with the material and freedom to write his more exploratory music, not, as one might have assumed, his subsequent years in the major cultural centre of London. It was the transnationalism of the Sydney musical scene that made this possible. The high level of craftsmanship that Agnew attained as a young man came in part through his engagement with modern scores,


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recordings and performances as well as his natural ability. Sydney is revealed, particularly in the late teens and early twenties, as an outward-looking cosmopolitan city—a colonial metropole. Agnew's own travel was beneficial for his status and reputation and his knowledge of contemporary repertoire but it did not allow the exploration begun in Sydney in the late teens to continue. Nonetheless his time in London, while having a stultifying affect on his own composition, provided him with invaluable knowledge that he used in his courageous radio show that ran between 1937 and 1942.
Chapter Four

“Daring Spirits”\(^1\)

The same Sydney concert in June 1921 that provoked the review “Ultramodern Extravagance,” thereby launching Agnew upon his path as the *enfant terrible* of the Sydney scene, also included a performance of Brewster-Jones’s String Quartet by the Verbruggen Quartet. And, although the critic in *Musical Australia* duly noted the palpable influence of the modern French school, the piece did not elicit anything like the outrage that Agnew’s music did; in fact it was this work that, for this more restrained critic, constituted “the best moments of the evening.”\(^2\) This alone highlights a fundamental difference between the two composers and their chosen public personas. Whereas Agnew put his more demanding work into the public domain, Brewster-Jones virtually never performed his own experimental music in public. This tells us a lot about Brewster-Jones’s psychological make up. He had two distinct compositional personas: one public, the other private. This divergence also reveals much about the differences between Adelaide and Sydney. The early part of Brewster-Jones’s creative life was spent in Adelaide at the Elder Conservatorium and in London at the Royal College of Music (RCM). Many of his prevailing fascinations and patterns of behaviour were forged during these important years, fostered by two centrally important figures: Bryceson Treharne and George Clutsam. As in

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\(^1\) This expression is taken from an article by George Clutsam in which he described those that take up Debussy’s “innovations” as “daring spirits.” See George Clutsam, “Music: Concerning Debussy,” *Sunday Observer*, 28 February 1909, 5.

previous two chapters, I will present a wealth of local detail—a kind of "thick
description"—to bring the broader underlying themes of early modernism, exoticism
and the British World into sharper focus and to contextualise Brewster-Jones. This
detail will shed light on the following: how the music under discussion came to be
written, and how it relates to his later activities as a performer, teacher and writer.
Again, as it has in the previous two chapters, Bourdieu’s concept of cultural field will
provide the theoretical frame for the discussion.

Brewster-Jones’s London was not that of the bohemian coteries such as the
Bloomsbury Group which included influential artists and writers such as Lytton
Strachey, J.M. Keynes and Virginia Woolf; nor was it that of the American expatriate
modernists T.S. Eliot or Ezra Pound, with their active cosmopolitan café life, their
high level of erudition and sophistication. It was not centred around the Café Royal
on Regent Street where the fashionable West End intersected with the seedier,
seamier Soho. Rather, for a young unknown expatriate Australian student still in his
teens, knowing no one, but looking to embrace the possibilities of this new
experience, London meant the corridors of the RCM, Henry Wood’s Promenade
Concerts and the many public cultural events available to him, no doubt brought to
his attention by his teacher, the composer George Clutsam. Edwardian London was,
as Craig Wilcox observes, “education, aspiration and opportunity...” Unfortunately
Brewster-Jones’s London diary is now lost, but it is possible to partially reconstruct
some of his activities from his other writings. Even though he had the misfortune to
leave in 1909, the year before “human character” was changed by Fry’s Post-
Impressionist Exhibition and the premier performance of the Ballets Russes, these
three years in London were both formative and transformative and helped to develop
his worldview. It was a view that embraced the exotic—the non-Western, the French,
the Russian, the modern—one that was anti-establishment, and which determined
much of his future activities that were carried out almost exclusively in Adelaide until
his death in 1949. But Brewster-Jones’s readiness to be open and interested in the

3 I have borrowed the term “thick description” from the anthropologist Clifford Geertz. See Geertz,
Clifford, “Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture,” The Interpretation of
5 I allude here to Virginia Woolf’s famous words: “On or about December 1910, human character
changed.”
new had already been prepared in Adelaide by the artistic outlook of his first formal piano teacher, the Welsh pianist and composer Bryceson Treharne, thus allowing him to make the most of his London years.

Brewster-Jones's childhood was spent in small remote country towns where his father, William Arthur Jones, taught as a public schoolteacher. He was born in Black Rock, South Australia in 1887, then a small town whose population was around 500, forty kilometres from the more major centre of Orroroo. This part of Australia, belonging to the Ngadjuri people, was settled in the mid-nineteenth century. The name Orroroo itself means “the rendezvous of the magpies.” Sir Charles Todd, Superintendent of Telegraphs and Government Astronomer, whose efforts led to the successful building of the overland telegraph line, evokes the remoteness of this region in a characteristically amusing witticism from 1891. In response to the question as to whether or not a postal service could be provided at Orroroo, Todd replied “it would not be worthwhile as there were only two letters in Orroroo.”6 With the Flinders Ranges rising up behind undulating sparsely vegetated hills, this is a place of limitless space and vast horizons. It was, and still is, sheep and wheat country. South Australian Surveyor-General Captain E. C. Frome described the Black Rock Plain as “the most romantic spot” when he brought his exploration party there in 1841 but the area was shortly after proclaimed “dreary and wretched” due to lack of water marks.7 This desolate and harsh land was made available to settlers in 1871 and became a town shortly after. It is now virtually a ghost town. It was in this extreme isolation that Brewster-Jones spent his first years. From here the family moved first to Armagh in the Clare Valley and then to the small town of Bute positioned at the top of the Yorke Peninsular.

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In June 1901, just days before his fourteenth birthday, the young boy arrived in Adelaide from Bute to audition for the Elder Conservatorium. He had travelled to Adelaide on previous occasions, for his debut concert at the Town Hall as a young seven-year old prodigy on the organ and a visit two years later to play to the international pianist Mark Hambourg, then on his 1896 national tour. His future piano teacher Treharne noted in the audition report attached to the application that Brewster-Jones’s previous training was limited; he had learnt no rudiments of music, and apart from his father he had received no other tuition from anyone. Evidently there were fewer piano teachers than letters in Orroroo. The Conservatorium records show that he was a talented and hard working student; Treharne described his progress as excellent and declared him a “decidedly promising” young student. Brewster-Jones remained at Elder on scholarship, winning several prizes and awards along the way, until leaving for London in 1906. He remembered in a later address to Adelaide’s Lyceum Club that during these years he worked like a Trojan, on one occasion learning Chopin’s second concerto in a weekend. Many of his fellow students such as Harold Parsons, Eugene Alderman, and Sylvia Whittington were to become life-long colleagues and friends and even, in the case of cellist Fritz Homburg, part of the family. In an article announcing he had won the Elder Scholarship to the Royal College of Music the Advertiser described his record as “one of successes” and him as “a pianist of more than ordinary promise.” It continued its praise:

His readings of the works he has from time to time presented have always been marked by breadth of feeling and great musical intelligence. The artistic

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8 See “Mr. Brewster-Jones: His Musical Career,” Mail, 10 April 1915, 9. This exposure to international artists often provided pivotal experiences for young Australian pianists. Carreno encouraged Agnew to concentrate on composition, and Brewster-Jones’s subsequent meeting with Paderewski as an eighteen year old inspired him “to try for Europe.”

9 “The Elder Conservatorium of Music: Form of Application for Admission as a Student,” 4 June 1901, University of Adelaide: Barr Smith Library, Special Collections; 0353 Elder Conservatorium Applications and Student Lists, 1898-1901; Box 8 [hereafter Barr Smith: 0353]. Brewster-Jones was feted as a child prodigy, and one achievement in particular is made much of throughout his life: his passing of the Intermediate Solfege examination before the age of five. It is therefore surprising that Treharne takes particular note of the fact that Brewster-Jones had learnt nothing of the rudiments of music.


temperament is as conspicuous in him as his technique, and he has long been regarded as probably the most promising young pianist within the Commonwealth.\textsuperscript{12}

In the genteel and conservative environment of turn-of-the-century Adelaide, Bryceson Treharne emerges as an important figure in Brewster-Jones’s early life. Brewster-Jones was open to Treharne’s forward-looking artistic interests: “I was naturally interested in everything artistic from the age of 14,” he later recalled, “[l]iterature and art made their appeal, but music was the chief, and I was helped too by many artistic friends.”\textsuperscript{13} Brewster-Jones admitted an early waywardness saying that as a youth he was “not over fond of anything save sport and music.”\textsuperscript{14} Treharne was a student of the Royal College of Music between 1897 and 1900 and was well acquainted with the more adventurous musical and literary trends of the Naughty Nineties. His songs included settings of such poems as Montserrat by Arthur Symons, a key figure in the English Symbolist movement who contributed to the famous literary periodical, the Yellow Book (1894-1897).\textsuperscript{15}

Treharne’s interest in radical British and European drama led to the establishment of the Adelaide Repertory Theatre in 1908. Alice Grant Rosman broadcast its appearance in the Lone Hand the following year:

"Early in 1908 Bryceson Treharne, piano-master at the Conservatorium, brilliant musician and enthusiastic artist, conceived the plan of forming a literary class among his past and present students, with the idea of inculcating in them a wide culture and an interest in literary and dramatic art.\textsuperscript{16}"

Treharne began the Repertory Theatre less than ten years after Lady Gregory, Yeats and Edward Martyn founded the Irish Literary Theatre in Dublin and only four years after the better-known Abbey Theatre. In his history of the Australian stage, Harold Love reminds us that Australia was a:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{12} “Announcing Elder Scholarhip to RCM,” Advertiser, 14 December 1905.
\item \textsuperscript{13} “Mr. Brewster-Jones: His Musical Career.”
\item \textsuperscript{14} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{15} Mention of this song with an example of the score is found in Ward, “The Piano Music of Hooper Brewster-Jones,” 7.
\item \textsuperscript{16} Alice Grant Rosman, “Australia’s First Repertory Theatre,” Lone Hand, November 1909, in Harold Love, The Australian Stage: A Documentary History (Kensington, N.S.W: New South Wales University Press in association with Australian Theatre Studies Centre School of Drama University of New South Wales, 1984), 154.
\end{itemize}
world leader in mass literacy...and in per capita consumption of books and
magazines, Australia could hardly fail to be a fruitful seed bed for the ideals of
Bernard Shaw and the leaders of the Irish dramatic movement whose plays were
already familiar in printed form.\(^{17}\)

Love describes Treharne’s initial programming as experimental, embodying the
“philosophies of a radical movement.”\(^{18}\) It comprised a “dazzling early repertoire
grounded in the Irish national movement and embracing European as well as British
contemporary theatre.”\(^{19}\) Treharne single-handedly put Adelaide at the forefront of
British world theatre. His theatre was an instant success, quickly playing to packed
halls and demonstrating that, as Guy Worby has noted:

There were...audiences and practitioners in Adelaide who demanded a different
form and process of theatre...Like Treharne they craved both a national and
international perspective, and, like Treharne, they were satisfied to count success in
other than box-office terms.\(^{20}\)

As part of this educational enterprise Treharne also had his composition students
write incidental music to these productions. Ruby Davy, the first female recipient of a
doctorate in composition in South Australia, wrote the music for Synge’s *Riders to
the Sea*, Lady Gregory’s *At the Rising of the Moon* and William Boyle’s *The Building
Fund*. Another student Carlien Jurs composed a score for Arthur H. Adams’s *The
Minstrel* and Treharne himself wrote the music for Yeats’s *Deirdre*.\(^{21}\) Several years
later, before 1920, Brewster-Jones embarked on his first opera, the first written by a
native-born South Australian, based on Synge’s *Deirdre of the Sorrows*. According to
McCredie it departed “from all the previous literary and theatrical traditions, as well
as the musical styles” and demanded an orchestra of “Wagnerian proportions.”\(^{22}\)

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18 Gus Worby, “A Theatre Now and Then,” in *From Colonel Light into the Footlights: The Performing
Arts in South Australia from 1836 to the Present*, ed. Andrew D. McCredie (Adelaide: Pagel Books,
22 Andrew D. McCredie, “Creative Challenges and Models: Composition in South Australia,” in *From
Colonel Light into the Footlights: The Performing Arts in South Australia from 1836 to the Present*,
Apart from representing many of the Irish dramatists including, among others, Yeats, Shaw, Lady Gregory, Synge, Boyle as well as Wilde and Max Beerbohm, Trehame also included plays by some of the more experimental European playwrights. These included the French Symbolist Maurice Maeterlinck; Edmond Rostand, the author of *Cyrano de Bergerac*; the Swede August Strindberg, a Socialist and radical writer; Arthur Schnitzler the Viennese playwright who, along with Hugo von Hofmannsthal, was a member of the avant-garde *Young Vienna* circle and is seen as a “creative equivalent of his friend Sigmund Freud,” the German, Hermann Sudermann; and the Russian Ivan Turgenev.

Through Trehame, Brewster-Jones got a real foretaste of the radical currents of late Victorian London and the new directions in art that had taken place. Trehame introduced the young boy to a fringe world that was artistically and politically radical; one that was dissident, questioning and anti-establishment, utterly unlike the conservative confines of Elder Conservatorium. This marked an important early point in the development of Brewster-Jones as a curious, freethinking artist. Although Trehame started the theatre two years after Brewster-Jones had left for London, it was a public expression of artistic interests he had been developing for many years and which Brewster-Jones, as an open-minded student, would have been able to tap into with ease. They resumed their friendship and artistic partnership on Brewster-Jones’s return in 1909 until Trehame’s own departure in 1911.

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24 Plays that were known to be produced between 1908 and 1911 were: Maeterlinck’s *Sister Beatrice*, Synge’s *Riders to the Sea* and *The Shadow of the Glen*; Lady Gregory’s *At the Rising of the Moon* and *Hyacinth Halvey*; William Boyle’s *The Building Fund*; Gibson’s *Winter Dawn*; Yeats’ *The Land of Heart’s Desire*, *The Shadowy Waters*, *Deirdre*, *Cathleen Ni Houlihan* and *The Pot of Broth*; W.L. Courteney’s *Pericles and Aspasia*; the New Zealander Arthur H. Adam’s *The Minstrel* and *Doctor Death*; Shaw’s *How He lied to Her Husband* and *The Man of Destiny*; Wilde’s *The Florentine Tragedy*; Gilbert Murray’s *Andromache*; Turgenev’s *Spinning of the Thread*; Laurence Binyon’s *Paris and Oenone*; Douglas Hyde’s *The Twisting of the Rope*; Rutherford Mayne’s *The Turn of the Road*; Bjornsen’s *The Trojan Women of Europides*; Padraic Colum’s *The Land*; Max Beerbohm’s *Happy Hypocrite*; and three one-act plays by Herman Sudermann, August Strindberg and Arthur Schnitzler.

25 Evidence of the continuing relationship between the two men is found in Eric McClauchlin’s unpublished history of South Australian music in which he writes, “Shortly after his return [in 1909] from study in Europe, Brewster Jones gave a concert in the Town Hall. He played the Australian premiere of Rimsky-Korsakov’s *Concerto in C# minor*, op. 30 accompanied by Bryceson Treharne. Brewster-Jones also premiered a Debussy Prelude. Muriel Cheek sang three of his songs.” State Library of South Australia: Manuscript Collections; D 6885 (Lit Ms); Eric McClauchlin, *History of Music in South Australia* (unpublished manuscript); 1970 [hereafter SLSA: D6885].
Brewster-Jones remembered Treharne introducing him to the “latest moderns” in music. Unfortunately he did not elucidate who these moderns were. We get some idea of Treharne’s musical tastes from the programme of his first Adelaide recital of 15 September 1900. Apart from the standard early nineteenth century repertoire of Schumann, Chopin and Mendelssohn, he included a set of songs of his contemporary at the RCM, Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, and a set of four unpublished Japanese songs by himself: Miasma, To a Nightingale, A Snowflake and Yuki. All are typical examples of Edwardian orientalism. An example from his Five Oriental Songs written several years later show the kind of musical language employed (see Example 4.1).

In 1906, now nineteen, the boy from Black Rock arrived in the bustling imperial metropolis in its Edwardian heyday. He had joined the “miniature migration” of creative Australians—painters, singers, pianists, writers—who left to further their education or make their reputation in London in the two decades before the Great War. Dame Nellie Melba and Percy Grainger were the two highest-profile Australian musicians from this period who attained celebrity-status in London. The Adelaide magazine Quiz noted the importance of making this journey when it declared of Brewster-Jones’s impending departure, “The ambition of this talented young pianist is to go to London, where every rising musical genius must go to procure the world’s hallmark of efficiency.” He exchanged the open skies and clean air of South Australia for “...the cool damp weather, the fog, the grime and the horse dung, the plutocrats and the poor” of London.

London was home to around six and a half million people, the second largest city in the world after New York. Its population was ten times larger than Sydney’s or Melbourne’s, let alone Adelaide’s whose inhabitants at the time numbered around 160 000. London was twice as big as Paris in 1900 and was, as Anne Gray notes, an

27 “Elder Conservatorium: Mr. Bryceson Treharne: First Pianoforte Recital,” 15 September 1900, in University of Adelaide: Barr Smith Library, Special Collections; S305 Concert Programmes, 1898-1915; Box 1.
28 Wilcox, “Edwardian Excursion,” 23. For another account of Australian expatriatism during these years see Stephen Alomes, When London Calls: The Expatriation of Australian Creative Artists to Britain (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 2-3, 60.
At the Street Corner

Moving gently, drowsily

Example 4.1 Bryceson Treharne, "At the Street Corner," no. 5 from Five Oriental Songs, bb. 1-12.
"international cultural centre." The Edwardian period (1900–1914) has been characterised, even glorified, as the age of optimism in an Empire upon which the sun never set. Led by Edward VII, "an extrovert with a zest for pleasure," it was a period when the privileged loved to flaunt their wealth, play games, dress up in exotic costumes, stage spectacular costume balls, and idealise childhood. It produced some of the classics of English children’s literature including Kenneth Grahame’s *Wind in the Willows*, A.A. Milne’s *Winnie the Pooh*, Beatrix Potter’s *Tale of Peter Rabbit*, Edith Nesbit’s *The Railway Children*, Kipling’s *Kim* and of course, epitomising the Edwardian refusal to grow up, J.M Barrie’s *Peter Pan*. Jonathan Rose remarks that "The Edwardian gospel of fun was part of a broad social revolution that reversed the early Victorian attack on amusement and made recreation a major mass industry in England." During these years the musical halls reached their zenith and light music was enormously successful with a wide audience and lucrative sheet music market. This market catered for the “genteel parlour entertainments of a dominant piano culture,” taking advantage of the increased leisure time and purchasing power of many Edwardians. However, parlour entertainments were the reserve primarily of the wealthy. Donald Read, among others, has pointed out that life was not so idyllic for the working classes and the Edwardian middle class prided themselves as being a solid and respectable antidote to the high jinks of the upper classes; they were “the backbone of the nation.” These years saw the appearance of important inventions but also the sinking of the *Titanic*; they saw the Irish struggle for Home Rule, the spread of socialism and the suffragette movement. These were, as Gray says, “years of hope, of Utopian ideals and of great inventions.” The Edwardians felt strongly that they were at the beginning of something rather than the end. This short-lived era was brought to a horrific and shattering end with the onset of the Great War.

32 Ibid., 21.
33 Ibid., 11.
38 Ibid., 36.
Brewster-Jones’s London was markedly different to the one Agnew was to encounter seventeen years later.

At the turn of the century the British musical tradition began at last, after an extended period of hibernation, to emerge from submerged obscurity. The Irishman Sir Charles Villiers Stanford, Hubert Parry of Jerusalem fame, and Edward Elgar were among the early composers to reclaim music for the land so long considered without it. The revitalisation of this tradition centred on the construction of “Englishness.” It drew on ideas of the English pastoral, the folk song, and, as heard in Vaughan Williams’s Fantasia on a Theme of Thomas Tallis, the rich musical tradition of Elizabethan England harking back to the period before indigenous music was swept aside by the wave of foreign domination generally understood as beginning with the arrival of Handel in the early eighteenth century. At its best it is represented in the music of Delius and Holst who of course were also strongly interested in the exotic. “The Edwardian period,” writes Lewis Foreman speaking of people such as Coleridge-Taylor, the Frankfort Group (including Balfour Gardiner, Roger Quilter, Norman O’Neill and Cyril Scott), William Hurlstone, York Bowen and Bantock, “was marked by an explosion of composition, though the composers who came to the forefront then as harbingers of the new are not necessarily those we might wish to see today as the big-name composers of the period – indeed, by and large they still await rediscovery and evaluation.” For Foreman, the Edwardian period produced “the most fertile composers of the next generation ...” The younger composers now joined the older generation of the English musical renaissance.

40 Germans referred to England as Das Land ohne Musik or “the land without music.” Hubert Parry’s setting of Blake’s Jerusalem is widely known.


42 Ibid., 2.
With the reconstruction of the English musical tradition still in its infancy, many composers struggled to survive. They felt a lack of interest and support and accused society of neglect. Composer W.H. Bell recounts in his Reminiscences that:

Under the best circumstances the rewards possible to a British composer, even the most eminent, other than the satisfaction of doing the work itself, are not worth having...I have seen the rise of composer after composer in England; I have seen all of them become the victims of profound disillusionment in old age, and I have seen their works and even their names forgotten and neglected...I heard one of our most brilliant young composers of today say that every Englishman born a musician was a life wasted.43

Many of the younger composers were agitating for change, for improved support. Bemoaning England’s failure to support its own composers, Tobias Matthay and Frederick Corder at the Royal Academy of Music had founded the Society of British Composers a year before Brewster-Jones’s arrival.44 This situation was not so different from that in Australia. And this kind of agitation perhaps inspired Brewster-Jones later in life to campaign for the rights of Australian composers.

Concert life was hectic during these years—London was brimming with performances—and Brewster-Jones made the most of it. The Promenade Concerts under the baton of Henry Wood were in full swing. He was inviting Europe’s finest conductors, composers and performers to participate. Brewster-Jones benefited from this fertile and busy scene. He attended many concerts and heard many of the best performers and conductors of the day. He gave an account of the conductors whose performance he had heard later in Australia in which Hans Richter and Felix Weingarter were considered “pre-eminent in modern music.” He was effusive in his praise of certain conductors—“I can hear back to performances of Nikisch, when I was thrilled from top to toe. Beecham has stirred me in every fibre, and Safonoff has given me the most intense feeling of satisfaction and delight.” Others however did not engender with such admiration. He deemed Landon Ronald “too passionate,” Henry Wood, despite his “splendid influence on English music...too cold and pretty,” Sir

43 Ibid., 5.
44 Ibid., 3.
Charles Stanford, his own composition teacher, “under whom I have played
concertos, seemed a trifle too self-satisfied,” and Elgar fared no better and was
described as “stiff and lacking in life.”

The high point of the British Empire and the rise of English musical
nationalism coalesced in the decades bridging the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.
Going to London brought the young South Australian to the epicentre of English
pastoralism but also provided the way into the European, the oriental, and the exotic.
Alongside the construction of pastoral “Englishness” the cult of the exotic reigned,
finding expression in all facets of culture. Brewster-Jones particularly found
inspiration in this cult. Big hits such as Granville Bantock’s *Omar Khayyam*,
Coleridge-Taylor’s *Hiawatha* and Havergal Brian’s *Vision of Cleopatra* are famous
examples of a kind of Orientalist enterprise that virtually became a sub-genre into
which Brewster-Jones’s graduation work, *Indian Serenade*, with “its genuine Eastern
touches,” fits easily.

Into this world entered Brewster-Jones, filled with expectations and ready for
new opportunities in Edwardian London with its embrace of “Life,” his head
presumably filled by Treharne with tales of the Naughty Nineties, stories of
decadence and bohemian living, of social and cultural rebels. Of course, by virtue of
his nationality, socio-economic background and status as student he was an outsider;
he had neither access to this bohemian world nor to the opulent, privileged world of
the upper classes. He followed the path of other Australians and quickly joined the
large expatriate community centred around the Austral Club (the predecessor to the
Dominion Club) and participated in many of the “At Homes” held there. As well as
presenting standard repertoire he also performed his own works as well as those of
his friend George Clutsam. In October, 1907 he organised the musical programme for

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45 Hooper Brewster-Jones, “History of Orchestral Conducting (Lecture Delivered before Adelaide
Brewster-Jones defines “modern” music here as music written since Wagner.

46 “Heinecke’s Orchestra,” *AMN* 3, no. 4 (1913): 118.

47 Rose discusses a change in the meaning of *Life* for the Edwardians. He writes, “In its most general
sense, *Life* represented a demand for individual freedom and self-realisation, a vague but fervent
rallying cry for the poets, social rebels, and emancipated women who were fighting their way out of

48 Craig Wilcox tells us that “the Austral Club was founded by the wife of a Sydney journalist who
the “At Home” and was warmly commended for his efforts in the *British Australasian*: “The excellent musical programme arranged by Mr. H. Brewster-Jones was answerable for the attendance of members and their friends at the Austral Club on Tuesday afternoon.” He enlisted the help of a Russian cellist, Kilny Balozki, to perform the Rubinstein cello sonata. He also programmed two of his own songs *The Silhouettes* and *The Flight of the Moon*. The latter received particular attention: “This young composer,” the reviewer commented, “shows considerable promise and talent; this is a poetic little study and one that is bound to be included soon in every artist’s repertoire.”

Whereas Grainger gained access into the upper echelons of London society and made important social contacts through his participation in the “At Home,” Brewster-Jones does not seem to have made influential contacts outside the expatriate enclave. Even at his first public recital in July 1908, held in conjunction with his friend, the singer Stanley Newman, at Steinway Hall the majority of the large audience were Australians. This fact was repeated in detail by the *British Australasian* at the expense of any discussion of the actual music. The *Times* did however remark on the performance. While noting his “intelligent phrasing,” it deemed his playing “rather monotonous from its lack of contrast in tone, and from the fact that he never passed a certain moderate level of expressive power.”

On taking up the Elder Scholarship at the RCM, Brewster-Jones studied composition with Stanford, chamber music with Rivarde, piano with Franklin Taylor (a former student of Clara Schumann) and attended Hubert Parry’s history lectures. Parry expounded a musical history modelled closely on Social Darwinist theories, expanding the history of Western art music to include an account of ancient and exotic musics, a decision that possibly influenced the Australian’s later interests.

The *RCM Magazine*, which started in 1904 and gained “quasi-official” status on becoming the organ of the Student Union in 1905, provides a valuable window

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50 Ibid.
onto student life in the years Brewster-Jones attended the institution. We find that not only did Brewster-Jones study at the same time as Agnew’s future friend William Murdoch but also with his English supporter, composer Percival Garratt. The champion of “ultra-modernism,” Eugene Goossens had enrolled in Stanford’s class before Brewster-Jones’s departure, as had John Ireland and the Anglo-American composer Rebecca Clarke, all of whose works later featured on Agnew’s radio show. Some former Collegians still had an active role and presence in the academy, including composer and violist Frank Bridge (whose quartet Brewster-Jones’s was later to be compared with and with whom he performed Franck’s Piano Quintet), Richard Walthew (whose work Mosaic was performed during these years and also featured on Agnew’s show) and Thomas Dunhill. These young composers’ works appeared on programmes as did other members of their generation such as Ivor Forster, Frank Bridge and William Hurlstone.54

The programming for the college orchestral and chamber concerts was in general conventional. Among other French composers such as Franck, Charpentier, and Chaminade, it was really Debussy who made his appearance most felt as the “modern.” Between 1906 and 1909 several piano works including Estampes and Suite Bergamesque were heard as was his String Quartet in October 1907.55 The Covent Garden premier of Peléas et Mélisande was also discussed in the RCM Magazine.56 Modern literature was touched upon; there is an article dedicated to Walt Whitman’s poetry and a brief discussion of Maeterlinck in an Editorial.57

The magazine documents the visit in June 1907 of Glazunov, then Head of St. Petersburg Conservatory. Together with Stanford, he conducted a programme dedicated to his own music, including: Two Melodies for Contralto and Orchestra, Symphony no, 7 in F major op. 77, Chant du Ménestrel and the Raymonda Suite for


Orchestra. In his coverage of this visit, the Editor of the *RCM Magazine* emphasised the otherness of Russia:

> The style of the Russian may be as different from that of an English composer as the moon differs from a planet; yet both spheres borrow their light from the same sun, though either may cease to if hidden from its rays. 58

Brewster-Jones’s name appears sporadically in the magazine, chiefly on chamber music programmes. His Steinway Hall concert was generously treated, the reviewer pointing out that the programme was not only “very successful, but was unhackneyed and interesting…” The concert’s success was due in part to Brewster-Jones’s performance of Debussy’s *Danse* “played for the first time in London.” 59 The other highlight of his student years was his performance of Rimsky-Korsakov’s Piano Concerto of March 1909 with the College orchestra shortly before his return to Adelaide. The beautifully decorated and engraved edition used for this performance is still in his music collection.

Through the magazine, the college is revealed as a microcosm of the wider British world. The Rajah Sir S. M. Tagore more than once participated in the award ceremonies of the College. 60 News from Canada, South Africa, and India is scattered through the magazine’s pages. References are made to newspapers including the *Montreal Standard*, and more surprisingly, the *Peking and Tientsin Times*. 61 Scholarships to the College were available not only from Adelaide and Melbourne but also Montreal. The student lists from these years reveal the international makeup of the student population. Former Australian student Mabel Samaurez Smith appears more than once in the magazine, hailing from Bishopscourt, Sydney. Apart from her poetic contribution *The Song of the Pine*, 62 her lengthy letter full of Sydney musical news gives a vivid sense of both the perceived distance and the ease of communication between metropole and periphery:

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The English mail is in—the flag signifying the fact is flying from the Post Office tower, and we turn our steps homewards with pleasurable anticipation of the piles of envelopes waiting on the hall table their eager appropriation by the respective owners. But the news is exhausted far too quickly, and we wish it were not always five weeks old, and that another mail came in to-morrow! When, however, the fact is taken into account that 12,000 miles of ocean lie between us and England’s shores, one feels that after all, grumbling is out of place, and one should wonder at and be grateful for the regularity of the mail service.63

Standard examples of exoticism are featured. In March 1909, Robert Hichens provided an essentialised depiction of North Africa evoking many of the familiar tropes of Orientalism. In The Flute Player the busy and “grimy” Europe is contrasted with the peace and calm of the East: “It is not so in the East,” the protagonist tells his readers, “and perhaps, the East can teach the children of the West a lesson, if they are willing to be in it for a little while as are the children of the sun.” Mahmoud, the young Arab flute player in question, has huge, dark, “strangely expressive eyes” and contemplatively played “the love song of the Sahara.” Once back in London with its smut and yellow fog, the protagonist longed “for the red mountains, the palm trees, the tawny sun-washed flats.” 64 In a later edition of the magazine a student, Helen Boyd, ventures into the South Pacific, offering a romanticised nostalgic account of “magic” Samoa in which she refers to both Robert Louis Stevenson and the “gaily-dressed natives.”65 Another example, the naïve poem, The Desert Drum (Written on an Arab Legend)66 is followed by a caricature dripping with extreme imperial chauvinism: a “letter” from A.D. Dinmaaka (The Great Music-man) “a Royal Collegian very much at sea,” who sends in “Musical Doings in Central Africa,” written from Umgobolatomata, a village not far from Hoki-Poki. We find that Bach Preludes and Fugues were played on the “well-tempered Tom-tom,” the savages’ ire was soothed with a little Strauss and Debussy, while some Max Reger (who visited

London in May 1909, and was known for his neo-Baroque music which was for some overly “academic”) quickly “dried up” the trouble with the water pipes.67

The magazine even includes a crude attempt at science fiction reminding us that this was the time of H.G. Wells’s classics *War of the Worlds* and *The Time Machine*. Replete with aerocabs and telautographs, “A.D. 1959. A Nightmare,” also delves into the possibilities of new instruments such as “thunderdrones, hubbubboes and the cataclysmograph.”68 The futuristic music sounded horrible, not dissimilar in effect to an orchestra tuning. It was conducted by means of electricity. In his description of the music the author reveals an understanding of recent musical developments, in particular alternatives to diatonicism such as experimentation with microtonal music:

It was just then that a great light dawned upon me. The music was enharmonic, and the “obsolete Major and Minor modes” were merged into one glorious and all-embracing gamut of twenty-one evenly-tempered sounds to the octave. It was a superabundance of small intervals that had made me think of strings being tuned.69

McCredie suggests that Brewster-Jones, while at the college, “aligned himself, much to the chagrin of his teachers, with all that seemed like a modern, radical and iconoclastic challenge to traditional British and French composition and music theory.”70 Unfortunately, he does not give any details about who and what constituted this challenge. Goossens certainly would have been part of any such challenge, although he had graduated by this time. In general, however, the College was known for its conservatism. In a letter to *The Times* on the 30 May 1904, William Wallace wrote, “No musician can close his eyes to the fact that the Royal College of Music is associated with a certain phase of thought which is academically antagonistic, if not openly inimical, to every modern tendency.”71 Stanford, along with fellow conservative professor of counterpoint, Sir Frederick Bridge, was an outspoken and hostile critic of new music. It is therefore not surprising that the relationship between the young rebel and the mercurial old master did not last.

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69 Ibid., 65.
70 McCredie, “Creative Challenges and Models,” 265.
71 Foreman, *From Parry to Britten*, 27.
Brewster-Jones keenly felt Stanford’s conservatism and his expulsion from his composition class was a pivotal moment. He recounted the events leading to this event with evident glee:

Talking of London, one of my most delightful escapades was the experience of being expelled from the composition class of the Royal College of Music in London. Sir Charles Stanford, who was kind enough to teach me in his private house, received me one morning towards the end of my college days, and being in his best spirits went so far as to have a little chat on literature and politics. I was getting a little tired of his conservatism in music and finding him a regular Tory in politics I could not resist the temptation to congratulate him on being a fellow-countryman of the brilliant Bernard Shaw. The air became electric.

The deliberately provocative reference to the Irish dramatist Shaw, a radical who was closely involved in the formation of Fabian Socialism and later the Labour party, as well as a noted writer and public speaker, reveals Brewster-Jones to be politically as well as musically progressive. It found its mark. Brewster-Jones then added insult to injury by bringing his own music into the mix:

I then produced my composition “An Indian Serenade,” which contained several tonal and duodecuple effects, ending on the chord of the added 6. This was too much for him. The harmonies were outrageously new, and the melody had broken all rules. Sir Charles stormed around the room, then dashed to the piano, threw his fingers anywhere, and asked if “that” was melody. The effect of his performance was tonal and distinctly good—an accident of course—so what was I to do? Policy said “Hold your tongue”; conscience and the sporting spirit said “Speak the Truth.” I gathered up the courage to reply, “That was splendid melody, sir.” The position became untenable. Although I had a great affection for Sir Charles, I was glad, because his conservatism was killing me.72

A powerful antidote to Stanford’s conservatism was found in Brewster-Jones’s fellow countryman, the composer George Clutsam who became his private composition teacher. Brewster-Jones quickly developed a close relationship with the older Australian. Ann Galbally observes that, in general, the “experience of

72 “Mr. Brewster-Jones: His Musical Career.”
Australians in Europe at this time was to bypass or to nullify innovation, challenges and questions."  

This was not the case with Clutsam and his young protegé. Clutsam and his wife, the singing teacher Madame Minna Fischer (previously from South Australia and Stanley Newman’s teacher in London), were heavily involved in the musical activities of the Austral Club. Clutsam was born, as he liked to put it, on Botany Bay in 1866. He moved as an infant to New Zealand and ended up in London by way of an extended tour through India, China and Japan as Dame Nellie Melba’s accompanist. He never left, dying in London in 1951.  

He had a profound influence on Brewster-Jones. Clutsam’s teaching, occurring as it did outside the framework of an official institution, provided Brewster-Jones with a model for his own later teaching. Brewster-Jones often played Clutsam’s works in concerts, including his public performance in Steinway Hall, in which he and Newman performed his Four Songs from the Turkish Hills.

Clutsam had little time for Stanford. His own musical views were inimical to Stanford’s and it was perhaps his influence that sparked such audacious behaviour in Brewster-Jones. Clutsam provided a refreshing alternative to Stanford’s attitudes to modern music. On learning of the impending performance of Stanford’s parody piece Ode to Discord intended to pillory the “modern,” Clutsam dryly speculated that “Sir Charles’s views of the musical methods of his contemporaries are sure to be interesting...” Later, in a searing critique of the performance, he pointed out that Stanford did not have “the slightest conception of what dissonance meant...” and thought it “tasteless” that Stanford aimed “his shaft of ridicule” at modern French and German composers [Debussy and Strauss] “without a semblance of provocation and with only the thinnest superficial knowledge of their actual achievements in the cause of musical progress.” Nevertheless he draws the paradoxical and ironic conclusion

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73 Gray, Galbally, and National Gallery of Australia, The Edwardians: Secrets and Desires, 120.  
74 For general information on George Clutsam see Philip Scowcroft, Clutsam, George Howard ([accessed 12 April 2003]) and Scowcroft, G H Clutsam ([accessed 14 April 2003]); available from http://www.musicweb-international.com/garlands/clutsam.htm. There is no readily available biographical information on Minna Fischer, although the British Australasian also conducted an interview with her, as well as her new husband, in 1906. See “?”, “Half-a-Minute’ Interviews: No. 5—Minna Fischer,” British Australasian, 25 January 1906.  
75 “Steinway Hall,” The Times.  
that “incidentally, Sir Charles gave us some of the finest music that ever came from his pen.”

Clutsam is now remembered exclusively as a composer of “light” music, the theatrical medley *Lilac Time* and the song *Ma Curly Headed Babby* being two hits. He also experienced a degree of success in Germany with several of his operas. Australian journalist Freda Sternberg reported in 1914 that “Clutsam has a high position in the German musical world …” In addition he was an early pioneer in the composition of cinema music, and wrote eight volumes for the cinema company Metzler. In fact, Clutsam’s musical output spanned all three of the categories identified by Bourdieu: the bourgeois (his operas), the “industrial” (his film music) and, an almost unknown part of his output, “autonomous art.” Moreover, Clutsam had a hidden side. Light music was a style he himself deplored and saw solely as a means of survival. He believed in musical progress and encouraged young composers to engage with the new:

> I have a number of opinions which I am told are quite heterodox and revolutionary, and altogether alarming ... My heretical idea is: study the old masters as much as you like, but study the new ones, too. Keep right up to date. Study even the ones who came to the front last year. It isn’t advocated in the modern theoretical school: they cling still to the ancients, whose methods have become obsolete.

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77 George Clutsam, “Music: Sir C. V. Stanford’s ‘Ode to Discord’,” *Sunday Observer*, 13 June 1909, 7. Clutsam’s claim that this attempt to mock had in fact inspired Stanford’s best music has a certain resonance with the poetry produced by James McAuley and Harold Steward in the Em Malley affair. Here too, the poems have survived on their own artistic merit. Max Harris republished the poetry in 1961 on the grounds of their continuing value as poetry.

78 For a description of Clutsam’s contribution to “light” music see Scowcroft, *G H Clutsam*. “Light” music is a generally recognised term for a kind of orchestral music, mainly British, which began around the end of the World War 1. Scowcroft is a specialist in the area of British “light” music, and has produced an *Index of British Light Music Composers* available at http://www.musicweb.uk.net/garlands/index.htm.

79 For example his opera *Koenig Harlekin* was produced at Berlin’s Kurfürstenoper in 1912.


82 Clutsam aired these views on other occasions. For example, in an interview for Sydney’s *Lone Hand* we find the following: “There was never a time ... when the composer found it more necessary to be up-to-date than the present. The technique of music is developing very rapidly. Seven years ago Debussy was hissed in London, and Strauss was received in silence. And now? Well a programme is not considered to be complete without excerpts from these composers.” See “Notable Australians: G.H. Clutsam,” *Lone Hand* 1, no. 6 (1914): 412.
In an interview with the *British Australasian* in 1906 from which the above lines are taken, his ascorbic, wry, almost cantankerous, character emerges in the opening statement:

Please don’t call me “Our only Australian composer.” Somebody did that once, and for about a week after I walked about feeling as if I were a sort of soothing syrup.

Clutsam reveals himself, in Slemon’s terms, to be an ambivalent “neither/nor” citizen of the Empire. Although he resisted the label “Australian,” he was nonetheless an embittered Anglophobe. He was scathing in his assessment of British music:

England is essentially an oratorio country. It is part of its insular adhesion to tradition. In truth, the oratorio everywhere else is an extinct volcano ... To put my view of the matter in a metaphor, the English ship of music is encrusted with so many barnacles that the whole world is outsailing her! And those barnacles are incorporated musical societies, colleges of music, critics, concert agents and publishers!

He was honest about his desire to make money. Clutsam did not like being poor. While correcting a common misunderstanding that he was a New Zealander and noting he was born at Botany Bay, he continued “I come ‘of poor but honest parents’ I have inherited one of the adjectives. I am, at least, poor.” He continued:

My view of the situation is of the most sordid and commercial character. I write to sell. Ambitions? I haven’t any. Ideals? My dear sir, it isn’t a matter of ideals, it’s a matter of sheer commonsense. Art doesn’t pay, ragtime does. I’ve gone to publishers with pieces that have taken me the best part of a year to compose. I couldn’t get a fiver for anyone of them. I’ve gone with something that took me half an hour, and the cheque has taken my breath away!83

It is a singular example of a more general phenomenon. English composer W.H. Bell remembers a remarkably similar outburst from a contemporary who was “forced” to

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change to a lighter, more popular style: “They let me starve when I wrote that music, they don’t want it. Let them have muck! It’s all they care for.”

Clutsam’s inability to give himself up to the impoverished life of a true bohemian, and dedicate himself to “art for art’s sake,” inculcated in him a deep sense of self-loathing that in turn produced this devastating condemnation of his own work with which he concluded the interview:

I can’t even follow in the approved path with the fervent manifesto that everything I do I do for the honour and glory of my native land. As a candid fact, I can honestly say that I should be very sorry if Australia were in any way proud of the stuff I turn out.

In a later conversation with the *British Australasian* Clutsam continued the same line of complaint: “I’ve been 18 years in London, and the best of my work during that time, the best that is in me to write is upstairs, locked away, and there I intend it shall remain!” This model of public and private art—the secreting away of what was most important to the self—exerted a powerful and far-reaching influence on Brewster-Jones helping to shape his own idiosyncratic way of dealing with the world. The fact that the experimental miniatures, the focus of this study, remained almost completely “hidden” from public view makes more sense in this context. In this respect Clutsam taught him too well. However, as we will see, the highly conservative musical world of Adelaide also played an important role.

Clutsam regularly contributed scholarly articles to the *Musical Times*. He identified himself as an innovator in his 1910 article “The Whole-Tone Scale and Its Practical Use.” He was not merely reviewing other composers’ treatment of this scale, rather he tells the reader: “Some years ago I was under the impression that I

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84 Quoted in Foreman, *From Parry to Britten*, 5.
85 “‘Half-a-Minute’ Interviews: Mr. George Clutsam.”
86 “Mr. George Clutsam on Commonsense in Music,” *British Australasian*, 27 December 1906, 56.
had discovered certain combinations of sounds that were not to be explained by any theories founded on the ordinary diatonic or modal scale basis, or the laws of natural harmonics."\(^88\) The article is a detailed theoretical exploration of the possibilities of the scale, replete with his own workings and other musical examples ranging from Schumann via Charpentier and Strauss to Debussy's *Pélagas et Mélisande*. He called for "the serious recognition" of this scale and encouraged young composers to come to grips with these new sounds, "till they become part and parcel of his musical equipment..." Then he noted that "[the student] will be more than repaid by the extra facility and grip he will acquire over all other chromatic and extreme harmonies. It is this idea solely, *i.e.*, *the widening of the harmonic field*, that is the purport of this article."\(^89\) He did, however, note the danger of "hopeless" monotony if the scale is used exclusively—a danger that Brewster-Jones later fell prey to in his first Etude on the whole tone scale.\(^90\)

Three years later in 1913 Clutsam embarked on his three-part series of articles on Scriabin's late harmonic language.\(^91\) Eschewing any theosophical or mystical ecstasies, he got down immediately to an examination of the "technical details." He detected in Scriabin's new language, "[t]he restless strivings for the new," which, in his opinion, had been "forced by the limitations of expression involved by an adherence to the old diatonic and chromatic systems."\(^92\) Like Phyllis Campbell, he understood the Prometheus or mystic chord as having been derived from the overtone series. Here we have a direct link to Brewster-Jones's Prelude on "new formula," although unlike Scriabin, Brewster-Jones kept the registral position of the series intact. It also perhaps explains why Brewster-Jones was to later reject Scriabin when this approach soon ended in a cul de sac.

Clutsam's preoccupation with abstract theoretical concerns continued at least into the late teens. In 1917 he engaged in a string of rejoinders in the *Musical Times* with a Dr Shirlaw on the relationship between scale and harmony, or more exactly

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\(^88\) Clutsam, "The Whole-Tone Scale and Its Practical Use," 702.
\(^89\) Ibid.: 703.
\(^90\) Ibid.: 704.
which preceded which. Clutsam’s interest in the workings of sound and the relationship between scale and harmony obviously rubbed off on Brewster-Jones. Taking a wider view, Brewster-Jones’s interest in abstract and formal potential of scales and sonorities can be understood to reflect some concerns of Edwardian visual artists, particularly those, described by Gray as, “painterly technique and formal construction.” She notes that this aesthetic, which was present in the murals and designs of Edwardian artists, was decorative reminding us that critics such as P.G. Konody used the word “decoration” to describe formalist aspects of artists’ work, employing it to characterise a kind of stylised artifice in opposition to representational concerns. This idea of decoration resonates with aspects of Brewster-Jones’s work from the 1920s discussed earlier in Chapter 1.

Although these articles were written after Brewster-Jones had left London, Clutsam was obviously interested in these kinds of musical matters well before this, and given his continued connection to Adelaide by way of his brother-in-law, the singer Otto Fischer-Sobell, with whom Brewster-Jones occasionally performed, it is easy to see how Brewster-Jones remained in touch with his activities. Regardless of the personal connection, the *Musical Times*, as a leading English music journal, would have been readily available in Australia. It is evident in Brewster-Jones’s comments on new music in 1915, as well as his music of the twenties, that he had kept abreast of recent musical thought. He said, “The scales of Scriabine and Debussy and others are never likely to be abandoned because of the strength of their foundations, but there is sure to be a new note in music treating with deeper emotions.” In 1920 Clutsam sent him a copy of his recently published book of Original Studies with his “kind remembrances and best wishes,” confirming conclusively that they kept in touch well after Brewster-Jones’s return to Australia.

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95 Ibid.
Clutsam’s role as Brewster-Jones’s private teacher transformed quickly into that of mentor. Evidence of the close nature of their relationship and the paternal role Clutsam assumed is found in the inscription on Brewster-Jones’s copy of Clutsam’s orchestral work *The Blessed Damozel: An Interlude (After the Poem of Rossetti)*: “To H. Brewster Jones in sincere esteem and admiration of many good qualities still in embryo.”

In his diary entry of 25 May 1906 Brewster-Jones remarks, “Clutsam gave me some of his piano works which he played to me. He is an extraordinary chap, very clever in his ways.” Brewster-Jones’s own description of *Indian Serenade* as “outrageously new” with “tonal” and “duodecuple effects” invites an examination, as does Clutsam’s “clever” piano music (see Examples 4.2a and 4.2b). Comparing this music to Brewster-Jones’s music of the 1920s we can see that a profound shift had occurred.

Clutsam provided an important channel to modern musical developments. He was music critic for the *Sunday Observer* between 1908 and 1918 and his own reviews offer a good index of some of what was available to Brewster-Jones. As Brewster-Jones’s mentor it was likely that he not only informed his young protégé of upcoming modern music concerts but also conceivably took him along. Clutsam was one of a small coterie of British musicians who were intensely interested in continental musical developments, particularly those occurring in France and Russia. Foreman notes the particular importance of French and Russian music in the following observation:

The musical climate between 1900 and 1914 was one in which late Victorian institutions and attitudes still persisted, and the assumption of the superiority of Germanic models was endemic, in spite of the appearance of strong counter-influences from Russian and France in particular: it took an apocalypse to sweep them away.

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100 See “Mr. Brewster-Jones: His Musical Career.” Here Brewster-Jones’s use of the word “tonal” corresponds with Clutsam’s use of it in his article on the whole tone scale: it refers to the whole tone scale not conventional tonality.
101 Foreman, *From Parry to Britten*, 2.
Example 4.2a Final four bars from Brewster-Jones's *Indian Serenade* ending on the "chord of the added 6th."
The Queen's Hall Promenade Concerts under the direction of Sir Henry Wood, in particular, provided a focal point for this interest. The Prom concerts were a conduit of early European modern music. As Ehrlich, McVeigh and Musgrave have noted: “Wood made his mark with exotic French and Russian additions and in difficult modern scores, most notably Schoenberg's *Five Orchestral Pieces* in 1912.”

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102 Ehrlich, *London: Musical Life: 1800-1945: Concert Life*. For a specific account of Wood's performance of the *Five Orchestral Pieces* see David Lambourn, “Henry Wood and Schoenberg,” *Musical Times* 128, no. 1734 (1987): 422-427. In his writing on early modern British music, Arnold Whittall reminds us that “[m]usic historians have rightly emphasised the fact that British—or at least London—musical life in the early twentieth century was not notably more backward-looking or hostile to innovation than that of other centres.” But he suggests that apart from a few “relatively
It was at Wood’s invitation that Claude Debussy came to London before the First World War to participate in performances of his orchestral works. The London appearances of this modern European—himself a musical orientalist, but also an exotic presence in England—and the long lasting effects thereof, were defining events for Brewster-Jones. In January 1908 Debussy came to conduct Prélude à l’après-midi d’un faune and the first performance of La Mer in a Queen’s Hall Symphony Concert. He returned in March of the following year at the behest of Wood to conduct a performance of his Nocturnes. Brewster-Jones remembered in a later interview: “I happened to be in London when Debussy came before the public as composer. This was about 1907. Debussy took London by storm. Within a year every artist of note was performing Debussy.”

This interest in contemporary French music found other expressions. Clutsam explicitly invoked the Entente Cordiale in the title of his piece on the formation of the Société de Concerts Français in February 1909, highlighting a clear link between the political and cultural. The inaugural concert at Bechstein Hall was devoted to Debussy. The Parisian Quartet played his quartet and the famous exponent and close friend of Debussy, the Spanish pianist Ricardo Viñes played Estampes and L’Isle Joyeuse. Vincent d’Indy and Roussel visited in March 1909 and the third concert in May 1909 featured works by Ravel and Schmitt. Here too, both composers crossed the Channel to attend the performances. The programme featured Schmitt’s six vocal quartets and Ravel’s song cycle Histoire naturelles. Edwin Evans, renowned writer on music and active member on the committee of the Société de Concerts Français, was actively promoting modern French as well as English music in lectures. Clutsam reviewed his lectures on modern French music of April 1908 given to the Incorporated Society of Musicians. The Société de Concerts Français was to premiere 240 French chamber works in London during its lifetime. In a gesture of marginal figures,” such as van Dieren, Grainger and Frank Bridge, the majority of British composers did not absorb these innovations into their music in a significant way. See Arnold Whittall, “British Music in the Modern World,” in The Twentieth Century, ed. Stephen Banfield (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), 12-14.

reciprocity, the British Concerts Society began six months later in Paris, its sole objective being the promotion of British music.\footnote{108}

Clutsam came out in staunch defence of modern music, complaining, “the best of modern work is stupendously belittled.”\footnote{109} His appetite for the new was developing quickly. In June 1908, he declared the Debussy works played by Richard Buhlig (like Viñes, a specialist in the modern French school) as “extraordinary music” with “no prototype,” and predicted that:

His harmonies are slowly and surely becoming part and parcel of the modern harmonic system and will ultimately be absorbed therein, and when universally accepted will, in the most natural way, be relegated to the realms of convention.\footnote{110}

Only eight months later, in February, 1909, he determined that this had already occurred, that the French school was “already permanent, and, as a matter of fact, Debussy is, in a sense, passé.”\footnote{111}

Russian repertoire often featured alongside French. Wood programmed works by Rimsky-Korsakov and Glazunov alongside Paul Dukas’s \textit{Sorcerer’s Apprentice} in August 1908. Clutsam was not impressed with the programme and, noting that the Dukas had been around for some time, called for some more recent French music: “something that really reeks of the fresh paint.”\footnote{112} In the same year Clutsam commented in “Russian Music, New and Old” that Russian music “has been insistently forced upon us.”\footnote{113} Koussevitsky arrived in May 1909 to conduct works by Scriabin, Rimsky-Korsakov, Gretchaninov and Konyus. Brewster-Jones’s own performance of, and exposure to, Russian music in London forms part of a wider “Russomania” that swept London during the first thirty-odd years of the twentieth century.\footnote{114} All things Russian took on great exotic appeal to a British society that was experiencing a lessening of its cultural isolation. Lea Honigwachs interprets this

\begin{footnotes}
\item[114] Lisa Stefani, personal communication, 18 February 2004. The term “Russomania” was given to me by Lisa Stefani, a PhD candidate at Yale University, whose own research addressed the surge of interest in Russian culture experienced in early twentieth-century Britain.
\end{footnotes}
largely unquestioning exoticist embrace of things Russian and Eastern as a
"rebellion" against Victorianism. The later success of the Ballets Russes and the
Russian Imperial Opera, she maintains:

represented a corresponding overthrow of Victorian taste and a challenge to
Victorian restraints in the form of rigid social and sexual conventions. The ecstasy
of Englishmen over the East was in a sense symptomatic of a rejection by many of
them of the way of life of nineteenth and early-twentieth-century Britain, a desire
for the primitivism, irrationalism, mystery and eroticism of more barbaric
cultures.115

Although this phenomenon of "Russomania" has been clearly identified in
literature and the visual arts, there is a clear musical correlation. Henry Wood was
married to a Russian soprano and his championing of Russian music is well known.
The aforementioned Albert Coates, another prominent conductor and champion of
Scriabin’s orchestral music in England, was born in St. Petersburg and later returned
there to conduct the Marinsky Theatre Orchestra for five years during which time he
worked directly with Scriabin himself. The faux Celt, Bax, travelled in Russia as a
young man and, as a result of his youthful experiences, wrote the piano work Two
Russian Tone Pictures. Rosa Newmarch, a Russian music expert who studied under
V.V. Stasov, wrote the program notes for the Prom concerts and advised Henry Wood
on Russian music. She was one of many English musicologists to write about Russian
music; others included the aforementioned Calvocoressi, Eaglefield Hull, Montagu-
Nathan and Alfred Swan.116 And of course there was, after 1911, the overwhelming

115 Lea Halpern Honigwachs, “The Edwardian Discovery of Russia 1900-1917” (PhD, Columbia
University, 1977), 273.
116 Arthur Jacobs mentions Wood’s marriage to the Russian-born soprano, Olga Hillman as well as his
friendship with Rosa Newmarch and his constant support of Russian music in his article for Groves
Russian orchestral music. For examples of the reviews of his performances of Scriabin’s orchestral
music in particular see “Birmingham Music Festival,” The Times, 5 October 1912, 8; “Queen’s Hall
Orchestra,” The Times, 3 February 1913, 8; “Queen’s Hall Orchestra: Scriabin’s Third Symphony,”
The Times, 20 October 1913, 12, “Promenade Concerts: Scriabin’s ‘Prometheus’,” The Times, 24
September 1919, 8. For a more general description of his coverage of Russian composers see “Queen’s
Hall Promenade Concerts.” Musical Times 58, no. 896 (1917): 465. For a general reference to Coates
see: Chapter 3, p. 163, fn. 24. For a sample of reviews in The Times of Coates’s performances of
Scriabin see “Scriabin’s ‘Divine Poem’: London Symphony Orchestra’s Concert,” The Times, 30
November 1920, 12; “Delius and Scriabin: Philharmonic Society’s Concert,” The Times, 11 March
1921; 8; “London Symphony Orchestra,” The Times, 11 May 1921, 8 and “London Symphony
popularity of the Ballets Russes. In a curious little account, Brewster-Jones recalled the following episode from this time in London in his ABC lecture broadcast *Musical Curiosities of the Past* from 1931:

I remember attending a service in the Russian church in London and being struck by the absence of the organ, and I found out afterwards that it is quite "taboo" in the Russian church.

Unlike Agnew, Brewster-Jones did travel to the Continent. Sadly, details are scant due to the missing London diary. McCredie claims that, "[d]uring subsequent postgraduate travels in France and Germany, he became familiar with some of the more progressive ideas permeating European composition before 1914." McCredie perhaps takes his lead from Brewster-Jones's interview from 1915, in which it is reported that before returning to Adelaide, Brewster-Jones "took an extensive trip through France, Switzerland, Germany, and Belgium for the purpose of studying the methods and organisation of the various conservatoriums." According to McCredie, he performed in France and Germany as well as the English provinces. An ABC publicity release from 1934 (Brewster-Jones was still alive so the details are likely to be accurate) says that he spent time in Paris studying the modern French School of composition, then went on to tour Germany, before returning to Adelaide. We can glean from his later writings that he was at least in Paris and
Bruges. He remembered hearing an oratorio at the St. Sulpice Cathedral in Paris in 1906, and included his own memories in an article on the carillon:

Some years ago I was taking a quiet stroll through Bruges, that delightful haunt of artists who visit Belgium for the purpose of sketching, when suddenly my reverie was interrupted by a glorious carillon peal which seemed to flood the heaven with vivid musical colour.

The British Australasian also makes reference to his travels. In September 1908 it announced that “Mr. Stanley Newman and Mr. H. Brewster-Jones have returned from the summer holidays and have commenced their music studies this week.” These student holidays are described in more detail in a publicity notice written much later in 1941 by the ABC Publicity Office in Adelaide. The account focuses on his deep romantic love of nature, and tells us something of his time in Wales, Cornwall and Germany:

Holidays were spent communing with nature—climbing the Welsh Mountains, swimming in mountain torrents, hiking on the Rhine, sleeping high upon the Lorelei Rock tied to a tree—that he might safely doze, and wake for the fitful nocturnal singing of the nightingale; and a memorable holiday spent at Tintagel on the wild Cornish coast where notes were taken for an opera “Merlin” which has not yet been written.

In terms of providing the basic material with which to rethink musical approaches, Brewster-Jones’s Edwardian London in many ways provided an equivalent experience to Agnew’s Sydney before 1923; it laid the foundation for the future. Brewster-Jones’s subsequent career as composer, performer and writer in Adelaide proved Arthur Streeton correct in his claim that “joining the Edwardian excursion leaves you ‘convinced that [your] work hereafter will contain a larger idea

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123 He refers to this in two sources. See both Brewster-Jones, “History of Orchestral Conducting (Lecture Delivered before Adelaide Dual Club by H. Brewster-Jones),” and Musical Curiosities of the Past.
125 “Players and Singers,” British Australasian, 17 September 1908, 24.
126 “H. Brewster-Jones: Composer-Pianist,” Publicity Office Adelaide, 29 August, 1941, NAA: SP1011/2, Brewster-Jones. Bax was so taken by the wild beauty of Tintagel that he responded musically with his symphonic tone poem of the same name.
and quality than before." Treharne and Clutsam were both important influences on Brewster-Jones who embodied many of the progressive artistic aspirations of their time. Clutsam, particularly, emerges as a tormented individual whose own ambivalences and internal struggles typify many of the traits that characterise the elite cultural progressives such as Thorold Waters and Keith Barry who surfaced later in Australia. Like Agnew after him, Brewster-Jones became seriously ill in London. English weather was "playing havoc with his health." He decided to return to Adelaide with the intention of returning to London in a few years. On 19 August 1909 the British Australasian announced "Mr. H. Brewster-Jones left for Adelaide a few weeks ago..."
Chapter 5

"Writing in Loneliness"¹

It was early in 1920. The cars were arriving outside Adelaide's Queens Hall, and people in their concert finery were moving up the stairs. Inside was abuzz with excitement. The hum of the crowd reverberated around the auditorium as the audience flowed in and took their seats. They stood to acknowledge the entrance of the Governor and Lady Le Hunte. Silvia Whittington, the concertmaster, rose and gestured to the oboe to give the A. She tuned and then invited each section in turn to do so. They sat. The tall figure of Hooper Brewster-Jones walked onto the stage to the sound of applause, bowed, turned and raised his baton. Hush fell, and the winding, sinuous melody of a lone flute emerged from the silence. For the next twenty minutes the audience was held captive by the "pagan" sounds of Debussy's *L'Apres midi d'un faune*, a kind of music barely heard before in Adelaide, played by none other than the Brewster-Jones Symphony Orchestra.

Although this premiere performance did not push the Adelaide critics out of their "mild, meek and good-natured positions,"² there is evidence to suggest that not all in

¹This expression was taken from Nettie Palmer's essay, "Creative Writing in Australia," in Nettie Palmer and Vivian Brian Smith, *Nettie Palmer: Her Private Journal 'Fourteen Years': Poems, Reviews and Literary Essays* (St Lucia: University Of Queensland Press, 1988), 405.
²I take the words from the review "Ultramodern Extravagance." They were used originally to describe the Sydney critics. The critics in Adelaide were, according to Andrew McCredie, as meek and mild as their Sydney counterparts, if anything more so. See McCredie's discussion of South Australian music criticism in his introduction to *From Colonel Light into the Footlights*. See Andrew D. McCredie, "Introduction," in *From Colonel Light into the Footlights: The Performing Arts in South Australia from 1836 to the Present*, ed. Andrew D. McCredie (Adelaide: Pagel Books, 1988), 20.
the audience had been so accepting. Above the considerable applause rose murmurs of dissent and disapproval: "...cacophonous..., "...an insult..., "...this modern rubbish..." This adverse response was not reported in the banal reviews, but survived in the memory of an Australian music historian, James Glennon, then a student at Adelaide University. Brewster-Jones could still hear the undercurrent of disapproval fifteen years later when he penned a bitter outburst against Adelaide's, and a wider Australian, music conservatism: "I have been hearing this sort of thing about Ravel and Debussy for twenty years now, and I see no prospects of hearing anything else in Australia for another twenty years." "And so," he continued, "although Debussy has for more than 20 years established himself in Europe as one of the classics, here in Australia, we still continue to refuse to accept him because of his frightful modernity." Forgiveness was not forthcoming.

This premiere came comparatively late, almost ten years after it had been performed in Melbourne and Sydney and twenty-five years after the work's initial publication in 1895. A review of the work's Sydney premiere found in the *Australian Musical News* (hereafter *AMN*) of September 1911 is far from glowing:

Curiously enough, while we were listening to the Debussy Prelude for the first time, you were, on the same afternoon, enjoying its second performance by the Marshall Hall Orchestra. Judging by the Melbourne press reviews of the rendition, its reception was much the same as with us. A few enthusiasts endeavoured to work up an encore in both cities, which Mr. Joseph Bradley, as well as Mr. Marshall Hall, 'very wisely declined'.

Waters is more scathing in his attack. In his searing indictment of Adelaide critics' collective failure to make any adverse criticisms, he described their reviews as "sugar candy." See Thorold Waters "Editor Says: Adelaide as a Hive of Apathy," *Australian Musical News* [hereafter *AMN*] 19, no. 3 (1929): 5.

3 James Glennon, *Australian Music and Musicians* (Adelaide: Rigby Ltd, 1968), 70. These phrases are extracted from the following passage: "'Cacophonous,' 'An insult', ... 'this modern rubbish', said some of the concert-goers accustomed to Rossini overtures and Sullivan Echoes, when H. Brewster-Jones introduced Debussy's Prelude, *L'Apres-midi d'un Faune*, at one of his orchestral concerts in 1919." But Brewster-Jones was a composer of progressive ideas; the concerts themselves were something of an innovation, being presented in a 'promenade' manner. The chairs were grouped round small tables and smoking was permitted. This arrangement apparently met with the satisfaction of many in the audience. For a description of this set up see "A Successful Performance," *Advertiser*, 22 September 1919, 6.


5 “SSO 5th concert in Town Hall,” *AMN* 1, no. 2, (1911): 60.
This fact in itself demonstrates important differences between Adelaide and the two major Australian cities, Melbourne and Sydney. Adelaide’s more “modest cultural environment,” remarked on by McCredie,6 did not compare to Sydney which by the 1920s was, according to Jill Roe, “Australia’s most vital and cosmopolitan city.”7 The aim of this chapter is to try and uncover an environment in Adelaide that created the right conditions to foster and facilitate Brewster-Jones’s experimental music, his music making and his later writings. (These last two will be studied in detail in Chapter 7.) But his story is quite different from Agnew’s; it is one of isolation and of fantasy brought about by a desire itself stemming from an absence. Rather than being part of a wider like-minded milieu, Brewster-Jones was himself a central generating force for contemporary musical thought and creativity, disseminating such modes through his own performing and teaching. His circle consisted primarily of his students. The experimental works of the twenties cannot be understood, as Agnew’s could, through an examination of his immediate musical world. It is necessary to look for other avenues by which current artistic thinking arrived. The relative ease and accessibility of printed material—both musical scores and books—and sound recordings offers a plausible explanation, as does the influence of the South Australian expatriate composer, Elsie Hamilton. It was not until the 1930s that his locality matched his mentality. By that time, there was a vibrant counterculture in which his activities can be situated.

Adelaide: “A Hive of Apathy”

Unlike Sydney with its penal origins, Adelaide began considerably later in 1836 as the capital of a free settler state, one that was systematically colonised and shaped by planned emigration. This is often seen as an important factor in its perceived “genteel” character. By the mid- to late-nineteenth century, tourist advertisements were presenting Adelaide as both the “Queen City of the South” and “Athens of the

Also, unlike Sydney with its more diverse demographic makeup, the presence of the two major and distinct ethnic groups of Anglo-Celtic and German has long been seen as a defining characteristic of both the city and the state. The German population arrived in waves from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, and consisted primarily of people escaping religious oppression, thus creating a tradition of dissent in South Australia. This distinction between free British settler and German dissenter is an important part of South Australian history. As McCredie has observed, Adelaide society was formed from “a synthesis of just those two traditions of ‘dissenter’ and ‘establishment’”; together they blended into a gentrified society which encompassed both “sectarian non-conformism and privileged laissez-faire concepts of land tenure.” This tension between the Establishment and dissenter is embodied in Brewster-Jones himself: a cultural outsider of British descent who married into the Homburg family, a powerful and wealthy Establishment family that happened to be German.

Perhaps because of its origins as free settler society, Adelaide has been perceived as a gentrified society. This offers some explanation as to why it has long been known as the “City of Culture” from the early part of the twentieth century, decades before Don Dunstan and the Adelaide Arts Festival. For the Sydney columnist of the AMN, Adelaide in 1915 was “where all the culture is.” Adelaide-born painter Stella Bowen, however, evokes quite a different Adelaide in her memoir, Drawn from Life, one that was parochial and provincial:

I wish I knew the truth about that strangely dim and distant life in Adelaide before the war. I have reconstructed it in my memory as a queer little backwater of intellectual timidity—a kind of hangover of Victorian provincialism, isolated by three immense oceans and a great desert, and stricken by recurrent waves of

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10 McCredie, “Introduction,” from Colonel Light into the Footlights, 8.
paralysing heat. It lies shimmering on a plain encircled by soft blue hills, prettyish, banal, and filled to the brim with an anguish of boredom.  

In 1913, some within Adelaide concurred:

We are a city of culture—that is a lie well and truly laid, and Adelaide will hang on to it like grim death, no matter what the world says! But “Cosmopolitan”—and many others—who have wandered beyond the magic boundary of North Terrace, and the confines of King William Street, does not accept the statement in its entirety, and questions the basis of such a claim.

Adelaide’s perceived lethargy and apathy with regard to music, even within the so-called “magic boundary,” came under sustained fire in the AMN during 1918. A lack of support for music at the state and municipal level and poor attendances at “first class performances of the world famous musical people” were two charges laid against the city. By 1929, Thorold Waters mentioned his journal’s efforts to keep Adelaide on the musical map, despite it being a city he considered to be “plunged into apathy;” a place that was filled with self-satisfied musical pretensions and addicted to bridge parties. If matters did not improve, he would, so he threatened, pull the column “Adelaide,” from the AMN.

Although English and Australian musical culture was in general strongly influenced by German traditions, the German presence was felt even more strongly in Adelaide’s musical culture because of the large number of ethnic Germans who had settled there. For example, the orchestral music of Adelaide composer Carl Linger has strong ties to the nineteenth century German symphonic tradition. It was essentially an amateur tradition comprising Liedertafels, choirs and orchestras. English and French influences were also felt. In the final years of the nineteenth century, Moritz Heuzenroeder and John M. Dunn produced some local operas in the style of popular British and French operetta. Chamber music was also performed; Percy Grainger’s father John Grainger founded the Adelaide String Quartet Club in

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12 Stella Bowen, Drawn from Life: A Memoir (Sydney: Picador, 1999), 4. The war she refers to here is World War I.
15 Waters, “Editor Says: Adelaide as a Hive of Apathy.”
1880. In general, South Australian music did not differ markedly from that written in other parts of Australia.\textsuperscript{16} The titles of piano pieces suggested, as McCredie describes, "a wistful, Arcadian nostalgia for the parent country or a more robust optimism, which referred to topics of contemporary interest or to the flora and fauna of the new-found land."\textsuperscript{17}

Adelaide experienced a degree of musical activity during Brewster-Jones's life. The clubs, societies and performing bodies, such as the Adelaide Music Salon, the Adelaide Bach Society, the Adelaide Choral Society, the Corinthian Club, the Orpheus Society, Heinecke's Grand Orchestra and later in 1920 the South Australian Symphony Orchestra were established during this period. But I have not found equivalents to Sydney's British Music Society, New South Wales Musical Association, the Sydney Recorded Music Society or the Collegium Musicum; bodies that were interested in modern art. The only parallel was the Adelaide Arts Club started by Brewster-Jones, proving again that he himself stood as a major force in the promotion of contemporary music. Adelaide was not the rich cultural field that Sydney was; it did not provide Brewster-Jones the same vibrant cosmos that Sydney offered Agnew.

**Adelaide 1909–1920**

Mr. Brewster Jones, the gifted young South Australian pianist, returned on Wednesday by the steamer \textit{Suevic} from England. Mr. Jones, who was an Elder scholar, undertook the voyage upon the advice of his medical attendant with a view to regaining his health. He derived great benefit from the trip, and stated that he had absolutely recovered from his indisposition. It is his intention to remain here a few years until thoroughly strong again. Then he will return to London. He hopes to appear on the concert platform here.\textsuperscript{18}

Soon after his return, Brewster-Jones married Gerta Homburg, formalising a relationship that had begun before his journey overseas. He was married before the

\textsuperscript{16} See McCredie, "Creative Challenges and Models: Composition in South Australia," in \textit{From Colonel Light into the Footlights}, 244-91.
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., 245.
\textsuperscript{18} "Personal," \textit{Advertiser}, 9 September 1909, 6.
war and, like Agnew, did not enlist. Unlike Agnew, he had by this time produced a young family thereby reducing pressure to join up. His marriage to Gerta brought him into the Homburg family, many of who were already known to him through their connections to Elder Conservatorium. Several of the Homburgs studied at Elder, including Hansie and Fritz, with whom he often played chamber music.¹⁹ His wife Gerta was allowed to go to Frankfurt to the Musik Hochschule as a sixteen-year-old to study singing. A fine soprano, she was forbidden to pursue a professional career by her father, Robert.²⁰ Robert Homburg was a member of the wealthy and conservative German-Australian society. As a politician he represented their interests, and from 1880 served as President of the German Club. He served as Attorney-General under three ministries between 1892 and 1905 before becoming, in that year, the first German South Australian to be made a Supreme Court Judge. Ian Harmstorf describes the Homburg home life as one filled with “love, music, literature and art.”²¹ Gerta’s brother Hermann, remembered by Brewster-Jones’s granddaughter, Anne Bartsch, as a “terrifying man,” followed in his father’s footsteps becoming South Australian’s Attorney-General in 1914. He earned a reputation as an intellectual and “man of culture, who “did not suffer fools gladly.”²² This cultured, upper middle-class wealthy family would surely have been open to, and supportive of, Brewster-Jones’s creative pursuits.

In this first decade following his return, Brewster-Jones continued to compose, but turned the greater part of his considerable energies to teaching and performing, both as pianist and conductor. Here his prodigious memory—he was able to read an orchestral score like a book and then perform from memory—would have served him well. In both these activities he pursued his interests in the support of local composition and new French and Russian modern music.²³ In the years before

¹⁹ For example in July 1905, Brewster-Jones performed the final movement of the Rubinstein Cello Sonata with Fritz Homburg. See “Elder Conservatorium: Students’ Concert,” 10 July 1905, University of Adelaide: Barr Smith Library, Special Collections; S305 Concert Programmes, 1898-1915; Box 1. Hansie Homburg is often mentioned in reviews of Adelaide chamber music concerts. See for example AMN 2, no. 4 (1912): 104.
²⁰ Anne Bartsch, interview, 18 January 2005.
²² Ibid.
²³ A detailed account of these activities will be given in Chapter 7.
forming his own orchestra he involved himself in Hermann Heinecke’s Adelaide Grand Orchestra, becoming not only the Honourable Secretary but also timpanist. Heinecke, a violinist and Elder Conservatorium professor, had first joined forces with local music businessman Charles Cawthorne in the final years of the nineteenth century to form Heinecke’s Grand Orchestra.\footnote{For a detailed first hand account of the life of this orchestra see Hermann Heinecke, “Heinecke’s Grand Orchestra: The Reminiscences of Hermann Heinecke. Translated from the German by Luise Krips. With an Introduction and Notes by Susan Woodburn,” \textit{South Australiana} 22, no. 2 (1983).} It was reformed in 1913. Brewster-Jones’s brother-in-law, Hermann Homburg, then Attorney-General, headed the “influential committee ... formed to inaugurate the establishment of an orchestra on representative and ambitious lines.”\footnote{“A Grand Orchestra for Adelaide,” \textit{AMN} 2, no. 7 (1913): 192.} Cawthorne owned one of the main sheet music and instrument businesses in Adelaide and was active as a concert organiser, composer and bassoonist. Brewster-Jones was to later write his obituary.\footnote{Brewster-Jones, “Music: the Later Mr. Charles Cawthorne,” \textit{Progress in Australia} 5, no. 7 (1934): 17.} In 1914 Brewster-Jones became a member of the council of the newly founded Adelaide Chamber Music Society. One institution that he refused to deal with was the Elder Conservatorium. Although he taught some Elder graduate students privately, he found Elder’s conservatism repellent.

\section*{Adelaide 1920–1930}

Ironically the decade in which Brewster-Jones wrote his most “experimental” music is the period in which we know least about his activities other than the many compositions he produced during these years. The tendencies that reached an unprecedented level of abstract inquiry during the 1920s had however been discernible in some earlier music. Although this previous music was generally written in a conservative language (for example the \textit{Rhapsody} of 1918), works such as the \textit{Anzac Suite} written just prior to the creative explosion after 1920 feature, as Ward correctly points out, a more adventurous harmonic language including whole tone and...
octatonic scales. Finding a context to explain the forces behind this explosion of experimentation of the 1920s has proven difficult.

Anne Bartsch and former student, William Hoffman, both declare that modern French composers were an important interest for Brewster-Jones. This is supported by his later writings on the subject and the wealth of modern French music in his library, which will be dealt with in Chapter 7. He told the *Mail* in 1915:

-One has enthusiasms. I have had tremendous enthusiasms for Wagner, and they have been eclipsed by enthusiasms for the modern French school, but they only last a certain time. Behind it there is always the big enthusiasm for music as a whole. Although I pay homage to Bach I have endeavoured not to lose my personality among the old masters. The scales of Scriabine and Debussy and others are never likely to be abandoned because of the strength of their foundations, but there is sure to be a new note in music treating with deeper emotions.28

There was not a significant amount of modern music in circulation around 1920 in Adelaide. Debussy’s early work for orchestra and choir, the *Blessed Damozel*, had been performed in a reduced form in 1911, and the following year his string quartet was played.29 A review from 1913 comparing Debussy and his fellow Frenchman Chausson, views the former with suspicion:

-Chausson’s music is Eastern in conception, yet never bizarre or daring. In contradistinction to Debussy, he invested his work with a delicacy and refinement of style that is somewhat wanting in the music of the ‘futurist’.30

Benno Moiseiwitsch was in Adelaide in 1920 performing the same programme of Debussy, Ravel, Stravinsky, Scriabin and Palmgren that he had played in Sydney. In an unusual foray into modern music, Stravinsky’s *Firebird* made it to Adelaide six years later. W.H. Foote conducted the premiere performance with the South...

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29 For an account of the performance of the *Blessed Damozel* see “Adelaide,” *AMN* 1, no. 4 (1911): 102 and for the String Quartet see “Adelaide,” *AMN* 2, no. 4 (1912): 104.
Australian orchestra. The columnist did observe, however, that the work was already sixteen years old. Brewster-Jones’s students, such as Edith Piper, Spruhan Kennedy (a gifted pianist as well as composer) and William Hoffman, were open to Brewster-Jones’s artistic views. While a student of Brewster-Jones’s in the 1920s, Piper performed music both by herself and her teacher. Her own works were described as showing “the modern spirit of impressionism” She extended her interests and also performed modern scores by composers such as Goossens and Bridge. In 1925, Spruhan Kennedy was performing Moussorgsky’s *Pictures at an Exhibition* as well as Glazunov, and the “strident flippancies” of Goossens. He was also setting Verlaine’s *Sagesse* and Baudelaire’s *Hymne*; Brewster-Jones proudly announced that some of these songs were performed in America by singer Ethel Hayden. The obvious debt to their teacher is evident in their choice of programming; further proof that rather than absorbing or being affected by innovations in his local setting, he himself constituted a major driving force.

The local string quartet that performed the Debussy quartet included not only two members of the Homburg family, Hansie and Fritz, but also Stella Bowen’s cousin Nora Kyffin Thomas. Thomas graduated as a violinist from Elder several years before Brewster-Jones. She is almost the only Adelaide artist singled out in the *AMN* as a musician who performed “modern” music. Her taste was more adventurous than Piper’s or Kennedy’s as noted by none other than Waters:

> Miss Thomas is greatly interested in the work of men like Respighi and Alfredo Casella, and, incidentally, she may go so far as to listen to some of the efforts of Malapiero [sic] and the most ultra-ultra-modernists.

Stella Bowen wrote admiringly of her cousin in her memoir:

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32 A full score of the work is in Brewster-Jones’s library. See Hooper Brewster-Jones Papers: Private Collection in the possession of the Brewster-Jones Family (Yelki, Victor Harbor, SA) [hereafter Brewster-Jones Papers, Yelki].
And then one of my cousins, who had been studying the violin in Leipzig, came home and gave a recital in the Town Hall. Nora was a handsome creature and a real musician...Nora became my ideal person...If Nora Kyffin Thomas had only been a painter, my artistic leaning might have escaped earlier in that direction. 37

She gives a tantalising glimpse of a fascinating female musical world in her reminiscences of Thomas:

My adored Nora had a very strong-minded friend called Ethel Cooper, an excellent pianist and composer, who also played the trombone for visiting orchestras and might often be seen, camouflaged by a black coat and man’s tie, amongst the wind instruments at the Theatre Royal. It was she who suggested to me that the cornet was much easier than the piano, and that if I really wanted to enjoy music, I could join her own Woman’s Orchestra as a cornet player. 38

Unfortunately for Stella, her mother said no.

During my interview with Bartsch, she repeatedly mentioned her grandfather’s fascination with non-Western, particularly Asian, cultures. Bartsch believes that these interests were born in London and brought back with him. She said he was “very young when he began that whole journey…” She remembered “he was fascinated by other cultures…just about any other culture … [and] he went quite deeply into the cultures he was interested in.” 39 She remembers his huge desk in his Rose Park residence piled high with books, including ones on fairy tales, folklore and mythology from other cultures.

Brewster-Jones’s interest in non-Western music and other systems of tuning did not develop in a complete vacuum. The AMN contains articles exploring similar interests. From as early as 1913 onwards articles appear on the pentatonic scale, new instruments such as Dr Otto Schaeger of Hamburg’s electromagnetic keyboard, on areas of acoustics such as the overtone series and production of harmonics, and tuning systems such as the Australian music polemicist Henry Tate’s article “Pure

37 Bowen, Drawn from Life: A Memoir, 13.
38 Ibid.
39 Bartsch, 2005.
and Equal Temperament: Simple Aspects of a Great Controversy.”40 Accounts and recollections of Eastern cultures appear, such as the description given by Melbourne pianist, Nellie Billings (Billings herself was an energetic promoter of new music), of Egyptian musical culture that she experienced while entertaining the troops. She discusses in detail the scales and instruments she heard.41 One contributor, Irma Caron, provides an article about Java, the title of which indicates the essentialised Orientalist nature of her approach: “Our Unknown Neighbours in the Garden of the East.”42 The journal also regularly reprinted articles found elsewhere, such as the Englishman Athol Mayhew’s description of Chinese music from the Early English Musical Magazine.43 In 1918 there is even a discussion of recent Japanese interest in Western music.44

Brewster-Jones’s experimentation of the 1920s, in Bartsch’s opinion, was derived from the influences from his formative years in London developed by his private study and absorption of other cultures rather than the influence of immediate friends.45 Although Brewster-Jones did circulate within an active artistic milieu, few of them seem to have shared his curiosity for the modern.

The esteemed naturalist painter, Hans Heysen, is a case in point. Artistically, he was not a kindred spirit but the two nonetheless shared a close and interesting creative relationship.46 Bartsch’s initial reaction, “I don’t know why he got on with Hans Heysen” was quickly modified, when she remembered their love for Australian nature: “I think he shared with Hans Heysen a genuine love of bird life and the bush.”47 They both had houses up in the Adelaide Hills. Brewster-Jones had a log cabin in Bridgewater overlooking the Onkaparinga valley. He would raise a flag to

44 “Japanese Interest in Western Music,” AMN 8, no. 4 (1918): 120.
45 Bartsch, 2005.
47 Bartsch, 2005.
notify Heysen, who lived across the valley, of his arrival. They made many trips into
the bush together. Heysen would paint and Brewster-Jones would notate birdcalls. It
was this partnership that gave rise to many of the *Bird Call Impressions*; works,
which as McCredie has noted, not only represent “the largest single category of
works within his entire production” but also in their painstaking notation foreshadow
“similar investigation towards an appropriate notation” which were to engage Bartók
and “the other great collector of bird calls,” Messiaen.48 In publicity material
produced by the ABC he was often presented as a “musician-scientist.” One
promotion mentions his friendship with the naturalist Charles Barrett who wrote
extensively on Australian wildlife and notes Brewster-Jones’s own scientific
approach and detail:

> Those who have seen the written records of birdcalls made by Brewster-Jones
marvel at the thoroughness of his research. These cover such details as the popular
and scientific name of each bird, the pitch, time and intensity of its call; its quality,
actual duration, number of repetitions, and range of audibility. The distance from the
bird is noted, the bird’s action of throat and breast when calling are carefully
watched, and the cause of its call such as “alarm,” “mating,” etc, and “mimicry”
have all been observed where possible.49

This scientific approach can also be observed of course in his non-mimetic
experimental music, particularly in his interest in the basic elements of music as well
as the overtone series, and his “formula.”

Bartsch also remembers that Heysen had some “very interesting books on the
‘real’ Aboriginal culture.” She maintained that Brewster-Jones was as interested in

49 “Musician-Scientist Responds to Call of the Bush,” Stars of the Air no. 25 (no date), National
Archives of Australia: Australian Broadcasting Commission; SP1011/2, Brewster-Jones, H., 1939-
1955 [hereafter NAA: SP1011/2, Brewster-Jones]. A significant amount of this original research
survives in the private family collections at Victor Harbor, which calls for a major investigation of
Brewster-Jones’s study of birdcalls alone. See Brewster-Jones Papers, Yelki and Hooper Brewster-
Jones Papers: Private Collection in the possession of the Brewster-Jones Family (Cornhill Street,
Victor Harbor, SA) [hereafter Brewster-Jones Papers, Cornhill St]. For more information on Charles
Barrett see A. H. Chisholm, “Barrett, Charles Leslie (1879 - 1959),” in *Australian Dictionary of
Biography* vol. 7 (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1979), 185. Ross Burnet has compiles a
bibliography of Barrett’s works. See Ross Burnet, *Charles Barrett - a Bibliography* (Burnet’s books,
Aboriginal culture as he was in Asian cultures, a fact not reflected in his creative and public output.\textsuperscript{50} While I do not at all question Brewster-Jones's love of Australian flora and fauna, I do query the subsequent interpretations of his Birdcall Impressions as part of his involvement in the formation of a national musical identity.\textsuperscript{51} This is overly simplistic, if not misleading. In fact, a perusal of his vast collection of birdcall ephemera—done for the first time here—reveals that his love of Australian birds occurred within a larger and more general fascination with birds from all over the world.\textsuperscript{52}

Nor can too much be read into his association with Heysen. Although Heysen was not himself a “modernist,” his responses to modern art were equivocal—not at all a blanket rejection. His public attack on “ultra-modernism” in 1934 is qualified. Although he denounced that which he considered to be “ultra-modern,” he found much that pleased him in the work of some Post-Impressionists such as Cezanne, Van Gogh, Seurat and Severini; or at any rate he considered them “too firmly established to be dislodged by the weakness of their imitators or the criticism of their antagonists.” He also found Picasso interesting but stylistically fickle.\textsuperscript{53} This viewpoint is found later in his response to the works on display at the much-discussed 1939 Herald Exhibition of French and British Contemporary Art. Again he admired the Post-Impressionists, but found that he could not “get in touch with” some works from the war generation due to their “intense emotional effects from colour.” He also found the English sculptor Jacob Epstein’s work to be “grotesque and exaggerated.”\textsuperscript{54}

\textsuperscript{50} Bartsch, 2005. There is one piano prelude with the title “Aboriganal” [sic]. The somewhat jarring misspelling is on the fine copy of the score. It was written as part of a ballet production for the Centenary celebrations in 1936. See University of Adelaide: Barr Smith Library, Special Collections; Hooper Brewster-Jones Papers (uncatalogued) [hereafter Barr Smith: Brewster-Jones].


\textsuperscript{52} See Brewster-Jones Papers, Yelki and Brewster-Jones Papers, Comhill St.


\textsuperscript{54} “S.A. Artist See Modern Exhibition: Hans Heysen Struck by Van Gogh Works,” Advertiser, Saturday, 19 August, 1939.
As with Heysen, Brewster-Jones’s friendship with the quintessentially Australian poet, C. J. Dennis, was not formed on common aesthetic ground, but rather on an enormous capacity for irreverence. Brewster-Jones reportedly had a wicked sense of humour and a terrific sense of the ridiculous (apparently he once dressed up in ladies’ bathers replete with frilly hat at a party).\textsuperscript{55} Laughing at the Establishment was one means of survival, according to his granddaughter.\textsuperscript{56} His derision of Stanford’s Tory views resonated with Dennis’s own larrikin outlook captured in these lines from his poem \textit{The Tory}:

\begin{quote}
Then a Tory mastodon, fat and fierce to gaze upon,
In whose rheumy eye there shone a light of shocked propriety,
Cried with indignation vast: “Socialist! Iconoclast!
He’ll disorganise and blast respectable society!”\textsuperscript{57}
\end{quote}

The friendship, forged on iconoclastic urges rather than a shared aesthetic outlook, was nonetheless fruitful. Their collaboration centred on Brewster-Jones’s settings of Dennis’s children’s poems \textit{A Book for Kids}. Brewster-Jones had already set poetry for children by A.A. Milne and Kipling. These, along with his quirky \textit{Nursery Rhymes} arrangements, are a direct reflection of the Edwardian fascination with childhood (see Example 5.1). An account of their work together exists in ABC publicity notices:

Dennis and Brewster-Jones, who both hail from South Australia, spent happy hours at Toolangi, where the former had built himself a house, discussing birds and nature, of which both were great lovers. Dennis, attracted by the humorous imitation of a frog in the musical setting of “Growing Up,” wrote a second verse for the composer, which does not appear in “Roundabout,” his printed collection of child verse.\textsuperscript{58}

\textsuperscript{55} Bartsch, 2005.  
\textsuperscript{56} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{58} “H. Brewster-Jones: Composer-Pianist,” Publicity Office Adelaide, 29 August, 1941, NAA: SP1011/2, Brewster-Jones.
There were of course close associates from within the musical world. Two such friends—violinist Sylvia Whitington and cellist Harold Parsons—played with Nora Kyffin Thomas as part of the established Elder String Quartet. Both had a long-standing professional relationship with Brewster-Jones. Whitington, the concertmaster of the short-lived Brewster-Jones Symphony Orchestra, came from a family “renowned in literature, law, and the arts,” and was “a burning and a shining light in the musical world of Adelaide.” Harold Parsons was for many years one of the leading cellists in Adelaide. A contemporary of Brewster-Jones at Elder he went to Germany in 1905 for further study, returning to take up a teaching position at Elder, that he held for the remainder of his life. In an interview with James Glennon he spoke of his friendship with Brewster-Jones, describing him as “the outstanding student [at Elder]” and “a very, very gifted young man.”

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60 State Library of South Australia: J.D. Somerville Oral History Collection of the Mortlock Library; An Interview with Harold Parsons by James Glennon, 29 June 1969.
engage with Elder was bemoaned by Parsons: “He and I were students together and we did a lot of work together and we were great friends, and I was always rather sorry that he was never a member of the Elder Conservatorium staff...He conducted his own affairs apart from the Conservatorium.”61 By the late thirties, however, things had changed. Hoffman asserts that, as a Brewster-Jones’s protégé from 1937, he “never came into contact with any of those people in association...with Brewster”—they never came to his concerts or soirees. Hoffman claimed that Brewster-Jones “wasn’t in that group there [meaning Elder].”62 He thought that as professional musicians, Whittington and Parsons out of necessity “rode with the waves...they went with Davies...I mean,” he explained, “that was where their bread and butter was.”63

E. Harold Davies, the brother of better-known British composer Sir Walford Davies, was Brewster-Jones’s nemesis. His conservative views are clearly expressed in an account of a lecture “Bolshevism in Music” in which he decried modern music describing it as a “hideous cacophony” and it was his later interference (covered in Chapter 6) that ensured the demise of Agnew’s radio show.64 Despite his conservative musical taste, Davies showed a more interesting side to his musical character in his interest in Aboriginal music. He conducted some of the earliest ethnomusicological forays into indigenous Australia in 1926 and 1929. Davies received his doctorate from Elder in 1902 and, in 1919, was appointed Elder Professor and Director of the Conservatorium. He was, according to Hoffman, a “big hand in music in Adelaide.” Hoffman claimed that Brewster-Jones “suffered from Davies very much,” but also commented that Brewster-Jones never spoke about him, or for that matter about Elder.65 In his public writing, Brewster-Jones wrote about Davies in a dispassionate manner not betraying any personal stance. Hoffman’s memory of the relationship between Davies and Brewster-Jones is perhaps influenced by the problems he himself had with Davies. Davies frowned upon the progressive in the arts and, according to Hoffman, “deliberately and perniciously stifled it.”66 After the war, Hoffman was advised by John Horner, another close friend of Brewster-

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61 Harold Parsons, 29 June 1969.
62 William Hoffman, interview, 1 August 2006.
63 Ibid.
66 William Hoffman, personal communication, Saturday, 8 October 2005 [hereafter Hoffman, 2005].
Jones’s, to leave Adelaide because Horner believed that Hoffman would be unable to thrive in the face of Davies’s enmity.\textsuperscript{67}

Although there were other composers active in Adelaide at the time, including Horace Perkins, Dr Ruby Davis, Hugh King and many of Brewster-Jones’s students, none stands out as a possible inspiration for Brewster-Jones except for the remarkable and fascinating figure of Elsie Hamilton. Many of the preoccupations that shaped Hamilton’s life—the exotic, the archaic, and the occult—found a strong resonance with Brewster-Jones’s own interests. She was undoubtedly a significant creative presence in his life. The exchanges they had, on her trips home from Europe, would have functioned as a cultural oasis in Brewster-Jones’s life. Hamilton is such an important key to an understanding of Brewster-Jones that it is necessary to explain her work and career in some detail. A fascinating article dedicated to the work of Hamilton written by Brewster-Jones himself for the \textit{Advertiser} in 1937 provides much valuable information.

Recognised early on as a pianist of some ability, Elsie Hamilton, the daughter of William Hamilton of “Strathearn,” East Terrace, first enrolled in the then Adelaide College of Music in 1891.\textsuperscript{68} Considered a “remarkable talent” she and Nora Kyffin Thomas won the only two scholarships at the new Elder Conservatorium in 1898. She was considered an excellent ensemble pianist and also studied violin with Heinecke.\textsuperscript{69} She left for Germany in 1900 as a nineteen-year-old, a year before Brewster-Jones commenced study at Elder. In 1903 the \textit{Register} reported that Hamilton had just given a concert at the Bechstein Hall in Berlin to a rousing ovation and good reviews.\textsuperscript{70}

Like Agnew’s friend Winifred Burston, Elsie Hamilton was a truly transnational figure. She had left for Germany in 1900 after graduating from the Elder

\textsuperscript{67} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{68} I have not been able to find out exactly what her father’s profession was, but have been told by Stephen Whittington at the Elder Conservatorium, that the family was part of the wealthy wine-producing Hamilton family. Certainly, we can see from Elsie Hamilton’s musical life that she had ample financial support. Stephen Whittington, personal communication, 27 April 2004. Hamilton’s musical studies in Adelaide are detailed in William Sanders’s scrapbook. See State Library of South Australia; PRG 45/1 Sanders, William (Organist); Scrapbook.
\textsuperscript{69} University of Adelaide: Barr Smith Library, Special Collections; S 6 Elder Conservatorium Student Progress Reports, 1898-1908; Box 8; Folder 89.
\textsuperscript{70} \textit{Register}, 16 February 1903.
Conservatorium the year before Brewster-Jones began. After a short time back in Adelaide and a stint of study in New Zealand she left again for Europe in 1910, but this time she travelled with her friend, the painter Bessie Davidson, to Paris although stopping over in India on the way. Hamilton and Davidson were old school friends. They had both attended the Advanced School for Girls recognised for its enlightened educational philosophies.\textsuperscript{71} In her decision to study composition in Paris rather than London or a major German city, Hamilton stands virtually alone among her Australian contemporaries. She set herself up in a studio apartment opposite Davidson’s on the Rue Boissonade. Davidson did a portrait of Hamilton that reveals, in Penelope Little’s opinion, “the empathy of a long-standing friendship and the creative bond uniting the painter and the composer.”\textsuperscript{72} Little describes it thus:

Bessie painted the young pianist close-up and seated in an elegant armchair with her book of music open on her knee, her gaze abstracted and pencil poised in her right hand as if on the point of recording the next note of her composition. Elsie is depicted, pointedly it seems, as a composer, in the act of creating music rather than simply seated at the keyboard in the role of interpreter of another’s work.\textsuperscript{73}

Nora Kyffin Thomas, who evidently visited her friends in Paris, evoked this impression of their Parisian life in an interview with the \textit{Adelaide Observer} in 1913:

The Rue Boissonade is a miniature street in the Quartier Latin, with a dead end, a few trees and an air of quietness that one does not usually associate with Paris. It was in this little street that we found our friends settled, and I may say very comfortably settled indeed, in houses exactly opposite each other ... Miss Elsie Hamilton lives in a little flat ... of which the grand piano greedily absorbs a rich half...\textsuperscript{74}

\textsuperscript{71} For an account of the young women’s relationship see Penelope Little, \textit{A Studio in Montparnasse. Bessie Davidson: An Australian Artist in Paris} (Melbourne: Craftman House, 2003). South Australia, in general, was more enlightened in its attitudes towards women; it was, for instance, the first Australian state to give women suffrage putting it many years ahead of Britain.

\textsuperscript{72} Ibid., 64.

\textsuperscript{73} ““Paris Art Exhibition': Latin Quarter Association’s Salon,” \textit{Daily Mail}, London, 1917 in Little, \textit{A Studio in Montparnasse}, 64. Only a black and white copy of the painting survives. The whereabouts of the original remains unknown.

\textsuperscript{74} “In Musical and Artistic Circles,” \textit{Adelaide Observer}, 1913 in Little, \textit{A Studio in Montparnasse}, 83.
Hamilton commenced study with André Gédalge in 1910. Gédalge was appointed as teacher of counterpoint and fugue at the Paris Conservatoire in 1905 while it was under the directorship of Fauré. Gédalge is still remembered as the author of the "monumental" *Traité de la fugue*, which, Alan Louvier claims, "remains unsurpassed," and for teaching many of the leading French composers including Ravel, Schmitt, Honegger and Milhaud. It was presumably during her five years with Gédalge that Hamilton discovered anthroposophy: a strand of occult mysticism that had broken away from Blavatsky's Theosophy. Its founder, Rudolph Steiner, is now remembered more for his educational philosophy and system of biodynamic farming.

This interest in the occult presumably brought about her close friendship with English music theorist and anthroposophist Kathleen Schlesinger. Schlesinger specialised in ancient modes and tunings from Greece, India and Egypt. In 1914, she received a Fellowship in the Archeology of Music at the Institute of Archeology, University of Liverpool. The year before she had given a five-part lecture series on music and musical instruments from ancient Eastern civilizations. She devoted one lecture to the powerful connection between music and magic, or as *The Times* put it, the tabulation of "the numerical connexion between magic and music." This was apparently achieved with "utmost ingenuity," and "it was only the flawless symmetry of her magico-musical chart that raised a momentary suspicion in our mind." *The Times* concluded dismissively "Miss Schlesinger seemed to have reduced the raising of spirits not merely to the level of a science, but to that of a drawing room game."

In 1917, her article, "The Origin of the Major and Minor Modes," focused on the properties of ancient single-reed blown pipes from Egypt and India that were approximately 3000 years old. It also proposes a theory of a downward harmonic series. The writing is highly technical and abounds with ratios. Schlesinger's theory

of harmonai\textsuperscript{79} still gains an entry in the online *Encyclopaedia of Microtonal Music Theory*. While admitting that her work has subsequently been largely discredited the encyclopaedia, nonetheless, maintains “her theories remain provocative and provide resources for future exploration.”\textsuperscript{80} Hamilton, herself, delved into the connections between music and the occult. She, along with Schlesinger, contributed to the book, *Music: Its Occult Basis and Healing Values*. The title of her essay, “The Nature of Musical Experience in the light of Anthroposophy,” reveals the influence of Steiner’s teachings. Hamilton is described as an “author of a book on music based on Anthroposophy.”\textsuperscript{81}

Schlesinger tells us herself that Hamilton “became acquainted with this new language of music” late in 1916, and at once adopted it because it “provided a natural basis, which she felt was lacking in the modern system.”\textsuperscript{82} Her attempts to apply Schlesinger’s theories to modern composition resulted in a system of “detuned” or microtonal music. She was not alone in this desire to divide the octave up into smaller parts. It was part of a more general movement strongly influenced by non-Western musics that saw, for instance, in 1923 the foundation of the Petrograd Society for Quarter Tones Music by Georgy Rimsky-Korsakov, the nephew of the more famous Nikolai.

News of Schlesinger and Hamilton’s work had not only reached Brewster-Jones in Adelaide but had also crossed the Atlantic. There were experimental composers in America with similar inclinations as Schlesinger and her South Australian friend. The American experimentalist composer, Dane Rudhyar (1895-1985), whose ideas were also deeply enmeshed in Asian spiritual philosophies and Western occult mystical traditions, wrote about the two women in 1928. His interest was undoubtedly captured by Schlesinger’s theories of harmonai and “natural intonation”; he himself was “exploring a spiritual approach to dissonance.” They

\textsuperscript{79}Harmonai are defined as the basic scales of the ancient Greek wind instruments; each harmonai is a segment of a different subharmonic series.


\textsuperscript{82} Kathleen Schlesinger, *The Greek Aulos* (London: Methuen, 1939), 541.
were all looking for new languages and ways of revitalising the old through exotic, occult and archaic channels. In “The Dualism of Musical Substance” he wrote:

On the other hand Miss Schlesinger, whose ideas are unfortunately at present but very fragmentally revealed, though she has been working for years towards a universal interpretation of musical substance which is essentially revolutionary from the orthodox musicologistic standpoint, comes out with a wonderful understanding of the substance of archaic music, with her system of Natural Intonation by which she, together with her associate Miss Hamilton, hopes to regenerate our artificialised and tempered music and lead it back to the natural condition which it had before the 6th century B.C. and had lost ever since.83

Schlesinger provides a list of the “courageous pioneer’s” concerts at the end of her major study, The Greek Aulos published in 1939 and which bears the dedication: “To Elsie Hamilton and our long and happy friendship.” In 1917, Dr Yorke Trotter (who was later to welcome Agnew to London) gave a demonstration in Princes Street. Soon after, Hamilton’s Septet for string quartet and flute, oboe and horn was performed at Steinway Hall by members of the Queen’s Hall and London Symphony Orchestras. The following year, in 1918, her Trio for oboe, viola and piano was played at Aeolian Hall as part of a London String Quartet concert. In this work the theoretical tuning of the Greek Dorian scale was approximated to the intervals of the piano: “This approximation to the ordinary piano intonation proved a great success,” wrote Schlesinger, “for apart from the exact intonation these ancient Modes possess a characteristic Ethos of which a novel semblance is obtainable even in the approximation.”84 Sensa an “ancient Egyptian play,” was produced by Mabel Collins and Maud Hoffman at Etlinger Hall in Paddington in 1919. Hamilton supplied the incidental music in the Greek modes for harps, flutes, oboe and voices. In 1924, Eva Papp produced Agave, a “mystical mime” in Madame Matton-Painparé’s studio accompanied Hamilton’s music performed by a chamber orchestra of a string quartet, flutes, oboe, cor anglais, harps and kitharas. The Seven Scorpions of Ysit, a play by Terence Gray, appeared at the Court Theatre in 1929, with choreography by Ninette de Valois and incidental music by Hamilton consisting of

84 Schlesinger, The Greek Aulos, 541.
oboe, cor anglais and harp, and chanting provided by the composer herself. The final entry is a small chamber orchestra in Stuttgart and Freiburg-in-Breisgau that played in the “Greek Modes.” The names of the works, and even the performers themselves, give a sense of the sentimental proximity (and perhaps, the titillation) offered by a controlled encounter with the ancient and the arcane.

This invaluable information is found in *The Greek Aulos* as part of an appendix entitled “A New Language of Music: Possibilities of the Ancient Modes for Use in Modern Composition.” Schlesinger is unstinting in her appreciation:

> Foremost of all my grateful thanks are due to my close friend, Elsie Hamilton (of Adelaide, South Australia), for her unvarying readiness to help on this work in every possible way, so that I have been able to devote these many years to the investigations and experiments upon which *The Greek Aulos* is based, and to the research for confirmatory evidence in the literary sources. As a composer, Elsie Hamilton has, besides, shown herself ever ready ... to make the new (old) language of Music, founded upon the Harmonia, a practical reality in the music of our own day, and of the immediate future—a project which finds itself checked ever and anon by economic barriers.

The words “in every possible way” and the allusion to “economic barriers” give a strong impression that Hamilton’s support also took a much-needed practical and fiscal form.

Schlesinger also alluded to the “freedom” afforded Hamilton by this money, which enabled her to respond creatively to Schlesinger’s work. She was, as, Schlesinger pointed out, the only one to do so:

> As yet Elsie Hamilton is the only composer who has had the courage and we might add the freedom, to grapple with the intonation of the new scales, for although many musicians and composers have displayed great interest and enthusiasm, the economic question bars the way...The possibilities of the adoption of the new language of Music derived from the Ancient Greek Harmonai, for use in modern composition...have for some years been exploited by one modern composer Elsie

85 Ibid.
86 Ibid., xi.
87 Schlesinger, *The Greek Aulos*, x.
Hamilton, and performances of her compositions given in London since 1917 (invariably received with enthusiasm by the audience) may be remembered by some of the readers.  

The microtonal ratios demanded not only a new tuning system but also modified instruments such as modally tuned pianos, the logistics of which proved an obstacle. As Schlesinger remarked: "The general adoption of this new language of music...entails a mastery of the novel intonation of the dialects, as well as a resigned acceptance of technical difficulties concerned with musical instruments."  

Precious examples of Hamilton's music are given in *The Greek Aulos* that reveal both her musical approach and her efforts to adapt the traditional notational system to her system of tuning.

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Example 5.2 b Hamilton, “Funeral March” from *Agave* (reproduced from *The Greek Aulos*, p. 543).

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88 Ibid.
89 Ibid.
Hamilton seems to have travelled frequently; she undoubtedly returned to Australia occasionally during the twenties, giving Brewster-Jones tantalising glimpses of an extraordinary sound world to muse on in his relative isolation.

Both Brewster-Jones’s detailed knowledge of, and admiration for, Hamilton’s creative endeavours come through in the detailed feature article on her that he wrote for the *Advertiser* in 1937: “Tuning of Ancient Instruments, Elsie Hamilton’s Unique Work.” Brewster-Jones relates that Hamilton, who had spent already some months in Australia, was sailing for Java and Bali, where:

She hopes to secure some primitive musical instruments to take to Miss Kathleen Schlesinger, the great musical archeologist, which may serve as a corroboration of certain theories of this world authority, upon the tuning of ancient instruments, and the intonation of folk scales of the past.

Here we see Hamilton’s commitment to Schlesinger’s research. Brewster-Jones continues to provide some extraordinary details about Hamilton’s activities. She apparently formed her first orchestra in 1922. After which, Brewster-Jones remarks, “[p]ublic interest in the movement has grown so much, that group orchestras, specially formed and trained for the performance of the compositions of Elsie Hamilton, now exist in London, Stuttgart and Freiburg.” By 1937, Hamilton had left London for Stuttgart. Around this time she would take one of her orchestras on

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91 Ibid.
92 Ibid.
occasion to Vienna, to the sanatorium of a Dr Kolisko where Hamilton and her orchestra of “natural intonation” performed frequently to his patients to their great therapeutic benefit. Brewster-Jones stressed both the implicit exoticism and archaicism in this artistic endeavour, using the very words themselves:

Miss Hamilton, upon her return to Europe, will move from city to city, supervising the performances of her works, written in this exotic archaic idiom. She has the distinction of being the only modern composer who employs the Planetary modes as her medium of expression.93

The cost of these ventures was yet another sign of the significant personal means available to her.

Although there is no clear sense of when, and how often, Hamilton returned to Adelaide, a clear picture does emerge of her as a peripatetic person. In 1909 she was visiting friends in New Zealand and throughout her life she moved frequently between London, Paris, Stuttgart and Finland.94 She was a real citizen of the world and it is safe to assume that Adelaide was included in these movements. Certainly, she had a significant enough presence in Adelaide during the 1930s to make her the subject of an article by the trombone-playing Ethel Cooper for the 1936 Centenary publication A Book of South Australia—Women in the First Hundred Years. Among her achievements, Cooper notes, was her lecture series on Natural Intonation given two years earlier in Finland.95

It is unclear when Hamilton and Brewster-Jones became friends, but the friendship was long-lasting. Brewster-Jones would have known Hamilton, certainly by reputation and probably in person, during his student years at Elder. There are two letters from Hamilton in the ABC file on Brewster-Jones dating from 1941 urging the ABC to programme his symphonic poem Australia Felix on an upcoming orchestral

92 Ibid.
93 For instance, in 1909, the British Australasian informs its readers that, “Miss Elsie Hamilton, Adelaide is visiting friends in New Zealand.” See “Social Notes from Australia,” British Australasian, 11 February 1909, 23.
95 Ethel Cooper, “An Adventure in Musical Composition,” in A Book of South Australia: Women in the First Hundred Years, ed. Louise Brown (Adelaide: Rigby for the Women’s Centenary Council of S.A., 1936), 235. Cooper provides a short list of works at the end of her article (p. 236) which include works not found in Schlesinger’s book, namely, the Seven Planeten Stimmungen, Piece for Lyres and unnamed songs with orchestral accompaniment.

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concert in Adelaide. Bartsch has vivid childhood memories of Hamilton from the early forties: she was “completely whacky…just fascinating.” She dressed in a “very eccentric” and “bohemian” way. Even her car seemed strange to the young Bartsch: “really weird … with the petrol tank on the outside.”

Apart from the strange and wonderful Elsie Hamilton, similar-minded musicians were in short supply during this decade. Brewster-Jones could always look for inspiration and creative sustenance in the printed material and sound recordings readily available to him. Bartsch remembered his large library of literature as “more factual” than fictional. Dayton Clarence Miller’s *Science of Musical Sounds* is only one of many possible examples. Bartsch also remembers him writing often to people overseas. She presumed “he had contacts who would send him books,” and even though he himself could not afford to go back to Europe, others did and became conduits of both news and printed material. The cellist Harold Parsons is a case in point. Brewster-Jones, himself, reports in the *Advertiser* in 1935 on the new music Parsons heard during a six-month trip to London and Europe and mentions the modern scores he brought back with him. In a subsection of his column entitled “Examples of Modernism Purchased,” he identifies these scores which included quartets by Bartók and Kodaly, Hindemith’s cello sonata and, acquired “on the advice of Grainger,” works for “novelty combinations” by Peter Warlock. Brewster-Jones gives Parsons’s first hand impressions of performances of Ravel’s *Daphnis et Chloe*, Berg’s opera *Lulu* and other symphonic works by Mahler, Stravinsky, Schoenberg and Prokofiev.

There were more formal channels available to those who were interested in expanding their knowledge of modern music. Hoffnungs, the major record distributor in Australia, was based in Adelaide. It worked through England to import music from many countries including Hungary, Russia and France. Hoffman remembers that

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96 Letter from Elsie Hamilton to William James, 9 June 1941, National Archives of Australia: Australian Broadcasting Commission; C663/T1, H. Brewster-Jones, 1939-1955 [hereafter NAA: C663/T1]. In 1899 her address was also given as “Strathearn” on East Terrace. It was unchanged from forty years earlier showing that she was still living in the family home.
97 Bartsch, 2005.
98 Ibid.
99 Ibid.
Brewster-Jones had a special arrangement with Hoffmungs to buy records at wholesale price.¹⁰¹ In 1910, Allans, which imported music from a wide range of countries, had moved into Adelaide taking over from Howells, Young & Co.

The importance of printed material for a certain kind of creative artist in Adelaide, and its ready availability, is supported by an account given by Stella Bowen when she was living in Paris some time in the mid- to late-twenties:

But later when two young painters turned up in London with an introduction from Adelaide, my heart sank at the prospect of having to find a common ground on which to talk about art. I feared they would ask me to take them to the Academy and would want to know what I really thought about ‘all this modern stuff’. Instead, it was they who put me through my paces concerning the entire course of European painting since the war. There was no name in modern art, however obscure, with which they were unfamiliar, and no reputation whose growth they had not followed with enthusiasm. And it had all been done by dint of enthusiastic reading and the study of reproductions. I was abashed when I remembered my own awful ignorance when I first arrived in Europe, and have thus become quite confused in my idea of the Australia of today.¹⁰²

Adelaide 1930–1942

By the mid-1930s a vibrant counterculture began to emerge. A younger generation of artists, writers and musicians provided an alternative to Adelaide’s conservatism, which was no doubt a welcome relief for Brewster-Jones. Hoffman remarked on the phenomenon: “...it was a funny place Adelaide, it was a funny place...you had this very definite sort of conservatism... but underneath...”¹⁰³ He saw himself as part of this transformation, claiming, “as far as we were concerned we were far more progressive than Sydney.” Brewster-Jones had “a young person’s enthusiasm for new things” and “the influences on him as a young man were very important to him.”¹⁰⁴ He now looked to the younger generation. Max Harris’s well-known Angry Penguins

¹⁰² Bowen, *Drawn from Life: A Memoir*, 207-08.
¹⁰⁴ Ibid.
began, in Hoffman’s memory, as a larger group—one that stretched beyond literature. There were, he claimed, “musical Angry Penguins” as well as those in the visual arts. The painter Ivor Hele, according to Hoffman, was part of this circle and a close friend of Brewster-Jones’s. Brewster-Jones contributed an article about Hele to *Art in Australia*. The closeness of the relationship is revealed in the fine detail of the article. Brewster-Jones also mentions Hele’s portraits of both himself (for which Hele won the Melrose Prize in 1935) and his son Robert. Mary Eagle mentions a “network of modern art” in Adelaide: a group of young artists who gathered around Dorrit Black, Lisette Kohlhagen and Ivor Hele. The painter Dorrit Black had left Sydney and her own Modern Art Centre and returned to her birthplace in 1935, where she became active in the administration of the Adelaide branch of the Contemporary Art Society.

The printed word continued to play a central role in the dissemination of ideas in the 1930s as it had earlier. And there was a real appetite for current news in Adelaide. An interview with H.R. Purnell the State Librarian in the *Advertiser* in 1937 supports this claim by emphasising the remarkable “interest in international affairs being shown by the public.” It continued:

Books dealing with international politics, racial problems, and the work of the League of Nations and various committees are eagerly sought… “It is obvious,” said Mr. Purnell, “that thoughtful members of the public are becoming increasingly aware of the fact that Australia’s isolation from events abroad is more apparent than

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105 Brewster-Jones, “Ivor Hele,” *Art in Australia* 3, no. 7 (1938): 65-70. As will be later shown, Brewster-Jones’s contact with the younger generation, particularly with the Angry Penguins, was mediated through his son Robert. Given his age and aesthetic outlook, he would have undoubtedly have seemed, by the late 1930s, as old-fashioned to the more revolutionary members of the Angry Penguins who decried, among other things, the “cult of exoticism” in Debussy’s music. Jennifer Shaw describes some of the attitudes to modern music published in their journal in her study of Schoenberg reception in Australia. See Jennifer Shaw, “Modernism, The Canon & Schoenberg,” *Australasian Music Research* 8, (2003): 41.

106 All that remains of the original portrait of Brewster-Jones are his hands. Apparently they were the only part of the painting Gerta liked. She convinced Hele to crop the painting accordingly. See Bartsch, 2005.

real, and are seeking a deeper understanding of the causes of the present international unrest.”

Similar articles on a range of contemporary cultural issues surrounded Brewster-Jones’s musical offerings in *Progress in Australia*. These included: the talkies, broadcasting, censorship, Nijinsky and the Russian ballet, and a possible Australian ballet modelled on the same lines, an Australian modernist school of painting, the modernist painter Roland Wakelin, even descriptions of the modernist American sculptor Alexander Calder’s hanging mobiles. The *Advertiser* also featured articles on Dylan Thomas, Virginia Woolf, Ezra Pound and T.S. Eliot. James Joyce’s *Finnegan’s Wake* was discussed while noting that *Ulysses* was banned. The 1939 *Herald Exhibition of French and British Contemporary Art* was well covered in the press. The *Advertiser* included a fascinating account by one of the exhibition’s chief curators, Basil Burdett. During his trip to Paris to collect items for the upcoming exhibition, he not only visited Gertrude Stein at home, but was also lucky enough to interview Picasso.

This upsurge of interest in modern art happened in spite of the Depression. Adelaide’s response to the Depression was similar to that of the other major Australian cities. The Depression peaked in 1931 and, according to Julia Szuster, music was hit hard. As in Sydney, an orchestra of unemployed musicians was formed to try and improve their plight. An unexpected advantage for young music lovers like Hoffman was that entire record collections were sold off making second

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109 See *Advertiser*, 26 May 1939, 27. Hoffman remembers buying his copy of the then still-banned *Ulysses* at the Mary Martin Bookshop, which was started in 1945 by Mary Martin and Max Harris.


hand record stores treasure troves for the collector. Brewster-Jones, according to Bartsch, found the Depression “very hard” and in order to earn money was forced to play at “all sorts of tea rooms.” He was reportedly “furious inside.” “Nothing,” she suggested, “would drive a concert pianist more mad than having to sit there in the tea room and play while everyone talks.” Relief from the dreaded tearooms was found in the younger artistic generation.

Brewster-Jones gained entry to this younger artistic world through his oldest son Robert who had, by all accounts, “the same spark” as his father. By the mid-1930s, Robert had become an important partner. As well as working as co-author on many Advertiser features with his father, he also contributed articles as sole author in Progress in Australia. Robert made a living by working in Adult Education at Adelaide University, and produced poetry in his spare time. Like Australian modernist painter Arnold Shore, Robert had a strong creative response to Ravel’s Bolero: Shore expressed it visually in 1930 and Robert in poetry the following year. He was acquainted with Max Harris. His poem Shearing appeared in the journal Angry Penguins in 1941. After Brewster-Jones’s death, Gerta used to visit the Harris family at the seaside resort of Port Elliot. Brewster-Jones was also very close to Robert’s wife Dot who mixed closely with many artists during the 1930s and was herself an excellent caricaturist.

In the last half of the 1930s Brewster-Jones was bolstered by the constant stream of international musicians through Adelaide, whom he was able to interview as a music critic for the Advertiser. And, as we will see in Chapter 7, he made the most of this opportunity to find out about the latest developments in modern music. Some of these artists were invited to the many soirees he held at the Rose Park house. Brewster-Jones loved to entertain and Gerta was reputedly a gracious hostess.

The music played at soirees included his own works played by his students. Hoffman heard many performances of Brewster-Jones’s concertos there. They also

112 Hoffman, 2005.
113 Bartsch, 2005.
117 Bartsch, 2005.
aired the modern European scores that they formally studied with Brewster-Jones, including works by Stravinsky, Kodaly, Casella and the French school. Hoffman remembers the thrill of pounding out Bartók’s brutal *Allegro Barbaro* and, on another occasion, with the approval of Brewster-Jones, the music of Duke Ellington. Brewster-Jones was, as previously noted, interested in jazz, albeit in a limited way.\(^{118}\)

Although “Bel Canto,” the Adelaide critic in the *AMN*, was still labelling Ravel and Debussy “ultramoderns,” modern music was generally assuming a more visible, or audible, presence in Adelaide.\(^{119}\) The Melbourne composer and pianist, Margaret Sutherland, came with clarinettist Isobel Carter and violinist Elise Steele to play three concerts in 1936. They performed a wide range of works by Schmitt, Ravel, de Falla, Tailleferre, Bartók, Milhaud and Sutherland herself.\(^{120}\) Later, in 1941, Sydney violinist Haydn Beck moved to Adelaide to become leader of the Elder Quartet. He showed his “enthusiasm for modern music,” by performing Stravinsky’s *Three Pieces for String Quartet* soon after arriving. The modernist language of the work caused “some condescending amusement” if the title of the review is anything to go by.\(^{121}\) This was a piece he had just broadcast for Agnew back in Sydney, so the subsequent Adelaide performance is an example of the wider influence this radio show had.

The young composer, Alex Burnard, just back in Adelaide from the Royal College of Music where he had studied with Vaughan Williams, emerges in the late 1920s as a champion of modern music.\(^{122}\) It was vital, in his opinion, that Australian composers hear contemporary music. He was encouraged to compose by Grainger in 1924 and by the early thirties he was agitating for a greater awareness of modern music in Adelaide, before he left to take up a teaching appointment at the Sydney Conservatorium in 1935. He gave public addresses in Adelaide with titles such as “Some Aspects of Modern Music,” in which he praised the modern English school of Walton, Berners, Warlock, Patrick Hadley and Constant Lambert. As the Adelaide

\(^{118}\) Hoffman, 2006.
\(^{122}\) The correspondence between Burnard and Vaughan Williams is located in Burnard’s archive. See University of Newcastle: Archives, Rare Books and Special Collections Unit; A8276-A8284, Papers of Alex Burnard, 1900-1971.
reporter for the *AMN* during this time, he reported on Goossens's London performance of Stravinsky's piano concerto with the composer at the piano, and called for local orchestral performances of music by these figures and others including Vaughan Williams, Bax, Holst and Honegger, whom he described as "apostles of the present 'divine unrest'." He even allowed that jazz was acceptable in small doses, an unusually inclusive attitude for a highbrow composer of that era. In an interview with James Glennon in 1969, he named Berg, Bartók, Britten and Berio as the four most important composers, later on adding Stravinsky and Stockhausen to the list.

Brewster-Jones recognised in the younger Burnard a similar outlook to his own and wrote sympathetically about him in *Progress in Australia* in 1935. He had just replaced the younger composer as music critic for the *Advertiser*. Years earlier in 1922, Burnard had received an honourable mention in Brewster-Jones's own Scholarship competition, so may even have been a student of Brewster-Jones. In *Progress in Australia*, Brewster-Jones commented on Burnard's "interesting portfolio" and mentions his interest in Walton and Vaughan Williams, with whom Burnard studied. "The general characteristics of his writing are fluidity of style with a leaning towards polytonality." Also mentioned are three "experimental" piano preludes. He concludes, "his style is complex in its counterpoint and rhythm" and that while Burnard's "harmonic texture is rarely ultra-modern," it is always "individualistic." I have uncovered two of these experimental preludes, written in the late twenties, which reveal Brewster-Jones's assessment to be fair.

We can see in the Experimental Prelude no. 1, written in 1929, that although tonal goals are avoided and harmonies often evade direct identification, the texture is more conventional than that found in Brewster-Jones's music (see Example 5.3). Strong cadential progressions do occur at bb. 16 and 18, and the ending occurs over a long E pedal moving to A. Drawing upon his rigorous training in counterpoint,
Example 5.3 Burnard, *Experimental Prelude* no. 1, from b. 8.
Burnard uses more conventional triadic structures than Brewster-Jones or Agnew, particularly with regard to spacing and voicing. First Prelude is experimental perhaps in its concentration on seventh chords. The music is highly chromatic, featuring chord extensions of the seventh, ninth and thirteenth often with added non-chord tones. Other harmonies are more obviously from a tonal vocabulary, such as the parallel seventh chords. The modal language is reminiscent of both Debussy and English composers such as his teacher Vaughan Williams. It could be understood as transitional but closer to tonality on the continuum than the work of Agnew and Brewster-Jones.

By 1938, Adelaide was again charged with “apathy” with regard to music, this time by a “very disappointed” Charles Moses, then General Manager of the ABC. Moses had noticed the poor ticket sales and attendance at concerts and threatened to remove Adelaide from the celebrity artists tours. In the early forties, the local musical scene in Adelaide was showing the effects of the war. The Corinthian Club had suspended all activities and the Adelaide Music Salon almost followed suit, continuing only in a dramatically reduced fashion.

Conclusion

Notwithstanding Hoffman’s description of Adelaide as having “all the problems of a small world,” it has nonetheless produced some recognised painters at both ends of the aesthetic spectrum including the modernists Margaret Preston, Stella Bowen, and Dorrit Black as well as the more conventional and conservative Hans Heysen and Ivor Hele. Continuing this pattern of extremes in the literary sphere, it also produced the radical nationalist Jindyworobaks and Max Harris’s internationalist, and proudly modernist, Angry Penguins.

Brewster-Jones sustained himself through the teens and 1920s with printed material (and surely the inspiration of the extraordinary Elsie Hamilton) until

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128 “Concerts Not For Adelaide,” Sun, July 1938, Australian National University: Noel Butlin Archives; Z401/12 Press Clippings; 1938 Scrap Book.
130 Hoffman, 2006.
Adelaide caught up with him. Unfortunately by the 1930s he had virtually stopped composing and had turned instead to writing. His writing on a wide and eclectic range of subjects, itself a topic for a subsequent chapter, fits alongside other similar interests in Adelaide at that time. The music of the twenties, however, remains an extraordinary achievement in light of his artistic isolation. He was, as Bartsch reminds us, “very much a lonely artist.” But he was aware that this plight was not particular to him, but one that applied more generally to Australian composers. In his major article on South Australian music he gives a long list of composers with his own name appearing at the end. The others included Dudley Glass, E. Harold Davies, Bryceson Treherne, Alex Burnard, Spruhan Kennedy, Edith Piper, Horace Perkins, Hugh King and Dr Ruby Davies. He included himself in the depressing conclusion that “[m]ost of our manuscripts are in their cupboards...”

Rather than pursuing a nationalist agenda of identity building in his article on Australian composition, as might be expected since it appeared in the Jindyworobak publication, Cultural Cross-Section, Brewster-Jones instead invoked a high level of craftsmanship as an imperative:

Let us first examine the Australian composer from this angle. Has he or she built solidly, on good musical foundations, with no thought of acclaim or sought an ephemeral success with a non-discriminating public, purely for the sake of popularity?

The idealism and lack of concern for popularity coloured his life. Earlier, in 1919, an issue of the AMN featured Brewster-Jones’s photograph as it extolled the virtues of his new orchestra. His unassuming character and strong sense of idealism was commented on: “He is a man who seems to be without jealousy, because conscious of

131 Bartsch, 2005.
the real value of his own work and his profound sincerity, has made him rather indifferent to public opinion."\(^\text{134}\) The combination of a self-effacing and modest personality with a culture that did not care was ultimately destructive. He also had little time for the stolid and unimaginative; for people he deemed conservative. This intolerance had manifested itself in England and persevered throughout his life. Bartsch claimed that “[a]nyone that was conservative he didn’t have much time for” and that he became easily “fed up.”\(^\text{135}\) From her own personal memory and from the collective family memory Bartsch summed up her grandfather’s artistic credo:

He was very true to himself, he was a totally ethical artist, he was a natural artist, he wasn’t an artist because he wanted to show off, he was an artist because he couldn’t help it. He was very intense as an artist. And he was very very critical...of artists that were stuck in tradition...doing the expected...he didn’t do the unexpected because he thought that was clever, he just did it because he found it fascinating. He was very intense and intensely interested in things which were not ordinary run of the mill things which included the cultures which he was fascinated by...\(^\text{136}\)

In an interview with Freda Sternberg, his friend Heysen opines on the positive effect of isolation. While he thought that “every artist should have the opportunity to go abroad to study and see, but he was just as keen that they should return and give Australia the benefit of all they had acquired.” He also insisted “[i]solation is a good thing for any artist...it gives him a chance of finding himself.”\(^\text{137}\) Brewster-Jones’s story, however, is an example of what can happen to the creative spirit if this isolation becomes relentless; when the respite offered by the virtual cultural field loses its sustaining power. The story of Hoffman’s last meeting evokes a poignant picture of Brewster-Jones’s disappointment and despondency. He reports going to see him after the war at his studio “to have a little chat about what had happened in the past” and to show him his latest composition—a piano sonata he was proud of at the time. Hoffman noticed a change: “I knew that something had gone as far as he was concerned...he wasn’t the same man, he didn’t have the same interests, he had no

\(^{134}\) AMN 9, no. 5 November (1919): 129.  
\(^{135}\) Bartsch, 2005.  
\(^{136}\) Ibid.  
interest in life.” He wondered if his mentor had been drinking. Much to Hoffman’s disappointment, Brewster-Jones “wasn’t at all interested” in the music—this from a man who had formerly been unstintingly generous in his encouragement and advice. When Hoffman began to play it through, Brewster-Jones went to sleep in his chair. “So,” Hoffman said, “I just picked my music up quietly, walked out and...I don’t think I ever saw him again.”

139 Ibid.
The paths of Agnew and Brewster-Jones crossed in a rare but important intersection found in Brewster Jones’s article devoted to Agnew, “Australian Composer Ecstatic Over Indian Music.” In his discussion of Agnew’s first Australian interview of 1935 on returning from England, Brewster-Jones chose to focus on Agnew’s thoughts on non-Western music.\(^1\) Also revealed in that same interview, however, is that for Agnew the wonder of the listening experience was not only the music, but also the medium through which it came—radio. He confessed to being over the moon with the “Alice-in-wonderland-like” experience of being able to hear “a kind of music which up to now had been practically a closed door to Western civilization” in the comfort of his own deckchair, sounding as if it were being played right next to him. At a time when there were wireless sets in two out of every three Australian homes he proclaimed broadcasting to be “without doubt one of the marvels of this or any other age.”\(^2\) He was unaware at the time of the interview that he was about to embark on


\(^2\) Ibid. Radio had begun in Australia over a decade prior to Agnew’s interview. It transformed not only mass communications but also all aspects of the production and consumption of music. This estimate comes from Judith Brett who also suggests that the audience was “about five million.” See Judith Brett, *Robert Menzies’ Forgotten People* (Sydney: Macmillan, 1992), 18. For a comprehensive study of radio’s history in Australia and Britain see also Lesley Johnson, *The Unseen Voice: A Cultural Study of Early Australian Radio* (London: Routledge, 1988) and Paddy Scannell and David Cardiff, *A Social History of British Broadcasting* (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1991).
his own Alice-in-wonderland-like adventure in radio, his ABC series, “Modern and Contemporary Composers,” which ran for over five years between 1937 and 1942.

Agnew’s role as organiser and presenter of this groundbreaking radio series says a great deal about his open-minded approach and non-judgmental curiosity about “the new.” Reconstructed through the documents available in the extensive ABC file and the radio weeklies, the Wireless Weekly and ABC Weekly, the story of “Modern and Contemporary Composers” also emerges as a tale of struggle between the conservative and liberal musical forces within the national broadcaster and more generally the musical world. 3 It is an important and heretofore unwritten page in the history of Australian music and broadcasting. The type of repertoire programmed by Agnew; the availability and transmission of this music in written or recorded form; the influences at work upon the series (it becomes clear that Agnew utilised his own personal network of like-minded musicians both in Australia and Britain); the question of live versus recorded performance; the hotly debated question at this time of cultural taste, in particular the categorisation of the tastes of the many different listening audiences as highbrow, middlebrow and lowbrow; and the role of the ABC and BBC as self-appointed arbiters of cultural values, all throw a fascinating light on the state of Australian culture in the 1930s and 1940s. This story reveals that there was in Australia at this time an audience for the most advanced modern music, small and marginal perhaps, but nevertheless a cosmopolitan musical intelligentsia.

**Genesis: 1936**

After a number of difficult years in England trying to eke out a living during the worst years of the Depression, Agnew jumped at the chance to return to Australia to undertake a national tour for the ABC. Once the tour was over, however, the problem of finding sustainable employment again resurfaced. His long-time friend and loyal

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3 This file contains the internal ABC memo correspondence regarding “Modern and Contemporary Composers” in its entirety as well as attached ephemera such as draft programme schedules, letters, newspaper clippings and magazine articles. When citing an internal memo from this file, only the names will be given, as distinct from a letter, which will be identified as such. See National Archives of Australia: Australian Broadcasting Commission; SP1558/2, Roy Agnew, 1936-1943; Box 14 [hereafter NAA: SP1558/2].
admirer Dr Keith Barry, now in the powerful position of ABC Federal Controller of Programmes, came to his rescue.

After a few failed suggestions, one from Barry that Agnew be given some orchestrating and arranging (something he never felt comfortable with, and turned down),\textsuperscript{4} and one from Agnew himself that he run a children’s music session,\textsuperscript{5} it was suggested by the conductor Bernard Heinze, in his role as Musical Advisor to the Commission, that the ABC should engage Agnew twice a month “to prepare a special programme of contemporary instrumental music.”\textsuperscript{6} This appeared as a formal recommendation in the ABC’s Programme Meeting minutes of November 1936 that Agnew be “engaged to prepare, annotate, and present the sessions, and play accompaniments when necessary.”\textsuperscript{7} Apart from Barry, others in attendance at this meeting included the General Manager, Charles Moses, William G. James (Federal Controller of Music), Ewart Chappie (NSW Programme Controller), Basil Kirke (then Victorian Manager later Manager for NSW), and of course Heinze as Music Advisor. Many of those present played key roles in the life of the session, particularly Kirke, James and Moses, and to a lesser extent Heinze. In a later summary of the session, Barry remembered:

It was admitted at this stage that it was a programme in which experimental music might be given an airing and as such was in the nature of a duty session to musicians whose interests lay in that direction. It was strongly felt that the period of twenty minutes a week [at a very late hour] then proposed was not unreasonable in relation to the amount of time spent on other types of music.\textsuperscript{8}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{4} Keith Barry to General Manager Charles Moses, 14 September 1936, NAA: SP1558/2. Barry suggested in this memo that Agnew be given some orchestration to see if he was suitable for such employment. Ten days later Agnew told him that he preferred “not to do this kind of work,” which Barry duly reported back to Moses. See Barry to Moses, 24 September 1936, NAA: SP1558/2.
  \item \textsuperscript{5} Barry to Ewart Chappie, 23 September 1936, NAA: SP1558/2. Agnew actually supplied programme proposals for such a show but the idea was dropped in favour of “Modern and Contemporary Composers.” The children’s show was to be run very successfully by Lindley Evans, who came to be known by thousands of Australian children as Mr Melody Man.
  \item \textsuperscript{6} Bernard Heinze, who has already appeared throughout this study, was a central figure in Australian music during this period. He was a violinist and conductor, who studied both in England and with Vincent D’Indy at the Schola Cantorum and had a strong personal interest in contemporary music. He also held the post as Ormond Professor of Music at Melbourne University for many years. For details of his life see Thérèse Radic, \textit{Bernard Heinze: A Biography} (Melbourne: Macmillan, 1986).
  \item \textsuperscript{7} Programme Meeting Minutes, 13-14 November 1936, NAA: SP1558/2.
  \item \textsuperscript{8} Ibid. Although no author is identified, I believe it to be Barry.
\end{itemize}

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Agnew was to be paid £7.70 per programme, an amount “considered adequate” to cover the preparation of the programmes and personal appearances. A memo of 20 November 1936 from John Horner to Barry affirms the starting date for the session as January 1937. It began as a forty minute show once a fortnight but was quickly changed to a weekly half hour session. It was scheduled late at night alternating between 10.00 and 10.30 pm. The inaugural session took place on 13 January as a New South Wales broadcast on 2BL but on 25 August 1937 went to the national station 2FC. At the outset live performers were used exclusively. Two years later in January 1939 this changed to a combination of live performance and recorded sound.

In an interview with Rita Crews, Australian pianist Gordon Watson, who recorded a number of Agnew’s works for the ABC, claimed “Modern and Contemporary Composers” as “one of Roy’s greatest contributions to Australian music...” He considered Agnew’s ability to “persuade the ABC to play this kind of music was astonishing.” He further noted that “Agnew obviously had enormous influence with the ABC (Gordon wondered if W.G. (Bill) James who was the controller at the time was Agnew’s “minder”). Watson was wrong in his speculation that it had been James who supported Agnew—it was Keith Barry.

The importance of Barry’s role in the story of this show cannot be overstated. His constant intervention kept it alive. Barry was just as passionate as Agnew about the session, if not more so. He believed wholeheartedly in its purpose of catering to the musical intelligentsia and expanding the public’s horizons, and embraced the potential of radio as a medium through which to do this.

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9 Using existing documents in SP15558/2 we can see that Agnew’s rates are comparable with other ABC performers of the time. For instance The Rhythm Boys, a popular dance band, received £22 a week; the Melbourne tenor Oswald Rippon (an expatriate based in London) was to be engaged with his own accompanist while visiting Australia at a combined fee of £40 a week; a Richard Chugg was not to get more than £5.50 per performance; £300 to £400 were to be put aside for a chamber music dept in the Federal library and a Paul Daly was to be offered £10 a week for assisting with the community singing programmes and would receive the “ordinary artist’s fee” when performing himself. According to Richard Cotter, in 1933 seventy-five percent of breadwinners earned under £4 per week. It would seem then that the pay for Agnew and the others was above average. See Richard Cotter, “War, Boom and Depression,” in Essays in Economic History of Australia, ed. James Griffin (Milton: Jacaranda, 1970), 278.

10 Interview conducted by Dr Rita Crews with Gordon Watson, 11 October, 1993.

11 Ibid.
Barry placed music above all else. He considered it more important than broadcasting the spoken word and was vocal in his dislike of sport: "If only some of the better-known Australian musicians could get some of the Press space devoted to lesser-known Australian horses—well..."\(^{12}\) In a prophetic article of 1930, “Wireless in 1940, Where Will Music be Then?,” Barry foreshadowed Agnew’s own attitudes to broadcasting. He embraced the new medium remarking: “Not only will wireless not hurt music, but it is being, and will continue to be, one of the greatest benefactors that music ever had.”\(^{13}\) The close personal friendship that had begun many years earlier continued through these years. Outside the ABC the balance of power in the relationship was reversed, with Agnew guiding and directing Barry in musical matters, even giving him piano lessons. Barry held Agnew in high regard.

Agnew’s international standing was to be a constant weapon in Barry’s many rejoinders to critics. Barry’s high-minded desire to popularise good music and elevate general musical taste was very much in the Reithian mould.\(^{14}\) It led to one of the first Australian contributions to the literature of music appreciation, his book *Music and the Listener: A Guide to Musical Understanding*, which appeared in 1933.\(^{15}\) The preface was written by Charles Lloyd Jones, first chairman of the ABC, who noted the power of broadcasting as a medium for disseminating music, and added “it is little use sending out good music if listeners are unable to speak the language of music.”\(^{16}\) Barry’s opening statements reveal his embrace of the idea of progress: “Music is an ever-advancing art, and the discords of one generation often become the pleasant harmonies of the next.”\(^{17}\)


\(^{14}\) John Reith was the first General Manager and then Director-General of the BBC. He is generally understood to be the ‘founding father’ of public service broadcasting in Britain. His vision was shaped by the Arnoldian spirit of education and cultural uplift. For an account of his life see Ian McIntyre, *The Expense of Glory: A Life of John Reith* (London: HarperCollins, 1993).


\(^{16}\) Ibid., 12.

\(^{17}\) Ibid., 13. Like many progressive highbrows of that time, Barry’s openness did not extend to jazz: “People think that the cultured musician hates jazz, a statement which is quite untrue, he being merely bored by it; and of all of the deadly sins in the world, the deadliest is the sin of dullness. The chief crime that jazz commits is the crime of monotony.” See Barry, *Music and the Listener*, 94-95.
The Vision

It was with some fanfare that the *Wireless Weekly* introduced “Modern and Contemporary Composers.” In an editorial replete with a large photo of Agnew, he articulated the programme’s objectives:

During this series, an attempt will be made to present a comprehensive view of the trend of modern musical thought in chamber and piano music forms…most of which has not been heard previously in Australia. Mr. Agnew gives a warning that some of the music may sound rather strange, but asks the listener not to blame the music.18

The claim that much of the music had not previously been heard in Australia was to a large extent true, but in the desire to convey the uniqueness of his own contribution, Agnew glossed over the fact that many of the works had in fact already been performed in the small societies and clubs by the very performers who now sent them out over the airwaves. His identification of advances in sound technologies as central in the reduction of Australia’s distance from Europe is once again coloured by ambivalence and contradiction:

The problem is Australia’s complete isolation from the world of European thought, but with the advent of wireless, this importunate [sic] state of affairs has changed. Still, there is much headway to be made before this country arrives at a European standard of musical values.19

In order to accentuate the groundbreaking nature of his show, Agnew emphasised Australia’s isolation, and so underplayed not only his own but also his colleagues’ previous contributions to modern music in Sydney.

He counselled the listeners in how to conceptualise some of the strange sounds they would soon hear, exhorting them to keep their minds and ears open and to embrace a modern aesthetic:

19 Ibid.
Many of the new composers are definitely composers of genius and they are quite unconsciously expressing the life and conditions of this new age. Of course, a composer’s first duty and instinct is to express beauty, but beauty after all is only relative. What is beauty to one person might be hideous distortion to another. This alone ought to make an intelligent man or woman think very hard before expressing an opinion or pronouncing a judgment. It really amounts to this. While the Universe exists, there will always be fresh manifestations of beauty for those who have eyes to see and ears to hear.20

In a later article in 1939 provocatively called “Makes Them Take It,” Agnew reiterated his mission to choose music that was representative of modern thought and once again played on the “myth of isolation” and its attendant problems of confidence in a bid for tolerance:

Here, where we are so far from the centre of things, I try to give intelligent people the chance of hearing what is happening in the musical world even though they may not like it...I may not like some of these works myself...but I can recognise their merits. Some are the works of supreme masters.21

The desire to educate the Australian listening public in modern music was very much a shared vision. Agnew and Barry saw themselves as modern music missionaries chosen to inform Australian musicians and music lovers of European musical developments. Barry reiterated Agnew’s theme of geographical isolation:

Just a further point in regard to “Modern and Contemporary Composers”, I feel that there is a very great need in this country to keep musical people abreast of the times. Forces of circumstances are such that we live a long way from the world’s centres and new things in the form of art reach us very slowly.22

Ironically, despite Barry and Agnew’s repeated references to the geographic isolation of Australia, “Modern and Contemporary Composers” is itself evidence that geographical isolation did not equal cultural isolation. But their concern reflected a growing anxiety among Australia’s cultural elites of the 1930s.

20 Ibid.
22 Barry to William James, 21 October 1941, NAA: SP1558/2 [my italics].
The First Hurdle: “works of real significance” and other programming problems

Agnew, brimming with plans for the new venture, sent an impatient letter to Barry a week after the Programme Committee approved “Modern and Contemporary Composers”:

As I am determined that these broadcasts of modern music must be truly representative if they are to achieve the purpose we have in view, only works of real significance should be performed during this series. Compositions such as Schoenberg’s “Quintet” for flute, oboe, clarinet, horn and bassoon, “Pierrot Lunaire” etc, Anton von Webern’s Six Pieces for String Quartet op. 9 in which almost every single note of the melody is given to a different instrument, also the Quintet for Harp and Strings by Arnold Bax to mention a few of the works I have in mind should be included, these works will take time to learn as you know…

As seen by the uncompromisingly modernist repertoire cited above, Agnew was taking no prisoners. It is important to observe that in choosing music of “real significance” to best represent the seriousness of his purpose, three of the four works chosen are either atonal or twelve-tone works of the Second Viennese School. As his description of Webern’s music reveals, he had an intimate knowledge of the music and was making informed choices.

In this mood of high seriousness, Agnew set about creating his fortnightly programmes. As we can see in the first five broadcasts Agnew chose works representative of the period while also catering for the personal interests of the performers.

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23 Letter from Agnew to Barry, 22 November 1936, NAA: SP1558/2. These suggestions appeared among others in a list supplied for an article for the Wireless Weekly. The complete list is found as Table 6.2.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Performers</th>
<th>Compositions</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13 January 1937</td>
<td>Moore McMahon (violin)</td>
<td>Bartók: Suite for Piano</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frank Warbrick (piano)</td>
<td>Milhaud: Sonata for Violin and Piano no. 1 op. 3</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Florent Schmitt: <em>Lullaby for a Cat</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>27 January 1937</td>
<td>Paul Vinogradoff (piano)</td>
<td>piano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ila Turnbull (voice)</td>
<td>Scriabin: Poem in F # minor op. 32, no.1</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Scriabin: Sonata no. 4</td>
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<td>Scriabin: Sonata no. 5</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Scriabin: Poem op. 69 no.2</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Scriabin: Etude in D# minor op.8 no.12</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>songs</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Delius: “Indian Love Song”</td>
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<td>Goossens: “When thou art dead”</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Bax: “Lullaby”</td>
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<td>24 February 1937</td>
<td>Frank Warbrick (piano)</td>
<td>Willem Pijper: Piano Trio no. 2</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Moore McMahon (violin)</td>
<td>Ravel: <em>Five Greek Folk Songs</em></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Carl Gotsch (cello)</td>
<td>Ravel: <em>Chanson Romaine</em></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Madame Goyetche (voice)</td>
<td>Ravel: <em>La flûte enchantée</em></td>
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<td>Schoenberg: Three Pieces for Piano op. 11</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Schoenberg: Six Short Pieces for Piano op. 19</td>
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<tr>
<td>10 March 1937</td>
<td>Moore McMahon (violin)</td>
<td>Honegger: Violin Sonata (unspecified)</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Frank Warbrick (piano)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 March 1937</td>
<td>Winifred Burston (piano)</td>
<td>Arnold Bax: Piano Sonata no. 2 in G minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gwen Selva (voice)</td>
<td>Szymanowski: <em>Six Mélodies</em> op. 20 (in French)</td>
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</table>

Table 6.1 The first five broadcasts of “Modern and Contemporary Composers,” 13 January–24 March 1937.

In the programme of 27 January, the performer was the Scriabin specialist Paul Vinogradoff. In addition to Scriabin’s music, the programming featured neoclassicism with the music of Milhaud, Pijper, Schmitt and Honegger, the younger English generation made an appearance with the songs of Goossens, Delius and Bax, the Polish Impressionist Szymanowski got a hearing, as did Arnold Schoenberg. The pianist, Frank Warbrick, performed Schoenberg’s op. 11 and op. 19 piano pieces in one broadcast.

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24 This is the same Paul Vinogradoff who performed the all-Scriabin concert for Phyllis Campbell in 1927. See Chapter 2, p. 133.
On 14 April, seemingly intoxicated with the wonder of wireless, Agnew went too far. In an uncompromising gesture, he programmed Webern’s Five Movements for String Quartet op.5 together with Bartók’s String Quartet no. 5, just hot off the press. Condemnation was quick to come:

I was unfortunate enough to hear Roy Agnew’s broadcast on Wednesday evening last. Is this really music? I may have my musical limitations but I have never heard anything quite so discordant on the air before. It was quite impossible for me to say whether it was the composition or the execution, and I think it would be equally difficult for anyone to decide. For the listeners we may be pleasing, we must be turning hundreds away. In my opinion Australian listeners are not yet quite ready for such programmes.

John Horner, Manager of 2BL and 2FC, Cambridge graduate, accountant, sports lover and church organist, certainly was not ready. His memo to the General Manager, Charles Moses was the first of a series of antagonistic responses to “Modern and Contemporary Composers” from within the ABC, and sparked the first serious controversy.

Horner was, however, not the only one to voice objections. The other major criticism was utterly unexpected and different in nature. It came from the newly arrived Austrian emigré, Curt Prerauer, who was at the time the music critic of Wireless Weekly and later ABC Weekly. Prerauer, even before beginning the review, took the announcer to task for mispronouncing Webern’s name. He moved on to issues of more substance:

[The] writer of these lines could never follow Webern’s five pieces without feeling that this is the most incorrect way music has ever gone. There is nothing of the genius which commands respect in Alban Berg or Schoenberg, however much one may object to their music. Webern shows more brain (or disease of the brain if you

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27 Kenneth Inglis refers to all the ABC employees involved in the story of this programme in his history of the ABC. “Modern and Contemporary Composers,” the programme itself, however, is not mentioned. See Kenneth Stanley Inglis and Jan Brazier, This Is the ABC: The Australian Broadcasting Commission, 1932-1983 (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1983).
like) than any of the others—and less feeling. Sometimes it sounds simply like the whistling of mice.\textsuperscript{28}

He also disliked Bartók’s string quartet, condemning it with the following remark: “Bartók’s music is downright ugly and comes from the brain.” Nonetheless, he admitted to admiring the counterpoint and compared it in this regard to Beethoven’s String Quartet op. 132, but was quick to remind the reader that it was “without the heart,” and therefore became merely “interesting juggling and monkey tricks.”\textsuperscript{29}

Despite its negativity, the review stands out for its musical erudition. Prerauer knew this music: he had heard the Webern before and he considered Schoenberg and Berg geniuses. The analytical discussion is impressive and reflects Prerauer’s close connections with the Second Viennese School. Before arriving in Australia in the mid-1930s, he had worked at the Berlin Staatsoper with Erich Kleiber and had been involved in over ten performances of \textit{Wozzeck} in Berlin and other German cities. He received personal praise from Alban Berg for his training of the singers for the London premiere of \textit{Wozzeck} in 1933.\textsuperscript{30} Unfortunately, Prerauer did not seem to realise that public criticism of these individual works from his modernist perspective would merely validate internal, conservative ABC opposition to the series as a whole. He ended his review with a reminder reminiscent of Agnew’s: “But it is necessary to know new music to be able to reject it.”

Not so according to Horner. The internal response to Horner’s criticism was immediate and dramatic. Barry was caught in a difficult balancing act between the personal and professional and obviously thought sacrifice would ensure the series’ survival. He reminded Horner “a generation is never capable of judging itself,” but nonetheless conceded two crucial changes: the show was to be curtailed to twenty minutes, and was now to be broadcast on a weekly basis rather than fortnightly. Furthermore he directed Agnew to tone down the programming. Barry assured Horner and Moses:

\textsuperscript{29} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{30} Maria Prerauer, personal communication, 23 April 2005.
This will severely limit him in the matter of modern chamber music compositions. I have had a talk with him and have told him that we thought we would rather have something of a less ambitious nature for a while.31

So after only a few months Agnew’s vision to present music of “real significance” had been sorely compromised.32 Prerauer, while seemingly unconscious of the effect of his involvement, well understood the motives behind these restrictions and their long-term consequences:

The A.B.C. has shortened the session so that longer works cannot be played in succession. The A.B.C. tries, apparently, to force Agnew to give us all the little pretty-pretty niceties of other short sessions.33

It seems unfair then, that only two months later Prerauer, the incident forgotten, takes Agnew to task for being too safe, for not broadcasting works of “significance:”

We appreciate Roy Agnew’s idea to make Australian listeners acquainted only gradually with “contemporary” music, but think that he is too careful with his selections. He has promised the “Pierrot Lunaire,” by Schoenberg, a long time ago … the time has come to present more recent works.

In the same article, Prerauer, while betraying his own musical taste, pinpointed an important distinction between the “modern” and “contemporary” of Agnew’s title. He first alluded to it in his patronising description of John Ireland’s Piano Sonata as representative of certain types of works: “sleek, with quaint chords, and a retrospective trend, but without real greatness of thought.”34 (Agnew’s inclusion of Berg’s Seven Early Songs and Schoenberg’s Piano Piece op. 33a on 26 July might have been in response to this criticism.) Prerauer continued this line of thinking into the next year reviewing the broadcasts of Malipiero’s Cantari all madrigalesco for string quartet and John Ireland’s Rhapsody for piano, remarking that: “[t]he distinction between ‘modern’ music (Malipiero) and ‘contemporary’ music (Ireland) was interesting to watch.” Prerauer distinguished between the “modern” Italian

31 Barry to Homer, 21 April 1937, NAA: SP1558/2.
32 Ibid.
quartet and the “contemporary” English piano work by claiming that Malipiero’s quartet had “depth on repeated listening and was therefore modern and superior.” He identified Malipiero, Bartók, Walton, Schoenberg and Markevitch as “modern” composers and “pioneers”, and denigrated Ireland and his ilk as “old-timers.”

“Modern” was then a matter of aesthetic quality and musical style, whereas “contemporary” simply a matter of chronology: determined by when it was written. “Modern” denoted modernist works: music that was abstract, difficult and challenging. “Contemporary” denoted recent works regardless of style. Schoenberg’s String Quartet no. 2 was “modern” despite the fact it was written many years earlier in 1907 and 1908 whereas Françaix’s Piano Concerto, written in 1936, was “contemporary.” For Prerauer, with his strong modernist inclinations, to be “significant” was to be “modern.” Agnew, however, was more open-minded.

The eclecticism evident in the first five broadcasts (see Table 6.1) informed the series in its entirety (see Appendix B for a reconstruction of the complete programming). For the historian interested in Agnew’s intentions it is necessary to painstakingly compare the radio journals, the Wireless Weekly and ABC Weekly, with the ABC files and logbooks. Often it did not always go to air in the form he devised, and what was not ultimately included is as important as what was broadcast.

An annual breakdown of repertoire in the programmes is found as Appendix C. A comparison between nationalities based upon a general distinction between continental European and British music shows that the former outweighs the latter at a rate of approximately two to one. This is seen clearly in Figure 6.1 below. It was only at the very end of the show, between January and April of 1942, that European music dropped away significantly. In this period British music comprised approximately seventy percent of the programming. Notably, this is when Australia saw its gravest hour with the fall of Singapore on 15 February 1942.

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35 The session was broadcast on 24 January 1938. The performers were the New Austral String Quartet and the pianist Wilfred Arlom. Prerauer, Wireless Weekly 31, no. 5 (1938): 5.
Figure 6.1 A comparison of the nationalities in "Modern and Contemporary Composers" based upon a general distinction between European and British, 1937–1942.
The state of national emergency that undoubtedly hastened the end of the programme would not only have raised levels of patriotic feeling but also compounded the difficulties of importing recordings and scores.\footnote{This is made explicit in an open letter printed in the \textit{Australian Musical News} [hereafter \textit{AMN}]. The letter noted the increasing difficulty of obtaining foreign scores. It reminded the reader that because of the war "it is no longer possible to import music from a large number of foreign countries, and in the case of other countries, notably America, because of the necessary restrictions on exchange only a limited supply can be obtained." The writer suggested buying Australian or English publications of such works (if available) or substituting something published in Australia or England. See "An Open Letter to the Musical Profession. Foreign Editions of Music," \textit{AMN} 30, no. 12 (1940): 5.}

A further breakdown of European music itself offers some important information. The extensive and diverse range of nationalities represented in this graph is immediately striking. Predictably, French and Russian music dominates throughout the series, except in the first year. But interestingly, it was German works that outnumbered those by any other European nationality in 1937. Outnumbering both Russian and French music, twelve modern Germanic works were programmed. Of these twelve, four were by Hindemith and the rest by the Second Viennese School—three by Schoenberg, two each by Berg and Krenek and one by Webern.\footnote{Frank Warbrick not only played all the Schoenberg and Krenek solo piano works live on the show, but also accompanied Carl Gotsch’s wife Leonore in Berg's \textit{Seven Early Songs}. Wilfred Arlom performed the other work by Berg of 1937—his Piano Sonata op. 1. Leonore Gotsch presented the Krenek songs with the pianist Ernest Empson. These Australian performances of Second Viennese School works, which took place in the 1930s, are remarkable. Jennifer Shaw has done valuable work on the reception of Schoenberg in Australia, focusing particularly on the 1949 tribute issue of the Australian monthly music journal, \textit{The Canon}, dedicated entirely to Schoenberg in celebration of his seventy-fifth birthday. But it is significant to note that there was sufficient Australian interest in this kind of music over ten years earlier which resulted in actual sounds, so providing a wider historical context to Shaw's work. See Jennifer Shaw, "Modernism, the Canon and Schoenberg Reception in Australia." \textit{Australasian Music Research} 8 (2003): 31-58.} These numbers reflect Agnew’s resolve to present "works of real significance," of which apparently modernist Germanic music was a main part. Notably, 1937 also saw the smallest proportion of British music at 27 percent. Figure 6.2 clearly shows the sharp decline in German music from 1938 onwards. German music, and in particular that of the Second Viennese School, virtually disappears. Undoubtedly, the outbreak of war in September 1939 played a significant part in this. It played a role in the rejection of German music more generally. All things German were reviled during these years.
Figure 6.2 A breakdown of European works into separate nationalities in "Modern and Contemorary Composers," 1937–1942.
For instance, in March 1941 singing in German was banned at the Sydney Eisteddfod. But presumably, the Webern/Bartók incident with the resultant command to tone down the repertoire also affected the drop in German music. In the same *Wireless Weekly* article announcing the beginning of “Modern and Contemporary Composers,” Agnew had submitted the following list of works he considered representative and hoped to broadcast:

- Webern: Six Pieces for String Quartet* [Five Movements for String Quartet op. 5] 39
- Berg: String Quartet op.3* and *Lyric Suite*
- Busoni: Two Sonatinas
- Malipiero: Two String Quartets
- Bax: Harp Quintet
- Cyril Scott: Piano Quintet and Idyll for voice, cello and flute
- Agnew: *Two Songs without Words* for clarinet and voice
- Bliss: Clarinet Quintet
- Bartók: Three String Quartets
- Florent Schmitt: Piano Quintet* [Lullaby for a Cat for violin and piano]
- Schoenberg: *Pierrot Lunaire*
- Miaskovsky: Piano Sonata* [Sonata for cello and piano]
- Walthew: *Triolet* for oboe, clarinet and bassoon [*Mosaic: Four Pieces for viola and piano, Sonata for Violin and Piano]*
- Armstrong Gibbs: Miniature string quartet [As I Lay in the Early Sun for voice and piano]
- Conrad Beck: Trio for violin, viola and cello* [String Quartet]
- Pijper: Violin Sonata
- Ireland: Sonatina, Piano Sonata and some smaller pieces
- These recitals will also include songs by Goossens, Arnold Bax, Peter Warlock, Gerrard Williams, Percival Garratt and Constant Lambert.

**Table 6.2 Works intended for broadcast on “Modern and Contemporary Composers”**

It is significant that of the nine works from this list that never went to air, just under half of them were by the Second Viennese School and were later recognised as iconic.

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39 “Roy Agnew: Recitals of Contemporary Music A.B.C. Feature” *Wireless Weekly* 29/5 (1937): xv. The asterisk indicates that I have not found any evidence that these works were broadcast. However all composers on the lists were represented but by works other that that on the list, I have included in brackets the works that were actually played.
works of early twentieth-century musical modernism. They were Webern’s Six Bagatelles for String Quartet, Berg’s *Lyric Suite* and String Quartet and, of course, Schoenberg’s *Pierrot lunaire*.

The analysis of the programming reveals Agnew’s committed advocacy of the new wave of young British composers. British music consistently formed the largest individual programming section. Those British composers who have now assumed a position in the standard repertoire such as Walton, Britten, Holst, Vaughan Williams and Delius, are found alongside their lesser known contemporaries such as Bax, Bliss, Cyril Scott, Frank Bridge, John Ireland, Edmund Rubbra, Berners, Peter Warlock, E.J. Moeran, Eugene Goossens and Herbert Howells. Agnew included even more marginal figures such as Thomas Dunhill, Richard Walthew, George Norman Peterkin, Armstrong Gibbs, Ivor Foster, Rebecca Clarke, Rutland Boughton and Agnew’s close personal friends Gerrard Williams and Percival Garratt. He extended this same generosity to some fellow Australians namely Arthur Benjamin and the young women musicians, Miriam Hyde and his former student Dulcie Holland, who performed their own works live during the series.

Three other women composers appear in the programmes. They were Germaine Tailleferre, the only female member of *Les Six*; Nadia’s sister Lili Boulanger; and the English composer Rebecca Clarke whose Viola Sonata and Piano Trio, two works programmed by Agnew, were very much in vogue during his early years in England.

“Modern and Contemporary Composers” also featured, in addition to those already mentioned, a large number of continental European and American composers who have fallen by the wayside. These include Swiss composer Conrad Beck (who studied with Honegger), the Italian Ildebrando Pizzetti, the Dutch composer Willem Pijper, the Roumanian Georges Enesco, Alexander Tcherepnin and Nikolai Miaskovsky. Figures that are even more obscure also appear such as the Finn Yrjo Kilpinen, the Cuban Joaquin Nin-Culmell, the Dane Carl Riisager, the French composer Alexandre Tansman, the Dutchman Henk Badings (student of Pijper, who later ran the electronic music studio at University of Utrecht), the Belgian Marcel Poot and the Swede Lars Erik Larsson. After 1937 a small group of Americans are
featured: Joseph Marx, Quincy Porter, Roy Harris, Harl McDonald, Ernest Bloch (a naturalised American, originally Swiss) and Aaron Copland. These lists of names illustrate the depth and breadth of Agnew’s programming.

Following the BBC’s example of incorporating educational information about new music in their journal, the ABC used the radio journals to prepare listeners for unusual repertoire. These explanatory notes provide us with valuable information about some of the more obscure figures such as Herbert Howells, Rutland Boughton (“who always held the art is not for the multitude but for the few”), Florent Schmitt, Roussel and Conrad Beck.

Agnew’s favourite composers, Bax, Szymanowski, Scriabin and Bartók, are prominent in this examination of the programming. Bartók’s modernism sets him apart from these others. But Agnew publicly praised him as Hungary’s greatest composer, making his admiration clear. He also considered Szymanowski second only to Chopin among Polish composers. His friend, Kenneth Wright, thought Szymanowski belonged to a more experimental or “less accepted” group of composers which also included Berg and Hindemith, Auric and Eisler. Whereas, using Prerauer’s distinction, we now might tend to categorise Bax and Szymanowski as “contemporary” rather than “modern”, our perception of these composers may differ from that of Agnew’s era. For example, in 1927, Bax was regarded in *Musical Opinion* as an “ultra-modern” but not of the “flagrant variety,” explaining why Agnew could mention his Harp Quintet in the same breath as Schoenberg’s *Pierrot*.

Given that many of the performers were both Agnew’s friends and knowledgeable and enthusiastic advocates of contemporary music themselves, one can assume that Agnew was in constant dialogue with them so that, to a certain degree, the repertoire must have been influenced by their personal taste, as seen in Vinogradoff’s recital. Despite the restrictions imposed upon Agnew by the ABC in

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41 Quoted in Gordon Ireland, “This Week’s Music,” *ABC Weekly* 3, no. 3 (1941): 53. Ireland did not note that Boughton was a communist.
terms of time of the broadcasts and nature of the repertoire type, as well as the effects of the war, this series provides us with a fascinating picture of contemporary music in the earlier part of the last century. Composers now familiar to us were not yet canonised, and it is refreshing to see them freely moving among their contemporaries, many of whom have now faded from view.

The British World: the BBC, ABC and “Modern and Contemporary Composers”

Radio was officially established in Australia in September 1923, a few months after Agnew had left for London. In 1929, on his first visit back to Sydney, the Australian Broadcasting Company won the tender for the amalgamation of the ‘A’ stations into a single national company. By his next return in 1935, it had become, through an Act passed by Parliament, the Australian Broadcasting Corporation.45

Agnew’s early experience of radio broadcasting was then solely an English affair through the BBC. The influence of that body’s quite remarkable contemporary music programming during the years he was in London is strongly felt in Agnew’s own choices for “Modern and Contemporary Composers”. A comparison of the backgrounds of the BBC “Concerts of Contemporary Music” 1926-1936 and “Modern and Contemporary Composers” reveals close connections.

During Agnew’s first stay in Britain, Stravinsky and Prokofiev were engaged to perform their own works in London, and the London Contemporary Music Centre was established, while the BBC was actively promoting British composers such as Goossens, Joseph Holbrooke, Herbert Howells, Cyril Scott, Bax and others. Berg’s Seven Early Songs were also performed with orchestra at the Proms in that year, which saw the first ISCM Festival in England.

The ABC was closely modelled on the BBC. Of particular relevance to this discussion is the chief aim, as set out by the BBC’s founding Director-General, John Reith, to use music programming to educate and elevate public taste. Barry, in particular, also shared this goal. It is clear from much that comes out in the memo-to-

memo account of the Agnew programs that the key figures considered themselves part of the British world. Personnel moved freely between the two organisations, creating professional and personal networks. A recording of Agnew playing his own work was the first played over the BBC as part of a new venture to broadcast music from the Dominions and colonies.46

The ABC was anxious to have “a special relationship with the BBC”, believing that the connection to the BBC ensured the superior culture of its programming.47 Many BBC series, such as “Foundations of Music,” were directly imitated. These connections operated both on an official and personal level. “Modern and Contemporary Composers” was no different. Agnew’s programming was shaped by the music he was exposed to in the BBC Concerts of Contemporary Music series run between 1926 and 1935, an influence strengthened by his relationships to individuals within the BBC.

As detailed in an earlier chapter, Agnew developed a personal friendship with one of the most powerful personalities in the BBC Music Department, Kenneth Wright. This brought him into direct contact with BBC contemporary music programming policies during an extraordinary period in which, according to Doctor, “the BBC established an international reputation for bringing the newest in music into the homes of the British people ...”48 Wright was at this time the Music Executive, second only to Director of Music Percy Pitt. As such he was supervisor of all details of programme building and a very useful friend for Agnew. Described by Lewis Foreman as the “unsung hero of British music in the context of the BBC in the 1930s and 1940s,”49 Wright was the practical, capable member of the team that included most notably the “enigmatic” Edward Clarke.50 A former Schoenberg pupil and also a friend of Stravinsky, Ravel, Roussel and Debussy, Clarke joined the programming

46 Reciprocal Transcriptions: Roy Agnew’s Music, memo from Edward Lockspeiser to Val Drewry, 6 April 1944, BBC Written Archives Centre; RCONT 10, Roy Agnew, 1939-1949.
47 Johnson, The Unseen Voice: A Cultural Study of Early Australian Radio, 133.

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team as the expert on new continental music, in particular that of the Second Viennese School. He was largely responsible for the forward-looking nature of BBC music programming until his resignation in 1936.\textsuperscript{51} Wright had joined the BBC as Director of the Manchester Station much earlier in 1922 and transferred to the Music Department in August 1926. Like Clarke he was an ardent supporter of contemporary music, but was also, somewhat paradoxically and in a way not dissimilar to George Clutsam, a composer of light music.

The BBC Concerts of Contemporary Music series started on a monthly basis on 6 April 1926, three years after Agnew’s arrival to London. European modernists, in particular Stravinsky, Bartók, members of \textit{Les Six} and the Second Viennese School, were featured along with representatives from the younger generation of English composers. Agnew took advantage of these new BBC Contemporary Music Concerts. For example, in a letter to his old teacher Alfred Hill, he writes:

\begin{quote}
I hoped when I started this letter to have been able to include criticisms of new works which I heard at a B.B.C. concert some weeks ago which included some quite remarkable songs by Kodaly and Bartok—both Hungarians.\textsuperscript{52}
\end{quote}

In general the BBC series presented British contemporary trends alongside those of continental Europe. Agnew reflected a similar balance in his series albeit with the restrictions imposed upon his programming by both the censorship of the ABC itself and the deprivations and demands of the Second World War.

A comparison between the programming of \textit{Modern and Contemporary Composers} with the list of \textit{BBC Concerts of Contemporary Music, 1926-36} in Doctor’s study reveals the impact of Agnew’s English experience.\textsuperscript{53} The valuable tables in Doctor’s meticulous study make it possible to identify the concerts that

\textsuperscript{51} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{52} Letter from Roy Agnew to Alfred Hill, 17 September 1926, Mitchell Library; ML MSS 6357 Hill Family Papers, 1854 -1979. Doctor lists the date of this concert as 5 October 1926. The performers were Maria Basilides (singer) and The Hungarian String Quartet. Other works on the programme were Dohnanyi’s String Quartet in A minor, Kodaly’s Serenade for two violins and viola op. 12, and Antal Molnar’s \textit{Quartetto breve}. It was broadcast on 2LO between 8.15 and 9.30 pm. See Doctor, \textit{The BBC and Ultra-Modern Music}, 369
Agnew may have heard. The following table lists the works that were broadcast on both the BBC and ABC series:

| Bax: Sonata no. 3 for violin and piano | Milhaud: String Quartet no. 4 |
| Bax: Viola Sonata | Pijper: Violin Sonata no. 2 |
| Bax: *Mater ora Filium* | Prokofiev: solo piano pieces |
| Bartok: String Quartet no. 1 op. 7 | Ravel: *Cinq melodies populaires grecques* |
| Bartok: Rhapsody for violin and piano | Ravel: Sonata for violin and cello |
| Bartok: Suite for piano op. 14 | Ravel: *La flûte enchantée* |
| Bartok: Sonatina | Schoenberg: Three Piano Pieces op. 11 |
| Bartok: Sonata no. 2 for violin and piano | Schoenberg Six Little Piano Pieces op. 19 |
| Berg: *Lyric Suite* | Schoenberg: String Quartet no. 2 op. 10 |
| Berg: Piano Sonata op. 1 | Schoenberg: *Verklärte Nacht* |
| Bloch: Concerto grosso | Schoenberg: Piano Pieces op. 33a |
| Busoni: Sonatinas 1 and 2 | Schoenberg: *Pierrot Lunaire* |
| Hindemith: String Trio op. 34 | Stravinsky: Octet for Woodwinds |
| Hindemith: String Quartet no. 3 op.22 | Stravinsky: *Les noces* |
| Hindemith: *Mathis der Maler* | Stravinsky: Piano Sonata |
| Honneger: String Quartet | Szymanowski: String Quartet op. 37 |
| Krenek: Five Pieces for piano op. 39 | Webern: Five Movements for String Quartet op.5 |
| Krenek: Piano Sonata op. 59 | Warlock: *The Curlew* for tenor and chamber ensemble |
| Lambert: *Seven Poems by Li-Po* | |
| Milhaud: *La création du monde* | |

Table 6.3 Correlations between “Modern and Contemporary Composers” 1937–1942 and the BBC Concerts of Contemporary Music 1926–1935

Doctor’s list tells us that on 3 October 1927 the fateful Five Movements for String Quartet op. 5 of Webern’s was broadcast, the first piece by Webern to be broadcast in Britain (as it was in Australia), while on 9 January 1928 he could have heard both Milhaud’s *La création du monde* and Stravinsky’s Octet for Wind Instruments. Two weeks later Berg’s *Lyric Suite* was broadcast, the following month the Stravinsky Piano Sonata, next came Schoenberg’s op.11 and op. 19 piano pieces, then Edward Steuermann playing two Sonatinas by Busoni, in later months
Schoenberg’s second string quartet and *Verklärte Nacht*, Berg’s piano sonata, Bartók’s third string quartet, and Ravel’s Sonata for violin and cello. As well as sharing exact works, the two series share many more names. Clearly, Agnew drew heavily upon this experience, but his series did not merely imitate the BBC version; many composers appear in “Modern and Contemporary Composers” who were not broadcast as part of the British series.54

The presence of the small but important body of Second Viennese works found in Agnew’s actual or intended programme lists is due primarily to his exposure to them in London, where, as Doctor shows, they were regularly programmed as a result of Edward Clark’s personal interest. Between 1927 and 1930, the BBC broadcast thirty-nine performances of twenty-eight different works by Schoenberg, Webern, Berg, Eisler, Pisk, Krenek and Hauer.55 Agnew had the opportunity to hear many of these works twice. For example, *Pierrot lunaire* was performed in a contemporary music series organised by Eugene Goossens in November 1923, a few months after Agnew’s arrival in London, and was repeated a decade later on 24 November 1933. Webern’s Five Movements for String Quartet, and Berg’s Piano Sonata op. 1 were also performed. Schoenberg’s Wind Quintet op. 26, which Agnew mentioned to Barry, was reviewed in the *Musical Times* in 1924.56 This remarkable chapter in English contemporary music broadcasting puts paid to the belief of the next Australian generation that all England had to offer us was green pastures and church organists.

**The Second Hurdle: ownership of scores**

Two of the many myths that this study brings into question are, first, the tired excuse of the tyranny of distance as the overriding barrier to Australia’s accessing of musical modernism and, by extension, second, the line propagated by many of the 1960s

54 These include Harl McDonald, Roy Harris, Henk Badings, Knudage Riisager, Leo Blech, Yrjo Kilpinen, Ivor Foster, Joaquin Nin-Culmell, Marcel Poot, Alexandre Tansman, Percival Garratt, Gerrard Williams, V. Beloy, Quincy Porter, Alexander Tcherepnin, Enesco, Rutland Boughton, Germaine Tailleferre, Lili Boulanger, Howard Ferguson, Joan Manén, George Norman Peterkin and Heitor Villa-Lobos.


generation of Australian composers that they were the first generation to engage with international modernism through recordings and printed scores.\(^{57}\) How then did Roy Agnew obtain the hundreds of scores of modern European music that were broadcast live on "Modern and Contemporary Composers"?

Barry answered this question in a memo to Moses responding to a similar query concerning the provenance of the music. He told his General Manager that a small amount was provided by the ABC, some by the British Music Society, some by individual artists "who may have received it from various sources abroad" and lastly he explained that many scores were sent to Agnew directly.\(^{58}\)

Musical scores, much as prints of art works and books such as Norah Simpson's Post-Impressionist prints, often found their way to Australia in travellers' suitcases.\(^{59}\) Agnew utilised a personal network that spread from Sydney to London to Europe and back again. Figures from Agnew's young adulthood, many of who reappear now as performers in his radio show, would have personally contributed music. These included Australian performers with an interest in new music who spent extended periods in Europe such as Winifred Burston, Cyril Monk, Moore McMahon and European emigres such as Olga and William Krasnik, Carl Gotsch, Alexander Sverjensky and Curt Prerauer, all of whom performed in the series. The flow to and from Europe was continuous from the early part of the century. Many of the scores had been in Australia for decades. There was also the option available in the late 1930s to import scores via airmail, of which Agnew was well aware, as we see from

\(^{57}\) This is an issue explored in the Introduction. See pp. 5-8.
\(^{58}\) Barry to Moses, 15 October 1937, NAA: SP1558/2.
\(^{59}\) Norah Simpson was largely responsible for introducing post-impressionism to Sydney in 1913. She was a young student at Dattilo Rubbo's art school. Rubbo, an Italian, was one of the first to encourage an interest in the experimental and the modern in painting. In 1912, Simpson left Rubbo's studio to travel to Europe with her parents. While in London she attended the Westminster School of Art where she worked with the early English pioneers of post-impressionism, Harold Gilman, Spencer Gore and Charles Ginner. Later in Paris, Simpson saw paintings by Cézanne, Gaugin, Matisse and Picasso. She collected a large number of photographs, postcards, prints and books on Post-Impressionist and Cubist work, all of which she brought back with her to Australia. This particular instance once again demonstrates the important role individuals played in the transnational flow of culture. See Bernard Smith, *Australian Painting, 1788–1970* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1971), 171-72.
his letter to Barry in which he wonders whether to wait for official confirmation, as
"many works may have to be ordered by air mail."60

Agnew drew directly on his links with London. His friendship with his long-
time admirer English composer Percival Garratt proved particularly fruitful in
obtaining scores. Garratt became an enthusiastic advocate of Agnew’s session: the
Director at Curwen Pub. Ltd. sent a catalogue to Agnew including in the cover letter
the comment that: “Mr. Percival Garratt has suggested to us that you might be
prevailed upon to include some of our publications in your fortnightly programmes of
contemporary [sic] music.”61 A letter from Yugoslav composer Miroslav Shlik was
another result of Garratt’s promotional work in London. Former student, Dulcie
Holland, also writing from London, revealed a current awareness of Sydney musical
activities in her inquiry about the progress of Agnew’s session.62

The question of score ownership was raised early on, when in October 1937
Barry’s attempt to garner Moses’ approval for his pet programme backfired. Blowing
its trumpet a little too loudly he made a critical strategic error in sending Moses these
very letters from Curwen and Shlik. Moses disparaged Barry’s claim of international
attention for it—“I do not think it likely, that Mr. Agnew’s Modern Music Sessions
would attract attention overseas”—commenting that any international attention would
have been the result of Agnew’s initial correspondence. He continued in a tone so
benign as to be menacing: “It is surprising to know that music is being sent direct to
Mr. Agnew and not to the Commission’s office. I wonder if you will let me know just
what is happening to this music?”63

Barry backpedalled, trying to ensure Agnew’s ownership. But his effort to
convince Moses that Agnew, a successful international composer before the show
began, was often sent music from his “wide circle of friends and admirers amongst
the modern music circle “ was unsuccessful. It was undermined perhaps by his air of
condescension: “Perhaps I should explain that it is the custom of publishers to send to

60 Letter from Agnew to Barry, 22 November 1936, NAA: SP1558/2. For a history of the Australian
postal services in this period see Marcella Hunter and Australia Post, Australia Post Delivering More
Than Ever (Sydney: Focus Publishing, 2000).
62 Letter from Dulcie Holland to Mr and Mrs Agnew, 3 March 1938, NAA: SP1558/2.
63 Moses to James, 29 October 1937, NAA: SP1558/2.
all professional musicians copies of works in which they think they might be interested. I should say that most professional musicians in this country have received these complimentary copies for many years.\textsuperscript{64}

Moses was not a man to patronise. In a show of power, Moses called in the ABC lawyers, Sholl and Denniston. They concluded that any music received by Agnew for broadcast purposes was the property of the ABC and Agnew was formally requested to provide a list of all music sent to him for broadcast so that it could be added to the catalogue. A protocol was then established so that all communication with international publishers was carried out through the New South Wales ABC office, bypassing Agnew.\textsuperscript{65} Moses effectively imposed central, official control over the processes and redirected the private flow of musical scores from Agnew onto the ABC library shelves.

The Third Hurdle: the warning and alternative programming, 1938

On 9 May 1938, more than a year after the Webern/Bartók controversy, Agnew introduced a live performance of Schoenberg's second string quartet, a seminally important work in that composer's transition to atonality. Although written between 1907 and 1908, this work was not recorded until 1936 by the Kolisch string quartet. It was an extremely adventurous piece of programming. And sure enough, "the air of other planets" overwhelmed some within the ABC.\textsuperscript{66} Two weeks later, the preceding period of calm was disrupted by another upset. This time Basil Kirke, Manager for NSW, great admirer of Charles Moses, ardent promoter of sport (like Horner) and a sporting commentator for 2BL since 1925,\textsuperscript{67} stepped into the fray. In a memo to Barry, copied to Moses, "Uncle Basil"—who had a reputation for both arrogance and aggression\textsuperscript{68}—offered a pejorative appraisal:

\textsuperscript{64} Barry to Moses, 3 November 1937, NAA: SP1558/2.
\textsuperscript{65} Letter from Moses to Agnew, 16 November 1937, NAA: SP1558/2.
\textsuperscript{66} This is an allusion to the first line, "Ich fühle Luft von anderen Planeten," from a poem by Stefan George, which is set in the third movement of Schoenberg’s Second String Quartet.
\textsuperscript{67} Alan William Thomas, \textit{Broadcast and Be Damned: The ABC's First Two Decades} (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1980), 23.
\textsuperscript{68} Ibid.
I have no knowledge of the circumstances which brought about the introduction of the session, “Modern and Contemporary Composers.” If there is no objection, I think this session should be transferred to a Sunday afternoon. The sessions I have heard, in the main, have been very dull.69

Barry’s defense was mounted within a week. He tackled the criticism from Kirke head on:

I am afraid I cannot agree that the sessions have been very dull. They are listened to widely by many musicians and are, in fact, the only opportunity Australia has of hearing a certain form of music. I understand that the Commission is interested in this session and feels that it is fulfilling a useful purpose in giving a small but important section of the community a share of our programme time. While I am prepared to admit that the vast majority of people would be disinterested in what they heard I feel the twenty minutes a week (especially since it occurs after 9.30 p.m.) is not asking an undue proportion of time.70

After reminding them that the show was originally Heinze’s brainchild, insisting, however, that he “would not be unhappy to claim the sponsorship of this session…”71 Barry noted quite appropriately that it would be discussed at the next Programme Committee Meeting. One of the—with hindsight quite hilarious—responses to Kirke’s criticism was the addition of what was tantamount to a kind of a warning before the session. A subsequent memo to Kirke from Barry states the following:

The suggestion was made [by an unidentified individual], to which the General Manager has agreed, that some sort of announcement or publicity be given to the fact that this particular session is presented not as an entertainment but with the object of giving listeners an opportunity of hearing the music which is being written today and which they might not otherwise be able to hear.72

Despite this internal attack, Agnew, in what we shall see to be a characteristic display of stubborn indifference, reprogrammed Schoenberg’s second string quartet later on that year. But in general, Agnew’s programming had become restricted to such an

69 Basil Kirke to Barry copied to Moses, 25 May 1938, NAA: SP1558/2.
70 Barry to Kirke 31 May, 1938, NAA: SP 1558/2.
71 Barry to Kirke, 24 October 1938, NAA: SP1558/2.
72 Barry to Kirke, 22 June 1938, NAA: SP 1588/2.
extent that Alice Brown, Curt Prerauer’s replacement at the *Wireless Weekly*, drew attention to the disjuncture between the warning and the programming with the following observation:

I have always hoped to hear the voice of Roy Agnew introducing works of his choice and should now be satisfied. But works such as Ravel’s *Sonatine* for piano seem hardly in keeping with the purpose of this session. The particular brand of listener who tunes in regularly at this time wants to hear something he has never heard before. If this session is to remain true to its title it is time we heard something really ultra-modern. Something that can live up to the announcer’s don’t-say-I-didn’t-warn-you introduction. 73

Agnew’s original intentions had been compromised to such a degree that the programme was in danger of pleasing no one.

Another concern that arose in response to this criticism by Kirke was the perceived need to offer suitably contrasting concurrent programming on the alternative stations. Hence, in 1941, “Modern and Contemporary Composers” was moved to Saturday so that a contrasting dance programme would be available at the same time. 74 As programming policy developed it became commonplace to offer contrasting sessions in order to cater for a variety of public tastes.

**The Fourth Hurdle: money concerns, late 1938**

Driven by the need to both cut costs and compete with the more popular commercial stations, the ABC had to perform a very careful balancing act. On the one hand they had to cater for all tastes and audiences and on the other to satisfy the imperative of cultural uplift and provide for the minority audiences. Sessions such as “Modern and Contemporary Composers” were always in a precarious situation because of their select audiences and high financial cost. Kirke’s problems with the session continued despite the implementation of the warning. The line between personal tensions and differences in taste between Barry and Kirke became blurred. Kirke had a strong

association with Moses, whereas Barry’s relationship with the General Manager was often strained. Using this privileged position, Kirke, now troubled by the cost of the session to New South Wales, continued his offensive by sending on a list provided by James of performers and expenditure—which he regarded as excessive—to Moses, along with a memo alluding to the close relationship between Barry and Agnew. He noted that the programme existed at the “instigation of Federal Controller of Programmes” and was “a very heavy drain on the amount now available under the heading of Miscellaneous Artists.” He suggested that it be curtailed to once a month, validating this argument by quoting the comment of Sir Malcolm Sargent, during a recent visit to Australia, that there were only about four concerts a year of such music in England.75

Barry responded immediately. He first reminded Kirke once again that the session was Heinze’s idea, and then disputed Sargent’s assertion by drawing from his own memories of concert life in London. He remembered “almost weekly concerts of this sort of work three years ago.” “All we are doing,” he told Kirke, “is to devote twenty minutes a week to contemporary composers and that is because we are not sufficiently advanced to put this sort of music into our ordinary programmes. In London there are dozens of performances of such works every week.”76

Barry personalised the altercation by labeling Kirke a repeat detractor. By raising the issue of cost, Kirke did however gain the attention of Moses who wanted the programme raised again at the Programme Committee with a set of figures. Kirke followed up this small victory with a barbed memo dripping with sarcasm suggesting to Moses that:

if this session is of such great importance then it should never have been confined for such a long period to one State only, thus becoming a debit against the State, and depriving many musicians of hearing the session in other States. If so many people are interested in this type of entertainment it seems apparent to me that this session

75 Kirke to Moses, 20 October 1938, NAA: SP 1588/2.
76 Barry to Moses, 20 October 1938, NAA: SP1558/2.
should always be on the National Relay and no State, or alternatively that each State
should sponsor [sic] such a broadcast, which it is alleged is important.\textsuperscript{77}

His recommendations were accepted. New South Wales and Victoria were to each
produce one session a month and the remaining two were to be broadcast on National
Relay.

The size of the audience was also contested. Barry suggested that the
programme had “quite a following,” whereas Kirke argued that it would not be over
three hundred people. He did finally agree, however, to defer to the music
department’s assessment. Given the elitist nature of the programme—as Barry
reminded us, it was not intended to “entertain”—the two assertions do not necessarily
contradict each other.\textsuperscript{78}

With his show still under threat, Barry looked at possible cost-cutting
measures, suggesting younger, less expensive, performers such as John Todd, whom
he deemed as quite the equal of Alexander Sverjensky and Frank Warbrick. He even
suggested cutting fees, singling out Agnew’s close friend and supporter, Winifred
Burston, whom he considered overpaid at five guineas. Burston was, in his opinion,
“a three guinea artist.”\textsuperscript{79}

The Fifth Hurdle: the thorny question of medium

On 17 November 1938, less than a month after the issue of expenditure was raised by
Kirke, Barry, after consulting with James, made the important decision that live
performance be replaced by recordings. It was a decision that went against the ABC’s
duty to promote Australian performance. This decision had adverse consequences for
the show in the long-term but in the short term ensured its survival. Agnew was
instructed not to engage any artists but to familiarise himself with the holdings of the
Federal Record Library. Barry gave Kirke the job of officially notifying Agnew of
this decision which he did in bland officialese revealing none of the previous tensions

\textsuperscript{77} Kirke to Moses copied to Barry, 22 October 1938, NAA: SP1558/2.
\textsuperscript{78} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{79} Barry to Moses, 24 October 1938, NAA: SP1588/2.
between himself and the Federal Controller for Programmes (although Agnew would have been aware of these through his personal friendship with Barry):

At the recent Federal Programme Meeting in the light of discussion relative to the Modern and Contemporary Composers session, it was felt that a considerable number of recordings of worth-while compositions by contemporary composers are being released and that the proper place for these recordings is in the "Modern and Contemporary" session, the compilation of which would naturally be under your control, as is the case of the present session.  

Some of the session’s audience learnt of the change before its actual implementation on 9 January 1939. Edna Andrews, Secretary of the Musical Association of New South Wales, contacted the ABC before the New Year. Writing directly to Moses she declared her Association’s support for the programmes. It was, she wrote, “so widely appreciated especially amongst lovers of the modern developments in music.” The question of live or recorded music for “Modern and Contemporary Composers” occurred as part of a wider, ongoing debate. The question of live versus recorded music had gained particular attention during the Depression years. In 1933, the Musicians’ Union had called for a “total prohibition of broadcasting of records” demanding instead the employment of local musicians. Andrews reinvoked this debate when she expressed the Council’s regret at the change of medium and requested a review of the decision. She informed Moses that, “the field of employment of local artists is so circumscribed, and…the session has been such an excellent incentive to artists and to the listening public to study modern music.”

Moses replied two days later with a considered and diplomatic response in which he both acknowledged the ABC’s responsibility to provide these kinds of specialised sessions of limited appeal but also referred to the programme’s considerable expense. He assured Miss Andrews nonetheless that the ABC had

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80 Letter from Kirke to Agnew, 23 November 1938, NAA: SP1558/2.
81 This is a continuation of concerns that gained great currency during the Depression. An article in the Daily Mail stated that: “Total prohibition of broadcasting of records would be welcomed by the Musicians’ Union…it would mean that all the stations would have to employ musicians.” See “Dispute over Records used on Radio,” Daily Times, 24 February 1933, in Australian National University: Noel Butlin Archives; Z401/12 Press Clippings.
“never hesitated to spend whatever money was required in giving our listeners the best possible performances.” He saw the session to be the best place to play recordings of modern music which were otherwise hard to programme but rashly promised to return live artists to air, saying: “I have no doubt we will need Australian artists to carry the Session on again before very long.”\(^3\) This last assurance proved to be lip service only; documentary evidence suggests that Moses resisted and restricted the reintroduction of live performance at all later stages of the programme’s life. In Edna Andrews’s subsequent letter thanking Moses for his “detailed explanation,” she reiterated the Association’s desire to see live performers returned to the air before long, reminding Moses once again of the importance of encouraging resident artists.\(^4\)

A glance at the performers who participated in “Modern and Contemporary Composers” provides a window into the little-known world of performing life in Sydney at that time. Many now-familiar names from Agnew’s earlier life in Sydney resurface: Winifred Burston, Wilfred Arlom, Alexander Sverjensky, Carl Gotsch, Cyril Monk, Moore-Macmahon, Frank Hutchens and the reformed Austral Quartet among others. The vast majority of these performers had continental training and a deep knowledge of contemporary music. In addition to Agnew’s old acquaintances in the Austral Quartet, two other quartets were engaged on a regular basis. These were the ABC Sydney String Quartet, consisting of George White, Robert Miller, William Krasnik and Cedric Ashton, and the all-female Salon Quartet featuring Misses Corinna D’Hage, Clare Trevena, Ruth Vernon and Bonnie McQuire. The last quartet, whose name changed later to the D’Avon Quartet, presented challenging examples of the modern string quartet literature including those by Milhaud and Prokofiev.\(^5\) Many of the instrumentalists’ names can be found in the personnel lists of the Sydney Symphony Orchestra. One new name that featured often on Agnew’s programme playing works by Busoni, Scriabin and Szymanowski is that of the New Zealand pianist Ernest Empson, who is now remembered as “one of the busiest of

\(^3\) Letter from Moses to Andrews, 21 December 1938, NAA: SP 1588/2.
\(^4\) Letter from Andrews to Moses, 13 February 1939, NAA: SP1558/2.
\(^5\) None of these quartets appear in Warren Bebbington’s _The Oxford Companion to Australian Music_. See Warren Arthur Bebbington, _The Oxford Companion to Australian Music_ (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1997).
pioneer radio recitalists in Australia." A former pupil of Godowsky and friend of Busoni, Joachim, Schnabel and Artur Rubinstein, Empson lived for a time in Berlin before coming to Australia. Another noteworthy session featured the highly regarded Australian composer Raymond Hanson. He made an appearance in 1941, performing a programme of Alfredo Casella rather than his own music pieces.

As the mainstay of "Modern and Contemporary Composers," McMahon and Warbrick, the violin/piano duo, deserve particular mention. These "two enthusiastic admirers of modern composers" not only performed the inaugural broadcast but by November 1940 had broadcast thirty-four Australian premieres on the programme. Their commitment to the performance of modern music was noted by Prerauer: "In Mssrs. McMahon and Warbrick Mr. Agnew had found two performers who had gone apparently to a lot of trouble to not only understand the works they played, but to make the listeners understand them."

McMahon, as mentioned in Chapter 2, was a former student of Verbrugghen in Sydney; and later Szigeti. He maintained an active concert career in France and Switzerland. He was a member of the Société des Beaux Arts and the Société des Hautes Études. Frank Warbrick, who was born in 1903, studied at the Royal College of Music (RCM) with Arthur Alexander. While at the RCM he became friends with Edmund Rubbra. It was Warbrick who played not only the solo piano works by Schoenberg, but also those by Ernst Krenek. Cyril Monk sent the young Nigel Butterley to Warbrick because of his interest in modern music. Warbrick gave his student a tattered copy of Bartók's *Elegies* for piano. Butterley remembered Warbrick as an "A grade pianist," whose interests extended beyond music to the realm of the visual arts. He recalled a portrait of Warbrick by the Australian modernist painter, Roland Wakelin, hanging above the piano.

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87 See the entry for 30 July 1941 in Appendix B, p. 455.
90 MacMahon's non-musical activities included acting as Chairman of Directors of Eastern Air Transport. He was an avid aviator and had once lent Sir Charles Kingsford Smith his machine for a Tasman flight. See "All in a Lifetime," *ABC Weekly* 2, no. 46 (1940): 4.
91 Nigel Butterley, personal communication, 24 April 2005.
The decision to abandon live performance ironically occurred when the ABC was being strongly criticised in the public arena for spending too much listeners’ money on international artists. Although the programme fell outside the interest of the majority of listeners, the decision removed one more avenue of employment available to struggling musicians. It was James, not Barry, who called for the inclusion of live performance, stating that “[i]f this were not done there are many outstanding works which it would be otherwise impossible to present our listeners.”

Unconvinced, Moses cautioned James not to take requests directly from Agnew: “In other words, the mere fact that Mr. Agnew recommends a work of which there are no recordings should not be a reason why live artist should be engaged.” With the move to recorded sound, local performances should be dispensed with if an authoritative, that is international, recording was available. Although Barry had proclaimed “the Australian musician is, and must always be, the backbone of Australian programmes,” he did not fight Moses’ order, perhaps so as not to further jeopardise his beloved programme.

In one sense, the opening up of genre to include large-scale orchestral works widened repertoire possibilities. Less positively, however, it not only shifted the focus from live chamber music but also adversely altered Agnew’s role. An anonymous programme report from 2FC captured this shift:

It is noted that announcers consistently report that the use of artists in the studio is better than records. I have found this opinion supported in other directions. In all, this confirms my own opinion that the use of recordings for this session has not been a success. One important point seems to be that with a recording, Mr. Agnew is little more than one of the listening audience like ourselves. With a studio performance, however, one feels that he has, through discussion with the artists, brought his own personality and authority to bear on the interpretation. In the first instance, he merely shows us a photograph taken by someone else. It is much more attractive when he is the camera man.

92 James to Moses copied to Barry, 27 March 1939, NAA: SP1558/2.
93 Moses to James, 5 April 1939, NAA: SP1558/2.
94 Barry, “Not Too Bad for Three Farthings a Day.”
95 New South Wales Programme Report, 15 July 1939, NAA: SP1558/2.
The revised programmes also suffered from being limited largely to the holdings of the Federal Record Library, although Agnew apparently unearthed unknown dust-covered records. He did order specific recordings such as Scriabin’s *Prometheus* and *Poem of Ecstasy*, but this would have become increasingly difficult after the outbreak of war.

However, the shift to recorded sound did not, as it really should have, signal the end of live performance. It seemed that Agnew was incapable of taking instruction. He flagrantly disobeyed the ABC. Six months after the change had been implemented he bolstered his courage and scheduled a live performance on 5 June. There were at least twelve live performances thereafter in 1939, sixteen in 1940, an impressive twenty-two out of a total of fifty-one broadcasts in 1941, and ten out of a possible seventeen before the session’s end in April 1942. Agnew, in an apparent display of arrogant disregard for instruction, had taken the law into his own hands. His recollection of the series, found in a fragment of a letter written years after the programme had ended, not only reveals his belief in his programme but also show his stubborn refusal to accept the change to recording expressed below as a moment of amnesia:

> For some years I presented programmes devoted to modern and contemporary composers which is now beginning to bear fruit as the most advanced type of music is now being presented in our concert rooms without anyone turning a hair—my procedure was to talk about the composer and what they stood for: analyse the music and present it by means of flesh and blood performances—no records.96

The turn to recorded sound required Agnew for the first time to prepare and present personal annotations of four to five minutes long. This too was to become a bone of contention among the hierarchy of the ABC bureaucracy.

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96 Papers of Roy and Kathleen Agnew: Private Collection in the possession of Janie Maclay (Sydney).
The Sixth Hurdle: Agnew’s “hell of polysyllables.”

At the end of 1938, Alice Brown wondered aloud why Agnew did not conduct the show himself. 97 On 6 January the following year she raised the issue again, complaining about the overly brief annotations provided by the announcer and asking the ABC to improve the presentation of this important weekly session, noting “much more should be made of a session designed to show ‘the trend of modern composition’.” Her concluding remarks showed remarkable prescience: “We are indebted to Roy Agnew for presenting us with so much new and often good music, but I do think he might introduce the works himself, discuss them fully, and let us know his reasons for selecting them.”98 Just three days later on 9 January, in his new role as presenter, Agnew personally introduced Arthur Bliss’s Music for Strings played by the BBC String Ensemble in the first session using recordings.

Another difficult teething period followed as Agnew adjusted to this new requirement of having for the first time to personally address his unseen audience. Apparently it did not come naturally. A witty letter writer of 1941 captures the essence of the problem. Although the writer first compliments the session as “one of the delights of the week’s programmes”, he then goes on to ask “but could Agnew not talk and describe the musical background a little more like a human being and less like a lost soul wandering in a private hell of polysyllables?”99 This complaint was echoed in other letters appearing in the ABC Weekly after the change to recordings, but it should be noted that they were otherwise unanimous in their support of the session.

Agnew’s difficulties as presenter were quickly picked up within the ABC. There is a long exchange between the Federal Controller of Production, Frank Clewlow, and Barry on exactly this issue of Agnew’s presentation style. Backed by Moses, Clewlow repeatedly raised questions about the content, length and presentation style of the annotations that Agnew was now to provide in conjunction

with the recordings he had selected from the Federal Record Library. He went so far as to claim that Agnew “was not fulfilling his original task.”100

Clewlow was an Englishman, who was, according to Inglis, “an experienced actor and stage manager.” He arrived in Australia with Allan Wilkie’s Shakespeare Company during the Depression, and had then jumped ship to take up a career in broadcasting.101 His contribution in the field of drama during his time at the ABC was valuable, but his enlightened and progressive attitude to drama seemingly did not extend to music; he was like a dog with a bone with his complaints that dominate the memo exchange of April and May 1939. Agnew’s deficiencies were many: not only were his annotations too short, but they were also badly written and poorly presented. Agnew, whom he referred to as a “second-rate biographer,” was overpaid for this substandard work.102 Although Clewlow maintained that his criticisms did not concern the session’s contents but rather its organisation and execution, his repeated questioning of the session’s very purpose is so persistent as to suggest he simply did not like it or, for that matter, Agnew himself. He recommended that Gregory Spencer, the Record Librarian, replace Agnew at a far lower rate, pointing out that Spencer’s intimate knowledge of the record collection would make him more appropriate as the session was now meant to be drawing mainly upon recordings. (Spencer, apart from being an expert in rumba, already arranged the session Classic Hour and wrote a column, “At the Turntable,” for the Wireless Weekly and later the ABC Weekly).103

The debate around the series’ purpose widened; the crux of the problem lay in a difference of opinion as to its target audience. Some, including Clewlow and Moses, thought the session should be aimed at the non-musician and wanted more direction from Agnew. They thought he should assume a more pedagogic role and “teach modern music” to the non-musician, whereas the chief aim for Barry and James was not to reach the non-musician but rather “to present contemporary music to people with some musical knowledge” focusing on professional musicians.104

In a memo to James, Moses came out in support of Clewlow’s criticisms:

100 “Roy Agnew,” 14 October 1942, NAA: SP1558/2: 2.
101 Inglis and Brazier, This Is the ABC, 13.
102 Frank Clewlow to Moses, 11 April 1939, NAA: SP1558/2.
103 See Wireless Weekly 30, no. 3 (1937) and ABC Weekly 3, no. 35 (1941): 20.
104 Barry to Clewlow, 21 April 1939, NAA: SP1558/2.
I have to admit that I am in sympathy with those members of the Programme Committee who felt that something more might be done by Mr. Agnew in the way of talking about the particular work which he proposes to present. Many of us know little or nothing of modern music, and if Mr. Agnew is incapable of discussing the interesting features in the work to be played then I cannot believe he is the suitable person to present such a session. A short reference to the composer and then the playing of his work without explanatory comment is hardly enough. It rather suggests a "Well here is the work and please yourself what you think about it attitude".105

The possibility of over-expenditure during a financially straitened time seized the attention of Moses. He endorsed Clewlow’s recommendation regarding Gregory Spencer in a memo a week later to Barry, showing clearly the precarious position of the series:

I find myself in complete agreement with him. In my opinion, Mr. Agnew is getting very easy money for his sessions, and in view of Mr. Clewlow’s report I am convinced that we are not justified in persisting with this session. He appears to be merely duplicating the work of Mr. Spencer with the exception that Mr. Spencer’s session is much more effectively handled and costs nothing.106

Once again, Barry rushed to Agnew’s defense. Calling upon the ABC’s responsibility to elite minorities, he exploited Agnew’s position of authority and prestige among professional musicians as a way of proving him far more suitable than Spencer to direct the session’s unique programming and its role in catering for the musically educated.107 Spencer’s lack of stature, according to Barry, would only irritate Australian musicians.

The question went to the Music Sub-Committee where James clarified Agnew’s duties to Moses:

I feel there is some misunderstanding as to the purpose of this session. I do not think it was ever intended that Mr. Agnew should “teach” modern music to anybody.

105 Moses to James, 5 April 1939, NAA: SP1558/2.
106 Moses to Barry, 12 April 1939, NAA: SP1558/2.
107 Barry to Moses copied to Clewlow and James, 14 April 1939, NAA: SP1558/2.
Rather it was intended that he should search through the music of the 20th century and present with suitable comment and annotations those items which he thought most suitable.  

Barry acted swiftly to ensure the continuation of the session. He conceded that Agnew’s presentation style needed improvement and, after meeting with Kirke, organised for Agnew to record his own voice with a view to improving his speaking manner. Acknowledging Clewlow’s legitimate scheduling concern about the brevity of the annotations, he then recruited Bernard Heinze and composer John Antill (then working in the ABC) to act as expert assessors of Agnew’s performance. Heinze was generally positive but observed that the session was still running short, whereas Antill, a younger admirer of Agnew, was altogether approving of Agnew’s presentation.

Barry, acknowledging Clewlow’s disparaging remark about the hefty fee received by Agnew for “four minutes of his time,” supplied the detractors with a detailed account of the preparation involved. He made the point that Agnew was often working without the score (as he was now limited to the holdings of the Record Library) and did not resort to textbooks. He went so far as to send Moses a copy of Agnew’s script on Ravel’s Piano Concerto no. 1, which was, in his opinion, “an excellent piece of musical judgment.” Barry felt that the change to recording was to blame for this unfortunate situation and sought a return to live performance.

Agnew’s deficiencies as a presenter and the general confusion as to the purpose of the show materialised with the change from live performance to recording and persisted until the session’s end. Many of the aforementioned letters appeared well after 1939 into the early 1940s, as did the following criticism of Basil Kirke, sparked by the far more “contemporary” than “modern” violin sonata by Herbert Howells, so underlining Kirke’s own rigidly conservative, anti-intellectual musical inclinations:

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108 James to Moses, 27 March 1939, NAA: SP1558/2
109 Barry to Clewlow copied to Moses, 13 April 1939, NAA: SP1558/2.
110 Ibid.
You may not feel that any modification in the type of modern music broadcast is necessary, but it seems to us that the title Modern and Contemporary Composers—might reasonably cover works more intelligible to the average music lover than many of the advanced experiments which must of necessity appeal only to the musical intelligentsia now catered for by Mr. Agnew. As to presentation itself, we feel strongly that Mr. Agnew could with advantage explain just what most of the moderns are attempting when they employ unusual experiments in tonality, and discard the conventional rules which comprise after all, the only tangibilities the average listener can understand.111

It was a battle of musical taste within the ABC bureaucracy. And the debate around the purpose and content of the “Modern and Contemporary Composers” was never fully resolved.

The Audience: the highbrow divided

A key concern of the 1930s was the classification of cultural taste. Whereas the terms highbrow, middlebrow and lowbrow had been in currency much earlier as taste designations, during the 1920s and 30s they became a system of categorisation through which people identified themselves.112 The rise of broadcasting and the establishment of the BBC and ABC radio further reified these distinctions. As Scannell and Cardiff argue:

Before broadcasting, music did not exist as a unified cultural field. It was scarcely meaningful to speak of music in general. What existed were particular musics...Radio uprooted all these musics from their particular social and economic settings and brought them together in a strange new abstract unity.113

The respective audiences of these different musics were brought into collision with each other.

111 Kirke to James, 4 December 1940, NAA: SP1558/2
112 For discussions of the various “brows” see Peter Goodall, High Culture, Popular Culture: The Long Debate, Australian Cultural Studies. (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1995); Johnson, The Unseen Voice: A Cultural Study of Early Australian Radio, 128-44; Scannell and Cardiff, A Social History of British Broadcasting, 205-23.
113 Scannell and Cardiff, A Social History of British Broadcasting, 182.
Radio had a central position in the mass explosion of popular culture experienced during these decades. The battle played out in the radio journals was between the custodians of high or serious culture and those that embraced popular music and jazz. It was pitched as a struggle between the highbrow and lowbrow. Radio was a major player in what Theodor Adorno identified as the culture industry. Cultural theorists such as Adorno, Max Horkheimer, Walter Benjamin and F.R. Leavis centred much of their thinking around the enormous social implications of these developments in mass media.\textsuperscript{114} There was a sense, particularly in the writing of Adorno and Leavis (Leavis continuing along the path and principles set out in the nineteenth century by Matthew Arnold seen clearly in his pamphlet \textit{Mass Civilization and Minority Culture}), that it was the responsibility of the elite minority to determine cultural developments.\textsuperscript{115} Prerauer echoed these sentiments at the local level, stating "culture [as he understood it] is never made by the majority but always by the minority."\textsuperscript{116}

The ideological agendas of the ABC and the BBC were also forged in this period of burgeoning modernism. The whole notion of cultural uplift and the educative and civilizing responsibilities of these broadcasting commissions stemmed from a highbrow position, one that sought to emulate the Reithian credo and give them something better than they thought they wanted.\textsuperscript{117} Leslie Johnson notes in her book, \textit{The Unseen Voice: A Cultural Study of Early Australian Radio}, that the ABC provided institutional support and official affirmation of the distinction and superiority of the highbrow taste. It had to cater for different audiences and different tastes. Johnson has noted the tensions between these two very different roles.\textsuperscript{118} More so than the BBC with its unity of broadcasting control, the ABC had to make


\textsuperscript{117} Johnson, \textit{The Unseen Voice: A Cultural Study of Early Australian Radio}, 130.

\textsuperscript{118} Ibid., 131.
concessions to popular taste as they were in competition with commercial stations. But Johnson remarks: “The distinction between classical music and popular entertainment was a taken-for-granted of programme timetables.” Classical music “always stood as a separate category in this setting of dance, jazz and popular music and the broader distinction of variety or light entertainment.”

Positioning “Modern and Contemporary Composers” within this debate is difficult; as its intrinsic elitism is as far away from the “everyday-ordinary” as you could get; the brow is so high it has receded back into the hairline. In January 1939, the Wireless Weekly conducted a rather flippant survey on the “ordinary” Australian’s musical tastes. Of the one hundred participants, nineteen “confessed” to being highbrow, 52 identified themselves as middlebrow and 27 were “unashamedly” lowbrow. Perhaps not surprisingly, the highbrow group with their elitist and sometimes-snobbish tendencies (they were referred to by jazz lovers as “highbrow bores”) forms the minority. But, as Docker points out, “high culture” included radical high culture. In other words, the highbrow category included the radical or avant-garde, meaning that among those nineteen individuals an even smaller minority would have been open to modern art—a minority of a minority. Prerauer represented the more radical element within the highbrow: “I, too, went through a period when I was craving ‘new’ music at any price. This was about 1918 to 1925, when everybody in Europe did so.” So too did Alice Brown, as seen by her criticism of Agnew’s programming as not being truly representative of the “ultra-modern.”

“Modern and Contemporary Composers” was a wholly elitist enterprise. With its focus on chamber music, a genre generally recognised to be played by and for the musical elite, it expressed the widespread and “renewed interest in chamber music composition of the early twentieth-century,” an interest that was in part a reaction to

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119 Ibid., 118.
120 For a discussion of the “everyday ordinary” see Johnson, The Unseen Voice, 82-100.
123 Docker, Postmodernism and Popular Culture, 147.
124 It is important to remember that “Modern and Contemporary Composers” was not the only recourse for those in Sydney interested in new music. There were also the live concerts held by the British and International Music Society, the Sydney Recorded Music Society, the Collegium Musicum and the French Music Society.
“the large forces and emotional excesses of late Romanticism.” The interest in smaller ensembles was itself a characteristic of early modernism. Doctor also points out that chamber music “came to represent the highest of the high-brow elitism…” In fact, the programme itself can be understood as an early instance of the “ghettoisation” of modern music, itself a consequence of the modernist aesthetic.

What is revealed in the struggle over “Modern and Contemporary Composers,” played out mostly within the ranks of the ABC (at least in the first three years), is a split in the highbrow ranks between the conservative and progressive elements; between those who considered themselves to have “good” taste and were interested in “high” culture and those who were open to current artistic developments.

The public feedback to the series was overwhelmingly positive. This is perhaps not so surprising given the programme’s small and self-selected audience (regardless of the content of the programme, they had to stay up late to hear it). It is the enthusiasm of the specialist audience: the musical intelligentsia. This audience has not been acknowledged to date because, by its very cosmopolitanism, it has fallen outside the frame of the narrow nationalist view within which much Australian music history has been told.

Who listened to Agnew’s show? Like the audience for contemporary chamber music in London, Agnew’s public is “elusive, and like a rare species of bird, sightings very hard to obtain.” If not for the letters contained in the ABC file, there would be very little known of the public reaction to the session. Only a couple of letters are to be found in the letters section of the Wireless Weekly and ABC Weekly. But those that are there are unanimously positive. Dissent was stronger from within than without.

Agnew commented that he had received personal fan mail from every state in Australia. Luckily, Moses, in another show of power, demanded that Agnew hand the letters over to the ABC so ensuring their safety. Barry worked this to his advantage taking special care to see that detractors such as Kirke and Moses received their own

125 Christina Bashford, Chamber Music; after World War 1; Composition ([accessed 12 December 2006]); available from http://www.grovemusic.com.
127 Scannell and Cardiff, A Social History of British Broadcasting, 217.
copies. It is interesting that, unlike the large public outcry against ultra-modern music in Britain,\textsuperscript{128} there is not one example of public or private hostility expressed against the series, although many years later Nigel Butterley remembers Frank Warbrick referring to the series lightheartedly as “Modern and Contemptible Composers.”\textsuperscript{129} Even the letters criticising Agnew’s awkward presentation nonetheless support the session itself. The letters in the file, however, are only partially representative.\textsuperscript{130}

The surviving letters give us insight into the kind of “listener-ins” the show attracted. Mrs Hansie Cornish from Adelaide thanked Agnew for the Bartók sonata: “It was most interesting and much too distinct to be discarded as rubbish … Its ugliness with snatches of beauty made it most arresting. Also I hope the Commission will continue your (interesting) sessions, which are creating quite a wide interest.”\textsuperscript{131} Leonard Harrup from Claremont, Western Australia expressed his appreciation and requested a performance of Manuel de Falla’s \textit{Nights in the Gardens of Spain}.\textsuperscript{132} Mrs A. Scammell, an old friend of Agnew’s, asked that the programme be brought forward and for a repeat of Bax’s Viola Sonata. W.P. Bassets wrote of the deep impression the Szymanowski songs made upon him and asked for more. A. Summers from Cremorne thanked Agnew for “his stout championship of those composers who have had the bad taste to post-date Beethoven,” described a work by Pijper as a “lovely, cool, controlled sane thing,” and then raved about the “amazing music” of Busoni—which he listened to sitting “by the wireless in a condition of awe and admiration.”\textsuperscript{133} Mr Thistlethway from Roseville tells Agnew of his enjoyment of the programme for which he has a weekly appointment with his receiver, but then qualifies his comments:

> To make my praise sound more genuine I will correct the use of the word “enjoyed” by saying that while one does not enjoy all compositions, considerable pleasure results from the application of the knowledge gained from your indispensable session to the ‘modern problems’ which are met from time to time in the concert

\textsuperscript{128} See for example Doctor, \textit{The BBC and Ultra-Modern Music}, 118-25.

\textsuperscript{129} Butterley, 2005.

\textsuperscript{130} In a letter to Moses, Agnew apologises for losing “a bundle…during a general cleanup.” See letter from Agnew to Moses, 25 November 1937, NAA: SP1558/2.

\textsuperscript{131} Letter from Mrs Hansie Cornish to Roy Agnew, 6 June 1939, NAA: SP1558/2.

\textsuperscript{132} Letter from Leonard Harrup to Agnew, 17 July 1939, NAA: SP1558/2.

\textsuperscript{133} Letter from A. Summers to Roy Agnew, 11 April 1939, NAA: SP1558/2.
room or even on the air. No other session exists to replace yours and I am looking forward to its extension to all fields of the modern classic muse as time goes on with your helpful comments to clear the way.\textsuperscript{134}

Keverell McIntyre, a barrister from Devonport, Tasmania adopted an intimate chatty tone in his missive. After complimenting Agnew on the inclusion of Debussy's Sonata for flute, harp and viola, which he considered "to be one the most fascinating works I have ever heard" and wanted to order, he moved on to the problem of acquiring scores of late Scriabin piano pieces, of which he displayed an impressive knowledge. "They do not appear," he complained, "in the Australian catalogues, and will, of course, have to be ordered from England (as is the case with the records of almost any music off the beaten track)." The main point of his letter was to request more Scriabin, who had suffered, in his opinion, from neglect. He ended with some advice on how to deal with the ABC: "I appreciate that there might be some difficulty with the A.B.C. over putting such a plan into operation, but it might be worth trying—perhaps in small doses for a start."\textsuperscript{135}

Edna Andrews wrote again in support of the show, remarking that in the recent Music Teachers' Conference of March 1941 study circles had been formed of which "the most popular and controversial [was] the modern music session, in which the lecturers [drew] upon material presented in Modern and Contemporary Composers."\textsuperscript{136} In her opinion, the session supplied "a definite need to those people—most of them music teachers."\textsuperscript{137}

Letters of public appreciation also appeared in the radio journals. Of particular interest is an appreciative response from the very highbrow "Vivace" from Wahroonga to none other than Bartók's fifth String Quartet appearing on April 15, 1937, only a day after the broadcast that had resulted in Agnew's first slap on the wrist.

\textsuperscript{134} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{135} Letter from Keverell McIntyre to Agnew dated 27 February 1939, attached to a memo from Barry to Clewlow copied to Moses and James, 13 April 1939, NAA: SP1558/2.
\textsuperscript{136} Programme Division to Barry copied to James, 19 March 1941, NAA: SP1558/2.
\textsuperscript{137} Ibid.
A word of praise to the A.B.C. for presenting one of Béla Bartók's string quartets in Mr. Roy Agnew's programme last night. A small group of us listened with a great deal of pleasure. We admit we are very highbrow, but we pay our licence fees and expect a small amount of time to be devoted to us in consequence. On the contrary a week frequently goes by without a single item to interest us! It is a pity that music lovers as a whole can no more keep pace with Bartok and his kind than Wagner's contemporaries could with him. George White and his colleagues did quite distinguished work with a difficult score. 138

Almost four years later in February 1941, Ian McClymont from Texas, Queensland heartily commended Agnew:

Congratulations to Mr. Roy Agnew for his courageous weekly presentations of modern music. The outlook of music lovers is generally so intolerant, that the inclusion of the word "courageous" is necessary. Go ahead, Mr. Agnew, and let people hear the new things. If a work is organic in structure, then it obeys the only absolute rule and deserves impartial criticism. 139

In a rare instance of internal support, the ABC's Tasmanian Record Librarian proved to be a fan. There are three extant reports in 1939, between 15 July and 28 August, all of which praise the session and Agnew's presentations in particular. Barry of course seized upon these as proof that Agnew's problem with presenting was over. 140

It is a sad twist, in the light of this positive feedback, that the ultimate demise of the show was also brought about by the written word although, as I have mentioned, not from angry listeners objecting to the airwaves being filled with incomprehensible noise, but from two members of the conservative highbrow.

The Demise

If the critics of "Modern And Contemporary Composers" were looking for external validation of their own concerns they got it and more in the scathing attack, "The Cry

140 See Tasmanian Record Librarian Reports, 15 July, 19 August and 28 August 1939, NAA: SP1558/2.
of the Plain Man,” launched by the arch-conservative music critic, Howard Ashton on 13 April 1941 in his weekly column in the Sunday Sun.\textsuperscript{141} From this point the debate escalated into a full-blown controversy.

Claiming to represent the “reasonable highbrow,” or “the plain man” (an expression that had some currency at this time), Ashton used as his departure point a supposed letter that appeared that week in the letter columns of the Sun. It allegedly described the “Modern and Contemporary Composers” programme “as a pestilent congregation of ‘horrible noises,’ and a heathenish din such as emanates from ‘concrete mixers and rusty gate hinges’.”\textsuperscript{142} Ashton continued, in what he considered to be a more reasoned and erudite tone:

Now I admit that this does not represent the most selective and cultivated taste in music, but as an expression of opinion of a plain man sufficiently interested in chamber music to give it a whirl on the radio. The “rusty gate hinge” simile fits perfectly the tonalities of a violin sonata I heard that night on Mr. Agnew’s programme.\textsuperscript{143}

Looking at the session programmes around that date, the only contender for this damning judgment was Ernest Bloch’s Suite for viola and piano.

This was not Ashton’s first attack on modern art. The anti-modernist had been defending Australia from the scourge of European decadence since the teens. It was he who described Roy de Maistre and Roland Wakelin’s Colour Music Exhibition of 1919 as “elaborate and pretentious bosh.”\textsuperscript{144} In language coloured with the racism so often found in that of the “reasonable highbrow,” he lashed out at primitivism and other degenerate modernist tendencies in his article “Cave Art and Tom-Tom” published in The Home in December 1920, revealing sentiments that would have

\textsuperscript{141} Howard Ashton, “The Cry of a Plain Man,” Sunday Sun and Guardian, 13 April 1941, 19. Howard Ashton was the son of the well-known Sydney artist and teacher Julian Ashton who had founded the Julian Ashton Art School in 1890.
\textsuperscript{142} Ibid. After scouring issues of the Sun back to January, I could not find this letter. This could mean one of several things: 1) I missed it, 2) he received it, but it was never published, or 3) it appeared in a different edition.
\textsuperscript{143} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{144} Robert Hughes, The Art of Australia, rev. ed. (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970), 120.
made Max Nordau proud.145 Only a few weeks before publishing “Cry of a Plain Man” he took Milhaud to task in “Milhaud and the Jungle” for the jazz ballet La création du monde, whose “barbarous cacophony” offered nothing to interest “a civilized human being with centuries of complex musical culture behind him.”146 That “Modern and Contemporary Composers” became a target for his abuse serves to underline its perceived progressiveness, despite Prerauer and Alice Brown’s misgivings. But Ashton’s reaction is not indicative of a cultural backwardness particular to Australia; as already noted Doctor demonstrates that similar programmes in Britain were receiving equivalent if not rougher treatment.147

To be fair to Ashton it was not so much the music he objected to but rather its medium of transmission. In his observation that “it is sheer nonsense to [present such music] to a congregation of musical low-brows, middle-brows, and even reasonable high-brows” he captures exactly the collision of tastes described by Scannell and Cardiff.148 He did concede however that “all music deserves a hearing,” just “not a hearing of this kind”; meaning not on the radio. He drew from literature to further clarify his point:

We do not read James Joyce or Ezra Pound to popular audiences in a Town Hall. It is better to read this kind of literature in your own study, and far better to listen to experimental music in the laboratory [my italics] of some conservatorium.149

For Ashton this elitist, modern music was out of the public’s reach—“the large public that one can educate up to less remote forms of art like the Messiah and the operas of Mozart.” He suggested a small hall in front of a select audience as an appropriate venue. He admitted, somewhat sarcastically, that this audience would contain some of his friends, “more highbrow than myself, who appear to take pleasure in Messieurs the Cacophonists.”150 The suggestion reflects opinions not dissimilar to those

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147 See f.n. 127.
148 Scannell and Cardiff, A Social History of British Broadcasting, 207.
149 Ashton, “The Cry of a Plain Man.”
150 Ibid.
expressed by members of the Society for Private Music Performance in Vienna and Theodor Adorno.151 Ashton claimed that not one in ten thousand of the million licence payers would listen to “this strange, wild music:” so few he maintained, that to broadcast “this stuff," was “a waste of time by the A.B.C.” and would only “drive the public away from music altogether.”152

Agnew’s response to the attack appeared in the *ABC Weekly* on 13 July, almost four months later. “Must we have modern composers?” is the only extant piece of published writing by Agnew. In it, he lampoons the fusty old white-haired conservative highbrow who is “quite convinced that when Brahms died music stopped short never to go again, and in so doing made quite clear which side of the divide between the radical and conservative highbrow he was on.”153

The Ashton affair was followed quite closely by another serious setback. This time the attack came from South Australia, instigated by none other than Adelaide’s own E. Harold Davies. On 9 July 1941, Davies abused his position on the ABC Music Advisory Board by writing the following letter marked “Confidential” to Barry. The tone from the outset was presumptuous and insinuating:

I know I am “speaking out of my turn,” and that the “powers that be” may resent the comment, but I do feel very strongly that Roy Agnew’s “Modern contemporary music” [sic] sessions should have a long rest. So many adverse criticisms, and so much disapproval reaches me continually that my own judgment is obviously shared by a great many intelligent listeners. In fact I have even heard it said that political intervention might be invoked if there is to be no respite from these broadcasts.

151 The Society for Private Music Performance, or the Verein für musikalische Privataufführungen, ran between 1919 and 1921. It was organised by musicians interested in modern music led by Arnold Schoenberg and his students, with its intention being to give well-prepared performances of modern music, including many by the Second Viennese School, to interested and educated audience. The press was forbidden entrance, as its relentlessly negative reviews of this kind of music had gone some way to precipitating the foundation of the society itself. Similarly, Adorno believed that the “high cultural ideal of bringing good music to large numbers of people” was “altogether illusory.” See Theodor W. Adorno, “From a Social Critique of Radio,” in *Strunk’s Source Readings in Music History*, ed. Leo Treitler (New York: Norton, 1945), 1465.

152 Ashton, “The Cry of a Plain Man.”

153 Agnew, “Must We Have Modern Composer?,” *ABC Weekly* 3, no. 27 (1941): 18.
Anyway, I am sure you will believe that there is nothing personal in my attitude, more especially as I have never had the privilege of meeting Roy Agnew. 154

From this point on, the die was cast. Barry turned to James for support, but James, never overly enthusiastic, came out against the show and Agnew. In a radical turnabout from his proclamation of 1927 that Agnew would “develop into Australia’s greatest composer,” 155 James now insinuated that Agnew was not earning his keep. In his criticism of Agnew’s own music he showed himself to be capable of spite: “[t]o my knowledge Mr. Agnew is not a prolific composer (which, perhaps, is all to the good) …” 156 Having decided that “Modern and Contemporary Composers” had “outlived its usefulness, at least for the time being,” 157 he recommended its cessation to the Acting General Manager T.W. Bearup (Moses by this time was on active service overseas). In his former role as Manager for Victoria, Bearup had not been directly involved in any of the incidents surrounding Modern and Contemporary Composers, but was nonetheless acutely conscious of its troubled history. Commenting on the considerable criticism it had received he happily accepted James’s recommendation. 158 And so the session, which has been hailed by those few who are aware of its existence as extraordinary and astonishing for its time, ground to a halt. 159 It is remarkable that such a rarefied and elitist series survived as long as it did during wartime years. 160 This is itself a testament predominantly to the efforts of Keith Barry and to the small but tenacious audience for the moderns. In a fitting

154 Letter from E. Harold Davies to Barry, 9 July 1941, NAA: SP1558/2.
156 James to Barry, October 17, 1941, NAA: SP1558/2.
157 Ibid.
158 Bearup to Barry, 5 and 6 January 1943, NAA: SP 1588/2.
159 These include the musicians Gordon Watson, Nigel Butterley and Larry Sitsky as well as those who have written on Agnew including Rita Crews, Faith Johnston and Fiona McGregor.
160 Thorold Waters understood the serious ramifications that the fall of Singapore had for Australia. He also warned of the deleterious effects of war on the arts. In January 1942, only months before Agnew’s show was brought to a halt, Waters mentions in a series of editorials that the publication of music journals and the arts in general were coming under increasing pressure and that musical censorship was again being raised as an issue. See “Speaking Editorialy: Peril Battering at out Gates. The Plain Duty Beckoning All of Us”; “War Thins the Music Journals”; “Speaking Editorialy: Where Music May Have no Place. Strange Views of an Ex-Postmaster-General. Sport and the Clergy on the A.B.C.—But No Arts,” AMN 32, no. 66 (1942): 1-4. In April, the same month that saw the end of “Modern and Contemporary Composers,” he again writes a prophetic editorial forecasting a difficult time ahead for the Australian musical world. See Waters, “Speaking Editorialy: Invaders Are Knocking At the Front Gate. Will It Be A Muddled Year For Australia’s Music?,” AMN 32, no. 9 (1942):1-2.
gesture, Frank Warbrick, who had opened the programme on 13 January 1937, closed it on 25 April 1942.

Conclusion

While not wanting to underplay the daring of Agnew and Barry's evangelical mission, it is important to realise that "Modern and Contemporary Composers" went to air during the period that Richard Haese has described in his study of Australian art as "years of unparalleled intellectual and artistic ferment" in Australia. It is generally accepted that it was during these years, which historian Stuart Macintyre has called the Devil's Decade, that modernism really took hold in Australia. The Angry Penguins had waddled onto the scene, not yet banished by the Ern Malley hoax. The Heide group was fast emerging as a dissident artistic voice. The struggle between conservative and liberal forces in the case of "Modern and Contemporary Composers" is paralleled in the far more public clash between the short-lived Australian Art Academy and the Contemporary Art Society. This dispute reached into the political sphere. The Australian Art Academy was established by none other than Robert Menzies as a safe haven for cultural conservatives whereas the Contemporary Art Society was championed by the "establishment radical" Doc Evatt. Evatt opened its first exhibition in 1939, seizing the opportunity to attack the Academy and its supporters for their "unwarranted assumption of pontifical authority." Agnew's claim that the series had served its purpose by influencing general concert programming, a claim supported albeit in a small way by Haydn Beck's performance of Stravinsky in Adelaide, locates it within the general push to rid Australia of the hidebound conservatism that had dominated its official cultural institutions for generations. Modernism had moved into the mainstream in these years.

"Modern and Contemporary Composers" is absent from both Covell and Ingliss's historical accounts. Covell's coverage of contemporary music broadcasting

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163 Haese, Rebels and Precursors, 22, 49.
begins in the post-war years with Melbourne pianist Lindsay Biggins's contemporary music session. From earlier statements in the *Australian Musical News*, it is clear that Biggins’s outlook was not as adventurous as Agnew’s. Furthermore, Biggins concentrated on contemporary music produced during and after the Second World War, and those such as Curt Prerauer anxious to experience the Australian premiere of the “modern” *Pierrot lunaire* had to wait another twenty years. It is difficult, from this vantage point, to understand how “Modern and Contemporary Composers” was completely overlooked, not merely later by historians such as Covell, but during the years in which it actually ran.

It did not, however, occur in a cultural vacuum. As I have shown in earlier chapters, its symbiotic relationship with Sydney’s world of modern music and music-making was vital to its success. Agnew drew upon many of his old friends, taking to air what had previously been restricted to the domain of the small societies and clubs, thereby harnessing the potential of his “cultural field.” For Larry Sitsky, Agnew was the alienated artist, and with this in mind Sitsky focused solely on the negative internal ABC reaction in his account of the radio programme. This is misleading. The show had a band of committed listeners-in; a small musical elite. Agnew’s musical coterie and his audience deserve to be acknowledged. In showing himself to be eclectic and unconfined by his own personal tastes and therefore willing to broadcast a wide range of music encompassing the “modern” and the “contemporary,” Agnew emerges as an heroic figure; a man with a mission. The story of “Modern and Contemporary Composers” sheds light on a period that, as Joel Crotty argues, has commonly been thought of as “Australia’s musical ‘Dark Ages’”

164 Roger Covell, *Australia’s Music: Themes of a New Society* (Melbourne: Sun Books, 1967), 130. Biggins had early on revealed himself as interested in modern music, but his tastes were not as adventurous as Agnew’s. Although he professed a love for Prokofiev, he had earlier in 1929 described the German school of Hindemith and Schoenberg as “appalling” and claimed that their music was “not being taken seriously even in Germany.” He was also unwilling to venture beyond Scriabin’s Two Poems op. 32, declaring thereafter Scriabin was “merely a mind in disorder.” See *AMN* 32, no. 3 (1941): 8.

165 The Australian premiere of *Pierrot lunaire* was in 1958 with Nigel Butterley at the piano. Butterley, 2005.

and reveals a progressive, cosmopolitan element in a society long assumed to be woefully parochial.¹⁶⁷

Chapter 7

"...that keen interest we have for the strange and the rare..."

“A ‘curiosity’ is ‘something strange or rare.’ It is something therefore which is interesting; for our minds are always intrigued by that which is strange, or not of everyday occurrence.”

Brewster-Jones’ approach to music in all its manifestations was marked by idealism and a strong sense of romance. He almost single-handedly plugged Adelaide into the modern European musical scene. In his varied and busy musical career as conductor, performer, teacher, broadcaster and critic, he was a progressive force in Adelaide’s musical community. This chapter examines these aspects of his public output. It also looks at the collection of modern music in what remains of his private music library that underpinned it.

In addition to his active participation in music making that actively sought to champion modern music, Brewster-Jones penned hundreds of thousands of words covering a wide range of issues over the course of a long journalistic career that lasted until his death. His activities as conductor and performer peaked during the twenties alongside an outburst of composing. His writings and broadcasts came later. The majority of them span the thirties, appearing in the Adelaide Advertiser alongside reports of the many devastating international events of this decade, from the

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1 Hooper Brewster-Jones Papers, SCL Radio Broadcast Transcripts: Private collection in the possession of Anne Bartsch; 18 August 1931; Musical Curiosities of the Past [hereafter Musical Curiosities of the Past].
Depression, the Spanish Civil War and the Japanese invasion of China, to the persecution of the German Jews, and the outbreak of the Second World War.

It emerges from an examination of his large body of writings, which cover a wide range of topics, that Brewster-Jones concerned himself with many ideas central to the development of early modernisms. His interests included the music of ancient civilizations as well as forms of popular music—in particular folk and jazz—and above all a fascination for the non-Western. They provided rich sources that fuelled his musical fantasies and desires as well as the actual stuff of his own music, so confirming the picture of Brewster-Jones as an enthusiastic exoticist who was aware of, and participated in, contemporary currents of Western thought.

Much of Brewster-Jones’s writing, particularly that which concentrates on what I have called the Others, is enthusiastic but also naïve. It reflects not only many of the preoccupations and concerns of his time, but also many of the prejudices and assumptions. An analysis of these attitudes, drawing upon the ideas of cultural theorists such as Homi Bhabha, Roger Célestin and Michael Pickering, musicologists such as Jann Pasler, and ethnomusicologists such as Bruno Nettl and Ali Jihad Racy, will help to both contextualise and gain a deeper understanding of them. As such, Brewster-Jones reveals himself as a questing spirit who desired above all else the “strange and rare.”

This chapter then becomes an epic journey traversing all comers of the globe and visiting many eras and civilisations; it shows us how rapidly the imperial world was shrinking so that even remote Adelaide, stranded on the southern coast of Australia hundreds of kilometres from another major city, could keep abreast of recent international developments.

Conducting: The Brewster-Jones Symphony Orchestra

The reception history of Brewster-Jones in his roles as conductor, pianist and composition teacher presents a clear picture of him as a pioneer and champion of new music. He formed the eponymous Brewster-Jones Symphony Orchestra in 1919 with the explicit and heroic aim of revolutionising the orchestral scene in Adelaide. He
publicly promised to “introduce Stravinsky, Vincent d’Indy, Ravel, Debussy, Dukas and others to Adelaide in the coming year.”\(^2\) The *Australian Musical News* (hereafter *AMN*) encouraged these idealistic goals, and consistently presented him during this period as a radical individual: “far out of the ordinary”\(^3\) and “an interesting figure.” They took care to emphasise his “‘flair’ for the modern Russian and French Schools.”\(^4\) “New works to Adelaide will be a feature,” announced the *AMN*.\(^5\) These were to include not only works of the French, Russian and British modern schools, but also works by the conductor himself: “Mr. Jones will also give an *Anzac Suite* and a *Nightingale Suite* from his own pen.”\(^6\) Clearly, the orchestra was to be a radical endeavour; an attempt by Brewster-Jones “to bring Adelaide up to date.” It was financed and organised by Brewster-Jones himself.\(^7\) Sadly, as we will see, this idealistic venture was barely realised, undoubtedly adding to Brewster-Jones’s growing sense of personal disappointment and disillusionment.

Lisa-Jane Ward gives a comprehensive account of his orchestral activities and mentions, in part, his piano performing and composition teaching.\(^8\) Nevertheless, it is important to retrace her steps expanding on aspects of the history that further emphasise that which was new, novel and unconventional in Brewster-Jones’s approach to music making, whether it was his programming (or indeed intended programming) or the establishment of his private composition studio for which he organised series of public concerts. By so doing we get a clearer picture of him as a forward-looking pioneer dedicated to not only bringing new and modern repertoire to Adelaide audiences, but also actively encouraging local composition.

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\(^4\) “The Brewster-Jones Symphony Orchestra: Fourth Concert of 1919 Season.”

\(^5\) “Brewster-Jones Symphony Orchestra,” *AMN* 8, no. 10 (1919): 319. A photo of Brewster-Jones features on the cover of this issue of the *AMN*.


\(^7\) In November 1919 the *AMN* reported that Brewster-Jones was responsible for the whole artistic direction and financial burden of the orchestra. See “Brewster-Jones Symphony Orchestra,” *AMN* 9, no. 5 (1919): 129. The following year in September they reiterated: “This orchestra was formed some time ago by Mr. H. Brewster-Jones, who has, in addition to conducting, borne the ‘brunt of the fight’ by undertaking the many and varied business responsibilities incidental to such an enterprise.” See “Adelaide: Symphony Orchestra,” *AMN* 10, no. 2 (1920): 64.

As previously mentioned, Brewster-Jones joined Heinecke’s Grand Orchestra as both Honorary Secretary and timpanist on his return to Adelaide. Following its dissolution in late 1914 because of anti-German sentiment directed by the players against Heinecke, Brewster-Jones branched out on his own. In 1915 he organised two orchestral concerts for that year which included music by Rimsky-Korsakov, Elgar, Tchaikovsky, Berlioz, Grieg, Smetana, Sullivan, Teresa Carreño and Edward German. None of this repertoire leaps out as novel or difficult, but the AMN thought otherwise, reporting in 1919 that Brewster-Jones “had also conducted orchestral concerts of modern and difficult works in the past …” There is no further mention of Brewster-Jones’s orchestral activities until the Brewster-Jones Orchestra concert series of 1919 and 1920.

When the programmes from these concerts are examined it becomes clear that Brewster-Jones found it almost impossible to realise his idealistic vision of modern programming. The first of four concerts of 1919 included only one work that could in any way be regarded as “current”: the Adelaide premiere of Cesar Franck’s Symphony in D minor. This is hardly a work that would today be considered modernist. But it was considered so by Brewster-Jones, as we find out in a review of a later performance of the work. His description of the symphony as “another example of modernism” illustrates the enormous changes in meaning that the term has subsequently undergone. The first concert of March 1920 did include more contemporary works. Three examples of the French modern school appear on the programme: the already-discussed and critically important performance of Debussy’s \textit{L’apres-midi d’un faune}, Ravel’s \textit{Pavane pour une Infant defunte} and the solo piano work \textit{Ondine}. Brewster-Jones conducted the two orchestral pieces and performed \textit{Ondine}. Here, however, his forays into the “modern” schools of orchestral music

9 “A Grand Orchestra for Adelaide,” \textit{AMN} 2, no. 7 (1913): 192. Hermann Heinecke was one of the early violin teachers at the Elder Conservatorium. He taught there during Brewster-Jones’s student years.

10 The programmes for these 1915 concerts are found in the papers of Andrew McCredie. See University of Adelaide: Barr Smith Library, Special Collections; M13a SR 780.01, Papers of Professor Andrew Dalgarno McCredie, 1972–1991; Box 88A.

11 “H. Brewster-Jones: Conductor of the Brewster-Jones Symphony Orchestra.”

ended. We can only speculate as to the reasons for this. There is some evidence to suggest the programs reflected the difficulty in obtaining full scores and parts, and the capabilities of the orchestral players. For instance Brewster-Jones did have the full score of Stravinsky’s *Firebird Suite* in his personal library, but no orchestral parts. Or perhaps he was hurt by the adverse responses of some audience members? He never fulfilled his desire to perform Stravinsky’s orchestral works. After March 1920, old favourites graced the programmes, including concertos he had played in his youth, such as those by Rimsky-Korsakov and Anton Rubinstein, and Glazunov’s sixth symphony which he had heard performed in 1909 at the Royal College of Music.

Representing the English renaissance, Stanford’s *Irish Symphony* was featured in the final concert for 1920. Despite the seeming unadventurousness of these works, the press repeatedly applauded his efforts as groundbreaking. The *Register* emphasised the atypical nature of his programming: “The comprehensive programmes which Mr. H. Brewster-Jones has presented at his several symphony orchestra recitals have enabled music lovers to hear performances which otherwise they would not have done.” The *AMN* remarked even more glowingly: “Since the commencement of 1919, Mr. H. Brewster-Jones has, by his magnificent enthusiasm and determination, created something of a revolution in orchestral matters in Adelaide.” His desire to be unorthodox was not restricted to programming and, as noted in Chapter 5, he presented the third concert of 1919 as a promenade concert replete with tables and chairs and smoking permitted. The orchestra even ventured outside Adelaide on one occasion to give a performance in Melbourne. This was not Brewster-Jones’s only...

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13 The latter may have been more of a concern. Scores moved across the Pacific with ease, whether ordered by the major music retailers such as Marshalls, Allans or Charles Cawthorne. Cawthorne had also been active in Adelaide’s orchestral world, and was the Honorary Manager of Brewster-Jones’s orchestra. In its review of Elgar’s *Carillon* of the second concert of 1915, the *AMN* thanks Cawthorne: “We are indebted to Mr. Cawthorne for his enterprise in getting the score out ...” See “Adelaide: Symphony Concert,” *AMN* 5, no. 4 (1915): 149-150. In 1934 Brewster-Jones wrote an obituary for Cawthorne in *Progress in Australia*, noting with gratitude Cawthorne’s personal support. Brewster-Jones hailed Cawthorne as “one of the most dynamic personalities in the musical life of Adelaide during the Pre-War period of this century.” He was, Brewster-Jones noted particularly “an enthusiast for the younger generation and did his best always to encourage them and spur them on to further endeavour.” See Brewster-Jones, “Music: The Late Mr. Charles Cawthorne,” *Progress in Australia* 5, no. 7 (1935) 17.


15 “Brewster-Jones Symphony Orchestra: Fourth Concert of 1919 Season.”

16 According to an advertisement in the *Advertiser* on 2 March 1920, they were to play a fundraiser to raise money for a memorial to dead soldiers from the First World War on the grounds of Attunga, the home of Mr. O. von Rieben in Kensington Road, Toorak. See *Advertiser*, 2 March 1920.
Melbourne performance. He also appeared as guest conductor with the Lady Northcote Orchestra at the Melbourne Town Hall, taking the opportunity to introduce several new works to that city.\textsuperscript{17} He was later to appear as soloist with both the Victorian Professional Orchestra and the 3LO symphony orchestra.

Given his close ties with the German Australian community, Brewster-Jones's decision to champion French and Russian music after 1918 cannot be interpreted as exploiting the difficult position of the Adelaide Germans after the Great War. This discrimination had affected not only his close colleagues such as Hermann Heinecke and his friend the painter Hans Heysen, but also in later years, his brother-in-law Hermann Homburg. Stuart Macintyre tells of the disgraceful treatment Heinecke received at the hands of nine of his own music students "who painted the Union Jack on his bald pate…"\textsuperscript{18}

**Performing**

It was logistically much easier for Brewster-Jones to include modern repertoire in his piano recitals, so he did. The issue of orchestral parts, in terms of expense and availability, disappeared as did the question of rehearsal time and quality of performers. Brewster-Jones was active as a pianist from his return from London in 1909 right up to quite literally his death in 1949. McLaughlin supports this claim, noting that in the year 1919: "…many pianoforte recitals were given by Brewster-Jones."\textsuperscript{19} His programmes featured works by Grainger, MacDowell, Alkan, Chaminade, de Séverac, Debussy, and Mussorgsky, Frank Bridge, Clutsam and Coleridge-Taylor. Again we see his programming being strongly influenced by modern music of the Edwardian era. The *Advertiser* wrote approvingly of his inclusion of two Adelaide premieres, Ravel's *Ondine* and Mussorgsky's *Pictures at an Exhibition* in a concert of 19 November 1919: "Mr. Brewster-Jones made this

\textsuperscript{17} Publicity release, 7 August, 1934, National Archives of Australia: Australian Broadcasting Commission, Sp1011/2, Brewster-Jones, H., 1939-1955 [hereafter NAA: SP1011/2].
\textsuperscript{18} Stuart Macintyre, *The Oxford History of Australia Volume 4 the Succeeding Age 1901-1942* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1986), 157. Heinecke declined to seek their punishment and some time afterwards abandoned his grand Menindie home to live on a poultry farm outside Adelaide.
\textsuperscript{19} State Library of South Australia: Manuscript Collections; D 6885 (Lit Ms); Eric McLauchlin, *History of Music in South Australia* (unpublished manuscript); 1970 [hereafter SLSA: D6885].

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occasion a memorable one by the inclusion of two distinctive modern works from the French and Russian schools heard in Adelaide for the first time.\textsuperscript{20} He often included his own music in the programmes, such as his \textit{Rhapsodie} in B flat and his Intermezzo No. 2 of 1918, \textit{Dance of the Shadows}, \textit{Original Theme and Variations}, \textit{Capriccio on B.A.C.H.}, \textit{Gavotte} for piano and his cello sonata. He also programmed works for solo cello by his student, Edith Piper, performed by his friend Harold Parsons. His interest in the modern and exotic never wavered. For example on 14 January 1949 he gave a solo concert for the ABC dedicated to the composer Villa-Lobos entitled “From Exotic Brazil.”\textsuperscript{21}

\textbf{Teaching}

Brewster-Jones had made it clear from the outset that he sought, through the formation of his orchestra, to encourage and promote local South Australian music.\textsuperscript{22} In terms of performances, both orchestral and solo piano, the local composer he was most interested in was, not surprisingly, himself. Several of his works are to be found on the programmes. In addition to his favoured \textit{Indian Serenade}, which actually had its Adelaide premiere several years earlier under the baton of Heinecke, he also programmed his \textit{Nightingale Suite} in the first concert of 1919. The \textit{Anzac Suite} was billed for the second but did not eventuate, and an orchestrated version of his \textit{Gavotte} (originally for piano) appeared on the programme of the third concert of 1919 along with his \textit{Scène d’amour}.

It is in the area of teaching, particularly of composition teaching, that we find Brewster-Jones’s real encouragement of local talent. Clutsam’s dislike of institutions had transferred to Brewster-Jones. From the outset, his non-conformist character

\textsuperscript{20} “Mr. Brewster-Jones’ Recital,” \textit{Advertiser}, 20 November 1919, 10. He adored Mussorgsky’s music. This is evident in his review of Lotte Lehmann’s performance of Mussorgsky’s wonderful song cycle “Songs and Dances of Death” where he wrote: “Moussorgsky, the great Russian composer, than whom none has been more original or creative, could not have wished for a more understanding exponent of his art.” Brewster-Jones, “Dramatic Art of Lotte Lehmann. Fine Handling of Russian Songs. Songs and Dances of Death,” \textit{Advertiser}, 12 May 1939, 26.

\textsuperscript{21} “Exotic Brazil” concert programme, Hooper Brewster-Jones Papers: Private Collection in the possession of the Brewster-Jones Family (Yelki, Victor Harbor, SA) [hereafter Brewster-Jones Papers, Yelki].

\textsuperscript{22} Eric McLaughlin suggests that the orchestra “had been established in Adelaide especially to encourage works by Adelaide composers.” See SLSA: D 6885. The \textit{AMN} supports this point. See for example “Brewster-Jones Symphony Orchestra: Fourth Concert of 1919 Season.”
resulted in a teaching philosophy that was innovative and at odds with institutional approaches. Eschewing formal contact with Elder Conservatorium he set up a private teaching studio. His granddaughter Ann Bartsch supports this view. The “Con” she said, would have been too traditional and conservative for her grandfather—too “Establishment”. He made his opinions on the conservatism and mediocrity of composition teaching in Australia public in his 1941 article, “Australian Composition—What of it?” published in the inaugural Jindyworobak publication Cultural Cross-Section.

William Hoffman joined the Flinders Street studio comparatively late in Brewster-Jones’s career, as a seventeen year old in 1937. He remembers that Brewster-Jones taught through offering advice and guidance, and while introducing his young students to many of the modern compositional devices never dictated as to how music should be written. He exposed Hoffman to new music such as that by Schoenberg, Berg and Stravinsky and encouraged him to discover new music on his own. Hoffman credits Brewster-Jones for encouraging him in the ordering of new scores and recordings and believes that his open-minded but non-judgmental approach helped to foster the student’s own musical personality. Hoffman believed “he really did understand people” and to this day remembers him as a “musical father figure.” Hoffman’s memories match both those of John Horner and Joyce Gibberd. Horner in his own history of South Australian music written in 1960 described Brewster-Jones as one of the best teacher-performers of his time, and Joyce Gibberd quotes from Brewster-Jones himself who said that teaching should be “a psychological study of the student’s possibilities.” McCredie recognises the importance of teaching in Brewster-Jones’s career, observing that, “in addition to his

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23 Anne Bartsch, interview, 18 January 2005.
26 Ibid.
own performing activities, Brewster-Jones actively fostered the composition and presentation of local new music.\textsuperscript{29}

As with the composing and performing, the outburst of teaching activity occurred around 1920, and like his performing but not his composing, his teaching continued into the 1940s. Brewster-Jones's composition studio ran periodic concerts of chamber music, keyboard works and songs as early as 1919. These were frequently reported on in the \textit{Advertiser} and \textit{AMN}.\textsuperscript{30} In June 1919 the \textit{AMN} advertised a “Recital of Original Compositions by the Students of H. Brewster-Jones in July.”\textsuperscript{31} In a lengthy and detailed evaluation, the \textit{Advertiser} praises the efforts of Brewster-Jones:

At the Town Hall last night, Mr. H. Brewster-Jones presented to a large and enthusiastic audience a programme of original musical compositions written by members of his composition classes. This concert marked another step forward on the part of Mr. Brewster-Jones with regard to musical achievement in Adelaide culture and original production...\textsuperscript{32}

The \textit{Advertiser} returned to the student concert a week later, hailing it “…one of the most notable musical events of the year” and announcing that “[s]o much interest has centred in this movement that it has been decided to repeat the programme in Melbourne and Sydney at an early date.”\textsuperscript{33}

Although it was not unusual for private teachers to organise public concerts for their students, Brewster-Jones’s showcasing of original student works and premieres of modern European works was less usual. This was noticed by the press, which consistently foregrounded his unorthodox, unconventional musical attitudes. In March 1920, the \textit{AMN} praised the October concert as “a remarkable success,” but

\textsuperscript{31} “Recital of Original Compositions by the Students of H. Brewster-Jones in July.” Subsequent newspaper reviews reveal that this concert was postponed until 19 October.
\textsuperscript{32} “Original Musical Compositions.”
\textsuperscript{33} “Students of H. Brewster-Jones.”
more importantly identified it as a “striking example of the possible development of composition in Australia ... [t]he success of the compositions brought forward lead us to say that Mr. Brewster-Jones deserves the greatest encouragement for the work he is doing.”34 Another student concert was given at the Town Hall on 10 December. This time the programme included works by Albeniz, Ravel, Granados and Debussy as well as original compositions such as the violin sonata Seventeen by Spruhan Kennedy and songs by Brewster-Jones himself.

McCredie asserts that Brewster-Jones’s studio for young composers ran between 1918 and 1921, but acknowledges only one six-part concert series of new works.35 In fact, there were two such series. The first series, according to the AMN, took place in October and November 1921. It was held in the Lady Colton Hall, Hindmarsh Square, and included both original compositions and works by modern European composers. The second of these six-part series occurred a year later beginning in October 1922 at the Williard Hall and once again received national recognition through the AMN, which was as supportive of this series as it had been of all of Brewster-Jones’s pedagogical endeavours:

the recitals are designed to afford a means of self-expression for the students, and an opportunity for the audience to hear and appreciate music, some of which is quite beyond the ordinary run of familiar compositions.36

Familiar names, such as Spruhan Kennedy, Edith Piper and Nadra Penalurick, were still appearing in programmes from 1939 and 1940 as performers and/or composers.37

Brewster-Jones’s committed and visionary approach to the teaching and encouragement of local composition becomes even more remarkable when

34 “Brewster-Jones Students’ Original Compositions.”
36 “Adelaide,” AMN 12, no. 3 (1922): 119.
37 As late as December 1939, the AMN advertised a concert by “advanced students” of Brewster-Jones playing in a Red Cross Concert including works and performances by Albert Logan, Elaine Findlay, Monica O’Reilly, William Hoffman and Nadra Penalurick. See “Concert by ‘Advanced Students’ of Hooper Brewster-Jones,” AMN 30, no. 5 (1939): 23. The following year in November, the Advertiser announces a concert of Australian music. Nadra Penalurick and Bertha Jones (Brewster-Jones’s sister) were among the performers who played music by Spruhan Kennedy and Brewster-Jones, as well as music by W.G. James, Marshall-Hall, Linda Phillips and Arthur Benjamin. See Advertiser, 18 November, 1940, 14.
understood in a context in which institutional composition studies as a separate subject barely existed in Australia. Larry Sitsky remembers that, as a student at the New South Wales Conservatorium in the 1950s, it was not possible to study composition as a major.\(^{38}\) In the conservatorium the teaching of composition occurred mostly as a subsidiary to harmony, theory and aural studies. This situation emphasises the singularity of Brewster-Jones’s efforts occurring as they did decades earlier.

**The Music Library in the Attic**

At the moment of writing this dissertation, the remains of Brewster-Jones’s private music library survive in a precarious state in the attic of “Yelki”—one of the first whalers’ hotels in Victor Harbor built in the mid-nineteenth century.\(^{39}\) About an hour’s drive south of Adelaide, the stone cottage perches on the edge of the Southern Ocean looking to Antarctica. In this unlikely setting, stored in several large cardboard boxes and dilapidated suitcases of various faded colours, are the remnants of Brewster-Jones’s library, the raw material on which he built his reputation as a performer and teacher. An examination of the contents yields fascinating discoveries. For there, among the mouldering copies of Grieg, Beethoven, Czerny, Chopin, Gurlitt and Raff, are some extraordinary and unusual examples of early twentieth century modern music; examples that attest to a healthy, wide-ranging appetite for the modern, the new and the exotic. They offer us a different entry point into the early twentieth musical world—one that has been obscured by the shadows of more mainstream figures. That this view into the world of modern European music is being offered from so remote a location literally at the bottom of the other side of the globe shows us just how transnational and globalised the world was becoming, and again illustrates that Australia was not afflicted by a “tyranny of distance.”

Many countries are represented in this collection of modern music—the main ones being England, Australia, Russia and France, but also Italy, Hungary, Poland, Spain and even Brazil. Many names that have appeared in preceding chapters appear

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\(^{38}\) Larry Sitsky, personal communication, 23 February 2006.

\(^{39}\) Brewster-Jones Papers, Yelki.
again in this library: Malipiero, Casella, Szymanowski, Bartók are there, as are others such as the “exotic” Villa-Lobos and the Spaniard Albeniz. (For a list of these scores see Appendix D)

Much of this music, although not atonal, was working beyond the limits of functional harmony. Themes of exoticism, orientalism, experimentation with new scales and new means of expression are found in this collection creating a world in which Brewster-Jones fitted in all but his geographical location. The majority of the scores were published in the teens and twenties. There is, of course, no way of knowing when Brewster-Jones actually obtained them.\(^40\) Significantly, many instances of the modern music present in Brewster-Jones’s library were also heard on Agnew’s “Modern and Contemporary Composers.” The overlap is immediately perceptible when one looks at the English music in Brewster-Jones’s collection. Composers of the new English school predominate, such as Gerrard Williams, John Ireland, Coleridge-Taylor, York Bowen, Eugene Goossens, Norman Dunhill, Alec Rowley, Bax, Bliss, Elgar, Tobias Matthey, Norman Demuth and his piano teacher Bryceson Treharne. Works of particular interest are Cyril Scott’s large and difficult Piano Sonata op. 66 (1909) and two examples of the thorny, linear music of the twelve-tone composer Bernard van Dieren, namely his Tema con Variazione (1928) and Six Esquisses op. 4a (1921), both for piano.\(^41\)

Many of his Australian colleagues and contemporaries are present. Much of the music had been sent as professional copies from the publisher. There are songs and work for solo piano as well as violin and piano by Alfred Hill,\(^42\) Edith Harrhy, Louis Lavater, Mona McBurney, Coutts, Clutsam, Grainger, James Brash, Iris de Cairo-Rego, and a folder tantalisingly marked “Roy Agnew.” But it is

\(^40\) They could have been purchased at any point up until his death in 1949. Cawthorne’s, Marshall & Sons and Allans were the three main music retailers through which the scores were ordered, but they have no extant records from this period.

\(^41\) German music was not high on Brewster-Jones’s priorities. Unlike Agnew, he did not appear to have delved into the music of the Second Viennese School, although Hoffman remembers him being open to it in composition lessons. There is only one instance of modern German music in his library as it stands today. This is an aria in piano reduction from Schoenberg’s early gargantuan late-romantic orchestral work Gurrelieder. Furthermore the music originally belonged, not to him, but to his sister-in-law Gwen Homburg.

\(^42\) We learn from the contents of the library that Hill and Brewster-Jones knew each other. Brewster-Jones owned a copy of Hill’s piano work Doves with Hill’s personal inscription, “To Brewster Jones with Alfred Hill’s very best wishes.”
disappointingly empty—leaving us unable to guess at its contents. The only work by Agnew is his *Rural Sketches* sent as a professional copy by Allans—hardly one that represents Agnew at his most progressive.

The Impressionist Charles Griffes, Edward MacDowell, Harry Farjeon and Arthur Shepherd represent America. Shepherd is an interesting lesser-known figure who established himself as an early American modernist based in Boston. His Prelude op. 2 no. 2, which is found in the collection, was published by the Wa-Wan Press. This press was set up in Boston by Shepherd’s friend Arthur Farwell to further the cause of American music by publishing neglected music of contemporary American composers.43

Russian music is well represented. From the older generation there is music by Rimsky-Korsakov, Arensky, Glière, Balakirev, Cui, Alexander Tcherepnin and of course Mussorgsky. There is a large folder containing hundreds of Russian songs published as part of the series *Collection of Russian Folksongs and Romances*. Brewster-Jones’s London copy of Rimsky-Korsakov’s Piano Concerto is the beautiful gilt Jurgenson edition. Of the later generation of Russians there is a separate folder for both Stravinsky and Scriabin. As well as the full score of Stravinsky’s *Firebird*, there are the *Trois Pièces Faciles* for four hands (1917), *Petrochka* (1922), *Les cinq doigts pour piano* (1922) and the *Pastoral* for voice and piano (1908). The late music of Scriabin also features strongly. Of note is the Jurgenson edition of the tenth sonata. It had evidently been a present from Brewster-Jones to Gwen Homburg as it bore the inscription, “To Gwen with best wishes (23.8.26).” Presumably, it rejoined his collection after Gwen’s death in the late 1930s. The Futurist and composer of the *Wild Men’s Dance*, Leo Ornstein, makes an appearance with his *Pygmy Suite* op. 9, and Brewster-Jones’s son Arthur’s copy of his cello sonata. Prokofiev’s *Sarcasms* for piano, Shostakovich’s *Three Fantastic Dances* and Khachaturian’s *Poème* (1927) are also there. More unusual is the presence of music

by three obscure Russian composers: Leonid Sabaneev’s *Poème* no. 2 from *Six Poèmes* op. 6 for piano, Ivan Vyshnegradsky’s song for bass-baritone *Osenye: Chant de Nietzsche* op.1 and Rebikov’s *Éclavage et Liberté: Tableau musical psychologique* op. 22. These three composers are fascinating examples of the Russian avant-garde who had almost completely vanished from sight until the 1990s because of cultural repression in the Soviet Union. Sabaneev was known mainly as a writer and champion of Scriabin and the succeeding generation of avant-garde Russian composers such as Roslavets, Lourie and Mosolov. Vyshnegradsky was a leading figure in the microtonal world (perhaps it was fellow microtonal composer Elsie Hamilton who introduced Brewster-Jones to his music?), and Rebikov, although an older composer, was closely aligned with the Symbolist movement in St. Petersburg and the Belaiev Circle. He was one of the first experimental composers known particularly for his work with the whole tone scale. So, proponents of the Russian avant-garde had made their way to Victor Harbor via Adelaide by way of Hooper Brewster-Jones.

Likewise, music by many interesting but lesser known figures from the intense and stimulating musical world of pre-Second World War Paris made its way to the south coast of Australia. Along with their better-known contemporaries Debussy, Ravel, Dukas, Poulenc, Milhaud, Cécile Chaminade, Germaine Tailleferre and Satie, came others such as Florent Schmitt, Rhené-Baton, Roger-Ducasse, Henry Février, Gabriel Pierné, the émigrés the Ukrainian Fyodor Akimenko (Stravinsky’s first composition teacher), the Pole Alexandre Tansman, and some even more obscure such as Renée Guillons, Cécile Blanc de Fontbelle and René Deleunay. Many of these more marginal composers moved in the circles around Debussy, Ravel and Stravinsky. Schmitt, who was considered a pioneer of contemporary music

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44 Several of the above works, including Sabeneev’s *Poème*, were published by the English publishers Chester as part of their *Edition Russe* series of the 1920s. The series itself shows the ongoing British fascination for things Russian. Chester used the modern Russian artists Larionov and Goncharova to illustrate their modern editions. Their edition of Alfredo Casella’s *Pupazzetti* of 1921 is decorated with a modernist design by Larionov. Brewster-Jones had a copy of this work. For further details of the publishing firm, Chester, see D. W. Krummle and Stanley Sadie, *Music Printing and Publishing* (London: Macmillan, 1990), 198.

45 For a discussion of these Russian composers’ life and works see Larry Sitsky, *Music of the Repressed Russian Avant-Garde, 1900-1929* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1994).

46 Apart from the *Sonatine bureaucratique*, Brewster-Jones also had a copy of Satie’s *Socrates: Danse symphonique avec voix*. 
during his lifetime, was a close friend of both Ravel and Satie. Tansman was also associated with them, and a significant number including Schmitt, Rhené-Baton, Roger-Ducasse and Pierné not only actively supported contemporary French music, but also had dealings with the Ballets Russes. Again, many of these names have appeared before in discussions of Agnew’s radio programme and Sydney of the late teens and 1920s.

It is not clear whether Brewster-Jones was ordering these specific works, or was instead, as George de Cairos Rego was in Sydney, ordering the latest publications from the publishers specialising in contemporary French music such as Edition Salabert, Edition de Maurice Senart, Edition de la Sirène, Max Eschig and Durand. Some were complementary issues sent by the publisher. That he sought to keep abreast of modern French music and musical thought is further evidenced by the presence of the music supplements to the French journal La Revue musicale dated between April 1921 and July 1922 which are found in amongst the music.

The Writings

In addition to his compositional activities, Brewster-Jones covered a wide range of musical and artistic issues during his long journalistic career. Three major bodies of writing spanning the decade of the thirties will be examined in this study: the surviving transcripts for a lecture broadcast series he ran between 1930 and 1934 at the Adelaide radio station 5CL (a period spanning the transition from the Australian Broadcasting Company to the Australian Broadcasting Commission), the column he ran in the journal Progress in Australia from 1934 into 1935 and the large body of criticism written for the Adelaide Advertiser between 1935 and 1940.

48 Florent Schmitt’s ballet Salomé was danced at the Ballets Russes in 1913. Rhené-Baton was engaged by Diaghilev to conduct the orchestra of the Ballets Russes for the 1912–13 seasons, and gave many premières of works by contemporary composers including Ravel, Roussel and Honegger. A performance of Roger-Ducasse’s “mimodrame lyrique,” Orphée, was planned for the 1914 season in St Petersburg with sets by Bakst and choreography by Fokine, but it was cancelled due to the outbreak of World War I. Pierné conducted premières by Debussy, Ravel and Roussel as well as the première of Stravinsky’s Firebird for the Ballets Russes.
Like Agnew, Brewster-Jones embraced the advent of broadcasting, realising its enormous potential to reach out to a wide audience. His successor at Progress in Australia remarked: “With the advent of broadcasting he [Brewster-Jones] made a careful study of wireless programme building. He has been a frequent lecturer at Station 5CL, his subjects varying from primitive instruments of native races to the symphony orchestra of today.” Brewster-Jones’s granddaughter, Ann Bartsch, has in her possession a tattered orange folder belonging to her grandfather. Inside are the yellowed typewritten transcripts of twenty lecture broadcasts.

The subject matter of these talks further supports my assessment that Brewster-Jones’s aesthetic outlook and artistic temperament were shaped by the roving tastes of the Edwardian era. Ornate titles such as “Music of the Fields and Meadows” and “Off the Beaten Track (Forest Music),” and those more prosaic titles such as “Carols,” “Composer Celebrations,” “Favourite Works of Famous Composers” and “The Development of Chamber Music” sit happily (albeit incongruously for the modern reader) alongside others more pertinent to my study. These are “Chinese Music: Parts 1 and 2” (1930); “Drama” (no date); “Egyptian Native Music: Ancient and Modern” (1932); “Native Art Culture” (no date); “Dance Music of the Nations” (1933); “Folk Song” (no date); “Early English Music with Illustrations of Medieval Music” (1931); “Clavichords and Harpsichords” (1933); and “Musical Curiosities of the Past” (1933). Many of the latter bear a strong similarity with the subsequent ABC lecture series of 1935 given by the better-known Percy Grainger.

The Adelaide-based journal Progress in Australia began in November 1929 with the aim of joining the “march of progress” to help Australians embrace

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50 Hooper Brewster-Jones Papers, 5CL Radio Broadcast Transcripts: Private collection in the possession of Anne Bartsch; 18 August 1931. There is no evidence to suggest that these transcripts represent the complete lecture series that went to air, in fact they are almost certainly incomplete. For example, Brewster-Jones mentions a forthcoming lecture on the pentatonic scale for which there is no transcript, there is also no transcript on the modern symphony orchestra alluded to by a music critic for Progress in Australia. Three of the transcripts: Drama, Native Art Culture and Folk Song are undated.
modernity and realise their dreams of economic success and prosperity.52 In the beginning it was concerned chiefly with matters of commerce and industry. By 1934, when Brewster-Jones became the chief writer on music, it had broadened its vision to include a “critical review of the progress in Music, Literature, the Stage, Politics and Economics” and attempted “to keep its readers in touch with all interesting branches of modern thought.”53 Such attitudes were in sympathy with Brewster-Jones’s own, and he approached this brief with gusto becoming, as Lisa Ward so aptly describes, “a fiery critic,” particularly in the year 1934.54 His first column, appearing in April, 1934, opened with the challenging words: “We are impossibly out-of-date in the matter of musical taste in South Australia,” as part of an attack against those in the Australian music industry he accused of playing it safe.55 He faced this challenge with commitment and in subsequent contributions covered a wide range of topic and issues that will be discussed in greater detail below.

Early in 1935, Brewster-Jones succeeded Alex Bumard as music critic for the Advertiser.56 Brewster-Jones took to his new task with enthusiasm. In the early years 1935 and 1936 it would seem that his cause was to educate the Adelaide public. His mission was to bring to the public’s attention artistic developments he saw as important. During these years, as well as being required to cover all local and national musical events, he had a regular Saturday feature article and used this opportunity to write more extensively on particular subjects of his own choosing. These Saturday articles thereby became a useful means through which he sought to raise Adelaide’s awareness of modern art and music. He often collaborated with his son Robert in the writing of these elaborate and often beautifully illustrated feature articles.

These three bodies of writing—the 5CL broadcast lectures, the writing for Progress in Australia and that for the Advertiser—can be analysed using three broad themes: modern music and art; the exotic Others such as Russian music, jazz, and

56 In January, 1935 Brewster-Jones reported Bumard’s departure in Progress in Australia: “It is rumored in Adelaide musical circles that Dr. Alex Bumard, composer, pianist and musical critic, has accepted an appointment at the Sydney Conservatorium of Music. He will leave Adelaide with best wishes from his musical friends.” Brewster-Jones began as critic for the Advertiser soon afterwards. See Brewster-Jones, “Music: Dr. Alex Bumard,” Progress in Australia 5, no. 10 (1935): 31.
non-Western and archaic music; and the polemical writing agitating both for the recognition of local and national musical achievement and for a more open-minded attitude towards art.

Mentions of the Modern: “the colourful expression of exotic modernism”\textsuperscript{57}

A preoccupation bordering on obsession with modern music and art is found throughout the writings. There are many references to modern music in the early lecture broadcasts; one particular broadcast is devoted entirely to modern French music, others refer, for instance, to the music of Stravinsky. His contributions to the Progress in Australia also refer often to the state of modern music in Australia; as seen in this demand for more modern music in concert programming:

Wouldn’t it be a fairer arrangement all round to set aside two or three regular hours a week for absolutely serious music of the best quality? These programmes could cover a range of half a dozen Bs instead of three. Let us have our Bach, Beethoven and Brahms; but also our Bartók, Bax and Bridge. By all means have Haydn and Mozart, but do not neglect Moussorgsky and Stravinsky.\textsuperscript{58}

The broadcast “Modern French Music” reflects the French content of Brewster-Jones’s library and highlights the new French composers’ enormous importance for him as innovators of new musical languages and possibilities. At the outset of the broadcast he focused on the new harmonic possibilities opened up by equal temperament:

Out of the equal temperament system of tuning has sprung, suddenly—two centuries later—an harmonic expansion of almost limitless possibilities. Harmony has

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suddenly discovered the new basis of the twelve divisions of the octave and the Pure
scale has been thrown overboard in composition. 59

After a brief discussion of the potential of polytonality, he moved to the
composers themselves. His treatment of them, as outlined in Chapter 1, is
comprehensive and his knowledge broad, as would be expected given the contents of
his library. He estimated Ravel to be “the greatest” reflecting attitudes common in
London when he was there and Milhaud was considered to have “a remarkable sense
for harmonic colour of a new order.” 60

The enormous body of criticism he wrote for the Advertiser is infused by this
desire for the modern. He often took advantage of his Saturday feature to try to raise
Adelaide’s cultural consciousness. Two notable examples on the subject of modern
art are his articles “Music with the Films” 61 and “Surrealism—Exploitation of the
Dream World.” 62 In the former, co-written with his son Robert, he again embraced
the enormous artistic potential inherent in recent technological advances with regard
to film and film music. He isolated in particular the film music of Goossens, Milhaud
and Walton and made the following astute, if slightly disparaging, observation about
the increased accessibility of atonal music when heard in conjunction with visual
images:

The use of modern composition devices such as atonality, polytonality and
cacophonous discords which would create a state of chaos in the minds of the
average Adelaide audience if performed upon the concert platform were accepted
without question as background music to the film, “The Last Days of Pompeii.” 63

His article on Surrealism featuring Hans Arp’s painting “Moustache, bottle,
leaf, head” was written in response to a recent London exhibition of Surrealist art. It

59 Hooper Brewster-Jones Papers, 5CL Radio Broadcast Transcripts: Private collection in the
possession of Anne Bartsch; 28 June 1932; Modern French Piano Music [hereafter Modern French
Piano Music].
60 Ibid. See Chapter 1, 98, 102. By using The Times Digital Archive, I have been able to ascertain that
between the years 1906 and 1909 that Ravel was the most written about modern composer followed
closely by Debussy.
61 Hooper Brewster-Jones and Robert Brewster-Jones, “Music with the Films,” Advertiser, 3 October
1936, 11.
63 Brewster-Jones, “Music with the Films.”
proved prophetic, as it preceded by three years the 1939 Herald Exhibition of French and British Contemporary Art, which included Surrealist works. In it, Brewster-Jones shares the same ambivalence shown by his source Constant Lambert: "How true it is that we all seek novelty and surprise—but fortunate for most people, a saving sense of humour comes to their rescue when a point of absurdity has been reached. However, Surrealism is here for posterity to judge."\(^{64}\) Despite this caution, his fascination for the subject is patent. He quotes from the founder of Surrealism André Breton, and covers not only the visual artists including Klee, de Chirico, Dali, Miro and Ernst, but also discusses the use of montage by the Cine-surrealist movement and the Soviet Russian filmmakers.

With the ABC's assumption of much of the musical activity in Australia came the introduction of the ABC Celebrity Concerts Series. Although it received criticism from some quarters for favouring international artists over local talent and undermining longstanding entrepreneurs such as Tait & Sons and J.C. Williamson, it nonetheless brought in a steady stream of international artists who toured the entire nation. Australian audiences were privy to the artistry of singers such as Lotte Lehmann, John Brownlee and the Comedy Harmonists, pianists such as Arthur Schnabel, Artur Rubinstein, Benno Moiseiwitsch and Eileen Joyce, string players such as Huberman, Jeanne Gautier, the expatriate Australian Lauri Kennedy and the Budapest String Quartet and conductors of the calibre of Schneevoigt, Sir Thomas Beecham and George Szell.

As music critic for the Advertiser, Brewster-Jones interviewed these artists and reviewed their concerts. This opportunity opened a direct line to musical developments in Europe and Brewster-Jones, with a seemingly unquenchable thirst for news of the new, took every opportunity to extract the artists' views on modern music. After talking with Schnabel for example, he reported

> As a composer Schnabel is a modernist, as a pianist a classicist. The two moderns he most admires are Schoenberg and Stravinsky; but he does not play the works of either. The former, his personal friend, he describes as a great man and a great

composer. Other contemporary composer he admires are Bartók, Krenek, Milhaud, Walton, Hindemith, Vaughan Williams and Alton [sic] Berg in his later writing. His interview with Australian pianist Eileen Joyce focused almost entirely on modern music. She professed a sincere interest in contemporary music and at the time of talking with Brewster-Jones was about to play Ildebrando Pizzetti’s piano concerto in Melbourne under the baton of Bernard Heinze. She praised Pizzetti who “is not an ultra modern nor is his work futuristic or eccentric…” and had played Prokofiev’s Third Piano Concerto and the Piano Concerto with trumpet obbligato of the young Dmitry Shostakovich. In addition, she had recorded Constant Lambert’s Piano Concerto with the BBC Symphony Orchestra. She admired Busoni’s *Indian Fantasy* for piano and orchestra but condemned Hindemith and Stravinsky. Shostakovich, Brewster-Jones explained to his readers, was “one of the leading Soviet composers although still in his early twenties…” He continued, “His name is unfamiliar to Adelaide audiences, and it is to be regretted that we will not be given an opportunity to hear this example of modernism…”. Prokofiev, too, was a “a modern Russian composer of ‘striking originality’,” determined Brewster-Jones in his review of Moiseiwitsch’s rendition of the *Suggestion Diaboliques*. Mr Rolsman from the Budapest String Quartet reminded Brewster-Jones that the Debussy and Ravel quartets have long since taken their place in the repertoire, but says, “[a]lmost nothing has been written of real value recently, except the quartets of Bartók and the new quartet of Schoenberg.” On occasion, Brewster-Jones used his musical erudition for comic relief, such as when he likened the Elder Quartet’s intonation problems to Alois Hába’s quarter-tone experiments.

Brewster-Jones’s mentions of the modern are too numerous to examine in detail. His discussion of Sigurd Rascher, a classical saxophonist well reflects his interests. That Rascher captured Brewster-Jones’s unstinting admiration can be seen in the almost fulsome title of his review, “Saxophonist Makes History.” During his

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Australian tour, Rascher intended to perform twenty-one of the twenty-six works written specifically for him by composers such as Glazunov and Ibert. This dedication to modern music led Brewster-Jones to hail Rascher, not only as “an apostle of modernism,” and “unquestionably a most brilliant exponent of musical modernism,” but also as one who showed a particular “flair for the colourful expression of exotic modernism.” The last remark provides undeniable confirmation that for Brewster-Jones the modern was exotic.

Rascher’s presentation of so much modern music was likened to an earlier visit by the violinist Joseph Szigeti who, according to Brewster-Jones, “introduced so much that was new and unhackneyed to Adelaide audiences...” Brewster-Jones also took the opportunity here to inform the public about both Paul Hindemith and the difficulties of interpreting a modern score. Hindemith was acclaimed as “Germany’s most gifted contemporary composer.” Brewster-Jones shows a keen awareness of political and artistic events in Europe. He notes that Hindemith’s works “are practically banned by the Nazi regime because of their modernity” and the fact that he was also married to a Jewish woman. But he reassured his readers that “Hindemith is, however, gaining an increasing vogue in London and the more musically progressive centres in Europe.”

Ironically, given the state of many of his own manuscripts, particularly the ones discussed in this thesis, Brewster-Jones elucidated the difficulties facing performers when learning modern scores, noting not only the “constantly increasing demands upon the technical resources of the performer, who is not only compelled to work in an unfamiliar idiom” but also “has the task of deciphering, in many cases, roughly written manuscripts which must tire his patience.”

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70 Brewster-Jones, “Saxophonist Makes History.”
71 Ibid.
72 He had already discussed Hindemith earlier in 1935 in a review of Arved Kurtz’s performance of the Sonata for violin and piano op. 11, a work he considered to be of great virility. He took this opportunity to give Adelaide a little information about Hindemith quoting from Constant Lambert’s Music Ho!: “Hindemith has set himself the task of writing music for the masses: and Constant Lambert points out that Hindemith, having embraced the goddess Practicality, must be judged by her own Draconic laws. The question of his craftsmanship is the paramount one, just as ‘the manual ability of a mechanic is more important than the cut of his dungarees.’” See Brewster-Jones, “Violin Recital by Arved Kurtz,” Advertiser, 3 October 1935, 10.
73 Brewster-Jones, “Saxophonist Makes History.”
Brewster-Jones’s Romance with the Russian Ballet: “always exotic, never dull”

For Brewster-Jones, as for many Western Europeans, Russian music was Other; it was Orientalised as barbaric, primitive, exotic, mystical. For some it was degenerate and effeminate, for others overwhelmingly seductive. The nineteenth-century Russian composer, Glinka, began this deliberate strategy of autoexoticisation with works such as the operas *Ruslan and Lyudmila* and *A Life for the Tsar*. The essentialising of Russianness as oriental and Other gained great currency from then on.75 For Brewster-Jones, with the memory of his failed orchestral quest to champion the Russian moderns, the arrival of the Russian Ballet in 1936 must have seemed like a dream come true. As Michelle Potter notes, “The Ballets Russes companies brought with them a panorama of choreography, music and design of a kind not previously seen in Australia.”76 Brewster-Jones was one of their greatest admirers. And it galvanised him and his colleagues into establishing local societies such as the Ballet Contemporains and the Adelaide Arts Club, both designed to foster new art, and providing a local example of the important and long-lasting influence of the de Basil Ballets Russes on the development of Australian arts.77 Daphne Dean, the impresario of the Monte Carlo Ballet had even raised the possibility with Brewster-Jones of having a French and Russian opera season.78 Honigwachs, in her dissertation “The

74 These words are taken from a review of the Russian Ballet by Brewster-Jones written in conjunction with the dance critic Joanne Priest. The complete sentence, which is itself part of a discussion of the ballet *Les Cent Baisers*, is as follows: “Nijinsky despite having been trained in the old classical tradition, is one of the foremost modernists of today. Her work, always exotic, never dull, is enjoying the recognition it deserves.” Brewster-Jones and Joanne Priest, “Tschaikowsky Night at the Ballet,” *Advertiser*, 12 July 1937, 18.


77 Ibid.

78 Brewster-Jones reports in the *Advertiser* that “Miss Dean considers that the repertoire as presented at the Paris Opera Comique of French operas such as *Manon*, *Mignon*, *Lakme*, *Louise*, *Pelléas et Melisande*, and the Russian operas *Boris Godunoff*, *Prince Igor* (with the ballet as recently performed), *Sadko* and *A Life of the Czar*, would be a preferable attraction rather than the well-worn Italian operas.” Brewster-Jones understood the potential benefit for Australian artists and orchestras.
Edwardian Discovery of Russia 1900–1917,” used the words of George Swinnerton, to communicate the impact the Ballets Russes had on British society:

The Russian ballet influenced the creation of “an entirely new state of mind. Its rich decor, so bold and at times so bizarre; the triumph of its strangeness and its beauty ... the unfamiliar rhythms of its musical contributions all had, for non-cosmopolitan stay-at-homes the glory of a new world. To an English public weary of English things and already longing for whatever was savage and untamed, the wildnesses of Scheherazade and Tamar were like firewater to the innocent native; to a less jaded English public which prided itself upon its refinement, the sentimental delicacies of Carnaval were as exquisite as Turkish delight.”

In his role as music critic, Brewster-Jones was able to meet and interview the Russians, and even befriended the choreographer, Michel Fokine, who agreed to become the patron of the Adelaide Arts Club of which Brewster-Jones was President and founding member. Contact with these celebrated Russian artists was a realisation of many of his musical desires and dreams. It gave him an opportunity to talk about the music, the artists and the choreographers and to include photographs of the spectacular sets in his reviews. In his extravagant first feature article, “Colourful Aspects of the Development of the Russian Ballet,” again co-written with Robert, Brewster-Jones offered a potted history of the Ballets Russes and made much of the Stravinsky-Fokine-Bakst collaboration, particularly the productions of the Firebird and Petrouchka. He went on to describe how Rimsky-Korsakov’s Scheherazade ignited a craze for the Arabian Nights in Paris, the furore created by Nijinsky’s Rite of Spring and the abstract and Surrealist sets of Les Presages. His enthusiasm did not wane throughout the next five years. He covered each tour closely, often collaborating with Adelaide dancer and critic Joanne Priest.

During the Russian Ballet’s first tour, Brewster-Jones interviewed the chief conductor Jascha Horenstein, himself a champion of the Second Viennese School and other modern composers. He was in his element during his conversation with


Horenstein with the names Picasso, Gontcharova, Larionov, Benois and Bakst flowing around him. This tour gave the Australian premiere of *L'Apres midi d'un faune* with Nijinsky's choreography, which must have been particularly meaningful for Brewster-Jones. Later that year, in October, there was already talk of a return season, and the ballet was back in Adelaide by January 1937. This time Brewster-Jones interviewed the lead male dancer Woisikovsky. By now, his agitating for a performance of Stravinsky's ballet, *Petrouchka*, had started in earnest. "[I]t is to be hoped," he wrote, "we shall be granted the opportunity of patronising such a magnificent work of art as the Fokine-Stravinsky-Benois Petrouchka...Adelaide music lovers will unquestionably respond to this ballet, if only to hear the unique music of Stravinsky, which has never been performed in this city." He resisted the temptation to say "despite his own efforts," continuing "Petrouchka is possibly the most perfect ballet extant, and the fact that Michel Fokine, its choreographer, is personally supervising its Australian presentations adds further interest to its performance." His pleas received public support, and in an unusual turn of events the entire "Letters" section was dominated with demands for a performance of the ballet. Many were from his friends and students such as Nadra Penalurick. Another letter-writer, W. Dearden-Jackson, writing in support of Brewster-Jones's request for a premiere of *Petrouchka*, proved to have actually known and worked with Diaghilev in London:

I knew the man [Diaghilev] and much of his work, and the opinion he had of "Petrouchka." It was my great privilege to be associated with him as a pianist and bassoonist, and I do not think the commotion on the night of the production of "Le Sacre du Printemps" at the Shaftesbury Avenue Theatre, and again in Paris would be

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82 Brewster-Jones, "Visit of Russian Ballet," *Advertiser*, 31 March 1939, 8.

repeated at a performance of "Petrouchka" in Adelaide—startling though it may be.84

On the ballet's last visit in April 1940, Brewster-Jones finally got to see a performance of his dearly loved ballet. It was an unforgettable experience for him and in his review entitled "Perfect Dance Drama. Exotic Appeal of 'Petrouchka'," he exclaimed: "'Petrouchka' is still as great a novelty and as stimulating as it was 25 years ago, and as a feast of colour, music, and mime should not be missed."85

Swing, Scat, Crooning and all that Jazz

Brewster-Jones's eclectic and roving curiosity was not restricted to art music; he looked beyond, to popular forms such as folk music and in particular jazz. Sensing the real value of jazz, he aligned himself with Percy Grainger as one who was interested and open to this new musical idiom. He did not dismiss it out of hand, as many with his background did.86 His open-minded eclecticism took him beyond the aesthetic restrictions typical of the "highbrow." He attempted to straddle the divide between the "highbrow" and "lowbrow". In several major articles devoted to the subject, and his constant references to it in other settings, he struggled to understand the relationship between "us and them"—his music and their music—and find some legitimacy for it in his own world.87 He was not entirely free from many of the restricting prejudices typical of that time, and his writing on jazz is shot through with

84 W. Dearden-Jackson, "'Petrouchka': The Real Thing," Advertiser, 5 April 1939, 26.
85 Brewster-Jones, "Perfect Dance Drama. Exotic Appeal of "Petrouchka"," Advertiser, 14 June 1940, 12.
86 In a section of his column from Progress in Australia called "Percy Grainger and Jazz" he shows his allegiance clearly: "Quite an interesting controversy has developed as the result of Percy Grainger's outspoken appreciation of jazz. Very serious musicians naturally throw up their hands in horror, or assumed horror, at a supposedly serious musician like Grainger admitting the idiosyncrasies of syncopated music into the sacred sanctum of music's temple. Very serious musicians have been throwing up their hands at musical innovations in every age, so it is not surprising to find modern youth ignoring their gestures, especially in view of the fact that the innovators of the past have turned out to be the classics of the future!" See Brewster-Jones, "Music: Percy Grainger and Jazz," Progress in Australia 5, no. 2 (1934): 15.
87 Again, Brewster-Jones took the opportunity to ask international visitors their opinions on jazz. The conductor Malcolm Sargent digressed "briefly to discuss modern dance music, [confessing] that he liked 'swing' and 'sweet' music, but he detested 'hot' rhythm." Sir Richard Terry, who came out as a Trinity College Adjudicator, condemned the "jazz spirit" judging the "negro elements" to be "subversive," but was not unsympathetic to a composer dear to Brewster-Jones's heart—George Gershwin, acknowledging that some of the music in Porgy and Bess was remarkable.
ambivalence and uncertainty. It becomes evident from his approach that jazz, like Russian music, was an exotic Other—strange, unfamiliar therefore fascinating and desirable, but never truly equal. The real appeal seemed to lie in its connection to the exotic and non-Western. His approach is that of a Primitivist, he was drawn to jazz’s “untamed negroid origins,” its “primitive urge of rhythm,” and “savage fire.” For Brewster-Jones, it was “the primitive quality of jazz [that] must be the urge in any art development if it is to be musically significant.”

The material that Brewster-Jones draws upon for his writing was often surprisingly obscure. For instance, the first feature on jazz uses liberal examples of caricatures of black musicians by the Mexican painter, writer and anthropologist Miguel Covarrubias. It appeared in May 1935, only a short while after he started at the Advertiser. “The Musical Significance of Jazz” looks at major black figures such as Duke Ellington, using common racist stereotypes to exoticise and privilege the intuitive musical talent of “the American Negro” over the “hack composer and arranger”. But, for Brewster-Jones, it was the white composers such as Maurice Ravel and lesser-known American composer, J. Alden Carpenter, who created a legitimate and significant art through their appropriation of black jazz “because they had,” he claimed, “approached it from a purely musical angle.” But again, ambivalence and ambiguity come through in his writing. He upheld Carpenter’s Piano Concertino as “good” music, but nonetheless deemed it less vital than Ellington’s and was seemingly unable to say which he preferred.

Although Brewster-Jones attempted a certain objectivity, he could not hide his distaste for crooning as a singing style. Nevertheless, his interest was piqued and in July 1935 he devoted an entire article to it. There is a sincere effort on his part to

89 Brewster-Jones, “Juggling with the Sticks: Drummer’s Place in Jazz,” Advertiser, 4 January 1936, 9.
90 Mexican artist, Miguel Covarrubias, received little formal artistic training. In 1923 he went to New York City on a government scholarship, and his incisive caricatures soon began to appear in magazines such as Vanity Fair and The New Yorker. A collection of his caricatures, The Prince of Wales and Other Famous Americans, was published in 1925. His illustrations showing his interest in the study of racial types also appeared in numerous magazines and books. In 1930 and 1933 he and his wife travelled in Asia. For a time he lived in Bali, where he became friends with Donald Friend and subsequently wrote Island of Bali (1937). See Covarrubias, Miguel (2007 [accessed 31 October 2006]; available from http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-9026645.
91 Brewster-Jones, “The Musical Significance of Jazz.”
deal with the subject fairly, in contrast to the many vitriolic and vituperative attacks that were being printed at the time, and by identifying Bing Crosby as a superior exponent of the style he showed that he was not wholly immune to the attractions of crooning. He turned his attention back to jazz in June the following year with his piece “‘Scat’ Singing and ‘Swing’ Rhythm Now.” His general approach had not changed. Again, the popular music was praised for its greater vitality. “Swing” rhythm in particular was reckoned to be more “virile” than either blues or crooning, and again Brewster-Jones emphasised its difference, portraying it as an “exotic rhythm, infectious in its syncopation.”

Further evidence to the close link he perceived between these popular styles and the non-Western is found in his rather bizarre comparison between scat singing and indigenous Australian didgeridoo music. His article “‘Juggling with the Sticks’: Drummer’s Place in Jazz” also links the percussion instruments in a jazz drum section back to their respective roots in many different countries including Turkey, Cuba, Korea and Africa. Under his exoticist gaze these different musics merge, demonstrating once again the distance he felt between his world and these others.

Although Brewster-Jones is less than effusive in these articles on jazz and crooning, he was nonetheless sternly reprimanded by C.M. Ward, another writer for the Advertiser. One suspects that the reprimand was aimed not only at his “permissive” attitudes but also at his decision to write them in the first place. In a scathing and elaborately named article—“‘Slang and Jazz’, ‘Stimulating’ a Static Language’. Has ‘Noxious Slush’ a Mission?”—Ward professed surprise not only at “the degree of professional sanction of American ‘pep’,” but also at “the cautious tolerance which some musical critics show for jazz and even for crooning.” One cannot help but suppose that Brewster-Jones was undoubtedly one of the unnamed critics he had in mind.

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94 Brewster-Jones, “Juggling with the Sticks: Drummer’s Place in Jazz.”

Non-Western music: Brewster-Jones “on safari”96

The references to other cultures in “Juggling with the Sticks” is one of countless examples illustrating how Brewster-Jones used his writing to escape his surroundings; he became a virtual world traveller. His voracious appetite for difference took him all over the globe; the range and detail of information presented and the connections made are often bewildering and even at times bizarre.

This vicarious desire for imaginary travel manifests itself throughout his writings, but is particularly prevalent in the transcripts of his lecture broadcasts. For instance, the lecture with the seemingly innocuous title “Drama” is actually a universalising enterprise in cultural comparison that covers a staggering array of nationalities and time periods.97 Beginning with a description of Indian dramatic tradition, he travelled to China and Japan, from there he visited the shamans of the Finnis-Tartaric races of Northern Asia, the medicine-men of North America, the Zulus and Figis (presumably he meant Fijians) who appeared in a curious partnership, back then to the Greeks and Romans, and after a brief visit to the tribes of Aboriginal Australia and the Hopi Indians he dropped in on the Mongols circa 500 B.C. before retracing his steps back to the Indians via the Chinese. His far-reaching curiosity collapsed all difference into the same category. The lecture “Native Art Culture”, takes us on a similarly peripatetic journey; every corner of the globe is traversed. Beginning in Montenegro, we go on to Russia, Ireland, Japan, Australia, Malaya, India and the Middle East.98 In “Musical Curiosities of the Past” the Chinese instrument, the sheng (or cheng) and St Petersburg, Russia, are brought together in an unlikely union via a Danish organ builder named Kirschnick. According to Brewster-Jones, Kirschnick was introduced to the sheng in St Petersburg and adopted the “Chinese principle of a ‘free single reed’” in his development of free reed stops. In this account, the introduction of the sheng to fifteenth-century Europe is attributed to an Abbe Vogler, who apparently enjoyed performing the Chinese song “Chew Tew”

97 Hooper Brewster-Jones Papers, 5CL Radio Broadcast Transcripts: Private collection in the possession of Anne Bartsch; no date; Drama [hereafter Drama].
98 Hooper Brewster-Jones Papers, 5CL Radio Broadcast Transcripts: Private collection in the possession of Anne Bartsch; no date; Native Art Culture (Folk Music) [hereafter Native Art Culture].
on the organ.\textsuperscript{99} Even subjects whose connections to the exotic are tenuous indeed, such as “German Folk Song” were spiced up by introducing other traditions; in this case these included the Russian, Hungarian and Finnish, the latter replete with its “idiomatic five-tone minor scale.”\textsuperscript{100}

There was considerable discussion of non-Western scales and modes, particularly in the broadcasts. Brewster-Jones identified the importance of scales in the creation of a national music:

The scale or mode in which a folk song lies is one of the guides as to its country of origin, its period, or its antiquity…The pentatonic scale which we have discovered has almost a universal use, is much more prevalent in some countries than others…Any scale may and has become the heritage of the people who persist in its use.\textsuperscript{101}

He concentrated mainly on the pentatonic and whole tone scale, two of the three non-Western scales that were absorbed into his own compositional language. The pentatonic scale is a particular point of focus in his two lectures on Chinese music. He gives the following explanation of its hierarchical construction and its symbolic relation to Chinese society at large:

It is known that the Chinese evolved a scale from a series of bamboo pipes which were designed according to correct arithmetical progression. Their oldest musical scale, the pentatonic … had the following titles: F was called Emperor, G Prime Minister, A Loyal Subjects, C Affairs of State and D Mirror of the World.

His own explanation of the scale’s evolution was based “[o]n a perceived inability on the part of the “refined” Chinese ear to tolerate the tuning of the fourth and seventh intervals of the scale. Or was the Chinese ear really so refined?” He seemed uncertain in his musings on the scale’s origins:

\textsuperscript{99} Musical Curiosities of the Past.
\textsuperscript{100} Hooper Brewster-Jones Papers, SCL Radio Broadcast Transcripts: Private collection in the possession of Anne Bartsch; 31 May 1933; German Folk Song [hereafter German Folk Song].
\textsuperscript{101} Hooper Brewster-Jones Papers, SCL Radio Broadcast Transcripts: Private collection in the possession of Anne Bartsch; no date; Folk Song [hereafter Folk Song].
Is the origin a primitive crudeness, which has not arrived at the full 7 note scale; or is the origin a refinement of ear which rejects the tuning of those two intervals which have been omitted to form the pentatonic scale.102

He extrapolated further that the Chinese “developed crude theories which included octaves and fifths and they had evolved 84 scales each scale having some philosophical meaning.” Then, in an unusual and unsubstantiated claim, Brewster-Jones declared that, the Chinese, unlike Western musicians, “never attempted to express feelings through their music,” and therefore their music experienced “no great development of the artistic imagination,” again presumably in contrast to Western music.103

A vast array of non-Western musical instruments comes under consideration in his writings. Over several lecture broadcasts, he looked at instruments from Egypt, China and Japan. We even learn a little about their practitioners. The nay (an Egyptian wooden flute) was “one of the oldest musical instruments in existence and has been played in the Nile Valley by the peasants called fellaheen,” and Brewster-Jones informed his listeners that “many young ladies of Egypt defied tradition by introducing this instrument (the ud) into their homes.”104 He also described the kamanga (a stringed instrument) and the quanoon. In the broadcast, “Native Art Culture,” he provided a detailed description of several Japanese instruments, including the kin koto, samiseng (shamisen) and bima (biwa) again in the context of their societal function.105 Detailed description of instruments percussive and melodic are covered in his two broadcasts on Chinese Music including the Yue-kin or “moon-faced guitar”, the cheng—“a primitive form of fiddle”, the Kin (shin) and the Watchman’s Rattle.106 He demonstrated an awareness of contemporary Chinese society in the up-to-date section, “Chinese music of today”:

102 Hooper Brewster-Jones Papers, 5CL Radio Broadcast Transcripts: Private collection in the possession of Anne Bartsch; 1 April 1930; Chinese Music (Part 1)[hereafter Chinese Music (Part 1)].
103 Ibid.
104 Hooper Brewster-Jones Papers, 5CL Radio Broadcast Transcripts: Private collection in the possession of Anne Bartsch; 28 June 1932; Egyptian Native Music: Ancient and Modern [hereafter Egyptian Native Music].
105 Native Art Culture.
106 See Chinese Music (Parts 1 and 2). Somewhat mysteriously, given these were radio broadcasts, Brewster-Jones went so far as to pencil in little pictures of the instruments in the text. Perhaps the pictures acted as aids to help him describe the instruments to a listening audience?
Mendicant musicians travel the streets of China with the 3 stringed guitars carried in a waterproof covering which makes them appear like large size tennis racquets slung over the shoulder. To attract the attention of the passers by they play a flute as they go. There are various types of guitars in China some have finer boards several feet long, others only a few inches in length. Blind musicians use one type and blind singing girls another type upon which they accompany themselves.107

He went on to say that “[t]he curious so-called violin which looks like a croquet mallet with 4 pegs and strings attached is similar to the Tibetan violin.”108 How he knew what a Tibetan violin looked like is yet another mystery.

Some years later in 1935, between 5 January and 11 May, Brewster-Jones ran a nineteen-part series, “Musical Instruments and their Origin,” in his Saturday column of the Advertiser. Once again he was bitten by the travelling bug and off he set through Spain, Ceylon, China, Japan, India, Persia and Egypt on his excursion through the history of the violin. Burma, Malaya, Cambodia and Portuguese West Africa are other places cited in this unusual and idiosyncratic survey of European instruments. A wide array of ancient civilizations are necessarily brought into the search for origins, such as the Greek, Celtic, Roman, Egyptian, ancient Chinese, Hindu, Assyrians, Etruscans and even Oscan. The cello is linked to the Arabian kermangeh. The trumpet is likened to the Middle Eastern ram’s horn trumpet, the shophar, and the French horn and sousaphone are traced back to the Roman bucina. Twelve of the nineteen articles contain an illustration of a primitive or non-Western instrument to which they have been related: the cheng for the harmonium, the Oriental rebab for the violin, the Egyptian nefer for the Spanish guitar, the Chinese kinkou for the timpani, the jungle piano of Angola for the xylophone, the Assyrian drum for the kettle drum, the Chinese So-na for the oboe. Even those which are more difficult to primitivise, such as the piano, saxophone, slide trombone and the clarinet, nonetheless get an unorthodox provenance: he associates the piano with the

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107 Hooper Brewster-Jones Papers, SCL Radio Broadcast Transcripts: Private collection in the possession of Anne Bartsch; 1930; Chinese Music (Part 2) [hereafter Chinese Music (Part 2)].
108 Ibid.
Hungarian cimbalom, the clarinet and saxophone are connected to jazz, the trombone is loosely linked to unspecified “Eastern nations.”

This information then begs the question: where was Brewster-Jones getting his information? Unfortunately, the answer can only be partial. Constant Lambert’s classic book on twentieth century music, *Music Ho!*, is constantly referred to throughout his writings on modern art music and jazz, as is Cecil Forsyth’s book on orchestration from 1914 in relation to his series “Music Instruments and Their Origin.” Brewster-Jones mentioned several sources in the broadcasts: general music histories by Hubert Parry and Forsyth and Stanford, curiosities such as the travel book *Old Highways in China* by missionary Isabelle Williamson (of Chefoo, North China), *A Chinaman’s opinion of us and of his own people (As expressed in letters from Australia to his friend in China)* by Hwuy-ung (Mandarin of the Fourth Button), translated by J. A. Makepeace, M.A., and Cecil Forsyth’s jingoistic *Music and Nationalism*. A.H. Fox Strangways’s classic *Music of Hindostan* and the memoirs of a Frederick Kitchener, who had taught music in Cairo before the First World War, also helped him with his account of Egyptian music.

Nonetheless, Brewster-Jones’s accounts of other musics are littered with peculiar little snippets of information not found in the sources he cites. A possible explanation for some of these odd remarks is found in Brewster-Jones’s references to his own personal ethnographic adventures tracking down live informants. Among these sources were an Aboriginal elder at Pt McLeay Mission who sang him some indigenous music and Miss Booth of the China Inland Mission who told him of the many uses of bamboo. He even visited a local mosque near West Terrace in

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109 The series, “Musical Instrument and Their Origin,” ran every Saturday in the *Advertiser* between 12 January and 4 May 1935.
116 Forsyth is mentioned in the broadcast *Egyptian Native Music*.
117 Folk Song and Chinese Music (Part 2).
Adelaide and, as he told his audience, “made inquiries as to any orientals connected with the mosque who might be proficient in the matter of instruments or songs.” He went on:

The old caretaker of the Mosque greeted us with stern looks of disapproval at the mention of anything so wicked as music, which he considered was only for stupid youths who were also foolish enough to shave off the beards...Evidently the injunctions of the Prophet have been well preached by the followers of Islam for them to be still adherents in an out of the way place like Adelaide.\textsuperscript{118}

This willingness to conduct his own primary research resulted in some interesting performances given as part of the broadcasts. In his first presentation of Chinese music he played the Chinese Sacrificial Hymn to the Imperial Ancestors on the piano before going on to play a recording of a Chinese orchestra, warning the audience that it was “not only like the hissing of geese but more like a whole zoological garden.”\textsuperscript{119} The second instalment actually concluded with a live concert of some variety. It began with two examples of British orientalism, Granville Bantock’s song Yung Yang and the song Chinese Flower by R.H. Bowers, and finished with Brewster-Jones’s very un-Chinese Indian Serenade. But Adelaide did get to hear some actual Chinese music, for between these two European examples of cultural translation were two solos, one for moonfaced guitar and one for Chinese dulcimer played by A. Toy, and a Chinese song accompanied by guitar performed by J. Chenug (presumably a misprint for Cheung). Apparently Brewster-Jones could not find any live examples of Egyptian music and resorted to excerpts from Verdi’s Aida. Using records from the Columbia History of Music he also introduced Adelaide’s listening public to examples of organum from the \textit{Musica enchiriadis}, English music from the sixteenth century including “Sumer is i-cumen in” and Purcell’s First Harpsichord Suite in the sessions “Early English Music with Illustrations of Medieval Music” and “Clavichords and Harpsichords.”\textsuperscript{120}

\textsuperscript{118} Egyptian Native Music.
\textsuperscript{119} Chinese Music (Part 1).
\textsuperscript{120} Hooper Brewster-Jones Papers, SCL Radio Broadcast Transcripts: Private collection in the possession of Anne Bartsch; 28 June 1932; Early English Music with Illustrations of Medieval Music and 28 June 1932; Clavichords and Harpsichords.
An Analysis of Brewster-Jones’s treatment of his Others:

**Eurocentrism**

As seen by much of the content presented in the above discussion, Brewster-Jones’s writing on non-Western music and jazz was strongly informed by the governing frame of what has been called Eurocentrism; it exhibits an unsurprising cultural chauvinism and is shot through with prejudice and racism. Eurocentrism, as defined by Bill Ashcroft, is the “conscious or unconscious process by which Europe and European cultural assumptions are constructed as, or are assumed to be, the normal, the natural or the universal.” The early twentieth-century primitivist enterprise was shaped by underlying racism and cultural chauvinism. Brewster-Jones was no exception, and as we have seen, words such as “primitive,” “savage,” “native races” and “barbaric” pepper his prose. When he wrote that “[p]rimitive races clearly do not seem to be able to evolve a Shakespeare type so the stories they act continue for generations unaltered and unimproved,” Brewster-Jones was drawing upon what Michael Pickering has described as stereotypical notions of “non-European peoples based on the generalised construct of the Primitive...”; notions that dominated Western thinking at this time. Pickering highlights the connection between primitivism and Empire:

> the notion of primitiveness as we have come to understand it is very much a product of modernity and modern imperialism, or rather of the intersections between them. The process of becoming modern and building empires profoundly altered the ways in which people in Europe thought about cultural difference. Western societies classifying themselves as modern and civilised relied heavily on the contrast between their own sense of advancement and the idea of racially backward and inferior societies.

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122 Drama.
Primitivism is then the conceptual opposite of the West: “the ideological counterpart to modernity.” 124

Eurocentricism was also shaped by a deeply flawed concept of Social Darwinism, and in fact Brewster-Jones does not differ markedly from the “evolutionary thinking” a group of music scholars known as comparative musicologists, the forefathers of what is now called ethnomusicology. 125 Many from this group, including its founding father, Erich von Hornbostel, were early pioneers of a methodology based on the principle of diversity and equal value. 126 Keeping this in mind, it is interesting to note that when speaking of the Egyptians Hornbostel nonetheless made racially-inflected references to the “metallic and dusky texture” of their voices and their “feather light strides.” He goes so far as to use the term “barbarians.” 127 Hornbostel may have upheld ideas of diversity and equality with regard to other musics but he, like Brewster-Jones, reflected the attitudes and prejudices of their period. Brewster-Jones certainly did not resort to the extremes of social evolutionism in the same way as one of his chief sources, Hubert Parry, for whom the singing of the “natives of Australia” sounded like “savage howls which hardly have any distinct notes in them at all,” and who painted an image of the Polynesian cannibals “gloating over their living victims, shortly to be devoured.” 128

Brewster-Jones was on occasion capable of making astute and thoughtful observations (couched though they are in now unacceptable language) as seen in the following comment that: “[i]n native races there are sometimes evidences of culture in the performance of a song rather than in the song itself.” 129 This realisation that the text has a direct relationship with its environment and that the cultural meaning is located in the actual act of performance points to what has become a fundamental precept of modern ethnomusicological practice. It is too easy from our vantage point

124 Ibid.
127 Racy, “Historical Worldviews of Early Ethnomusicologists: An East-West Encounter in Cairo, 1932,” 84.
129 Native Art Culture.
to judge Brewster-Jones harshly for his prejudices. Although Eurocentric in outlook, he was comparatively open-minded in his views on difference, exhibiting a strong tendency to idealise rather than to reject that which was unfamiliar.

Idealisation, purity and the collapse of time and space

A need to trace primitive and archaic origins saturates Brewster-Jones’s writing—the more exotic in terms of ethnicity and distant in time the better. It excited him: “This is the reason we find ancient history so attractive. It is full of surprises...we discover a ‘curiosity of the past’; a creative idea; man in his primitive state discovering a new joy; and we are excited at the discovery.”130 Perhaps it helped satisfy not only his desire for the “strange and rare” but also for an imaginary, impossible and unsullied purity. He was swept up in what Homi Bhabha describes as a “fantasy that dramatises the impossible desire for a pure, undifferentiated origin.”131 Musicologist, Daniel Albright, has noted the importance of distance in both exoticism and primitivism. He argues that: “Exoticism is to space what Primitivism is to time: a search for meaning at great distances.” He then points out quite rightly that a firm line cannot be drawn between the two.132

Brewster-Jones’s treatment of this material reveals a direct correlation in his mind between the ancient and the oriental/primitive; he collapses time and space together. Occasionally this is made explicit: “A comparison between the earlier stages of Greek Drama and the more advanced efforts of savage races in this art [drama] show several points in common.”133 Elsewhere he argued that: “Both the Greeks and the Savages worshipped a god of vegetation...”134 This was not uncommon for the time; Brewster-Jones was making what Louise Blakeney Williams has described in her study of early twentieth century English writers as the “connection in the mind of these early Modernists between archaic and Asian art.”135 Pickering argues that “[p]rimitive peoples in faraway places were viewed as contemporary versions of

130 Ibid.
131 Homi K. Bhabha, The Location of Culture (London; New York: Routledge, 1994), 81.
133 Drama.
134 Ibid.
Europe's own ancestry." Brewster-Jones was delighted in the resulting possibilities of this collapse:

The intriguing thought is, that 2000 years ago Chinamen were playing on their single free reed sheng which has given us all our modern free-reed organ-like instruments; and Imperial Rome was being entertained by the water organ or hydraulus which has given us our magnificent pipe organ of today. China and Rome met when the principle of the free reed was combined with the principle of the open pipe, and both set in motion by the same wind chest.

A.H. Fox Strangways similarly compared Indian music to music of the Middle Ages: "Here it is not the place but the time that is unfamiliar; we have suddenly thought away four centuries of our civilization." There is a tension between the archaic and primitive: the archaic were "Us" long ago in a primitivised form, whereas the contemporary "primitive" is Other, but in a way represents "Us" as we once may have been.

According to Bhabha, Said's Orientalism is: "...on the one hand, a topic of learning, discovery, practice; on the other it is the site of dreams, images, fantasies, myths, obsessions and requirements." Brewster-Jones's interest to learn about and share his knowledge of other cultures was genuine, but it was driven by a desire for an idealised Other. Fantasies of the unknown and unfamiliar fired his imagination, fantasies whose allure was not sullied by reality. A sense of distance and separation

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137 Musical Curiosities of the Past. Yet another compelling and curious example of this collapse of time and space is found among Brewster-Jones's papers (Brewster-Jones Papers, Yelki). There among the music are two yellowed sheets of paper folded slightly askew that when opened up reveal two identical world charts. At the top of the first map is a description, in Brewster-Jones's hand, of the function of the musical instrument, the bullroarer: "used as a call to the ceremonial observance of the tribal ritual." On looking on the reverse side of the map, we find his source: the renowned nineteenth-century anthropologist and writer, Andrew Lang's Custom and Myth (New York: Harper, 1885). Using Lang's book, Brewster-Jones has plotted on the map many of the peoples of the world that used a bullroarer-like instrument. Here the ancient Greek instrument, the rhombos, used, as he notes, in the Dionysian Mysteries, is found alongside the Central Australian churinga. In addition he has identified the "Maori" in New Zealand, the "Kaffir" (his own unfortunate designation) in South Africa and the North American tribe, the Zuni. On the other chart he had begun mapping out various categories of primitive man, including the Neolithic, the "Broad-headed C[entral] or W[estern] European Bronze Period," the Mediterranean, the Alpine and the Nordic. These maps together constitute an immediate and intimate instance that captures Brewster-Jones's enormous curiosity for different cultures; one that paid no heed to chronology or causality.
139 Bhabha, The Location of Culture, 71.
from these other cultures created the fascination; they were “understood from afar,” and cut loose from their own location and culture. They could represent, as Ashcroft suggests, whatever was “projected onto them by the societies into which they were introduced.” As Said, and many after him have noted, the Orient is “constructed in European thinking … for people who never went to the countries of interest they became largely a function of their own hunger for escape.”

Although there is no doubt that Brewster-Jones researched his subjects, often providing unusual and specific detail, his language is at odds with the often highly technical and positivist writing of other scholars of non-Western music. He avoids the taxonomic approach found in the entries by Strangways and others in the early editions of the *Grove Dictionary of Music and Musician*, and although naïve and at times clumsy, his style tends towards the descriptive and metaphorical, preferring to draw upon myths and legends to elucidate his musical points. His discussion of modification of the Chinese pentatonic scale to include semitones, does not, like Strangway’s treatment of Indian ragas, draw upon ideas of ratio and proportion, but rather turns to the poetic legend of the mythical bird named *Fung Hoang* and his mate, who together were responsible for this altered form:

The whole tones, which represented to them things that were perfect and independent such as heaven, sun or man were invented by Fung Hoang: and his mate a mere female was held responsible for the semitones. These represented dependent and imperfect things such as earth, moon and woman.

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143 Chinese Music (Part 1).
Russian music provoked a similarly poetic response as seen in his evocative description of Tchaikovsky’s *Marche Slav*: “We are taken across the Steppes into that wild Asiatic region with its ‘sharp beat of savage drums and it oceanic wastes of grass’; and there is an Oriental and peasant tang in the music.”

This idealising of an exotic culture was commonplace. In one of Brewster-Jones’s own sources for the lectures, *The Music of Hindostan*, still considered a classic study, Strangways presents an example of the common essentialising trope of the serenity of the East in his invocation of:

> the calm of the East, where a man’s life is his own or at most his family’s concern, rather than the State’s, where there is time to live it, where truth is found neither in analysis nor compromise, and spiritual food is not contained in tabloids, we do not know what to make of music which is dilatory without being sentimental and utters passion without vehemence.

This trope is palpable in Brewster-Jones’s writing. He describes the “soothing quality” of the stone chimes and flutes “when sounded together,” quoting a line of Chinese poetry as an example: “The bells and drums sound in harmony; the sounding stones and flutes blend their notes.”

**Ambivalence**

Brewster-Jones’s essentialising, idealising approach to his Others is shot through with ambivalence. Again this was a typical outlook at the time. As Albright observes, “[modernist] Primitivism tends to be...a mixture of fascination, disgust, and something like terror...” In his important book, *The Location of Culture*, Bhabha offers an insightful and thoughtful discussion of the role of ambivalence in the process of stereotyping. He sees ambivalence as central to the stereotype that manifests itself in “coexisting meanings and values about, or emotions and attitudes towards, stereотyped figures which are contradictory...” The stereotype is itself an “arrested, fetishistic mode of representation”—at once phobia and fetish—and

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146 Chinese Music (Part 2).
provokes both delight and fear in the "'otherness' which is at once an object of desire and derision, an articulation of difference contained within the fantasy of origin and identity." 148 Ambivalence contains great force and is, according to Bhabha, "one of the most significant discursive and psychical strategies of discriminatory power." 149

Brewster-Jones's lecture "Dance Music of the Nations," which is ostensibly a survey of something as tame as the three-time dance rhythms including the waltz, mazurka and minuet, is interrupted suddenly by the following loaded segue:

Now for a criticism of the dance band of to-day when it attempts the waltz. Modern dance bands which are permeated with negro influences such as slides and slurs[,] crooning and other devices perfectly suitable for creating the atmosphere of the blues, lose the grace and classical quality of the waltz. That delicacy of rhythm and charm of nuance which belongs to the best orchestral performances of dance music 30 years ago is clouded in a jumble of effect which ill suits the waltz and similar dances.

His ambivalence of course works both ways, and he here felt it necessary to remind his listeners of the legitimacy of the blues:

Serious composers who realise this will naturally ignore much of the dance music of today as a medium of serious musical expression excepting the blues which is legitimate because its idiom is suitable to its subject and it has a natural primitive strength because it describes a definitely human impulse. 150

But when the dance band transgressed his boundaries and dared to attempt the waltz, the waltz itself became illegitimate, even degenerate. The sensual physical appeal of the "negro" elements held great allure, but it had to remain Other, inferior to that which was Western. His refusal to allow them into his world reeks of fear.

It is the hybrid nature of jazz that sparked this ambivalent reaction, the impure mix of the primitive with sophisticated European art music. This dislike of cultural intersection comes through clearly in his discussion of modern Egyptian music. The

148 Bhabha, The Location of Culture, 76.
149 Ibid., 66-76.
150 Hooper Brewster-Jones Papers, 5CL Radio Broadcast Transcripts: Private collection in the possession of Anne Bartsch; 4 July 1933; Dance Music of the Nations.
ancient was safer than the modern for Brewster-Jones. Whereas his discussion of ancient Egyptian music is untroubled, and he quite happily traced the modern symphony orchestra back to the murals of Egyptian musicians on the walls of pyramids, he was far more ambivalent about the modern. He applauded the Egyptians who, in defiance of Islamic laws, established an Oriental Music Club to preserve their traditional music. His description of this is laden with Eurocentric ideas of progress and modernisation:

There were of course certain advanced [read Westernised] people who insisted on progressing with the times and introducing art works to their homes. These people were considered modernists and criticised accordingly by the bulk of their fellow Egyptians. It was these progressive spirits who formed themselves into an Oriental Music Club which had as its object the raising of the standard of native music in Egypt.151

At the same time, Brewster-Jones heaped scorn on those who try to “ape” Western ways. He drew from Frederick Kitchener’s account of 1914:

Most primitive ideas of European music are entertained by some of the people who wish to be smart. Once a year comes the great Muhammadan festival of Kourban Bairam. I have been in Cairo during four of these yearly feasts, and upon each one of these the Pasha who lives near here has enlivened everyone around by engaging a band of three performers to play upon his lawn, the band consisting of a cornet, a drum, and a piccolo. We have heard some very thin bands but never anything to compare with this for a ludicrous ensemble … [it] defies written description, and must be heard to be thoroughly appreciated.

He then added his own disparaging voice commenting on Kitchener’s account:

…one can see from this pseudo European appreciation of music by the modern Egyptian that his musical intelligence is sadly wanting. As a contrast let us go back 5000 years and take the beginnings of Egyptian musical culture when Egypt was the home of science and led the way in all the arts including music.152

151 Egyptian Native Music.
152 Egyptian Native Music.
The purity of the ancient is assured, but the modern becomes tainted by striving to be Western. Although he claims that Egypt is where East meets West, the modernisation (read Westernisation) of Egyptian music makes him uneasy. In this he was not alone. This wish for authentic, pure music unsullied by Western influence was shared by many comparative musicologists of the day such as Hornbostel and another founding father, Curt Sachs. A discussion of this trend is found in Ali Jihad Racy’s examination of the 1932 Congress of Arab Music held in Cairo attended by both Sachs and Hornbostel. It was, according to Racy, “a significant landmark in world music history” and took place coincidentally in the same year that Brewster-Jones presented his lecture.\footnote{Racy, “Historical Worldviews of Early Ethnomusicologists: An East-West Encounter in Cairo, 1932,” 68.} Racy draws the interesting conclusion that the Egyptians embraced modernity and sought uplift and progress whereas the Europeans were interested in authenticity and preservation of tradition. After all, something Westernised lost its exotic allure.

**Ventriloquism/Translation**

Two further Orientalist strategies common to this period were the tendency to speak for the other culture in an act of ventriloquism and the process of translation enacted upon the material brought about by the placing of oneself in “their” place. This process is, as Cælestin writes, “an individual’s attempt at translating an exotic otherness for Home”—the dominant discourse.\footnote{Roger Cælestin, *From Cannibals to Radicals: Figures and Limits of Exoticism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 4.} Both these strategies are found in Brewster-Jones’s writing. He had on one occasion reminded his listeners, “Of course we must not forget that to the Chinaman our music is considered barbaric and horrible. So perhaps we may not be able to appreciate the beauties of his art.”\footnote{Chinese Music (Part I).} Speaking on behalf of Chinese women, he asserted: “It is not that they would find it difficult to sing naturally but the fact is that Chinaman or woman who had any respect for themselves would not dream of being so vulgar as to sing with the natural voice.”\footnote{Ibid.} Musicologist, Jann Pasler, also observes that, “[u]sing the other as a site for
self-criticism is a typical Orientalist tactic." This is seen in Brewster-Jones's use of Chinese impressions of Western speech from *A Chinaman's opinion of us and of his own people (As expressed in letters from Australia to his friend in China)*:

> At present when I hear this tongue ... I can grasp at nothing. I am like one clutching at a mist, ten parts perplexed. The people here do not open their mouths; they whisper through their lips, which makes it difficult to discover variety in the sounds. And these sounds, what are they but as the twittering of distant birds and the quacking and hissing of geese.158

He supports the Chinese man's opinion, saying "...we do not speak frightfully well in Australia and a cultured Chinaman has a keener ear for beauty of sound in speaking."159

The inability of the Western notation system to deal with the microtonal intervals of Middle Eastern music is raised in "Native Art Culture," and another reference to Middle Eastern scales is made in the talk on Egyptian music:

> We now know of course that these songs are built on a scale which our ears do not readily assimilate and really it is our ears which are out of tune with the scale – not the singer who is out of tune. Our ears are limited to those intervals which we can produce on the piano. The orientals ears are not [sic].160

Although Cäelestin's idea of translation refers to the process of exoticism as a whole an overt example of self-conscious translation can be found in one of Brewster-Jones's sources that demonstrates how the act of translation from one language into another mediates between the actual words spoken and the "Home" audience's expectations. J. A. Makepeace, the translator of *A Chinaman's opinion of us* writes the following:

> On my part, I have been encouraged to assist in the arduous task of translation by the conviction that the opinions of a cultured man regarding our own not always

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157 Pasler, "Race, Orientalism, and Distinction in the Wake of the "Yellow Peril"", 101.
158 Chinese Music (Part 2).
159 Ibid.
160 Egyptian Native Music.
irreproachable mode of life – of a man of a race whose characteristics are often the antithesis of our own – cannot fail to be both interesting and instructive.161

His deliberate style of mis/translation becomes caricature as it attempts to capture the foreignness of the protagonist, becoming a kind of pidgin as seen in his translation of the protagonist’s sorrow at leaving his lover: “ai-ya! Is difficult leave her, as for the thirsty traveller to take the cool drink from his lips.” 162 Makepeace is giving his audience what he thinks they expect. This extreme example is suggestive of what may have been happening in more subtle ways throughout Brewster-Jones’s writing on non-Western art.

Brewster-Jones as Agitator and Polemicist.

Brewster-Jones was a tireless supporter of local artistic endeavour and made it a personal quest to educate and inform Adelaide in musical matters. He leapt upon any significant local musical event that enriched the local musical scene. Events such as Grainger’s Historic Concerts, the Rose Grainger Fund163 and the Carnegie Institute’s gift of the then absolutely up-to-date self-feeding gramophone with its invaluable collection of recordings, which included many recordings of contemporary music, earned special mention in his coverage for theAdvertiser.164

Grainger was a case in point. He too was originally from Adelaide, and in his forward-looking, open-minded approach to music, became a kind of kindred spirit for Brewster-Jones, even though, according to Hoffmann, the rest of Adelaide “thought Grainger was mad.”165 The two Historic Concerts Grainger gave in Adelaide in 1935

161 Hwuy-ung, A Chinaman’s Opinion of Us and of His Own People (as Expressed in Letters from Australia to His Friend in China), vii.
162 Ibid., 296.
163 Percy Grainger made specific recommendations regarding how money from the Rose Grainger Fund should be used. It was to be put towards the support of chamber music at the Elder Conservatorium, but only ensembles that combined more than four instruments so as to demand less conventional repertoire. He stipulated “such combinations should embrace music of bygone centuries as well as modern compositions.” See Brewster-Jones, “Interesting Season of Chamber Music,” Advertiser, 23 March 1937, 12.
164 Hoffman, 2005. Hoffman remembers that E. Harold Davies locked the machine away. He claimed that it was very difficult to access. However, on one occasion Arthur Brewster Jones got into the locked room and found Stravinsky’sRite of Spring which he played to Hoffman for the very first time.
165 Hoffman, 2005.
were preceded by the talks “Various Systems of Harmony” and the “The Goal of Musical Progress”; two topics very close to Brewster-Jones’s heart. The concerts themselves featured the presentation of recordings of non-Western music, including a Zulu love song and a “hybrid” Madagascan song “Mamaphory”, and live performances, utilising the local ensembles the Lydian Singers and the Elder Conservatorium String Quartet, of early music by Machaut and Willaert, as well as the microtonal music of the experimental German composer Arthur Fickenscher. In addition Grainger played an example of what Brewster-Jones termed “orientalised European music”: his “pseudo-Javanese” arrangement of Debussy’s *Pagodes* for tuneful percussion. At this point Brewster-Jones wished out loud for an opportunity to hear some of Grainger’s own “free music.”\(^{166}\) In content these concerts were a kind of summation of Brewster-Jones’s own interests. However, it is of critical importance that Brewster-Jones had been interested in these kinds of musics since at least 1930. He was not imitating Grainger, if anything he was a local forerunner.

In 1936, in response to the inspirational first visit of the Russian Ballet, Brewster-Jones, along with his student William Hoffman and the painter Ivor Hele, founded the Adelaide Arts Club. He was President and Hoffmann its Secretary. It ran until just after 1940, folding after most of its young membership signed up for military service, Hoffman included. The club aimed to promote new work in the fields of the visual arts, dance and music including jazz. As previously mentioned, Brewster-Jones used his personal connections to the Russian Ballet to successfully install famed Russian choreographer Michel Fokine as the club’s official patron. Brewster-Jones was also President of the Chamber Music Society and head of the South Australian Branch of the Composers’ Guild (founded in 1939).\(^{167}\) His extended article in the *AMN*, “Pioneers and Problems: South Australia’s Musical History,” was another attempt to gain some recognition for local musical achievement.\(^{168}\) In the *Advertiser*, and later on during his work for the *News* during the 1940s, he ceaselessly agitated for an improved and better-funded South Australian symphony orchestra.\(^{169}\)

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\(^{169}\) See for example Brewster-Jones, “If We’re to Have a State Orchestra...,” *News*, 31 August 1948, and Brewster-Jones, “Orchestra ‘Put on the Spot’,” *News*, 21 June 1946. Both articles are found as
Only months before his death in 1949, he wrote a polemical article in *Meanjin* on the importance of music publishing in Australia in which he bemoaned the dreadful state of neglect into which Australian composition had been allowed to languish. He also joined the Composers' Guild, Louis Lavater's cry for government support in the establishment for an Australian Composers' Fund, citing lack of financial support as a critical reason for the lack of progressive Australian music.

There is a strong note of anger and dissatisfaction in much of Brewster-Jones's writing. He decried general Australian attitudes to culture, and cried out for change. Take for instance the opening of his radio lecture on “Modern French Music” from 1932 which exhorted Adelaide to broaden its horizons:

We cannot expect to understand the new without first acquainting ourselves with the old; we should otherwise lose the contrast. We should also miss the development...But that which is new, although it appears to upset many, if not all the canons of the past, may not be classed as ephemeral or brushed aside as negligible dilettantism simply on this account...Bias implies ignorance; or at best...limitation of outlook...170

He, like Agnew subsequently, mentioned the need to recognise beauty in new manifestations, and called for open ears and minds. He held the banner of progress high:

Let us develop the true “Aural Culture,” which should enable us to detect new beauties as well as old. Let us be limited by no system of musical outlook which imposes its doctrines to the exclusion of all other doctrines; but with a freedom and breadth of view and understanding, let us defend ourselves against that insidious boredom which creeps unawares into our art through a self-imposed routine of ideas. To stand still is to stagnate. Let our slogan be “Progress of Ideas”...Not “Stagnation.”171

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clippings in National Archives of Australia: Australian Broadcasting Commission; C1737/P1, Adelaide Orchestra, Also Municipal Band and Wireless Chorus.

170 Modern French Piano Music.

171 Ibid.
Much of his writing for Progress of Australia is scathingly critical about Australia’s apathetic attitudes to art. His piece “Are We ‘Doing Our Bit’ for Music?” is a case in point. No one is spared in his bitter criticisms, not even himself. He becomes an object of his own sarcasm, depicted as the lazy, apathetic pipe-smoking, armchair-lounging protagonist:

I admit that I am just as lazy as my fellow men in this respect [not taking the trouble to develop a knowledge of music], because in my position I should take a much greater interest in music than the average man and I simply don’t do it. I am quite content to sit at home and play bridge … or just smoke my pipe at the fire… I am very ashamed of myself for doing it, but what can I do about it? I suppose Australia is to blame for it. I have been doing this for so long now that I had almost forgotten that anyone wanted to progress in the matter of music in Australia; that anyone would say to me, “What is actually going on in the matter of musical development in the world?”…It is really so much easier to go on smoking your pipe…

The tirade continued in a series of short, sharp rebukes; the rhythm of the prose seeming to emulate the rhythm of an operatic recitative:

But this feeling is evanescent. I am left cold. I am in doubt. Suddenly I become furious. Furious with Fraser for saying it. Furious with myself for believing it, and furious with Adelaide for its senseless somnolence …

A desperate and bitter attack on Adelaide followed, in which he, as others before him had, poured scorn on the so-called “City of Culture”:

I wonder what has possessed Mr. Foster Fraser to be so lamentably inconsequential as to call Adelaide the “City of Culture.” Personally I can’t bear to have it said. It arouses all my worst feeling. When I think of it, hear it, or see it in print, my first feelings are a sort of smug satisfaction that we are better than the rest of Australia.

He then regained composure and finished with an air of feigned nonchalance:
Then I light my pipe and decide that it isn’t anybody’s fault. Fraser thought he was right; Adelaide thinks it is right; and I have been getting just worked up over nothing. 172

Conclusion

Brewster-Jones’s “keen interest in the strange and rare” was more an obsession born of desperation. As this chapter has demonstrated, it informed all aspects of his relationship to music: his performing, conducting, composing and criticism. There is a direct relationship between his deep sense of dislocation and dissatisfaction and his desire for the strange and unfamiliar. Brewster-Jones’s Others were, to borrow Pickering’s words, “drawn into fantasies of desire, longing, envy and seduction in the interests of compensating for some perceived deficiency of cultural identity or estrangement from inherited cultural values.”173 He was acutely aware of the limitations of his own environment and “wished to escape the constraints of [his] times through an exotic other...”174 The following observation of Câelestin provides an interesting explanation for Brewster-Jones’s growing sense of alienation:

Exoticism may constitute a potential means of leaving or escaping Home and, as such, it does create a rift between individual and culture. Yet it is also a mode of representation; this is why the subject who would practice exoticism can never really leave Home, since Home is also audience, just as this subject can never really go Home again once the exotic has become part of his (self-constituting) experience.175

John Docker has written about the presence of Orientalism and exoticism in Australia, asserting that: “[i]n Australian cultural history at least since the 1890s, Orientalism and exoticism have been related to a suspicion and dislike of a perceived English provincialism” which, he determines, “could also emerge as cosmopolitanism

174 Pasler, “Race, Orientalism, and Distinction in the Wake of the “Yellow Peril”,” 110.
175 Câelestin, From Cannibals to Radicals, 2.
and interest in multiculturality..." This assessment throws light on the case of Brewster-Jones. However, what is of chief importance to my study, however, is not the quality or value of Brewster-Jones’s writings on modern and non-Western art, but the fact that he wrote about them at all.

By the end of 1940, Brewster-Jones’s musical reportage in the Advertiser had diminished to a trickle in which there was barely a vestige of his original enthusiasm and passion (only a final visit of the Russian ballet inspired a brief return of his original ardour). This was due in part to the escalation of the war which resulted in a virtual standstill of concert life in Australia, but also, on a personal level, because of the premature death of his artistic collaborator and beloved son Robert. He did not find another position as a music critic until 1945 at the Adelaide News, where he worked until his death in 1949. Although he still at times entered into important local debates such as the future of the South Australian orchestra, the passionate embrace of modern music and the world at large that characterised his earlier creative production never returned. A “keen interest for the strange and rare” dominated Brewster-Jones’s artistic life, shaping not only the music he wrote and the subjects he chose to write about, but the way he understood the world.

Conclusion

“The Might-Have-Beens”?¹

Nine months after accepting a position at the Sydney Conservatorium, a milestone in his rapprochement with the Sydney musical establishment, Agnew was brought down by his recurrent throat problem. He was admitted to Hornsby Hospital where he died soon after of “quinzey.” “Nothing could save him,” lamented Kathleen Agnew; she felt as if half of her had gone.² ³ It was November 1944. He was fifty-three years old. Five years later, minutes after performing the extraordinary solo part in Mozart’s tragic and dramatic Piano Concerto in D minor with the Adelaide Symphony Orchestra conducted by his son Arthur, Brewster-Jones collapsed back stage and died of a massive heart attack. His son was conducting the second half of the programme on stage, unaware he had lost his father.³ Brewster-Jones was pronounced dead on arrival at the Royal Adelaide Hospital. He was 62. It seems fitting that the last

³ Cellist, John Painter, a central figure in Australian music for decades (he founded the Australian Chamber Orchestra and was Director of the both the Sydney Conservatorium and Canberra School of Music) was playing in the orchestra the night Brewster-Jones died. Although only a teenager at the time, he still remembers the incident clearly, particularly the shock of learning what had happened intensified by the eerie fact that, by the time the orchestra had finished the concert and moved back stage, Brewster-Jones had already been taken away, leaving no palpable sense of the dramatic and sad event. Painter was a student of Brewster-Jones’s friend, Harold Parson, and received a musical dedication from Brewster-Jones himself.
musical sound Brewster-Jones would ever produce was an unresolved seventh chord.⁴

Even before the mourning was over there were attempts to sum up the life and works of both men. In some respects, the die for their subsequent place, or lack of it, in Australian musical history was cast even before their deaths. The minimal newspaper coverage of Brewster-Jones’s demise reflected the marginal position attributed to him in Australian cultural life. Neither the Advertiser nor the Register ran a full obituary. The article in the Advertiser was perfunctory to say the least.⁵ After cursory and not altogether correct biographical details,⁶ it acknowledged his long-held position as “one of the best-known figures in Adelaide musical life,” and singled out for special mention his settings of Australian birdcalls and his symphonic poem, Australia Felix. The News, where he was employed at the time of his death, was more expansive, providing a richer biographical account that made much of his former status as a child prodigy.⁷ The Australian Musical News (hereafter AMN) made a better attempt in its summation of his achievements but, like the other two, it is brief, appearing as a sub-section in the “Adelaide” column.⁸ In none of these articles does the word “modern” appear.

Agnew, unsurprisingly, fared far better in the press. In general, his international standing was noted, particularly his publishing successes and his connections in Britain. Both long-term critics for the AMN, A. L. Kelly, and Agnew’s friend Frank Hutchens wrote extended obituaries for the AMN, and the English music critic and cricket commentator, Neville Cardus, provided a similar piece to the Sydney Morning Herald.⁹ Hutchens wrote of Agnew’s friendships with British composers such as Scott, Garratt and Williams and his association with the BBC. Cardus mourned the loss of Agnew, declaring his death “a lamentable loss to

⁴ One of the remarkable things about this concerto is that the soloist finishes on an unresolved seventh chord, leaving it to the orchestra to provide the resolution.
⁵ “H. Brewster Jones: Collapses After Playing Concerto,” Advertiser, 9 July 1949, 3.
⁶ It claimed he had studied in Germany and was survived by three sons. Robert was already dead by this time.
⁷ “H. Brewster Jones was Child Prodigy,” News, 9 July 1949, 2.
Australia.” He was, in Cardus’s opinion, “easily the most distinguished of Australia’s composers.”

In terms of Agnew’s music, Hutchens chose to emphasise his “fundamental individuality.” In his opinion, the influences of Scriabin and Debussy had been “unwisely stressed.” He made much of Agnew’s “fine technique of composition,” his “technical artistry,” the “exacting care” he took with his compositions and his “amazing” pianistic abilities. Kelly also claimed that “[e]choes of the febrile Scriabin faded from it many years ago,” and that what remained of “the master’s harmonic procedures...fell serviceably into place...” Cardus did, on the other hand, note the debt to Scriabin, mentioning the “chordal and development formulae from Scriabine.” He highlighted the lyricism of the music, describing it as having the warmth of “harmony of the romantic flavours current just before the last war.” In a telling example revealing the extent to which Agnew’s reputation and music had changed in the decade before his death, Cardus wrote, “Roy Agnew did not make the ultra-modern gesture and declined to be merely ‘fashionable’ and percussive...”

Nationalism coloured these accounts of Agnew’s life. Hutchens stressed his love of Australia and the bush. Cardus was less explicit, but made much of his love of gardening. A death notice in the *Sydney Morning Herald* with no by-line also highlights the “true atmosphere of this land” that many pieces evoked. Agnew did have a genuine love for Australian flora and fauna, and many of his works do refer to, or have connections to, particular aspects of Australian landscape, but this music forms only one part of his output, as Kelly observed: “he was no mere illustrator”; the music never becomes transparent to the thing signified. An article written many years later in 1983 by James Prior shows to what extent tastes and expectations can alter an interpretation of historical events. He portrayed Agnew as a nationalist “who tried, not always successfully, to write music with an Australian flavour”; music that was “distinctively Australian.” Prior’s desire to fit within a nationalist mould causes

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11 Cardus, “Death of Noted Composer.”
12 See newspaper clippings in Maclay: Papers of Roy and Kathleen Agnew.
13 Kelly, “Passing of Roy Agnew.”
him to suggest, quite wrongly, that Agnew “fought against the tendency to seek inspiration in European conventions.” 14

Another commonality between the obituaries is how Agnew was presented as a personality. For Kelly, he was a “warm yet refined and gentle spirit.” Hutchens made much of his “unworldliness” and “unsophistication.” Cardus depicted him in a similarly idealised manner: “life was for him not very real or concrete at all.” Cardus remembered, [h]e had something of the elusiveness of a Barrie character; he always reminded me of Lob in ‘Dear Brutus’...he was entirely without pretence and was gentle and modest.” 15 These idealised accounts run counter to Gordon Watson’s impression of Agnew as a personality. Watson remembered him as “definitely not retiring or self-effacing; self-centred, very self-absorbed.” He “didn’t need other people” and, according to Watson, “probably considered himself a genius and neglected.” Watson also pointed out his “enormous influence at the ABC.” Agnew, unlike the retiring, self-effacing Brewster-Jones, was clearly an assiduous and successful networker. The shrewd political sense he showed in choosing to dedicate his music to powerful and influential figures such as Wright, Rego, Barry and Waters attests to this. This fundamental difference in personality is reflected in the differing levels of attention they received after their deaths.

Hutchens believed that Agnew’s music would survive in the repertoire: “It is an encouraging thought that instead of enjoying a fleeting and un-critical popularity there is every reason to believe that, as his works become more widely known, they will enjoy a more lasting appreciation. Australians will become increasingly conscious of the fine creative artist that has lived amongst us.” Cardus also believed that the music would survive. Kathleen was leaving little to chance and campaigned vigorously to promote Agnew’s music after his death. She was in constant contact

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14 James Prior, “Composer’s Art was Poetic Fancy,” *Sydney Sun*, 2 March 1983, in Roy Agnew Archive: Private Collection in the possession of Rita Crews (Sydney).
15 See f.n. 9. Hutchens also mentions Agnew’s “disarming frankness,” but noted, with some sense of personal experience, that Agnew’s comments on other’s music could be “devastating.” He was “not a flatterer,” and his “high musical ideals” worked against his “material advancement.” Hutchens maintained that Agnew held a “childlike idea that truth must always be welcome.” “Though,” he continued, “this trait militated against his material success, it at least saved his art.” See Hutchens, “Roy Agnew: An Appreciation.”
with Barry, ensuring that Agnew’s recordings were being sent to libraries.\textsuperscript{16} She went so far as to write to international pianist, Walter Gieseking, asking him to play her husband’s music on his forthcoming Australian tour. Gieseking responded with the reassurance that he might be able to include some in a scheduled ABC broadcast of contemporary music.\textsuperscript{17}

Only a year later a letter to the editor called “A Neglected Composer” appeared in the \textit{Sydney Morning Herald}. Murray Bond wrote complaining that he had “looked in vain for some published comment” about the omission of Agnew’s music from a recent All-Australian concert. He demanded compensation “for those who are beginning to feel that the work of a noted Australian composer is being neglected…”\textsuperscript{18} A year before his death Winifred Burston had questioned Agnew’s national standing and the sincerity of the ABC’s commitment to him in a letter to her erstwhile student, pianist Gordon Watson. She used punctuation to convey her irony:

Did you see that notice in the A.B.C. about Roy? His Saturday session is stopping and he is having a session on Monday devoted to his own compositions as they realise his importance as a composer!!! WHO does? How long can he keep those going?\textsuperscript{19}

She was quite right, the session never got off the ground. They replaced it instead with the six-part recording project.

Taste was changing at a whirlwind pace. For the neoclassic composers of the late 1930s, the rich, rhapsodic musical style of Alexander Scriabin, Cyril Scott, Arnold Bax and Roy Agnew was already dated. Memos in the BBC archive after Agnew’s death, regarding a BBC Home Service broadcast of his music (the first British world undertaking involving the four Dominions and India) attest to this. The neoclassical composer, Arthur Bliss, then working for the BBC, informed “A.D.M.

\textsuperscript{17} Letter from Walter Gieseking to Kathleen Agnew, 15 March 1952, Maclay: Papers of Roy and Kathleen Agnew.
\textsuperscript{18} Murray Bond, “A Neglected Composer,”(draft letter to be sent to \textit{Sydney Morning Herald}), Maclay: Papers of Roy and Kathleen Agnew.
\textsuperscript{19} Letter from Winifred Burston to Gordon Watson, 8 January 1943, The Winifred Burston/Gordon Watson Correspondence: Private Collection in the possession of Alistair Noble; 1939-1964.
(programmes)” that “[t]he recordings are quite good, but the music is not such as would interest listeners here, except in a very short programme.” Val Drewry was more scathing. “I have heard all these records,” he informed R A. Beese:

The recording was quite good, but the material is not. It is all very meandering, and a great deal of it is so much alike that it cancels itself out...If we reviewed compositions like these we should turn them down...I can only hope they send us something better in the next consignment.20

Such comments speak not only to changing musical taste, but also hint at the power relations behind Britain and Australia’s complex relationship. Agnew’s career, as seen in Chapter 3, reflects many of the sacrifices, pressures and strains an Australian composer, or more generally an Australian artist, had to make or endure to pursue a professional musical career in the British world. His example offers a particular instance of the ambivalences and contradictions that existed between Britain and Australia. An ultramodern and Bolshevik in his early life, Agnew was passe before his death, and “clotted cream” by the late 1960s.21 It emerges clearly in the obituaries of both composers that, by the time of their deaths, they were no longer considered “modern.” All memory of them proceeded to fade quickly from the collective consciousness.

The complex relationship between Australia and Britain necessarily affected Agnew and Brewster-Jones’s lives and their musical output. It also had a profound impact upon their subsequent reception history, or lack of it, and can be understood as playing a major role in Australian musical historiography, not only in the instances of Agnew and Brewster-Jones but also in a wider sense. John Rickard describes this relationship:

The myth-building engendered by the Great War did not weaken ties with Britain, it only made them more complex. It certainly did not diminish the widespread belief that London was still the Empire’s cultural capital, and therefore the cultural standards had their ultimate source and legitimation there. On the one hand this

20 Val Drewry to Mr A. Beese, 12 January 1944, BBC Written Archives Centre; RCONT 10, Roy Agnew, 1939-1949.
created difficulties for the Australian public in evaluating the work of local artists which made claims as "art" but it was also a potent cause for cultural schizophrenia among the artists themselves.\footnote{22}

This cultural schizophrenia was evident in Agnew, as it was in others discussed in this thesis such as Barry, Waters and Cairo Rego, who themselves personified the very things they considered missing in Australian life: a modern European cosmopolitanism and an awareness of contemporary music.

The anxieties and sense of cultural crisis that beset the Western cultural elites in the face of popular culture, which was spreading like wildfire through the rapidly developing technologies of mass media, are felt in the writings of F.R. Leavis and Adorno and Horkheimer of the Frankfurt School. They helped to shape the ethos of the BBC and the ABC. The divide between "high" and "low" dominated intellectual discourse, and modern music also was fast becoming an internal exile in the world of Western art music.\footnote{23} The intellectual minority in Australia, whose sense of cultural hierarchy was under threat, felt increasingly besieged in the face of popular culture. Isolated, marginalised and overlooked by "Home" they elicited a peculiarly Australian response. The confluence during this period between the massive advances in communications technology, the attendant explosion of popular culture, the modernist demand for novelty and originality and the increasing sense of not being at the centre of activity intensified their so-called "schizophrenia" and brought about the "cultural cringe." The "cultural cringe," as Rickard argues, "gained much of its force from the growing dichotomy between high and popular culture which was itself a creation of the period between the wars."\footnote{24}


\footnote{23} Waters, "Speaking Editorially; Musicians, There is No Depression! Make That a Clear Call to Your Public," AMN 29, no. 1 (1938): 3-4. Waters quotes the composer, Egon Wellesz, from an article in the \textit{Monthly Musical Record} on the perceived incomprehensibility of modern music: "I think the reason for phenomena generally described as a crisis in present-day music is not only that some modem music is difficult to understand and difficult to approach, but even more than that the musical public of to-day no longer consists of an exclusive community spread over the whole world—as it was before the War and to some extent up to 1930—but in many places is made up of an incoherent and unorganised mass of listeners."

\footnote{24} Rickard, \textit{Australia, a Cultural History}, 139. cf. Ann Curthoys, "We've Just Started Making National Histories and You Want Us to Stop Already?," in \textit{After the Imperial Turn: Thinking with and through the Nation}, ed. Antoinette M. Burton (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2003), 71-74.
This intellectual minority included Barry, Cairo Rego and Waters, who were publicly grappling with these anxieties from the late twenties onwards. Rego made them explicit in his desire to return to “fountainhead” (see Chapter 2), they informed Barry and Agnew’s argument for the necessity of “Modern and Contemporary Composers,” and they permeated Thorold Waters’s musical criticism. Similar disparaging attitudes could be found in Sydney Smith’s appraisal of Australian painting in 1891:

In painting, as in other refinements, Australian opinion has not emerged from the embryonic condition wherein it is regarded as a light and graceful recreation...Art for art’s sake is an idea that finds little occasion for lodgement in the chinks of our busy day of money-getting...anyone who invades the sleepy circle of decorous self-satisfaction with an original idea, is viewed askance...It...sets forth with an air of originality opinions which have begun long since to grow stale on the other side of the globe.25

The growing concern with Australia’s cultural belatedness is played out throughout Waters’s own editorials from the mid-twenties and into the forties. In March 1924 a fascinating and elaborately titled article, “Shriek, Whirr and Bang Music; the Railway Station as a Form of Art: Futurist Connections with Machines, Technology etc.,” appeared.26 It centred on Waters’s own response to Futurist music, in which he revealed an awareness of much contemporary music. Despite his own musical erudition, he nonetheless identified distance as a powerful restriction on Australia becoming up-to-date:

In Australia we are much too remote from the factories where all those varieties are turned out to get more than an occasional whiff of the stuff. By the time we notice that somebody is making a new kind of music, half-a-dozen fresh factories have set themselves up in the distant other side of the world, and they are turning out still newer varieties. In any event, we do not get to know sufficient about any of the busy manufacturers, the Stravinskys, Schoenbergs, Hindemiths, Ornsteins, Milhauds, and

26 Waters, “Shriek, Whirr and Bang Music; the Railway Station as a Form of Art: Futurist Connections with Machines, Technology etc.,” AMN 13, no. 88 (1924): 7.
all the rest, or their products, to be able to form the glimmering of a notion of what it is all about.\textsuperscript{27}

From then on, the titles speak for themselves: in 1925 “Competitions and Standards of Taste. Do we lag as far behind old England as she thinks?”\textsuperscript{28} in 1927 “Amateurism in Australia’s Music. Best of Our Artists are Virtually Pinned to It.”\textsuperscript{29} In 1930 Waters entreated Australian audiences to be more discerning in “A Plea for Hissing at Concerts”;\textsuperscript{30} in 1937 a reference to Australia’s “inferiority complex” made by visiting English musician, Sir Richard Terry, forms the topic for discussion in “Silly Clichés and Underbaked Opinions: Put an End to Music’s Chief Deterrents.”\textsuperscript{31} Waters used the metaphor of the mirror in dealing with the time lag between Britain and Australia in the 1941 editorial “The Musical ‘New Order’ After the War: Mother Britain Has Begun It Even Now.”\textsuperscript{32} Later that year he blamed the “Australian suburban mentality,” rather than the war, for the slowing down of Australia’s musical activities in “A Half-Year of Musical Malnutrition: Strange Avoidable Hiatus in Australia’s Effort.” Australia, he complained, did not think “our own” were good enough.\textsuperscript{33} And so it went on. One article included the sorry subtitle, “The Might-Have-Beens.”\textsuperscript{34} He might have had Agnew and Brewster-Jones in mind.

A wonderful and highly relevant instance of a kind of self-imposed amnesia is found in Waters’s editorial two months later honouring Russia’s entry into the war on

\textsuperscript{27} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{28} Waters, “Competitions and Standards of Taste. Do We Lag as Far Behind Old England as She Thinks?” \textit{AMN} 15, no. 3 (1925): 5-6.

\textsuperscript{29} Waters, “Amateurism in Australia’s Music.”


\textsuperscript{34} Waters, “Amateurism in Australia’s Music. Best of Our Artists are Virtually Pinned to It.”
the side of the Allies. In an extended homage to modern Russian music praising the music of Shostakovich, Mosolov, Prokofiev, Stravinsky and Scriabin among others, Waters makes the extraordinary statement:

That any Russian music so recent as this should have found its way here already marks a great change from the days, which endured until after the Great War before the present one, when Tschaikowsky [sic] was almost the only Russian composer whose mispronounced name was at all well-known...36

Interwar Australia, he claimed, “barely knew” of Rimsky-Korsakov or Balakirev’s Islamay. “Not known at all,” he proceeded, “were Borodin, Cui, Dargomishky, Glinka, Glazounov, Moussorgsky, Tanaireff, and of course Stravinsky and Scriabin.”37

This was simply and preposterously untrue, as this thesis has shown. This from a man who had diagnosed Agnew as a “Scriabine addict” in 1927, and, four years earlier in 1923, had hailed him an “Australian Stravinsky”. His own journal had been reviewing Australian performances of these composers since 1912.38

What could have provoked such a lapse of memory? Why was Waters rewriting history to underscore feelings of isolation and backwardness? To what extent was he expressing the sentiments of other intellectual progressives who were seemingly filled with a sense of being on the outside, away from it all, longing to be elsewhere? So acute was their sense of themselves as the neither/nor subjects of the

36 Ibid.
37 Ibid.
38 The AMN had been reviewing Australian performances of Russian music, including the composers “not known at all” such as Borodin, Glazunov and Moussorgsky, since 1912, included in these were of course the performances of Glazunov and Moussorgsky by Brewster-Jones. The AMN advertised recordings of Russian songs including those by Rimsky-Korsakov, Glinka and even Mussorgsky’s Songs and Dances of Death in 1921, and included complete scores of Russian songs in issues of their own journals in the 1920s. Orchestras in Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide (including the Brewster-Jones Symphony Orchestra) had performed orchestral music by Rimsky Korsakov as well as Borodin and Glazunov in the teens. Stravinsky’s Firebird Suite appeared in Adelaide in 1926. All-Russian programmes appeared in the mid-twenties and did the “Franco-Russian” concert. The list goes on. See for example “Sydney,” AMN 1, no. 7 (1912): 9; “Sydney: Musical Notes,” AMN 4, no. 12 (1915): 336; “Symphony Orchestra,” AMN 5, no. 6 (1915): 180; “Allegro Guisto”, “Sydney: Austral String Quartet,” AMN 5, no. 12 (1916): 364; “Franco-Russian,” AMN 15, no. 5 (1925): 19 and “Adelaide: Stravinsky Gets to Adelaide,” AMN 16, no. (1926): 41.
British Empire that they descended into, with the help of the odd expression of British condescension such as that of Sir Richard Terry's, a kind of habitual self-denigration. This had important repercussions for the future. It is then no wonder that subsequent generations easily accepted and perpetuated the myth that there was "nothing" before them; a myth created in part by Waters's own amnesiac moments. To eradicate the presence of exotic Russian music from the Australian musical memory is to further the perception of Australia as either "pastoral" and "English," or "distinctively Australian," and to alter the way composers such as Agnew and Brewster-Jones have been understood. Waters's editorials bring us to the realisation that it was not as straightforward as the subsequent generation rejecting the former to establish themselves as the "young Turks," but that actually the earlier generation had made their job much easier by falling prey to, and perpetuating, cultural cringe to the extent of rewriting their own experiences and undermining their own contribution.

This then is a history that has been bypassed for many reasons, but it is also one that traverses many still lively debates of identity, culture, class and taste. As a history of "high" art, it has seemingly been of limited appeal to nationalist historians and cultural theorists. Blind acceptance of myth-making occurred through the generations for a variety of political reasons. In 1981, G.A. Wilkes argued that "Australian cultural development has normally been seen in terms of an emergent nationalism." David Carter has noted the narrowing and simplifying effect the "Australian tradition" has had on literary history. David Walker warns against treating "Australian culture as a discrete organism, a general condition or state of mind," suggesting that the more examples of modernity we find in Australian history the less "we should expect to discover anything about the distinctiveness of Australian culture." For musicologists and cultural historians, Roger Covell's appraisal of the period has been further off-putting. This has been only intensified by recent trends in musicology to neglect the music for its context.

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In this thesis, I have shown that a certain body of music written by Roy Agnew and Hooper Brewster-Jones is centric, transitional and in some cases non-tonal, arguing that the very existence of this music throws into doubt the generally accepted understanding of this period of Australian music. How, I then asked, did this complex and challenging music come to be written in a society that has been portrayed as musically backward, parochial and unadventurous? This line of inquiry demanded both formalist and contextual approaches; a formalist analysis of the music to provide the proof for my claim and then an exploration into how this music came into being. In exploring the contexts of these individual lives, we have been taken down many unexpected avenues, crossed national borders, and discovered many unforeseen things about this period. I have told two very particular stories with a specific aim in mind; this is not to say that there are not many others to be told about this period in general or about these particular individuals.\(^42\) This thesis, rather than being a conventional biography of two minor composers, has demonstrated the enormous capacity of individual lives to act as a site for historical inquiry: their rich, varied and surprising lives shed new light on Australian musical culture. Along the way, we have seen the broader themes of modernism, exoticism (encompassing the non-Western, occult, primitive, popular and archaic) and transnationalism being played out at the level of the local and particular.

Regardless of how we hear it today, their music nonetheless contains many traits that locate it as part of early international modernism. Unlike Agnew, Brewster-Jones was never presented as an ultra-modernist or a “Bolshevik,” but his almost scientific interest in, and approach to, abstract musical ideas and natural phenomena

\(^{42}\) I have found ideas expressed by the philosopher of science Karl Popper enormously useful. He proposes in his essay, “Historical Interpretation,” that “[t]he only way out of this difficulty [history’s inability to rely on universal laws] is, I believe, consciously to introduce a preconceived selective point of view into one’s history; that is, to write that history which interests us. This does not mean that we may twist the facts until they fit into a framework of preconceived ideas, or that we may neglect the facts that do no fit. On the contrary, all available evidence which has a bearing on our point of view should be considered carefully and objectively (in the sense of ‘scientific objectivity’). But it means that we need not worry about all those facts and aspects which have no bearing upon our point of view and which therefore do not interest us.” In his concluding remarks, he reminds us that “[t]he way out of this dilemma [the striving for objectivity], of course, is to be clear about the necessity of adopting a point of view; to state this point of view plainly, and always to remain conscious that it is one among many, and that even if it should amount to a theory, it may not be testable.” See Karl Popper, “Historical Interpretation,” in Modern Art and Modernism: A Critical Anthology, ed. Francis Frascina, Charles Harrison, and Deirdre Paul (London: Harper and Row in association with the Open University, 1982), 12-13.
places him in a unique position in the Australia of his day. His interest in the “formula,” his desire to mine the potential of basic musical elements, whether a single sonority, motive, or even an interval, reflects what Marshall Berman (taking his cue from Clement Greenberg) has described as modernism’s “quest for the pure self-referential art object.” Brewster-Jones’s own quest then goes to the very heart of modernism itself. And, unlike Agnew, whose sensibility was steeped in the neurasthenic excesses of late Scriabin and the modal Celticism of Arnold Bax, it is the ironic, playful quirkiness of the French neoclassic school that resonated most strongly with Brewster-Jones’s musical sensibility. In some of his ironic Satiesque miniatures, he reflected the modernist French fascination with everyday street life.

The interest in the smaller elements of music such as the motive and sonority also informed Agnew’s music. He explored new ways of writing music in overtly programmatic music such as Dance of the Wild Men, as well as in more “absolute” forms such as the sonata. Agnew’s use of motivic material as a means of articulating an overall form is not only a significant discovery in its own right, but one that places him even more firmly into the transitional early modernist world. This interest shown by both composers in the elements of music reflects the general modernist preoccupation with the fragmentation of language. In its challenge to tradition, this music takes its place among the modern and the subversive. Both Brewster-Jones and Agnew embraced the technological potential of modernity as a signifier of progress. They believed the modern world demanded new artistic expressions, new aesthetic stances and new ways of perceiving artistic beauty. Both saw themselves as breaking with tradition—an attitude also very much part of the modernist aesthetic. They distanced themselves from the stereotype of the conservative highbrow seen in Agnew’s dusty old lovers of Brahms.

As their creative energy dwindled in the 1930s and modernism itself became more mainstream, they channelled their desire to championing the new into a more public and more paternalistic role. During the 1930s both men continued to position

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44 Ibid., 31.
themselves as oppositional, but chose outlets other than composition in which to do this, utilising the modern technology at hand. Brewster-Jones became a prolific writer and broadcaster. His involvement in modern art in Adelaide and Australia, and in some instances his writing, particularly that found in *Progress in Australia*, moves into the territory of polemics (see Chapter 7). Similarly, Agnew produced the groundbreaking radio program, “Modern and Contemporary Composers” (see Chapter 6). “Modern and Contemporary Composers” was utterly modernist in conception. In the type of repertoire programmed, in its preferred genre of chamber music and in the audience that it sought it was itself a product of the modernist aesthetic.46 Both composers made a hitherto unrecognised but valuable contribution to Australian broadcasting and journalism.

Agnew’s early Sydney reception tells us unequivocally that his music shocked. His music was perceived as novel and challenging, overwhelmingly so. For a short while he was Sydney’s musical enfant terrible. Brewster-Jones did not elicit a similar public response, as he never let them hear his more musically interesting work. Perhaps he felt he could not cope with the adverse response; after all, he never forgave the Adelaide public for their reaction to his performance of Debussy’s *Prélude à l’apres midi d’un faune*. He keenly felt a disjuncture with Australian culture and was regarded earlier on his life as an enthusiastic modernist.47 In much of their music and musical activities both men upheld the elitist ideal of “art for art’s sake.”

If we now return to the set of possible key characteristics of modernism outlined at the outset of this thesis—novelty, difficulty, the ability to shock, the belief in progress, an interest in experimentation and innovation, defiance of authority as expressed in polemics and manifestoes, a move towards abstraction, the fragmentation of existing syntaxes whether visual, lingual or musical, the search for new vocabularies, the reshaping of traditional languages, the adherence to the credo

46 If one compares it with its current Australian counterpart, Andrew Ford’s “Music Show,” broadcast on ABC Classic FM, this becomes clearer. Ford’s show is also thoroughly up-to-date with its eclectic and hybrid postmodern inclusivity.

47 He is described in these very terms in *Progress in Australia*. See “Announcer”, “Concerning Radio Programmes,” *Progress in Australia* 5, no. 8 (1934): 21.
of art for art's sake and its attendant elitism—we see that the music and musical activism of these two composer exemplify many, if not all, of them.

The occult has never been far away in this historical account. It shaped the music and sensibilities of figures such as Phyllis Campbell and Elsie Hamilton. But of most significance has been the presence of the quintessentially “un-Australian” Alexander Scriabin. The development of Scriabin’s late harmonic language and compositional techniques were a direct consequence of his obsession with the occult and mystical; the two were inextricably intertwined. He looms large over Agnew and Brewster-Jones, and their musical response to his late music is absolutely central to this study. His harmonic language and transpositional technique exerted a powerful influence on the two Australians. The fact that the influence of the occult was not direct but worked at a remove through his music in no way detracts from its importance in this story. Whether or not they dabbled in occult mystical thought is not the point; their music cannot be wrested from its occult origins.

The non-Western was an important element in the musical thinking of Brewster-Jones to a far greater extent than it was for Agnew, although his enlightened views of non-Western music add to the picture of him as an open-minded artist. Brewster-Jones stands alongside Percy Grainger and Bernard Heinze as one of the few “highbrow” musicians who was open to popular musical styles. His was a mind willing to engage with kinds of art that fell outside general bounds of acceptability for many otherwise like-minded individuals. Modern French and Russian music played a central role in Australia, as it did in much of Europe and Britain, during the interwar period. It had an exotic allure and provided an alternative to the German and English. Also, as seen in the case of Scriabin, the interests many of these French and Russian composers had with the exotic and the occult captured the imagination particularly of Brewster-Jones. This thesis has substantiated Bernard Smith and Leon Botstein’s claim that exoticism and spiritualism were central to the early modernist enterprise.

This study has benefited from, and contributes to, the recent trend in Australian historiography to look beyond the national border in order to engage with ideas of transnationalism and the British world in enlightening and useful ways without being haunted by the spectre of a narrow, hierarchical imperialism. Exploring
beyond Macintyre’s “tyrannical orthodoxy” has allowed a more complete picture to emerge, one that transcends geographical borders. By moving away from the model of centre to periphery, free-flowing multi-directional histories can now emerge. Colonial metropoles are recognised alongside London. Sydney, particularly, is revealed in this story as a vibrant colonial metropole capable of producing its own up-to-date modern artists. “Imperialism,” as Rickard points out:

> carried its own kind of internationalism. The imperial connection did not mean only that local culture was provincial. It could also mean cosmopolitanism, a sense of contemporaneity with literary and intellectual issues in London, Europe and America.48

The lives of Agnew and Brewster-Jones are British world stories that reveal that world as one of enormous diversity. Through their experiences, we have been taken not only to the furthest reaches of Empire and to modern Europe, but also backwards in time to ancient civilizations such as the Celts, Chinese and Egyptians.

The transnational played an important role in these composers’ lives, albeit indirectly. It influenced their music and musical activities through their important friendships with other truly international Australian artists and commentators such as—in the case of Agnew—Burston, Monk and Cairo’s Rego, and in the case of the Brewster-Jones—Elsie Hamilton. An extraordinary instance of convergence demonstrating just how close these informal, transnational cultural networks is found in a copy of Eaglefield Hull’s book *Scriabin*. This copy connects not only the two composers, but also the past with the present. Larry Sitsky has in his possession a copy of Hull’s book given to him by Winifred Burston. Inside the cover is the handwritten name Kathleen Schlesinger. The inscription is by an “E. H.,” undoubtedly Elsie Hamilton. How Burston came into possession of this book and whether or not she knew Hamilton remains a mystery, but the circle is complete by way of two close friends of the composers.

The likes of Hull, Burston and Hamilton were part of the “cultural field” that in each case sustained the work of Agnew and Brewster-Jones. A better

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understanding of their cultural fields and the contrasts between them have offered rich soil for comparisons between Adelaide and Sydney, Edwardian London and interwar London, experienced either as student or professional, the published and not published.

Despite these contrasts, an important point to emerge is that it was their early formative periods that gave rise to innovative music; for Agnew it was Sydney before 1923, for Brewster-Jones it was Edwardian London until 1909. Brewster-Jones developed an unquenchable curiosity for the unfamiliar, the other. Sydney provided Agnew with a cultural field of sufficient richness and vibrancy to allow and support his first ventures into the non-tonal and "modernist," one in which he could proudly and publicly proclaim his need to move beyond the tonal. In Sydney he rubbed shoulders with others, such as Cairos Rego, who formed a small musical intelligentsia that both enabled and encouraged him. This local and particular expression of the radical element of the highbrow was shaped, and perhaps restricted, by the tastes, disposition and prejudices of the wider society which affected both audience and market in terms of performing, publishing and recording opportunities.49 By exploring the context in which Agnew and Brewster-Jones worked, this study has brought many other Australian musicians from this time to light—composers and performers alike: Cyril Monk, Frank Hutchens, Carl Gotsch, Henri Penn, Moore-MacMahon, Alexander Sverjensky, Wilfred Arlom, Phyllis Campbell, Winifred Burston, Alex Burnard, Nora Kyffin-Thomas and Elsie Hamilton. Together they comprise a richer more complex picture of the time. As both creative artists and agitators and facilitators of cultural change, Burston, Campbell and Helmrich take their place among the "Organisers." These women demonstrate that the female role was not limited to that of "cultivating the arts" as society patrons (although it was an indisputably important one).

Brewster-Jones’s aesthetic sensibility, like Agnew’s, was shaped as a young man, but it was in the relative cultural solitude of Adelaide in the 1920s that he unleashed his desire for experimentation. His case demonstrates that for some on the so-called periphery there was a greater sense of urgency, a real need, to find out what

was happening in the other centres. This helps to explain the importance of printed material and private correspondence, the comings and goings of individuals, and the precious things they would bring back with them. As technology advanced and printed material and recordings were more accessible, the geographical and material distance lessened. Places that were in many ways parochial, such as Adelaide, could under these circumstances have far more to offer. This certainly helps to explain Brewster-Jones’s compositions of the 1920s. This suggests also that there is a need to modify the concept of Bourdieu’s “cultural field” for historical research to take account of its physical and virtual dimensions. The analysis presented in Chapter 1 shows that the two composers engaged with and actively participated in an international and transnational cultural field. Subsequent chapters, however, reveal important differences in the ways in which they accessed this field. Agnew’s immediate cultural field was conventional in Bourdieu’s terms. It was corporeal: physically present around him and it was one suffused by an awareness of and an enthusiasm for modern European music. In fact, the richness of the small musical world of Sydney before 1923 is a surprising and welcome discovery of this study. Ironically, it was in London, away from the milieu that supported him, that Agnew’s passion for new music cooled. Brewster-Jones’s cultural field was different. He did have a corporeal network of sorts that circulated around his own preserve in dour Adelaide, but his most sustaining cultural field was “virtual,” it encompassed not only Britain and Europe, but also many different times and places. It was a “cultural field” that could be both physical and ethereal—a network of flesh and blood and a congeries of ideas that could be, thanks to technology, increasingly sustained over long distances.

By focusing on the artistic production and consumption of, and by, cultural elites, this thesis does not add to the portrayal of Australia as egalitarian, anti-British and anti-hierarchical. The kinds of people described—Keith Barry, Kathleen Agnew, George de Cairos Rego, Winifred Burston, George Clutsam, Thorold Waters and Elsie Hamilton—do not fit the mould of the mythical “ordinary Australian” who now has a renewed political currency. The Leavisite elitism, particularly that of Barry and Waters, goes against the egalitarian grain. The interpretation of art music before 1945 has been the victim of overly simplistic attitudes that set up binaries of national
identity against cosmopolitanism, high art against low, elitism against populism and the aesthetic against the anthropological. Although it has not been the main focus of this work, it should again be stressed that Agnew and Brewster-Jones are prime examples of the fact that these binaries are not mutually exclusive and more often than not reside within the same person. Bernard Smith allows us to be both European and Other at the same time. Brewster-Jones’s and Agnew’s music reveals its influences readily. To understand these composers and this period as examples of belatedness and colonial mimicry is unhelpful and limiting. It is an exercise in Waters-like self-denigration. To transcend the national boundaries and view this kind of music in an international context removes us from these concerns. As such, it stands as part of a much larger body of music of other “minor” composers who make up this early twentieth century musical modernism. In fact, an examination of this early Australian musical world provides us with a picture of the enormously varied and diverse world of early international musical modernism. The names that appear over and over in the preceding chapters, in Brewster-Jones’s library and on Agnew’s radio show: Casella, Bax, Scriabin, Ornstein, Malipiero, Roussel, Schmitt, Scott, Busoni, McDowell, Tailleferre, Szymanowski, Honegger, Milhaud, Rebikov, Sabeneev, Rhené-Baton and Ducasse, among others, bring this world back to life and reminds us of all the others who surrounded the now high-canonical figures of Stravinsky, Bartók and the Second Viennese School. Also of interest is the fact that many of the lesser-known British figures that appear—Goossens, Baines, van Dieren, Bridge and Hart, identified by Stephen Banfield as the “lost” composers, take their place among these others. This unexpected and welcome outcome lends international relevance to an Australian story.

This thesis has revealed worlds hitherto unknown. It also shows the powerful influence singular individuals exert over others. Clutsam showed Brewster-Jones how to keep the private and public separate and, together with Trehearne, instilled in him a

52 Eileen Chanin, Judith Pugh, and Steven Miller, Degenerates and Perverts: The 1939 Herald Exhibition of French and British Contemporary Art (Melbourne: Miegunyah Press, 2004), 63-64.
strong distaste for the conservative, the institutional and the conventional. Brewster-Jones, perhaps to his detriment, was overly influenced by the private/public model given to him by George Clutsam, who was himself torn between a desire for material success and the pursuit of artistic truth. Barry’s tireless support of Agnew in the face of adversity gave rise to an extraordinary episode in Australian broadcasting history. I have brought to light much of Brewster-Jones’s music that has languished in illegible form in the archive since 1949. This will benefit from further research and editing. Many of the fascinating figures unearthed, such as Elsie Hamilton, Phyllis Campbell and George de Cairo Rego demand a more thorough study in their own right. Elsie Hamilton’s collaboration and friendship with Englishwoman Kathleen Schlesinger is a transnational story waiting to be told. Agnew’s British supporter, A. Eaglefield Hull, is revealed as a complex and fascinating character, again one who deserves closer study. Restricted by my choice of case studies, I did not adequately address the presence of modern music in Melbourne. This remains to be done. In-depth studies of organisations such as the British and International Music Society, Collegium Musicum and the New South Wales Music Association would add new and illuminating perspectives to the history told here.

There was a serious engagement with modern European musical developments in the music and musical activities of Agnew and Brewster-Jones. Together they constitute a local expression of early modernism. This fact itself refutes the long-held belief that everything “back then” in the “musical Dark Ages” was pastoral, “backwards” and, most importantly, “tonal.” The presence of the modern, the cosmopolitan, the exotic and non-Western that has been rescued in other areas of Australian cultural history is also present in the history of Australian art music. Roy Agnew and Hooper Brewster-Jones were Australian composers who, working within their local contexts but exposed to many diverse influences, produced challenging and interesting music. They were idealists, they were sincere and committed creative artists, their minds were open and questioning. They are not the “Might-Have-Beens.” They are Australia’s early pioneers of musical modernism, the ones Australia did not know it had.

Appendix A

Scores of Prelude on New Formula and Formula Series 1-5

Note: The complete scores of these particular works have been included as an appendix because they only appear in the text as reductions (except for an extract of Formula Series no. 4) and because they are centrally important to the musical argument presented in Chapter 1. They appear in unfinished draft form, as they are still in preparation for publication by The Keys Press.
Prelude
on a New Formula

to John Jeffreys

H. Brewster-Jones
9-10/5/23
Formula Series
Prelude I

H. Brewster-Jones

©2006 KP3xxx All Rights Reserved
Prelude II

H. Brewster-Jones

Date?

Published by The Keys Press
KP3xxx 66 Clotilde St, Mt. Lawley, W.A. 6050
Prelude III

H. Brewster-Jones

9/7/24

Published by The Keys Press
KP3xxx 66 Clotilde St, Mt. Lawley, W.A. 6050
Prelude IV

H. Brewster-Jones

17/7/24

Published by The Keys Press
KP3xxx 66 Clotilde St, Mt. Lawley, W.A. 6050
Prelude V

H. Brewster-Jones

Date?

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Appendix B

A reconstruction of the programme for the ABC weekly radio show “Modern and Contemporary Composers” (1937—1942)

Sources and abbreviations

SP 1558/2 National Archives of Australia: SP 1558/2, Roy Agnew, 1936-1943; Box 14
2BL LB and 2FC LB National Archives of Australia: SP164/1 Transcription Log Books for 2BL and 2FC
WW *Wireless Weekly*
ABCW *ABC Weekly*
L The transition to recordings began on 9 January 1939, however the SP 1558/2 contains Agnew’s
pre-existing programmes until 15 May. I have listed all existing programmes in addition to the one
that actually went to air. From 9 January 1939 onwards broadcasts are a combination of recordings
and live performances and the live performances will be identified by L.

Note: Throughout this appendix, composers are identified by their surname only, except in instances of lesser-known composers
and those with common surnames, where the first name has been included.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date and performers</th>
<th>Programme and alternative programmes</th>
<th>Sources (other than ABC logbooks)</th>
<th>Exact programme to air if different to other sources using ABC 2FC or 2BL transcription radio logbooks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>13 January 1937</strong></td>
<td>Moore MacMahon (violin)</td>
<td></td>
<td>SP 1558/2 WW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frank Warbrick (piano)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2BL LB 8:50–9:30 p.m. Introductory remarks by Agnew Extra work performed was Milhaud: <em>Copocabana</em> for violin and piano.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bartók: Suite for Piano</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Milhaud: Sonata for Violin and Piano no. 1 op. 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Florent Schmitt: <em>Lullaby for a Cat</em> for violin and piano</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>27 January 1937</strong></td>
<td>Paul Vinogradoff (piano)</td>
<td></td>
<td>WW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ila Turnbull (voice)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2BL LB 9:10–9:50 p.m. The logbook shows that Scriabin’s Sonata no. 5 was cut from the programme presumably for timing considerations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>piano</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Scriabin: Poem in F # minor op. 32, no.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Scriabin: Sonata no. 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Scriabin: Sonata no. 5</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Scriabin: Poem op. 69 no.2</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Scriabin: Etude in D# minor op.8 no.12</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Delius: “Indian Love Song”</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Goossens: “When thou art dead”</td>
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<td>Bax: “Lullaby”</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>24 February 1937</strong></td>
<td>Frank Warbrick (piano)</td>
<td>WW</td>
<td>2BL LB 9:10–9:50 p.m.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Moore MacMahon (violin)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Carl Gotsch (cello)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Madame Goyetchi (voice)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Willem Pijper: Piano Trio no. 2</td>
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<td>Ravel: <em>Five Greek Folk Songs</em></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Ravel: <em>Chanson Romaine</em></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Ravel: <em>La flute enchantée</em></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Schoenberg: Three Pieces for Piano op. 11</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Schoenberg: Six Short Pieces for Piano op. 19</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date and performers</td>
<td>Programme and alternative programmes</td>
<td>Sources (other than ABC logbooks)</td>
<td>Exact programme to air if different to other sources using ABC 2FC or 2BL transcription radio logbooks</td>
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<tr>
<td>10 March 1937</td>
<td>Honegger: Violin Sonata (unspecified)</td>
<td>WW 2BL LB 9:00–9:20 p.m.</td>
<td>The scheduled programme was not broadcast. It was replaced by a recital by cellist Harold Beck. No programme was given.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Moore MacMahon (violin) Frank Warbrick (piano)</td>
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<tr>
<td>24 March 1937</td>
<td>Bax: Piano Sonata no. 2 in G minor Szymanowski: <em>Six Mélodies</em> op. 20 (in French)</td>
<td>WW 2BL LB</td>
<td>Only four of the six songs were performed: “In the depth of the cold dark moon,” “St Francis Speaks,” “The perfume of your hair” and “His locks are entangled in the river’s edges.”</td>
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<tr>
<td>Winifred Burston (piano) Gwen Selva (voice)</td>
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<tr>
<td>14 April 1937</td>
<td>Bartók: String Quartet no. 5 Webern: Five Movements for String Quartet op. 5</td>
<td>WW 2BL LB</td>
<td>8:00–8:40 p.m. Universal editions were used for both works.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ABC Sydney String Quartet</td>
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<tr>
<td>21 April 1937</td>
<td>Dulcie Holland: Sonata for Violin and Piano Hindemith: String Trio no. 2</td>
<td>WW 2BL LB</td>
<td>9:00–9:45 p.m.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dulcie Holland (piano) William Krasnik (viola) Vaughan Hanley (violin) Carl Gotsch (cello)</td>
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<tr>
<td>10 May 1937</td>
<td>Cyril Scott: Piano Quintet (movements 1 and 2)</td>
<td>SP 1558/2 2BL LB</td>
<td>9:25–9:45 p.m.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Frank Hutchens (piano) ABC Sydney String Quartet</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date and performers</td>
<td>Programme and alternative programmes</td>
<td>Sources (other than ABC logbooks)</td>
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<tr>
<td>17 May 1937</td>
<td>Cyril Scott: Piano Quintet (movements 3 and 4)</td>
<td>SP 1558/2</td>
<td>2BL LB 9:25–9:45 p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frank Hutchens (piano)</td>
<td>ABC Sydney String Quartet</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| 24 May 1937         | Berg: Piano Sonata op. 1 songs  
Thomas Dunhill: “In the Dawn”  
Bax: “A Christmas Carol”  
Norman Peterkin: “My Fidil is Singing”  
Armstrong Gibbs: “As I Lay in the Early Sun” | WW | 2BL LB 9:35–10:05 p.m. |
| Wilfred Arlom (piano)  | Ilia Turnbull (voice) | | |
Pijper: Violin Sonata no. 2 | SP 1558/2 WW | 2BL LB 8:35–8:55 p.m. |
| Clement Williams (voice)  | Dorothy Gibbes (pianist)  
Muriel Buchanan (violinist) | | |
| 7 June 1937         | Percival Garratt: *London Fantasies*  
| Frank Warbrick (piano)  | Gwen Selva (voice) | | |
| 14 June 1937        | Agnew: *Two Songs Without Words* for voice and clarinet  
Bliss: Quintet for Clarinet and Strings (movements 1 and 2) | WW SP 1558/2 | 2BL LB 9:15–9:35 p.m. |
| Heather Kinnard (voice)  | Ernest Simpson (clarinet)  
ABC Sydney String Quartet | | |
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Date and performers</th>
<th>Programme and alternative programmes</th>
<th>Sources (other than ABC logbooks)</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>21 June 1937</strong></td>
<td>Bliss: Quintet for clarinet and strings (movements 3 and 4) Constant Lambert: Four Songs to Poems, by Li-Po (for voice and piano)</td>
<td>WW SP 1558/2</td>
<td>2BL LB 9:20–9:40 p.m. They are referred to as <em>Four Chinese Poems</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ernest Simpson (clarinet)</td>
<td>ABC Sydney String Quartet Ila Turnbull (voice)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>28 June 1937</strong></td>
<td>Medtner: Piano Sonata op 25 no. 1 V. Beloy: Three songs from The War song cycle: “The horrors of war,” “Wake up soldier,” “Twenty-Six”</td>
<td>WW</td>
<td>2BL LB 8:45–9:05 p.m.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Winifred Burston (piano)</td>
<td>Charles Nicis (tenor)</td>
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<td>Phyllis McDonald (violin)</td>
<td>Wilfred Arlom (piano)</td>
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<tr>
<td>12 July 1937</td>
<td>Pijper: Piano Trio no. 2</td>
<td>WW</td>
<td>2BL LB 9:20–9:44 p.m. Mrs Alec Burnard sang Herbert Howells’s “Merry First of May” and “So we’ll go no more a-rowing” by Pat. Hadley. It is unclear if this is in addition to Pijper’s Piano Trio or instead of it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ernest Empson (piano)</td>
<td>Ireland: Piano Sonata in E minor</td>
<td>WW</td>
<td>2BL LB 9:20–9:40 p.m.</td>
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<tr>
<td>26 July 1937</td>
<td>Berg: <em>Seven Songs of Spring</em> [sic] [<em>Seven Early Songs</em>] Schoenberg: <em>Klavierstück</em> op. 33a</td>
<td>WW</td>
<td>2BL LB 9:20–9:40 p.m.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 August 1937</td>
<td>Szymanowski: String Quartet (<em>Lento assai-Allegro Moderato, Andantino semplice, Vivace</em>)</td>
<td>WW, SP 1558/2</td>
<td>2BL LB 8:35–8:55 p.m.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date and performers</td>
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<td>ABC Sydney String Quartet</td>
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<tr>
<td>25 August 1937</td>
<td>Szymanowski: String Quartet: <em>(Lento assai–Allegro Moderato, Andantino semplice, Vivace)</em> n.b. repeat programming from 2 August</td>
<td>WW</td>
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<tr>
<td>New Austral String Quartet</td>
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<tr>
<td>30 August 1937</td>
<td>Busoni: <em>Sonatina Brevis</em></td>
<td>SP 1558/2</td>
<td>2BL LB 9:26–9:48 p.m. (not yet on 2FC) The logbook also shows that Dulcie Holland and Vernon Hanley gave a repeat performance of her Violin sonata.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ernest Empson (piano)</td>
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<td>Dulcie Holland (piano)</td>
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<td>Vernon Hanley (violin)</td>
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<tr>
<td>8 September 1937</td>
<td>Miriam Hyde: Sonata for Viola and Piano, Cyril Scott: <em>Idyllic Fantasy</em> for voice, cello and oboe</td>
<td>WW SP 1558/2</td>
<td>There is no record of this broadcast in either the 2BL or 2FC logbooks.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Miriam Hyde (piano)</td>
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<td>William Krasnik (viola)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ila Turnbull (voice)</td>
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<td>Kathleen Tuohy (cello)</td>
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<td>Jan Brinkman (oboe)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date and performers</td>
<td>Programme and alternative programmes</td>
<td>Sources (other than ABC logbooks)</td>
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<tr>
<td>20 September 1937</td>
<td>Alexander Sverjensky (piano)</td>
<td>WW</td>
<td>2BL LB 9:20-9:40 p.m. Sverjensky did not play Sheherazade and Selva did not sing the final song.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 September 1937</td>
<td>Ernest Empson (piano)</td>
<td>SP 1558/2</td>
<td>2BL LB 9:15-9:35 p.m. Actual programme Leonore Goisch also sang first three songs from op. 62 by Ernst Krenek. &quot;Retrospect&quot; and &quot;Tiny Village in the Alps.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 October 1937</td>
<td>Ernest Empson (piano)</td>
<td>SP 1558/2</td>
<td>2BL LB 10:00-10:25 p.m.</td>
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</table>
| 11 October 1937     | ABC Sydney String Quartet            | SP 1558/2                        | 2BL LB 10:00-10:25 p.m. No programme is given in the logbook.

piano

Szymanowski: Mazurkas op. 34: Sheherazade, Tanečník le Bouffon, Serenade de Don Juan

songs

Szymanowski: Four Songs op. 20: "Dans le silence d’une sombre nuit," "Sainte Françoise du Val d’Ohey," "Tes cheveux s'embruent," "Le doux parfum de tes cheveux."
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Date and performers</th>
<th>Programme and alternative programmes</th>
<th>Sources (other than ABC logbooks)</th>
<th>Exact programme to air if different to other sources using ABC 2FC or 2BL transcription radio logbooks</th>
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</table>
| 18 October 1937     | Szymanowski: Violin Sonata op. 9 (*Allegro moderato, Andantino tranquillo, Finale-Allegro molto*)
                      | Percival Garratt: *Three Harmonic Studies* | WW                               | 2FC LB 10:12–10:34 p.m. The logbook shows that the Szymanowski was broadcast. |
|                     | Alternative programme                | SP 1558/2                        |                                                                                  |
|                     | Bartók: String Quartet no. 3        |                                  |                                                                                  |
| Roland Wilkinson (violin) |                        |                                  |                                                                                  |
|                    | Ernest Empson (piano)                |                                  |                                                                                  |
| 8 November 1937     | Bax: Sonata for viola and piano     | WW                               | 2FC LB 9:30–9:55 p.m.                                                          |
| William Krasnik (viola) |                        | SP 1558/2                        |                                                                                  |
|                    | Alexander Sverjensky (piano)         |                                  |                                                                                  |
| 15 November 1937    | Bax: Four Songs: “The Pigeons,” “As I Came Over the Grey Hills,” “Across the Door,” “Beg-Irinish”
                      | Busoni: *Berceuse* for piano
<pre><code>                  | Bartók: Sonatina for piano       | WW                               | 2FC LB 9:25–9:48 p.m.                                                          |
</code></pre>
<p>| Winfried Burston (piano) |                        | SP 1558/2                        |                                                                                  |
|                    | Ila Turnbull (voice)                 |                                  |                                                                                  |
| 22 November 1937    | Honegger: Sonata for Violin and Piano no. 1 | WW                               | 2FC LB 9:31–9:54 p.m.                                                          |
| Frank Warbrick (piano) |                        | SP 1558/2                        |                                                                                  |
|                    | Moore MacMahon                      |                                  |                                                                                  |</p>
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<tr>
<th>Date and performers</th>
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<th>Sources (other than ABC logbooks)</th>
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<tr>
<td>29 November 1937</td>
<td>Winifred Burston (piano)</td>
<td>Henk Bading: Piano Trio</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Cyril Monk (violin)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Carl Gotsch (cello)</td>
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<tr>
<td>6 December 1937</td>
<td>New Austral String Quartet</td>
<td>Hindemith: String Quartet no. 3</td>
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<td>2FC LB 9:25–9:53 p.m.</td>
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<tr>
<td>13 December 1937</td>
<td>Moore MacMahon (violin)</td>
<td>Hindemith: Violin Sonata op. 11</td>
<td>WW</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frank Warbrick (piano)</td>
<td>Ireland: Sonatine for piano</td>
<td>2FC LB 9:27–9:51 p.m.</td>
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<tr>
<td>23 December 1937</td>
<td>Leonore Gotsch (voice)</td>
<td>Krenek: Five Songs: “Motir,” “Heisser Tag am See,” “Friedhof in Gebirgsdorf,” “Nights als ein Athemzug” [sic], ‘Gewitter’ Busoni, Sonatina In Diem Nativitas Christi</td>
<td>No record of this broadcast is found in 2BL or 2FC logbooks</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Ernest Empson (pianist)</td>
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<tr>
<td>27 December 1937</td>
<td>Ernest Simpson (clarinet)</td>
<td>Agnew: Two songs for voice and clarinet</td>
<td>2FC LB 9:55–10:15 p.m.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>ABC Sydney String Quartet</td>
<td>Bliss: Clarinet Quintet (movements 1-2)</td>
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<td>H. Kinnaird (voice)</td>
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<td>Date and performers</td>
<td>Programme and alternative programmes</td>
<td>Sources (other than ABC logbooks)</td>
<td>Exact programme to air if different to other sources using ABC 2FC or 2BL transcription radio logbooks</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 January 1938</td>
<td>Bliss: Clarinet Quintet (movements 3 and 4)</td>
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<td>2FC LB 9:25–9:45 p.m.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ernest Simpson (clarinet)</td>
<td>Constant Lambert: <em>Four Songs to poems by Li-Po</em> for piano and voice</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ila Turnbull (voice)</td>
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<td>ABC Sydney String Quartet</td>
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<tr>
<td>10 January 1938</td>
<td>Milhaud: String Quartet no. 4</td>
<td>WW</td>
<td>2FC LB 10:00–10:15 p.m.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Salon String Quartet</td>
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<tr>
<td>Corinna d’Hage (violin)</td>
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<td>Clair Trevena (violin)</td>
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<td>Ruth Vernon (viola)</td>
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<td>Bonnie McQuire (cello)</td>
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<tr>
<td>17 January 1938</td>
<td>Arthur Benjamin: Suite for piano</td>
<td>WW</td>
<td>2FC LB 10:05–10:30 p.m.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Frank Warbrick (pianist)</td>
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<td><strong>Ireland:</strong> Sonata in C minor</td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Ernest Empson (piano)</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>24 January 1938</td>
<td>Malipiero: <em>Cantari alla madrigalesca</em> (in one movement for string quartet)</td>
<td>WW</td>
<td>2FC LB 10:00–10:23 p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Austral String Quartet</td>
<td>Ireland: <em>Rhapsody</em> for piano</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>The logbook notes that D. Bennett is announcing and that the publisher for Malipiero is</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Wilfred Arlom (pianist)</td>
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<td><strong>Heinrichsen [sic].</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>31 January 1938</td>
<td>Bax: Sonata for Viola and Piano</td>
<td>WW</td>
<td>2FC LB 10:05–10:29 p.m.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alexander Sverjensky (piano)</td>
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<tr>
<td>William Krasnik (viola)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date and performers</td>
<td>Programme and alternative programmes</td>
<td>Sources (other than ABC logbooks)</td>
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<tr>
<td>7 February 1938</td>
<td>Pizzetti: Sonata for Violin and Piano</td>
<td>WW</td>
<td>There is no record of this broadcast in the logbooks of 2BL or 2FC.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth Coleman (violin) Muriel Buchanan (piano)</td>
<td>14 February 1938</td>
<td>Stravinsky: Piano Sonata Joaquin Nin-Culmell: Piano Breve'</td>
<td>WW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valda Aveling (piano) Vaughan Hanly (violin) Ilia Turnbull (voice)</td>
<td>28 February 1938</td>
<td>Moeran: Piano Trio</td>
<td>WW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moore MacMahon (violin) Frank Warbrick (piano) Harold Beck (cello)</td>
<td>7 March 1938</td>
<td>Arnold Bax: Sonata no.3 for piano</td>
<td>WW</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date and performers</td>
<td>Programme and alternative programmes</td>
<td>Sources (\text{(other than ABC logbooks)})</td>
<td>Exact programme to air if different to other sources using ABC 2FC or 2BL transcription radio logbooks</td>
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<tr>
<td>14 March 1938</td>
<td>Szymanowski: String Quartet (\text{Lento assai, Andante semplice, Vivace})</td>
<td>SP 1558/2</td>
<td>2FC LB 9:45–10:00 p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Austral String Quartet Vaughan Hanley (violin) Blodwin Hiel (violin) Carl Gotsch (cello) Harold Tabener (viola)</td>
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<tr>
<td>21 March 1938</td>
<td>Benjamin: Suite for piano</td>
<td></td>
<td>2FC 9:46–10:05 p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frank Warbrick (piano)</td>
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<tr>
<td>28 March 1938</td>
<td>Honegger: String Quartet (\text{Appassionata, Adagio, Allegro})</td>
<td>SP 1558/2</td>
<td>2FC LB 9:44–10:13 p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABC Sydney String Quartet</td>
<td></td>
<td>Alternative programme went to air: Bax: Sonata no. 2 in D for Violin and Piano Ernest Simpson [Empson] (piano) Ronald Wilkinson (violin)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 April 1938</td>
<td>Bax: Sonata for Violin and Piano (“Fantasy,” “The Grey Dancer in the Twilight,” “Very broad and sustained,” (\text{Allegro feroce}))</td>
<td>SP 1558/2</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date and performers</td>
<td>Programme and alternative programmes</td>
<td>Sources (other than ABC logbooks)</td>
<td>Exact programme to air if different to other sources using ABC 2FC or 2BL transcription radio logbooks</td>
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<tr>
<td>11 April 1938</td>
<td>Pizzetti: Sonata in A for Violin and Piano</td>
<td></td>
<td>2FC LB 10:05–10:29 p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muriel Buchanan (violin)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elizabeth Coleman (piano)</td>
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<tr>
<td>18 April 1938</td>
<td>Percival Garratt: Three Songs: “Prayer,” “Rosies,” “The Last Post”</td>
<td>SP 1558/2</td>
<td>2FC LB 10:00–10:20 p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clement Williams (voice)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Wilfred Arlom (piano)</td>
<td>Busoni: Sonatina no. 1 (in one movement)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 April 1938</td>
<td>Ireland: Sonata for cello and piano</td>
<td>SP 1558/2</td>
<td>2FC LB and 2BL LB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harold Beck (cello)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No broadcast due to Anzac Day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frank Warbrick (piano)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 May 1938</td>
<td>Szymanowski: Piano Sonata no. 2</td>
<td>WW SP 1558/2</td>
<td>2FC LB 10:00–10:30 p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ernest Empson (piano)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date and performers</td>
<td>Programme and alternative programmes</td>
<td>Sources (other than ABC logbooks)</td>
<td>Exact programme to air if different to other sources using ABC 2FC or 2BL transcription radio logbooks</td>
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<tr>
<td>9 May 1938</td>
<td>Schoenberg: String Quartet no. 2 op. 10</td>
<td>WW SP 1558/2</td>
<td>2FC LB 10:00–10:30 p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ila Turnbull (voice)</td>
<td>ABC Sydney String Quartet</td>
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<tr>
<td>George White (violin)</td>
<td>Robert Miller (violin) William Krasnik (viola) Cedric Ashton (cello)</td>
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<tr>
<td>16 May 1938</td>
<td>Bartók: Sonata no. 2 for Violin and Piano</td>
<td>SP 1558/2</td>
<td>2FC LB 9:40–10:04 p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moore MacMahon (violin)</td>
<td>Frank Warbrick (piano)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| 23 May 1938         | Bax: Four Songs: “The Pigeons,” “As I came over the grey hills,” “Across the door,” “Beg-Innish” Piano | WW SP 1558/2 | 2FC LB 9:44–10:02  
The logbook describes the Scriabin works as “from op. 27” and Poème-Nocturne no. 2 |
<p>| Ila Turnbull (voice) | Roy Agnew (piano) |                                  |                                                                                                 |
| Scriabin: Prelude op. 37 no. 3 | Scriabin: Poème-Nocturne op. 61 |                                  |                                                                                                 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date and performers</th>
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<th>Sources (other than ABC logbooks)</th>
<th>Exact programme to air if different to other sources using ABC 2FC or 2BL transcription radio logbooks</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Moore MacMahon (violin)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Harold Beck (cello)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nora Williamson (violin)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mildred Hill (piano)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alternative performers</td>
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<tr>
<td>ABC Sydney String Quartet</td>
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<tr>
<td>13 June 1938</td>
<td>Rebecca Clarke: Viola Sonata</td>
<td>WW</td>
<td>2FC LB 10:00–10:21 p.m.</td>
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<tr>
<td>William Krasnik (viola)</td>
<td></td>
<td>SP 1558/2</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>John Todd (piano)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>20 June 1938</td>
<td>Bartók: String Quartet no. 4</td>
<td></td>
<td>2FC LB 9:40–10:06 p.m.</td>
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<tr>
<td>New Austral String Quartet</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date and performers</td>
<td>Programme and alternative programmes</td>
<td>Sources (other than ABC logbooks)</td>
<td>Exact programme to air if different to other sources using ABC 2FC or 2BL transcription radio logbooks</td>
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<tr>
<td>27 June 1938</td>
<td>Szymanowski: <em>Tantris the Bouffon; Serenade of Don Juan</em> &lt;br&gt; Cairós-Rego: “Love’s Recompense,” “She’s a Maid of Artless Grace”</td>
<td></td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sverjensky (piano)</td>
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<tr>
<td>R. Beatty (bass)</td>
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<tr>
<td>4 July 1938</td>
<td>Philipp Jarnach: Sonata in E for Violin and Piano</td>
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<td>2FC LB</td>
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<tr>
<td>Blam Blackrod (violin)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Frank Warbrick (piano)</td>
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<tr>
<td>George Bell (cello)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alexander Sverjensky (piano)</td>
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<tr>
<td>18 July 1938</td>
<td>Gerrard Williams: String Quartet</td>
<td></td>
<td>2FC LB 10:03–10:24 p.m.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Salon String Quartet</td>
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<tr>
<td>25 July 1938</td>
<td>Busoni: Sonata no. 2 op. 36a</td>
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<td>2FC LB 9:53–10:24 p.m.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ronald Wilkinson (violin)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ernest Empson (piano)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 August 1938</td>
<td>Bax: Sonata no. 3 for piano</td>
<td></td>
<td>2FC LB 9:26–9:51 p.m.</td>
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<tr>
<td>John Douglas Todd</td>
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<tr>
<td>8 August 1938</td>
<td>Moeran: Piano Trio</td>
<td></td>
<td>2FC LB 10:00–10:26 p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moore MacMahon (violin)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Frank Warbrick (piano)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Harold Beck (cello)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date and performers</td>
<td>Programme and alternative programmes</td>
<td>Sources (other than ABC logbooks)</td>
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<tr>
<td>15 August 1938</td>
<td>Szymanowski: Piano Sonata no. 3 op. 36</td>
<td></td>
<td>2FC LB 10:00–10:23p.m.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Frank Warbrick (piano)</td>
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<tr>
<td>22 August 1938</td>
<td>Ravel: Sonata for violin and cello</td>
<td></td>
<td>2FC LB 10:00–10:25 p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moore MacMahon (violin)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Harold Beck (cello)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>29 August 1938</td>
<td>Bax: Piano Quintet (first movement only)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2FC LB 9:35–9:56 p.m.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Winifred Burston (piano)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lloyd Davies (violin)</td>
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<tr>
<td>A. Preston (violin)</td>
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<tr>
<td>W. Krasnik (viola)</td>
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<tr>
<td>C. Gotsch (cello)</td>
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<tr>
<td>5 September 1938</td>
<td>Bax: Piano Quintet (last two movements)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2FC LB 9:36–10:02 p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winifred Burston (piano)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Lloyd Davies (1st violin)</td>
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<tr>
<td>A. Preston (violin)</td>
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<tr>
<td>W. Krasnik (viola)</td>
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<tr>
<td>C. Gotsch (cello)</td>
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<tr>
<td>12 September 1938</td>
<td>Milhaud: String Quartet no. 4</td>
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<td>2FC LB</td>
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<tr>
<td>Salon String Quartet</td>
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<tr>
<td>Roy Agnew (piano)</td>
<td>Agnew: Prelude no. 1, Prelude no. 2 (Before Dawn)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date and performers</td>
<td>Programme and alternative programmes</td>
<td>Sources (other than ABC logbooks)</td>
<td>Exact programme to air if different to other sources using ABC 2FC or 2BL transcription radio logbooks</td>
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<tr>
<td>19 September 1938</td>
<td>Moore MacMahon (violin)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2FC LB 9:44–10:06 p.m.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frank Warbrick (piano)</td>
<td>Bax: Sonata no. 3 for Violin and Piano</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 September 1938</td>
<td>Madame Metters (harp)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2FC LB 9:35–9:50 p.m.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sydney String Quartet</td>
<td>Bax: Quintet for harp and strings</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 October 1938</td>
<td>Winifred Burston (piano)</td>
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<td>2FC LB 9:43–10:03 p.m.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Scriabin: Sonata no. 3 op. 23</td>
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<tr>
<td>10 October 1938</td>
<td>Ila Turnbull (voice)</td>
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<td>2FC LB 9:35–9:54 p.m. Preceded by annotations.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sydney String Quartet</td>
<td>Schoenberg: String Quartet no. 2 op. 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 October 1938</td>
<td>Alexander Sverjensky (piano)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2FC LB 9:29–9:51 p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ila Turnbull (voice)</td>
<td>Prokofiev: <em>Visions fugitives</em></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Phyllis Macdonald (violin)</td>
<td>Holst: Four songs for voice and violin</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 October 1938</td>
<td>Frank Warbrick (piano)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2FC LB.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gwen Selva (voice)</td>
<td>Pijper: Second Sonatina for piano</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unspecified flautist</td>
<td>Pijper: Third Sonatina for piano</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Joseph Marx: <em>Pan trauert um Syrinx</em> for voice, flute and piano</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Date and performers</td>
<td>Programme and alternative programmes</td>
<td>Sources (other than ABC logbooks)</td>
<td>Exact programme to air if different to other sources using ABC 2FC or 2BL transcription radio logbooks</td>
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<tr>
<td>31 October 1938</td>
<td>Ravel: Piano Trio</td>
<td>WW</td>
<td>2BL LB 9:45–10:09 p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mildred Hill (piano) Nora Williamson (violin) Carl Gotsch (cello)</td>
<td>Bax: Piano Sonata no. 1 in F # minor</td>
<td>Prokofiev: String Quartet op. 50</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 November 1938</td>
<td>Ernest Empson (piano)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2BL LB 9:45–10:09 p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 November 1938</td>
<td>Salon String Quartet</td>
<td>WW</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 November 1938</td>
<td>Lawrence Godfrey Smith (piano)</td>
<td>Poulenc: Trio for piano, oboe and bassoon</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Milton Waterfield (oboe)</td>
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<td>2BL LB 9:45–10:09 p.m.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Walter Black (bassoon)</td>
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<td>2BL LB 9:35–10:01 p.m.</td>
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<td>SP 558/2</td>
<td>The logbook shows that Bax’s sonata was replaced with Delius’ Sonet no. 2 for Violin and Piano performed by violinist Phyllis McDonald</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 November 1938</td>
<td>Kathleen Tourdy (cello)</td>
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<td>2BL LB 9:35–10:01 p.m.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Olga Krasiv (piano)</td>
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<td>2BL LB 9:35–10:01 p.m.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Alexander Sverdinsky (piano)</td>
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<td>2BL LB 9:35–10:01 p.m.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ravel: Albion ces howra</td>
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<td>2BL LB 9:35–10:01 p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date and performers</td>
<td>Programme and alternative programmes</td>
<td>Sources (other than ABC logbooks)</td>
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</table>
| 5 December 1938     | Warlock: “The Curlew” for tenor voice, flute, English horn and string quartet piano Scriabin: Poème op. 69 no. 2 Scriabin: Poème-Nocturne op. 61 | SP 1558/2 | 2BL LB 9:15–9:45 p.m.  
The logbook shows that instead of the Poème, Scriabin’s Album Leaf was performed. |
The logbook shows that the Blech was not broadcast. |
| 19 December 1938    | Honneger: Sonata no. 2 for Violin and Piano Alexandre Tansman: Sonata Transatlantique (Foxtrot, Spiritual, Blues) | SP 1558/2 | 2BL LB 10:10–10:32 p.m.  
n.b. Arlim performed Tansman’s Sonata Transatlantique |
<p>| 26 December 1938    | Rebecca Clarke: Sonata for Viola and Piano | SP 1558/2 | 2BL LB |
| 2 January 1939      | Delius: Sonata no. 3 for Violin and Piano Milhaud: Two Brazilian Tangos for violin and piano | SP 1559/2 | There is no evidence that this broadcast took place in the logbooks of 2BL or 2FC. |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date and performers</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>9 January 1939</strong></td>
<td>Gerard Williams: String Quartet</td>
<td>SP 1558/2</td>
<td>There is no evidence for either of these broadcasts in the logbooks of 2BL or 2FC.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Salon String Quartet L</td>
<td>Alternative programme</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Alternative performers:</td>
<td>Bliss: <em>Music for Strings</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>BBC String Ensemble</td>
<td></td>
<td>WW</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>16 January 1939</strong></td>
<td>Roy Agnew: Poem no. 1 from Three Poems Szymanowski: <em>Sheherazade</em> Ravel: <em>L’Ondine</em></td>
<td>SP 1558/2</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander Sverjensky (piano) L</td>
<td>Alternative programme</td>
<td></td>
<td>The logbook shows that the following programme went to air:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alternative performers New Symphony Orchestra Alfred Cortot (piano)</td>
<td>Bax: <em>Tintagel</em>: Poem for Orchestra Ravel: <em>Sonatine for piano</em></td>
<td>WW</td>
<td>Bliss: <em>Music for Strings</em></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>BBC Symphony Orchestra</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Prokofiev: <em>Love of Three Oranges</em></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Boston Symphony Orchestra</td>
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<td>The logbook also notes an announcement made by Agnew possibly informing the listeners of the change from live to recorded performance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>23 January 1939</strong></td>
<td>John Ireland: Sonata for cello and piano</td>
<td>SP 1558/2</td>
<td>2FC LB 10:00–10:27 p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harold Beck (cello) L Frank Warbrick (piano)</td>
<td>Alternative programme</td>
<td></td>
<td>The logbook shows that the alternative programme was broadcast along with the Milhaud’s <em>Le Printemps</em> played by the violinist Szigeti.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alternative programme</td>
<td>Prokofiev: Concerto for piano and orchestra no. 3 op. 26</td>
<td>WW</td>
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<tr>
<td>Prokofiev (piano)</td>
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<tr>
<td>London Symphony Orchestra</td>
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<td>Date and performers</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| **30 January 1939**  
New Austral String Quartet L  
Alternative performers  
A. Dubois (violin)  
M. Maas (piano) | Bartók: String Quartet no. 4  
Alternative programme  
Debussy: Sonata for Violin and Piano | SP 1558/2  
WW | 2FC LB 10:00–10:30 p.m.  
The actual broadcast included the alternative programme and Debussy’s Sonata for Flute, Viola and Harp performed by F. Mora (viola), A. Tassinari (flute), C. Gandolfi (harp) and Poissons d’Or for piano performed by W. Gieseking. Agnew’s introductory annotations were three minutes long |
| **6 February 1939**  
Madame Metters (harp) L  
ABC Sydney String Quartet  
Roy Agnew (piano)  
Alternative performers  
Walter Damrosch and the New York Symphony Orchestra | Bax: Harp Quintet in one movement  
Agnew: Falling Snow  
Cyril Scott: Two Poems | SP 1558/2  
WW | 2FC LB  
Actual broadcast  
Three minute talk; Mother Goose Suite; one-minute talk; Ravel’s Ondine for piano performed by Gieseking (piano). |
| **13 February 1939**  
Frank Warbrick (piano) L  
Alternative performers  
New Symphony Orchestra  
Alfred Cortot (piano) | Szymanowski: Sonata no. 2  
Alternative programme  
Bax: Tintagel: Poem for Orchestra  
Ravel: Sonatine | SP 1558/2  
WW | 2FC LB 10.00 – 10.29 p.m.  
The alternative programme was broadcast along with Butterflies for cello by Hamilton Harty performed by Gaspar Cassado (cello). |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date and performers</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20 February 1939</td>
<td>Cyril Scott: Piano Quintet (movements 1 and 2)</td>
<td>SP 1558/2</td>
<td>2FC LB 10:00–10:30 p.m. The alternative programme was broadcast along with Stokowski’s Prelude in A♭ played by Szigeti and Stravinsky’s <em>Danse Russe</em> arranged by Duschkin performed by an unidentified pianist.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Alternative programme Stravinsky: <em>Firebird Suite</em></td>
<td>WW</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 February 1939</td>
<td>Cyril Scott: Piano Quintet (movements 3 and 4)</td>
<td>SP 1558/2</td>
<td>2FC LB 10:00–10:30 p.m. The alternative programme was broadcast along with the Ibert’s <em>Le Marchande d’eau fraîche</em> for piano performed by E. Boynet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Alternative programme Debussy: Sonata for Violin and Piano Debussy: Sonata for Flute, Viola and Harp</td>
<td>WW</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 March 1939</td>
<td>Rebecca Clarke: Piano Trio</td>
<td>SP 1558/2</td>
<td>2FC LB 10:00–10:39 p.m. The alternative programme was broadcast along with the Intermezzo from Sibelius’s <em>Karelia Suite</em> performed by the London Symphony Orchestra.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Alternative programme Sibelius: Symphony no. 4</td>
<td>WW</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Date and performers</strong></td>
<td><strong>Programme and alternative programmes</strong></td>
<td><strong>Sources (other than ABC logbooks)</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>13 March 1939</strong></td>
<td>Ravel: Sonata for Violin and Cello</td>
<td>SP 1558/2</td>
<td>2FC LB 10:00–10:39 p.m. The alternative programme was broadcast along with Bartók’s <em>Romani</em> folk dances played by Szigeti.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moore MacMahon (violin) L</td>
<td>Alternative programme</td>
<td>WW</td>
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<tr>
<td>Harold Beck (cello)</td>
<td>Bartók: String Quartet no. 1 in A minor op. 7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alternative performers</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pro-Arte String Quartet</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>20 March 1939</strong></td>
<td>Bax: Piano Sonata no. 2</td>
<td>SP 1558/2</td>
<td>2FC LB10.00 – 10.40 p.m. The alternative programme was broadcast along with Tchaikovsky’s <em>Melodie</em>, and Saint-Saëns’s <em>The Sawn</em> and <em>Marche Heroique</em> played by violinist Mischa Elman.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winifred Burston (piano) L</td>
<td>Alternative programme</td>
<td>WW</td>
<td>n.b. Given the stylistic incongruity of the additions, it seems likely they were used as fillers due to timing considerations.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alternative performers</td>
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<tr>
<td>London Symphony Orchestra</td>
<td>Alternative programme</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Vaughan Williams: Symphony no. 4 in F minor</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>27 March 1939</strong></td>
<td>Bartók: <em>Rhapsody</em> no. 1 for violin and piano</td>
<td>SP 1558/2</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moore MacMahon (violin) L</td>
<td>Agnew: <em>Sonata Poem</em> (Todd)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Alternative programme went to air: Villa-Lobos: Brazilian Quartet no. 5 Pts. 1-4 Ravel: <em>Ondine</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frank Warbrick (piano)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Debussy: <em>Poissons D’Or</em> Debussy: <em>Jardins sous la pluie</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Todd (piano) L</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Alternative performers Carioca String Quartet</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Walter Gieskin (piano) Mark Hambourg (piano)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date and performers</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 April 1939</td>
<td>Stravinsky: Firebird Suite</td>
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<td>2FC LB 10:00–10:29 p.m.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stokowski: Prelude in A flat</td>
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<td>2FC LB 10:00–10:29 p.m.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Ravel: Piano Concerto in G</td>
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<td>2FC LB 10:00–10:30 p.m.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ravel: Prélude à l’après-midi</td>
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<td>2FC LB 10:00–10:30 p.m.</td>
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<tr>
<td>10 April 1939</td>
<td>Tausman: Tryptique for string orchestra</td>
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<td>2FC LB 10:00–10:30 p.m.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Bartók: Allegro Barbaro</td>
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<td>2FC LB 10:00–10:30 p.m.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Ravel: Jeux d’eu</td>
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<td>2FC LB 10:00–10:30 p.m.</td>
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<tr>
<td>17 April 1939</td>
<td>Prokofiev: Piano Concerto no.3 in C</td>
<td></td>
<td>2FC LB 10:00–10:30 p.m.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prokofiev (piano)</td>
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<td>2FC LB 10:00–10:30 p.m.</td>
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<tr>
<td>24 April 1939</td>
<td>Britten: Variations on a Theme of Bridge</td>
<td></td>
<td>2FC LB 10:00–10:30 p.m.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Kreisler/Francon: Sicilienne et Rondion</td>
<td></td>
<td>2FC LB 10:00–10:30 p.m.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 May 1939</td>
<td>Boyd Neel Orchestra</td>
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<td>2FC LB 10:00–10:30 p.m.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Yehudi Menuhin (violin)</td>
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<td>2FC LB 10:00–10:30 p.m.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Unspecified pianist</td>
<td></td>
<td>2FC LB 10:00–10:30 p.m.</td>
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Note: The exact programme to air was different from the programme listed in the sources, especially for the date 1 May 1939.
<table>
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<tr>
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</thead>
</table>
| **8 May 1939**      | Ravel: *Introduction & Allegro* for harp, strings and woodwind  
Hindemith: Sonata op. 25 no. 3  
Bridge: *Novelette* no. 3 for piano  
Ibert: *Le petit âne blanc* for piano |                                  | 2FC LB 10:00–10:30 p.m.  
Agnew made three annotations in this session speaking for seven minutes in total. |
| Virtuoso String Quartet  
Emanuel Feuermann (cello)  
Emma Boynet (piano) | | | |
| **15 May 1939**     | Stravinsky: *Symphony of Psalms* | SP 1558/2 | 2FC LB  
The logbook shows that Stravinsky’s *Fireworks* was also broadcast. |
| Walther Straram Orchestra of Paris  
Alexis Vlassof Choir  
Orchestra of Concerts Colonne | | | |
| **22 May 1939**     | Stravinsky: *Capriccio* for piano and orchestra | SP 1558/2 | 2FC LB  
Alternative programme went to air;  
Quincy Porter: String Quartet no. 3  
Prokofiev: *Visions Fugitives* op. 22 (first two movements)  
Prokofiev: *Love of Three Oranges*  
Alternative performers  
Gordon String Quartet  
Prokofiev (piano)  
Boston Symphony Orchestra  
Agnew interrupted the performance of the string quartet before the final movement to make an internal annotation |
<p>| unspecified | | | |</p>
<table>
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</table>
| 29 May 1939         | Stravinsky: Quartet for Woodwind\(^\text{vii}\) | SP 1558/2                        | 2FC LB  
Alternative programme went to air:  
Stravinsky: *Capriccio* for piano and orchestra  
Bartók: *Roumanian Dances*  
Alternative performers  
Stravinsky (piano)  
Ernest Ansermet (conductor)  
Orchestre des Concerts Straran |
| 5 June 1939         | Bartók: *Rhapsody* for violin and piano (unspecified)\(^\text{viii}\) | SP 1558/2                        | 2FC LB.10:00 – 10:30 p.m.  
Alternative program went to air:  
Bartók: Sonata no. 2 for Violin and Piano  
Milhaud: *Two Brazilian Tangoes* (same performers) |
<table>
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<th>Date and performers</th>
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</table>
| 12 June 1939             |                                                                                                       |                                                                                                  | 2FC LB  
Alternative programme (2) went to air:  
Richard Walthew: *Mosaic in Four Pieces* for viola and piano  
Richard Walthew: Sonata in D for viola and piano  
Riisager: Serenade for flute, violin and cello  
Alternative performers (2)  
Watson Forbes (viola)  
Myers Foggin (piano)  
R. Medlemmer of Den Danske Kvartet                                                                       |
| unspecified performers   | Quincy Porter: String Quartet (unspecified)                                                           | SP 1558/2                                                                                       |                                                                                                     |
|                          | Alternative programme (1)  
Stravinsky: Octet for Wind Instruments (cancelled due to breakage)                                        |                                                                                                  |                                                                                                     |
| Alternative performers (1)|                                                                                                       |                                                                                                  |                                                                                                     |
| unspecified              |                                                                                                       |                                                                                                  |                                                                                                     |
| 19 June 1939             |                                                                                                       |                                                                                                  | 2FC LB  
The logbook shows that Agnew spoke for ten minutes.                                                                 |
| Salon String Quartet L   | Gerrard Williams: String Quartet                                                                       | SP 1558/2                                                                                       |                                                                                                     |
| 26 June 1939             |                                                                                                       |                                                                                                  | 2FC LB  
The logbook notes that Agnew again spoke for ten minute and that consequently the show ran five minutes over time. |
<p>| Harty (conductor)        | Walton: Symphony no. 1 (movements 1 and 2)                                                             | SP 1558/2                                                                                       |                                                                                                     |
| London Symphony Orchestra |                                                                                                       |                                                                                                  |                                                                                                     |
| 3 July 1939              |                                                                                                       |                                                                                                  |                                                                                                     |
| Harty (conductor)        | Walton: Symphony no.1 (movements 3 and 4)                                                              | SP 1558/2                                                                                       |                                                                                                     |
| London Symphony Orchestra|                                                                                                       |                                                                                                  |                                                                                                     |</p>
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<tr>
<td><strong>10 July 1939</strong></td>
<td>Harold Beck (cello) L. Frank Warbrick (piano)</td>
<td>Ireland: Sonata for Cello and Piano</td>
<td>SP 1558/2 2FC LB The logbook shows the following programme was broadcast: Bax's Sonata no. 3 for Violin and Piano performed by Moore MacMahon (violin) and Frank Warbrick (piano). L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>17 July 1939</strong></td>
<td>Conservatorium Orchestra</td>
<td>Debussy: <em>Iberia</em></td>
<td>SP 1558/2 2FC LB 10:33–11:02 p.m. The logbook shows that Debussy's <em>Soirée dans Grenade</em> was also broadcast but gives no artist.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>24 July 1939</strong></td>
<td>Wilfred Arlom (piano) L.</td>
<td>Scriabin: Piano Sonata no. 9 De Falla: <em>Fantasia baetica</em></td>
<td>SP 1558/2 2FC LB 10:22–10:52 p.m. Agnew gave annotations with live performers now. The Forberg Edition of the Scriabin sonata was used.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>31 July 1939</strong></td>
<td>Harold Beck (cello) L. Roy Agnew (piano)</td>
<td>Ireland: Sonata for Cello and Piano</td>
<td>SP 1558/2 2FC LB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>7 August 1939</strong></td>
<td>Orchestre de la Société des Concerts du Conservatoire Tossi Spivakovsky (violin)</td>
<td>Debussy: <em>La Mer</em> Sarasate: <em>Introduction and Tarantelle</em></td>
<td>SP 1558/2 2FC LB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date and performers</td>
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<tr>
<td>14 August 1939</td>
<td>Hindemith: String Quartet no. 3</td>
<td>SP 1558/2</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
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<tr>
<td>Coolidge String Quartet</td>
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<tr>
<td>21 August 1939</td>
<td>Enesco: Sonata no. 2 for Violin and Piano</td>
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<td>2FC LB</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ronald Wilkinson (violin) L Ernest Simpson [sic] (piano) Empson?</td>
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<tr>
<td>28 August 1939</td>
<td>Françiax: Concerto for Piano and Orchestra Piano (Kraus) Bartók: Three Rondos on Folk Tunes Bartók: Roumanian Dances</td>
<td>SP 1558/2</td>
<td>2FC LB 10:02–10:28 p.m.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jean Françiax (piano) Paris Philharmonic Orchestra Lili Kraus (piano)</td>
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<tr>
<td>4 September 1939</td>
<td>No broadcast</td>
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<td>2FC LB 2BL LB</td>
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<tr>
<td>11 September 1939</td>
<td>Stravinsky: Les Noces</td>
<td>SP 1558/2</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
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<tr>
<td>unspecified</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The logbook shows that Arthur Somervell’s song “The Snowy Breasted Pearl” also went to air. The logbook does not specify artists.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<tr>
<td>18 September 1939</td>
<td>Berg: Piano Sonata op. 1</td>
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<td>2FC LB 10:30–11:00 p.m.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wilfred Arlom (piano) L</td>
<td>Joaquin Nin-Culmell: Sonata for Piano</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Falla: <em>Homage to Debussy</em></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Falla: <em>Recit du Pecher</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>25 September 1939</td>
<td>Holbrooke: Clarinet Quintet</td>
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<td>2FC LB</td>
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<tr>
<td>R. Kell (clarinet)</td>
<td>Mozart: <em>Cradle Song</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Willoughby String Quartet</td>
<td>Barn. Von Geczy's Orchestra</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 October 1939 L</td>
<td>Bloch: Sonata for Violin and Piano</td>
<td></td>
<td>2FC LB 10:40–11:18 p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ernest Empson (piano)</td>
<td>Ronald Wilkinson (violin)</td>
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<tr>
<td>9 October 1939</td>
<td>Bax: Nonette</td>
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<td>2FC LB</td>
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<tr>
<td>Grillen Nonette</td>
<td>Delius: <em>Two Aquarelles</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Boyd Neel String Orchestra</td>
<td>Delius: <em>Air and Dance</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>16 October 1939</td>
<td>Goossens: Sonata no. 2 for Violin and Piano</td>
<td></td>
<td>2FC LB 10:40–11:18 p.m.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Moore MacMahon (violin) L</td>
<td>Frank Warbrick (piano)</td>
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<tr>
<td>23 October 1939</td>
<td>Bax: Sonata for Viola and Piano</td>
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<td>2FC LB</td>
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<tr>
<td>Harriet Cohen (piano)</td>
<td>William Primrose (viola)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date and performers</td>
<td>Programme and alternative programmes</td>
<td>Sources (other than ABC logbooks)</td>
<td>Exact programme to air if different to other sources using ABC 2FC or 2BL transcription radio logbooks</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>30 October 1939</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>D’Avon String Quartet L</td>
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<tr>
<td>(former Salon String Quartet)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Corinna D’Hage (violin)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dorothy Anschau (violin)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ruth Vernon (viola)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bonnie McGuire (cello)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prokofiev: String Quartet</td>
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<td>2FC LB</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>6 November 1939</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>W. Straram Orchestra and Russian Choir</td>
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<tr>
<td>Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fritz Kreisler (violin)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stravinsky: <em>Symphony of Psalms</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>2FC LB 10:40–11:15 p.m.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Weber/ Kreisler: <em>Larghetto</em></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Schubert: <em>Rosamunde Ballet</em></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>13 November 1939 L.</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Moore MacMahon (violin) L</td>
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<tr>
<td>Frank Warbrick (piano)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stravinsky: <em>Duo Concertante</em> for violin and piano</td>
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<td>2FC LB</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Pijper: Sonatina no. 3 for Piano</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>20 November 1939</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>BBC Chorus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Grinke Trio</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eric Coates (conductor)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Symphony Orchestra [sic]</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bax: Mater <em>Ora Filium</em></td>
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<td>2FC LB 10:45–11:19 p.m.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ireland: <em>Phantasia Trio</em> in A minor</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Eric Coates: <em>Summer Afternoon</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Date and performers</td>
<td>Programme and alternative programmes</td>
<td>Sources (other than ABC logbooks)</td>
<td>Exact programme to air if different to other sources using ABC 2FC or 2BL transcription radio logbooks</td>
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<tr>
<td>27 November 1939</td>
<td>Lambert: Piano Sonata</td>
<td></td>
<td>2FC LB 10:40–11:10 p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dagmar Roberts (piano) L</td>
<td>Szymanowski: Etude in B flat minor</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 December</td>
<td>Debussy: <em>Nocturnes</em></td>
<td>ABCW&lt;sup&gt;ix&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
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<tr>
<td>Conservatoire Orchestra</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The logbook notes that the session’s start has been moved back to 10:00 p.m. and that Delius’s <em>Aquarellas</em> the following work also went to air performed by the Boyd Neel Orchestra.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 December 1939</td>
<td>Bartók: <em>Rhapsody</em> no. 2 for violin and piano</td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moore MacMahon (violin) L</td>
<td>Szymanowski: <em>Romance</em> for violin and piano</td>
<td></td>
<td>The logbook shows that the following programme went to air: Stravinsky’s <em>Capriccio</em> for piano and orchestra performed by Stravinsky and the W. Straram Orchestra and Liszt’s <em>Dance of the Gnomes</em> performed by Egon Petri (piano). n.b. Again the Liszt was probably played due to timing considerations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frank Warbrick (piano)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date and performers</td>
<td>Programme and alternative programmes</td>
<td>Sources (other than ABC logbooks)</td>
<td>Exact programme to air if different to other sources using ABC 2FC or 2BL transcription radio logbooks</td>
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<tr>
<td>21 December 1939</td>
<td>Scriabin: <em>Poème</em> op. 32 no. 1</td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB The logbook shows that this programme ended early and a “piano improvisation” concluded the broadcast.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ernest Empson (piano) L</td>
<td>Scriabin: <em>Poème</em> <em>Tragique</em> op. 34</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Scriabin: Sonata no. 6 op. 62</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>28 December 1939</td>
<td>No broadcast</td>
<td></td>
<td>2FC LB and 2BL LB The logbooks show that there was no broadcast.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 January 1940</td>
<td>Prokofiev: Piano Concerto no. 3</td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB The logbook shows that Agnew is beginning each movement with a brief annotation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prokofiev (piano)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Coppola (conductor)</td>
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<tr>
<td>London Symphony Orchestra</td>
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<tr>
<td>11 January 1940</td>
<td>Ireland: Piano Trio in E</td>
<td></td>
<td>2FC LB The logbook notes that Agnew spoke for seven minutes and the broadcast ran five minutes overtime.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ronald Wilkinson (violin) L</td>
<td>Neimann: <em>Dance of the Geisha</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Carl Gotsch (cello)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ernest Simpson (clarinet)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Beatrice Tange (piano)</td>
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<tr>
<td>18 January 1940</td>
<td>Bax: <em>Mater Ora Filium</em> for mixed chorus</td>
<td></td>
<td>2FC LB The logbook shows that Debussy’s Sonata for Flute, Viola and Harp also went to air. The performers were not named.</td>
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<tr>
<td>unspecified</td>
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<tr>
<td>BBC Chorus (2FC LB)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date and performers</td>
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<td>Exact programme to air if different to other sources using ABC 2FC or 2BL transcription radio logbooks</td>
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</table>
| 25 January 1940                         | bliss: Sonata for Viola and Piano                                           | SP 1558/2 ABCW                   | 2FC LB  
The logbook shows that the actual broadcast was Szymanowski’s Piano Sonata no. 3 played by Ernest Empson. L |
| Robert Wood (viola) L                   |                                                                             |                                  |                                                                                              |
| Frank Warbrick (piano)                  |                                                                             |                                  |                                                                                              |
| 1 February 1940                         | Schoenberg: Transfigured Night                                              | SP 1558/2 ABCW                   | 2FC LB 10:05–10:40 p.m.  
The logbook shows that the violinist Guila Bustabo played an arrangement of Chopin’s Nocturne in D. Again timing considerations may have played a role here. |
| Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra          |                                                                             |                                  |                                                                                              |
| 8 February 1940                         | Szymanowski: Piano Sonata no. 2                                             | SP 1558/2 ABCW                   | 2FC LB 10:00–10:35 p.m.  
The logbook shows that the following programme went to air: Bliss’s Sonata for Viola and Piano performed by Robert Wood (viola) and Frank Warbrick (piano). L |
| Ernest Empson (piano) L                 | Alternative programme                                                       |                                  |                                                                                              |
| Alternative performers                  | Roy Harris: When Johnny Comes Marching Home Overture                       |                                  |                                                                                              |
| Eugene Normandy (conductor)             | Kodály: Hary Janos Suite for Orchestra                                      |                                  |                                                                                              |
| Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra          | Kreisler: Tambourin Chinois                                                 |                                  |                                                                                              |
| 15 February 1940                        | Walton: Concerto for Viola and Orchestra                                    | SP 1558/2 ABCW                   | 2FC LB  
The logbook shows that Delius’s Hassan Serenade performed by Albert Sandler’s Orchestra was also broadcast. |
<p>| Frederick Riddle (viola)                |                                                                             |                                  |                                                                                              |
| London Philharmonic                     |                                                                             |                                  |                                                                                              |</p>
<table>
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<th>Date and performers</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22 February 1940</td>
<td>Ravel: Sonata for violin and cello</td>
<td>SP 1558/2</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moore MacMahon (violin) L Harold Beck (cello)</td>
<td>Alternative programme</td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>The logbook shows that the alternative programme went to air along with Ibert’s <em>Three Impressions</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alternative performer</td>
<td>Bartók: Sonata for Piano</td>
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<tr>
<td>Frank Warbrick (piano) L</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>29 February 1940</td>
<td>Ernest Bloch: Concerto for violin and orchestra</td>
<td>SP 1558/2</td>
<td>2FC LB 10:05–10:40 p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Szigeti (violin)</td>
<td></td>
<td>ABCW</td>
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<tr>
<td>Charles Munch (conductor)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Orchestre de la Société des Concerts du Conservatoire de Paris</td>
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<tr>
<td>7 March 1940</td>
<td>Szymanowski: Piano Sonata no. 3</td>
<td>SP 1558/2</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frank Warbrick (piano) L</td>
<td></td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>The logbook shows that Ibert’s <em>House of Sadness</em> also went to air.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 March 1940</td>
<td>Scriabin: <em>Poem of Ecstasy</em></td>
<td>SP 1558/2</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
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<tr>
<td>Leopold Stokowski</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(conductor)</td>
<td>Tcherepnin: <em>Eight Bagatelles for Piano</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Philadelphia Orchestra</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alexander Tcherepnin (piano)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date and performers</td>
<td>Programme and alternative programmes</td>
<td>Sources (other than ABC logbooks)</td>
<td>Exact programme to air if different to other sources using ABC 2FC or 2BL transcription radio logbooks</td>
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</table>
| **21 March 1940**   | Dulcie Holland: Sonata for Cello and Piano | SP 1558/2                      | 2FC LB  
The logbook notes that only Sonata no. 9 went to air.  
n.b. The session would have been too short.  
There is perhaps an error in the documentation. |
| Osric Fyffe (cello)L  | Alternative programme             | ABCW                            |                                                                                             |
| Dulcie Holland (piano) | Scriabin: Piano Sonata no. 9 op. 68 |                                 |                                                                                             |
| Alternative performer | Scriabin: Piano Sonata no. 10 op. 70 |                                 |                                                                                             |
| Wilfred Arlom (piano) L |                                        |                                 |                                                                                             |
| **28 March 1940**   | Rachmaninov: *Rhapsody on a Theme by Paganini* | SP 1558/2                      | 2FC LB  
The logbook shows that the alternative programme went to air.                             |
| Benno Moiseiwitsch (piano) | Alternative programme             | ABCW                            |                                                                                             |
| London Philharmonic Orchestra | Roy Harris: *Symphony for voices on poems by Walt Whitman: "Songs for the All Seas, " "All Ships" (from Seadrift), "The Modern Man I sing" (from Inscription) |                                 |                                                                                             |
| Alternative performers |                                        |                                 |                                                                                             |
| Westminster Choir | Roy Harris: Chorale for String Sextet |                                 |                                                                                             |
| Kreiner Sextet      |                                      |                                 |                                                                                             |
| **4 April 1940**    | Pizzetti: Sonata for Viola and Piano | ABCW                            | 2FC LB 10:00–10:34 p.m.                                                                          |
| Robert Wood (viola) L |                                      |                                 |                                                                                             |
| Frank Warbrick (piano) |                                        |                                 |                                                                                             |
| **11 April 1940**   | Bax: Sonata for Viola and Piano     | SP 1558/2                      | 2FC and 2BL  
The logbooks have no record of a broadcast on this date.                               |
<p>| William Primrose (viola) |                                      | ABCW                            |                                                                                             |
| Harriet Cohen (piano) |                                      |                                 |                                                                                             |</p>
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Date and performers</th>
<th>Programme and alternative programmes</th>
<th>Sources (other than ABC logbooks)</th>
<th>Exact programme to air if different to other sources using ABC 2FC or 2BL transcription radio logbooks</th>
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</thead>
</table>
| 18 April 1940       | Britten: *Variations on a Theme by Frank Bridge* | SP 1558/2                        | 2FC LB  
The logbook shows that Liszt's *Rigoletto Paraphrase* (part one) also went to air performed by Egon Petri (piano).  
n.b Once again this would be due to timing considerations. |
| Boyd Neel String Orchestra |                                      |                                  |                                                                                                  |
| 25 April 1940       | Enescio: Sonata no. 3 for Violin and Piano | SP 1558/2                        | 2FC LB  
The logbook shows that the alternative programme went to air. The logbook shows that Auer's *Orientale* also went to air performed by violinist Efrem Zimbalist.  
n.b Once again this would be due to timing considerations. |
| Yehudi Menuhin (violin) Hepzibah Menuhin (piano) |                                      |                                  |                                                                                                  |
| 2 May                | Debussy: *Nocturnes* 1-3              |                                  | 2FC LB                                                                                           |
| Orchestre de la Societe des Concert au Conservatoire |                                      |                                  |                                                                                                  |
| 9 May 1940           | Stravinsky: *The Soldier’s Tale*     | SP 1558/2                        | 2FC LB  
The logbook shows that the following programme went to air: Honegger’s Sonata for Viola and Piano, Bartók’s *Nocturne* performed by Robert Wood (viola) and Frank Warbrick (piano), L. |
<p>| unspecified          |                                      |                                  |                                                                                                  |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date and performers</th>
<th>Programme and alternative programmes</th>
<th>Sources (other than ABC logbooks)</th>
<th>Exact programme to air if different to other sources using ABC 2FC or 2BL transcription radio logbooks</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>16 May 1940</strong></td>
<td>Frank Warbrick (piano) L</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Krenek: Piano Sonata no. 2 op. 59</td>
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<td>2FC LB</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Krenek: Four Pieces op. 39</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>23 May 1940</strong></td>
<td>Philadelphia Symphony Orchestra</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Harl McDonald: Concerto for Two Pianos and Orchestra</td>
<td>SP 1558/2</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>30 May 1940</strong></td>
<td>Ernest Empson (piano) L</td>
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<td>Scriabin: Sonata no. 7</td>
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<td>2FC LB</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Scriabin: Sonata op. 64</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Scriabin: Four Pieces from op. 56</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>6 June 1940</strong></td>
<td>Curtis Chamber Music Ensemble</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Bloch: Concerto Grosso for String Orchestra and Piano Obbligato</td>
<td>SP 1558/2</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Françaix: <em>Serenade Comique</em> for Saxophone Quartet</td>
<td></td>
<td>The logbook shows that Bozza’s Scherzo for Four Saxophones performed by the Paris Saxophone Quartet also went to air.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>13 June 1940</strong></td>
<td>Moore MacMahon (violin) L Frank Warbrick (piano)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bartók: <em>Rhapsody</em> no. 2 for violin and piano</td>
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<td>2FC LB</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pipper: Sonatina (unspecified)</td>
<td></td>
<td>n.b. Perhaps they repeated the Bartók because of timing problems.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bartók: <em>Rhapsody</em> no. 2 (repeated)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>20 June 1940</strong></td>
<td>Reginald Kell (clarinet) Unspecified</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Holbrooke: Clarinet Quintet in G</td>
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<td>2FC LB</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date and performers</td>
<td>Programme and alternative programmes</td>
<td>Sources (other than ABC logbooks)</td>
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<td>27 June 1940</td>
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<td>2FC LB</td>
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<td>The logbook shows that the session went to air but gives no program.</td>
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<tr>
<td>4 July 1940</td>
<td>Bax: Piano Sonata no. 4</td>
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<td>2FC LB</td>
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<tr>
<td>Frank Warbrick (piano) L</td>
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<tr>
<td>11 July 1940</td>
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<td>2FC LB</td>
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<td>The session went to air but again the log book gives no programme.</td>
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<tr>
<td>18 July 1940</td>
<td>Harris: Sonata for Piano</td>
<td></td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
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<tr>
<td>Johanna Harris (piano)</td>
<td>Agnew: Sonata Ballade (Columbia recording)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Roy Agnew (piano)</td>
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<tr>
<td>25 July 1940</td>
<td>Tedesco: Piano Trio</td>
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<td>2FC LB</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ernest Empson (piano) L</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ronald Wilkinson (violin)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Carl Gotsch (cello)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 August 1940</td>
<td>Vaughan Williams: Concerto in D minor for Violin and String Orchestra</td>
<td></td>
<td>2FC LB 10:04–10:30 p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boyd Neel String Orchesters</td>
<td>Koldy: &quot;Evening&quot;</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Soloist unspecified</td>
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<tr>
<td>Augustine Choir</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date and performers</td>
<td>Programme and alternative programmes</td>
<td>Sources (other than ABC logbooks)</td>
<td>Exact programme to air if different to other sources using ABC 2FC or 2BL transcription radio logbooks</td>
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<tr>
<td>8 August 1940</td>
<td>Moor: Sonata for Violin and Piano</td>
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<td>2FC LB</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ireland: <em>Amberley Wild Brooks</em> for piano</td>
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<tr>
<td>15 August 1940</td>
<td>Francaix: Trio for Violin, Viola and Cello</td>
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<td>2FC LB</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Howells: <em>Elegy</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>22 August 1940</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
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<td>The logbook shows that the session went to air but gives no programme. This session was pre-</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>recorded.</td>
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<tr>
<td>29 August 1940</td>
<td>Scriabin: Sonata no. 1</td>
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<td>2FC LB</td>
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<tr>
<td>5 September 1940</td>
<td>Bax: <em>Overture to a Picaresque Comedy</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>2FC LB 10:06–10:34 p.m.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ibert: <em>Divertissement</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>12 September</td>
<td>Scriabin: Sonata no. 5</td>
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<td>2FC LB</td>
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<td>Scriabin: Sonata no. 10</td>
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<td>Date and performers</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>19 September 1940</strong></td>
<td>Dulcie Holland: Sonata for Cello and Piano</td>
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<td>2FC LB</td>
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<tr>
<td>Osric Fyfe (cello) L</td>
<td>Dulcie Holland: <em>The Lake</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Dulcie Holland (piano)</td>
<td>Dulcie Holland: <em>The Scattering of Leaves</em></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>26 September 1940</strong></td>
<td>Harris: <em>Symphony for Voices</em></td>
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<td>2FC LB</td>
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<tr>
<td>Westminster Choir</td>
<td>Meyerbeer: <em>Le Prophète</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Adrian Bouled (conductor)</td>
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<tr>
<td>BBC Symphony Orchestra</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>2 October 1940</strong></td>
<td>Stravinsky: <em>Les Noces</em></td>
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<td>2FC LB</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kate Winter (piano)</td>
<td></td>
<td>n.b. The starting time has been moved back to 10:30 p.m.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Linda Seymour (piano)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Parry Jones (piano)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Roy Henderson (piano)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unspecified chorus and orchestra</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>9 October 1940</strong></td>
<td>Harl McDonald: Concerto for Two Pianos and Orchestra</td>
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<td>2FC LB</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jeanne Behrend (piano)</td>
<td>Dvorak: <em>Slavonic Dance</em> no. 2 in E minor</td>
<td>n.b. The <em>Slavonic Dance</em> was presumably broadcast due to timing considerations.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alexander Kelberine (piano)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Philharmonic Orchestra</td>
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<tr>
<td>Czech Philharmonic Orchestra</td>
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<tr>
<td>Talich (conductor)</td>
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<td><strong>16 October 1940</strong>&lt;br&gt;Members of the Danish quartet with an unidentified flautist&lt;br&gt;Watson Forbes (viola)&lt;br&gt;Myer Foggin (piano)&lt;br&gt;Szigeti (violin) 2FC LB</td>
<td>Knudage Riisager: Serenade for Flute, Violin and Cello&lt;br&gt;Richard Walthew: Sonata for Viola and Piano</td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB&lt;br&gt;The logbook shows that Milhaud’s <em>Le Printemps</em> performed by Szigeti (violin).</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>23 October 1940</strong>&lt;br&gt;Moore MacMahon (violin) L&lt;br&gt;Frank Warbrick (piano)</td>
<td>Herbert Howells: Sonata no. 1 for Violin and Piano&lt;br&gt;Eugene Goossens: <em>Ships</em> for piano</td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>30 October 1940</strong>&lt;br&gt;Grinke Trio</td>
<td>Ireland: Piano Trio no. 3</td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB T&lt;br&gt;The logbook shows that Ravel’s <em>Pavane pour une Infante defunte</em>, but the orchestra is not named.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>6 November 1940</strong>&lt;br&gt;Wilfred Arlom (piano) L</td>
<td>Busoni: Sonatina no. 1&lt;br&gt;Henk Badings: Theme and Variations</td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>13 November 1940</strong>&lt;br&gt;Reginald Paul Piano Octet</td>
<td>Walton: Piano Quartet</td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
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<tr>
<td>20 November 1940</td>
<td>Herbert Howells: Violin Sonata no. 3 op. 38</td>
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<tr>
<td>Moore MacMahon (violin) L</td>
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<tr>
<td>Frank Warbrick (piano)</td>
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<tr>
<td>27 November 1940</td>
<td>Ibert: Concerto for Flute and Orchestra</td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB The logbook shows that the McDonald did not go to air.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marcel Moyse (flute)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paris Conservatoire Orchestra</td>
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<tr>
<td>Philadelphia Symphony Orchestra</td>
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<tr>
<td>4 December 1940</td>
<td>Bax: Sonata for Cello and Piano</td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
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<tr>
<td>Osric Fyffe (cello) L</td>
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<tr>
<td>Laurence Godfrey Smith (piano)</td>
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<tr>
<td>11 December 1940</td>
<td>Bax: Sonata for Viola and Piano (unspecified)</td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
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<tr>
<td>William Primrose (viola)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Harriet Cohen (piano)</td>
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<tr>
<td>18 December 1940</td>
<td>Eugene Goossens: <em>Phantasy String Quartet</em></td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
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<tr>
<td>D'Avon String Quartet L</td>
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<tr>
<td>8 January 1941</td>
<td>Eugene Goossens: Violin Sonata no. 1</td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moore MacMahon (violin) L</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Frank Warbrick (piano)</td>
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| 15 January 1941                                  | Bloch: Concerto Grosso for String Orchestra and Piano Obbligato | ABCW                             | 2FC LB  
The logbook shows that Sarasate's *Habanera* also went to air presumably for timing considerations. |
| Curtis Chamber Music Ensemble                     | Français: *Serenade Comique* for Saxophone Quartet             |                                  |                                                                                             |
| Paris Saxophone Quartet                          |                                                                |                                  |                                                                                             |
| Yehudi Menuhin                                    |                                                                |                                  |                                                                                             |
| 22 January 1941                                  | Conrad Beck: String Quartet piano Scriver: *Poème-Nocturne* op. 61 | ABCW                             | 2FC LB  
The logbook shows that Hummer's *San Remo* performed by Alfredo Campoli's Salon Orchestra also went to air presumably for timing considerations. |
| New Austral String Quartet L Roy Agnew (piano)   |                                                                |                                  |                                                                                             |
| n.b. The Austrian violinist                       |                                                                |                                  |                                                                                             |
| Richard Goldner, founder of                      |                                                                |                                  |                                                                                             |
| Musica Viva, is now in the                       |                                                                |                                  |                                                                                             |
| New Austral String Quartet                       |                                                                |                                  |                                                                                             |
| 29 January 1941                                  | Scriver: Piano Sonata no. 4 Prokofiev: Six Pieces               | ABCW                             | 2FC LB  
The logbook shows that Hummer's *San Remo* performed by Alfredo Campoli's Salon Orchestra also went to air presumably for timing considerations. |
| Alexander Sverjensky (piano) L                    |                                                                |                                  |                                                                                             |
| 5 February 1941                                  | Holst: *St Paul's Suite* for strings Lord Berners: Fugue for Orchestra | ABCW                             | 2FC LB  
The logbook shows that Prokofiev's *Visions Fugitives* also went to air. |
<p>| Boyd Neel String Orchestra London Symphony Orchestra |                                                                |                                  |                                                                                             |
| Prokofiev (piano)                                 |                                                                |                                  |                                                                                             |</p>
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<tr>
<td>12 February 1941</td>
<td>Scriabin: Piano Sonata no. 8</td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ernest Empson (piano) L</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The logbook shows that the Stravinsky was not broadcast and the session was replaced with a report from Singapore. Agnew was still paid for the session.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 February 1941</td>
<td>Stravinsky: <em>A Soldier’s Tale</em></td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
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<tr>
<td>unspecified</td>
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<td></td>
<td>The logbook shows that Debussy’s <em>Reflets dans l’eau</em> also went to air performed by Gieseking (piano).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 February 1941</td>
<td>Rutland Boughton: Violin Sonata</td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moore MacMahon (violin) L</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The logbook shows that Larsson’s Sonatina was not broadcast, but was replaced by the Szymanowski’s <em>Two Mazurkas.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frank Warbrick (piano)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>n.b. The programme seems again to have been too short and was concluded with a piano improvisation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 March 1941</td>
<td>Milhaud: <em>La Création du monde</em></td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
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<tr>
<td>Milhaud (conductor)</td>
<td>Roy Harris: <em>Poem for Violin and Piano</em></td>
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<td>The logbook shows that Debussy’s <em>Reflets dans l’eau</em> also went to air performed by Gieseking (piano).</td>
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<tr>
<td>unspecified orchestra</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The logbook shows that Larsson’s Sonatina was not broadcast, but was replaced by the Szymanowski’s <em>Two Mazurkas.</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>12 March 1941</td>
<td>Lars Zrik Larsson: Sonatina</td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wilfred Arlom (piano) L</td>
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<td>The logbook shows that Larsson’s Sonatina was not broadcast, but was replaced by the Szymanowski’s <em>Two Mazurkas.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roussel: Sonatina</td>
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<td>n.b. The programme seems again to have been too short and was concluded with a piano improvisation.</td>
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<tr>
<td>19 March 1941 Boyd Neel String Orchestra</td>
<td>Britten: <em>Simple Symphony</em> Joseph Holbrooke: <em>Overture to the Children of Den</em></td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB The logbook shows that the <em>Simple Symphony</em> was not broadcast, but was replaced by Ibert’s <em>Divertissement</em>. Mendelssohn’s <em>A May Breeze</em> arranged by Fritz Kreisler was performed by the Boston Proms Orchestra and Kreisler (violin) also went to air probably for timing considerations.</td>
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<tr>
<td>London Symphony Orchestra</td>
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<tr>
<td>26 March 1941 Georgina McClean (violin) L</td>
<td>Bloch: <em>Suite for Violin and Piano</em></td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elizabeth Coleman (piano)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 April 1941 Adolphe Halles (piano)</td>
<td>Debussy: <em>Etudes for piano</em></td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
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<tr>
<td>9 April 1941 Herbert Coomer (violin) L</td>
<td>Bax: <em>Piano Trio</em></td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
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<tr>
<td>Robert Wood (viola)</td>
<td>Bax: <em>Toccata for piano</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Frank Warbrick (piano)</td>
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<tr>
<td>16 April 1941 Frederick Riddell (viola)</td>
<td>Walton: <em>Concerto for Viola and Orchestra</em></td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
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<tr>
<td>London Symphony Orchestra</td>
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</table>
| 23 April 1941                            | Medtner: Sonata for Violin and Piano | ABCW                              | 2FC LB  
The logbook shows that Medtner’s *Fairy Tale* also went to air.                          |
| Hugh McClean (violin) L                  |                                      |                                  |                                               |
| Laurence Godfrey Smith (piano)           |                                      |                                  |                                               |
| 30 April 1941                            | Bliss: Sonata for Viola and Piano    | ABCW                              | 2FC LB  
The logbook shows that Debussy’s *Reflets dans l’eau* also went to air performed by Gieseking (piano). |
| Watson Forbes (viola)                    |                                      |                                  |                                               |
| Myers Foggin (piano)                     |                                      |                                  |                                               |
| 7 May 1941                               | Scriabin: Piano Sonata no. 2 op. 19 (*Sonata Fantasia*)  
Szymanowski: *Serenade de Don Juan* | ABCW                              | 2FC LB                                          |
| Alexander Sverjensky (piano) L           |                                      |                                  |                                               |
| 14 May 1941                              | Stravinsky: *A Soldier’s Tale*       | ABCW                              | 2FC LB  
The logbook lists the ensemble as separate individuals: Darrioux, Boussagol, Godeau, Dherin, Foveau, Delbos and Morel. |
| Unspecified ensemble                     |                                      |                                  |                                               |
| 21 May 1941                              | Tailleferre: Violin Sonata  
Lili Boulanger: *D’un Matin de Printemps* | ABCW                              | 2FC LB  
The logbook shows that Boulanger’s *D’un Matin de Printemps* was replaced with a Nocturne by the same composer. |
<p>| Moore MacMahon (violin) L                |                                      |                                  |                                               |
| Frank Warbrick (piano)                   |                                      |                                  |                                               |</p>
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| 28 May 1941        | Vaughan Williams: *Concerto Academic* (for violin in D minor)  
Kodály: *Hary Janos Suite* for Orchestra | ABCW | 2FC LB  
The logbook shows that the *Hary Janos Suite* was replaced by the choral work *Evening* by the same composer performed by the Augustine Choir.  
The logbook shows that Liszt’s Study in F minor performed by also went to air performed by Solomon (piano) presumably for timing considerations. |
| 4 June 1941        | Bax: Piano Sonata no. 4               | ABCW | 2FC LB  
The logbook shows that Goossens’s *The Tug* for piano also went to air. |
| 11 June 1941       | Prokofiev: *Lieutenant Kije*: Symphonic Suite for orchestra op. 60 | ABCW | 2FC LB  
The logbook shows that Prokofiev’s *Love of Three Oranges* also went to air: |
<p>| 18 June 1941       | Bax: Cello Sonata                    | ABCW | 2FC LB |
| 25 June 1941       | Kodály: <em>Hary Janos Suite</em> for Orchestra | ABCW | 2FC LB |</p>
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<tr>
<td>2 July 1941</td>
<td>Frank Warbrick (piano) L</td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Bartók: Piano Sonata</td>
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<td>Ibert: Three Pieces for Piano: The Golden Tortoise; The Aged Beggar; The Inconsequent Maid</td>
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<tr>
<td>9 July 1941</td>
<td>London Symphony Orchestra</td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Griller String Quartet</td>
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<td>The logbook shows that the third movement of Bax’s Sonata for viola and piano also went to air.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Watson (flute)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Slater (clarinet)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Korschinka (harp)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Goossens (oboe)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thurston (bass)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Walter Primrose (viola)</td>
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<td>Harriet Cohen (piano)</td>
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<td>Bax: Overture to a Picaresque Comedy</td>
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<td>Bax: Nonette</td>
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<tr>
<td>16 July 1941</td>
<td>Enith Clarke (piano) L</td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Alexander Tcherepnin: Eight Bagatelles for Piano</td>
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<td>Bax: Lullaby for piano</td>
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<td>Bax: What the Minstrel told us</td>
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<td>23 July 1941</td>
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<tr>
<td>Raymond Hanson (piano) L</td>
<td></td>
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<td>The logbook shows that Schumann's Novelette op. 21 no. 6 performed by Eileen Joyce (piano) also went to air presumably for timing considerations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 August 1941</td>
<td>Françai: String Trio Roussel: Sinfonietta</td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philharmonic string trio NBC String Symphony Orchestra</td>
<td></td>
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<td>The logbook shows that Schumann's Novelette op. 21 no. 6 performed by Eileen Joyce (piano) also went to air presumably for timing considerations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 August 1941</td>
<td>Miaskovsky: Cello Sonata Bax: Winter Waters for piano Bax: Burlesque for piano</td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kathleen Tuohy (cello) L Alexander Sverjensky (piano)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The logbook shows that Schumann's Novelette op. 21 no. 6 performed by Eileen Joyce (piano) also went to air presumably for timing considerations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 August 1941</td>
<td>Ireland: Concertino Pastoral Busoni: Album Leaf</td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boyd Neel String Orchestra Egon Petri (piano)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The logbook shows that Busoni's Elegy no. 2 All' Italia performed by Egon Petri (piano) also went to air.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 August 1941</td>
<td>Stravinsky: Capriccio for piano and orchestra</td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stravinsky (piano) Orchestre des Concerts Straram</td>
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<td></td>
<td>The logbook shows that Sibelius's Karelia Suite for Orchestra also went to air.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date and performers</td>
<td>Programme and alternative programmes</td>
<td>Sources (other than ABC logbooks)</td>
<td>Exact programme to air if different to other sources using ABC 2FC or 2BL transcription radio logbooks</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 September 1941</td>
<td>Françàix: String Trio in C major for Muted Strings</td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unspecified string trio</td>
<td>Cain: “Rarely comest thou”</td>
<td></td>
<td>The logbook shows that the actual programme broadcast was:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augustine Choir</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bloch’s Concerto Grosso, Françàix’s <em>Serenade Comique</em>, Bozza’s Scherzo for Saxophone Quartet performed by the Curtis Chamber Music Ensemble and the Saxophone Quartet of Paris.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 September 1941</td>
<td>Bartók: Violin Sonata no. 2</td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moore MacMahon (violin) L</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frank Warbrick (piano)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 September 1941</td>
<td>Bloch: Suite for Viola and Piano</td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgina McClean (viola) L</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Elizabeth Coleman (piano)</td>
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<tr>
<td>24 September 1941</td>
<td>Bax: <em>Mater Ora Filium</em> for unaccompanied double choir</td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BBC Chorus</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marcel Moyse (flute)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lily Laskine (harp)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alice Merkel (viola)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 October 1941</td>
<td>Milhaud: <em>Création du monde</em></td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orchestre de Darius Milhaud</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>This session was presented by J.C. Fleming.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albert Spalding (violin)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Elsie Hall (piano)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date and performers</td>
<td>Programme and alternative programmes</td>
<td>Sources (other than ABC logbooks)</td>
<td>Exact programme to air if different to other sources using ABC 2FC or 2BL transcription radio logbooks</td>
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</table>
| 8 October 1941       | Ibert: Concerto for Flute and Orchestra Harl McDonald: *Two Hebraic Poems* for orchestra | ABCW | 2FC LB  
The logbook shows that the *Two Hebraic Poems* were replaced with Herbert Howells’s *Elegy* and Coleridge-Taylor’s *Valse Mauresque* performed by the Jacques String Orchestra and New Light Symphony Orchestra. |
| 15 October 1941      | Ireland: Piano Trio no. 3            | ABCW | 2FC LB  
The logbook shows that Beethoven’s *Für Elise* also went to air performed by Eileen Joyce (piano).  
n.b. This addition was presumably made for timing considerations. |
| 25 October 1941      | Goossens: *Phantasy String Quartet*  
Marcell Poot: *Bagatelles* | ABCW | 2FC LB  
The session has moved to Saturday at 9:00 p.m. |
| 1 November 1941      | Prokofiev: Piano Sonata no. 4        
Honegger: *Danse*  
Honneger: *Homage à Ravel* | ABCW | 2FC LB  
The logbook shows that Honegger’s *Danse* was replaced with a Prelude by the same composer. |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date and performers</th>
<th>Programme and alternative programmes</th>
<th>Sources (other than ABC logbooks)</th>
<th>Exact programme to air if different to other sources using ABC 2FC or 2BL transcription radio logbooks</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>8 November 1941</strong>&lt;br&gt;Moore MacMahon (violin) L&lt;br&gt;Frank Warbrick (piano)</td>
<td>Bartók: <em>Rhapsody</em> no. 2 for violin and piano&lt;br&gt;Bartók: <em>Nocturne</em> for piano</td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB&lt;br&gt;The logbook shows that Frank Bridge’s <em>Cradle Song</em> and <em>Moto Perpetuo</em> also went to air performed by Henri Tamanka (violin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>15 November 1941</strong>&lt;br&gt;Maurice Marechal (cello)&lt;br&gt;Robert Casadeus (piano)&lt;br&gt;Boston Symphony Orchestra&lt;br&gt;Wilhelm Backhaus (piano)</td>
<td>Debussy: Cello Sonata&lt;br&gt;Copland: <em>El Salon Mexico</em> for orchestra</td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB&lt;br&gt;The logbook shows that the following work also went to air presumably for timing considerations: Lucas (arr.): <em>Pastorale</em> [HMV.DB.2406].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>22 November 1941</strong>&lt;br&gt;Frank Warbrick (piano) L</td>
<td>Krenek: Sonata no. 2 op. 59&lt;br&gt;Krenek: Four Pieces from op. 39</td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB&lt;br&gt;The logbook shows that the Four Pieces were not broadcast, and Agnew made annotations between each movement of the sonata The cut was probably made for timing considerations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>29 November</strong>&lt;br&gt;Prokofiev (piano)</td>
<td>Prokofiev: <em>Visions fugitives</em>&lt;br&gt;Prokofiev: Andante from Piano Sonata no. 4</td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB&lt;br&gt;The logbook shows that the Andante from Piano Sonata no. 4 was not broadcast.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>6 December 1941</strong>&lt;br&gt;Alexander Sverjensky (piano) L</td>
<td>Howard Ferguson: Piano Sonata in F minor</td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date and performers</td>
<td>Programme and alternative programmes</td>
<td>Sources (other than ABC logbooks)</td>
<td>Exact programme to air if different to other sources using ABC 2FC or 2BL transcription radio logbooks</td>
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<tr>
<td>13 December 1941</td>
<td>Ibert: Concertino de Camera for Saxophone and Orchestra</td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marcel Mule and Orchestra</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>20 December 1941</td>
<td>Szymanowski: 12 Etudes op. 33</td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilfred Arlom (piano) L</td>
<td>Henk Badings: Theme and Variations</td>
<td></td>
<td>The logbook shows that the Larghetto from Beethoven’s Egmont Overture also went to air presumably for timing considerations performed by the London Philharmonic. n.b. The session is back on at 10:30.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 December 1941</td>
<td>Enesco: Violin Sonata no. 3</td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yehudi Menuhin (violin) L</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The logbook shows that Szymanowski’s Nocturne op. 28 no. 1 also went to air.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hepzibah Menuhin (piano)</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 January 1942</td>
<td>Edmund Rubbra: Violin Sonata no. 2</td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moore MacMahon (violin) L</td>
<td>Rebecca Clarke: Midsummer Mood for violin and piano</td>
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<tr>
<td>Frank Warbrick (piano)</td>
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<tr>
<td>10 January 1942</td>
<td>Joseph Holbrooke: Prelude from Dylan Walton: Piano Duets</td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London Symphony Orchestra Kabos (piano) Keutner (piano)</td>
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<td>The logbook shows that the following works also went to air presumably for timing considerations: Bizet’s Minuet, Beethoven’s Minuet in G, Bell’s arrangement of Burns Medley, and Bolzoni’s Minuet in E performed by the Oxford Ensemble and James Burn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date and performers</td>
<td>Programme and alternative programmes</td>
<td>Sources (other than ABC logbooks)</td>
<td>Exact programme to air if different to other sources using ABC 2FC or 2BL transcription radio logbooks</td>
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<tr>
<td>17 January 1942</td>
<td>Gerrard Williams: String Quartet no. 2</td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D'Avon String Quartet L</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>24 January 1942</td>
<td>Frank Bridge: Suite for String Orchestra</td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB The logbook shows that Paradies's <em>Sicilienne</em> and Mendelssohn's <em>Serenade</em> also went to air presumably for timing considerations performed by Lauri Kennedy (cello).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boyd Neel String Orchestra</td>
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<tr>
<td>31 January 1942</td>
<td>Szymanowski: Piano Sonata no. 3</td>
<td></td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frank Warbrick (piano) L</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ibert: <em>House of Sorrow</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>7 February 1942</td>
<td>Britten: <em>Simple Symphony</em></td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boyd Neel String Orchestra</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kriener Sextette</td>
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<tr>
<td>14 February 1942</td>
<td>Vaughan Williams: Suite for Viola and Piano</td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgina McClean (viola) L</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elizabeth Coleman (piano)</td>
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<tr>
<td>21 February 1942</td>
<td>Hindemith: <em>Mathis der Maler</em></td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
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<tr>
<td>Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra</td>
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<tr>
<td>28 February 1942</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date and performers</td>
<td>Programme and alternative programmes</td>
<td>Sources (other than ABC logbooks)</td>
<td>Exact programme to air if different to other sources using ABC 2FC or 2BL transcription radio logbooks</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| Winifred Burston (piano) L | Bax: Piano Sonata no. 2 | ABCW | 2FC LB  
The log book shows Wieniawski's *Legende* also went to air presumably for timing considerations performed by Mischa Elman (violin). |
| 7 March 1942 Boston Symphony Orchestra | Prokofiev: *Lieutenant Kije Suite* for orchestra | ABCW | 2FC LB |
| 14 March 1942 Osric Fyffe (cello) L  
Frank Warbrick (piano) | Ireland: Cello Sonata | ABCW | 2FC LB |
| 21 March 1942 Boyd Neel String Orchestra | Ireland: *Concertino Pastorale* | ABCW | 2FC LB  
The logbook shows that Kreisler’s arrangement of Cyril Scott’s *Lotus Land* also went to air performed by Kreisler (violin). |
| 28 March 1942 D'Avon String Quartet L | Malipiero: String Quartet (unspecified) | ABCW | 2FC LB  
The logbook shows that the actual broadcast was Debussy’s *Etudes* 1-6 performed by Adolphe Hallis (piano). |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date and performers</th>
<th>Programme and alternative programmes</th>
<th>Sources (other than ABC logbooks)</th>
<th>Exact programme to air if different to other sources using ABC 2FC or 2BL transcription radio logbooks</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4 April 1942</td>
<td>Malipiero: String Quartet no. 2</td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
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<tr>
<td>D'Avon String Quartet L</td>
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<tr>
<td>11 April 1942</td>
<td>Bliss: Viola Sonata</td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgina McClean (viola) L</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elizabeth Coleman (piano)</td>
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<tr>
<td>18 April 1942</td>
<td>Scriabin: Poem of Ecstasy Noble Cain: “Rarely Comest Thou”</td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philadelphia Orchestra Augustine Choir</td>
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<tr>
<td>25 April 1942</td>
<td>Delius: Cello Sonata Ireland: Sonatina for Piano</td>
<td>ABCW</td>
<td>2FC LB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osric Fyffe (cello) L</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The logbook shows that Paganini’s Moto Perpetuo also went to air performed by the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra presumably for timing considerations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frank Warbrick (piano)</td>
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</table>
The programmes were broadcast on 2BL until 25 August 1937. From then on the session was shared between 2BL and the national relay station 2FC.

It now is scheduled to appear twice a month on 2FC at 10.00 p.m., all previous sessions were broadcast on 2BL.

This session was broadcast on 2BL. For a brief period the session was shared between the local and national station.

There is no way of telling which one was performed, probably, given its appearance in printed form in the Wireless Weekly, the Szymanowski Violin Sonata.

The programme for this session has been extracted from a review by Curt Prerauer (“The Music Critic,” Wireless Weekly 31/8 Feb 25, 1938: 24). He refers to Jacopo Nin’s piano sonata in this review. Wireless Weekly gives this composer as Jacopo Nin. I believe it is the American composer of Cuban descent, Joaquin Nin-Culmell who wrote Sonata Breve for piano in 1932. (2FC log book confirms this giving the composer as Nin-Culmell.)

The programme from 16 January is replicated here.

I am unsure what piece is being referred to here. Stravinsky did not write a Woodwind Quartet, perhaps they meant the Octet?

Presumably, this is a repeat broadcast or rescheduling of the programme for 27 May.

The ABC Weekly begins as the official journal for the ABC on 2 December 1939.
Appendix C

An analysis of the Modern and Contemporary Composers programmes

Note: The analysis looks at the yearly breakdown of composers’ nationalities in “Modern and Contemporary Composers.” I include all works listed regardless of whether or not they went to air. Repetitions of the same work will not be counted within the year, but will be counted between years.

1937

Total of 69 works available

Continental European (45 works)
German (12): Hindemith (4), Schoenberg (3), Berg (2), Krenek (2), Webern (1)
French (9): Ravel (3), Honegger (3), Milhaud (2), Schmitt (1)
Russian (7): Scriabin (5), Beloy (1), Medtner (1)
Polish (5): Szymanowski (5)
Hungarian (5): Bartók (4), Dohnanyi (1)
Italian (3): Busoni (3)
Dutch (3): Pijper (2), Badings (1)
Finnish (1): Kilpinen (1)

British (19 works)
Bax (4), Ireland (2), Garratt (2), Scott (2) Bliss (1), Delius (1), Dunhill (1), Armstrong Gibb (1), Goossens (1), Hadley (1), Howells (1), Lambert (1), Peterkin (1)

Australian (4 works)
Holland (1), Prerauer (1), Hyde (1), Agnew (1)

American (1 work)

My reasoning for the inclusion of all works is that frequently alternative programmes were proposed and additional works appeared in the radio logbooks. This happens particularly during 1939 because of the shift to recorded sound. As my focus is Agnew and the music he both knew and intended to broadcast, all works listed in all available sources will be considered regardless of whether they actually went to air or not. This does not however include works so stylistically incongruent that their function seems to have been as fillers for when the broadcast ran under time.
Favoured composers
Scriabin (5), Szymanowski (5), Hindemith (4), Bartók (4), Bax (4), Busoni (3), Ravel (3), Schoenberg (3)

1938

Total of 66 works available

Continental European (39 works)
French (11): Poulenc (3), Ravel (3), Honneger (2), Aubert (1), Milhaud (1), Tansman (1)
Russian (10): Scriabin (6), Prokofiev (2), Stravinsky (2)
Italian (5): Busoni (2), Pizzetti (2), Malipiero (1)
Polish (5): Szymanowski (5)
German (4): Schoenberg (1), Blech (1), Jarnach (1) Marx (1)
Dutch (2): Pijper (2)
Hungarian (2): Bartók (2)

British (21 works)
Bax (9), Ireland (3), Clarke (1), Delius (1), Foster (1), Garratt (1), Holst (1), Lambert (1), Moeran (1), Warlock (1), Williams (1)

Australian (5 works)
Agnew (3), Benjamin (1), Cairois-Rego (1)

Cuban (1 work)
Nin-Culmell (1)

Favoured composers
Bax (9), Scriabin (6), Szymanowski (5), Poulenc (3), Ravel (3), Ireland (3), Agnew (3)

1939

Total of 98 works available

Continental European (60 works)
French (24): Ravel (10), Debussy (8), Ibert (2), Milhaud (2), Françaix (1), Tansman (1)

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2 Bloch is generally understood to be a Jewish composer. Originally Swiss, he emigrated to America in 1916 when he was in his mid-thirties.
Russian (16): Stravinsky (8), Prokofiev (4), Scriabin (4)
Hungarian (6): Bartók (6)
German (3): Hindemith (2), Berg (1)
Polish (3): Szymanowski (3)
Spanish (3): Falla (3)
Finnish (2): Sibelius (2)
Danish (1): Riisager (1)
Dutch (1): Pijper (1)
Roumanian (1): Enesco (1)

British (31 works)
Bax (7), Delius (4), Ireland (3), Scott (3), Walthew (2), Bliss (1), Bridge (1), Britten (1), Clarke (1), Coates (1), Goossens (1), Harty (1), Holbrooke (1), Somervell (1), Vaughan Williams (1), Williams (1), Walton (1)

Australian (3 works)
Agnew (3)

American (2 works)
Bloch (1), Porter (1)

Brazilian (1 work)
Villa Lobos (1)

Cuban (1 work)
Nin-Culmell (1)

Favoured composers
Ravel (10), Debussy (8), Stravinsky (8), Bax (7), Bartók (6), Delius (4), Prokofiev (4), Scriabin (4)

1940

Total of 81 works available

Continental European (43 works)
Russian (13): Scriabin (8), Stravinsky (2), Prokofiev (1), Rachmaninov (1), Tcherepnin (1)
French (12): Ibert (4), Debussy (2), Françaix (2), Bozza (1), Honegger (1), Milhaud (1), Ravel (1)
Hungarian (5): Bartók (3), Kodály (2)
German (3): Krenek (2), Schoenberg (1)
Italian (3): Busoni (1), Pizzetti (1), Tedesco (1)
Dutch (2): Badings (1), Pijper (1)
Polish: (2): Szymanowski (2)
Belgian (1): Poot (1)
Danish (1): Riisager (1)
Roumanian (1): Enesco (1)

British (25 works)
Bax (7), Howells (3), Ireland (3), Bliss (2), Goossens (2), Walton (2), Britten (1), Delius (1), Holbrooke (1), Moeran (1), Vaughan Williams (1), Walthew (1)

American (8 works)
Harris (4), Bloch (2), McDonald (2)

Australian (5 works)
Holland (4), Agnew (1)

Favoured composers
Scriabin (8), Bax (7), Harris (4), Holland (4), Ibert (4), Bartók (3), Howells (3), Ireland (3)

1941

Total of 93 works available

Continental European (59 works)
French (21): Debussy (4), Ibert (4), Françaix (3), Honneger (3), Boulanger (2), Roussel (2), Bozza (1), Tailleferre (1), Milhaud (1)
Russian (15): Prokofiev (5), Scriabin (4), Medtner (2), Stravinsky (2), Miaskovsky (1), Tcherepnin (1)
Hungarian (6): Bartók (4), Kodály (2)
Italian (5): Casella (3), Busoni (2)
Polish (4): Szymanowski (4)
German (2): Krenek (2)
Belgian (1): Poot (1)
Dutch (1): Badings (1)
Finnish (1): Sibelius (1)
Roumanian (1): Enesco (1)
Swedish (1): Zrik Larsson (1)
Swiss (1): Beck (1)

British (28 works)
Bax (11), Goossens (3), Bliss (1), Lord Berners (1), Boughton (1), Bridge (1), Britten (1), Cain (1), Coleridge-Taylor (1), Ferguson (1), Holst (1), Holbrooke (1), Howells (1), Ireland (1), Walton (1), Vaughan Williams (1),

466
American (6 works)
Bloch (3), Copland (1), Harris (1), McDonald (1),

Favoured composers
Bax (11), Prokofiev (5), Bartók (4), Debussy (4), Ibert (4), Scriabin (4), Bloch (3), Françaix (3), Goossens (3)

1942

Total of 23 works available

British (16 works)
Ireland (3), Bax (1), Bliss (1), Bridge (1), Britten (1), Cain (1), Clarke (1), Delius (1), Holbrooke (1), Rubbra (1), Scott (1), Vaughan Williams (1), Walton (1), Williams (1)

Continental European (6 works)
Russian (2): Prokofiev (1), Scriabin (1)
Italian (1): Malipiero (1)
French (1): Debussy (1)
German (1): Hindemith (1)
Polish (1): Szymanowski (1)

American (1 work)
Harris (1)
Appendix D

Select list of twentieth-century musical scores from the remains of Brewster-Jones's personal music library at "Yelki," Victor Harbor, SA.¹

Note: Publication details have been included where possible to give a sense of the range of publishers available to Brewster-Jones.

French


Debussy, Claude. *Images* Bks. 1 and 2.
—. Preludes Bks. 1 and 2.
—. *L'Isle joyeuse* for piano.
—. Sarabande ["specimen" stamped in corner].

Cover sheet of a complete edition of Debussy’s six instrumental sonatas.

Deleunay, René. *Poème Elegaique*.


—. *Saudades de Brazil*. London: Schott, 1922.

Pierné, Gabriel. *Fantasie Basque* op. 49 for violin and orchestra.


Ravel, Maurice. *Ondine* for piano solo.

¹ Hooper Brewster-Jones Papers: Private Collection in the possession of the Brewster-Jones Family (Yelki, Victor Harbor, SA).
—. *Mother Goose Suite* for four hands.
—. *Jeux d’eau.*
—. Danse Symphonique avec voix.
—. *Pièces Romantiques* op. 42 (1912)

**Russian**

Cui, César. Five Pieces op. 52.
—. *Solotchinsky Fair* (opera fragments).
—. *Song of the Flea* for voice and piano. London: Chester, 1922.
Rachmaninov, Sergei. Six Songs (given to Kathleen Fisher by Brewster-Jones on 19 June 1924).
—. Sonata for cello and piano op. 19. Moscow: A Gutheil.
Russian violin album.
*Collection of Russian Folk Songs and Romances.* Hamburg: Fritz Schwerth.
Sabaneiew, Leonid. *Pöeme* op. 4, no. 2. Moscow: Jurgenson n.d.

Scriabin, Alexander. Eight Studies op. 42. Leipzig; Belaiev, 1902.

——. Four Pieces op. 56. Leipzig; Belaiev, 1908.

——. Two Pieces op. 57. Leipzig; Belaiev, 1908.

——. Two Poems op. 69. Moscow: Jurgenson n.d.

——. *Sonata-Fantaisie* no. 2 op. 19. Leipzig: Belaiev, 1898.


——. Sonata no. 10 op. 70. Moscow: Jurgenson n.d.


——. *Trois pièces faciles* for four hands. Geneva, A.D. Henn, 1917.

——. *Suite de cinq pieces tirée du ballet*.


——. *Pastorale* for voice and piano. London: Chester, 1922.


Shostakovich, Dimitri. *Three Fantastic Dances*.


——. Easy Selected Pieces. London: Chester 1921.

——. *Dix Pièces Gaies*. 1927.

Wyshnegradsky, Ivan. *Osenye: Chant de Nietzsche* op. 1 for bass-baritone and piano.

**British**


Bowen, York. *Caprice* op. 13, no.2.

——. Second Suite [Gwen Homburg’s copy].


——. *Six Esquisses* op. 4a (1921).


Farjeon, Harry. Piano Trio op13, no. 3.
Goossens, Eugene. *Four Conceits* op. 20 (1918).


Parry, Hubert. *English Lyrics* [songs]. London: Novello, n.d..


———. *Two Pierrot Pieces* op. 35. London: Boosey & Hawkes, 1904.


———. *Soirée Japonaise* op. 67 no. 4.


Treharne, Bryceson. *Strauss* op. 14 for voice and piano.

———. *Wanderers Sturmlied* for voice and piano.

Dunhill, Thomas and George Clutsam (eds.), *Repertoire Series of Pianoforte Music by Modern British Composers* no. 11. London: Ascherberg, Hopwood & Crew, c1919. This series includes various minor British composers such S. Corder, Howard Craxton Dyson, Norman Demuth, George Dodds, Norman Dunhill, Percival Driver and Arthur Benjamin.


**Australian**


Brash, James. various songs.

Ibid. Second Suite

Two folders of Australian songs by Edith Harrhy, David Coutts, Mona McBurney, Fritz Hart, Louis Lavater, Horace Keats and Alfred Hill.

Grainger, Percy. various piano pieces including British Folk Song Settings no. 18.


———. *Fileuse* for piano solo.
——. Six Songs. (They are in German and were given to Gerta Homburg by her grandmother, 17 November 1897).
Lavater, Louis. Preludes (two books).
Folder marked “Australian violin pieces including Alfred Hill’s Waltz Caprices nos. 1-5.
Folder marked “Roy Agnew” (empty).

**Italian**

Beaupuis de, Emanuel. *Valse Impromptu op. 15*. (It is signed by the composer and dated October 11, 1894. Brewster-Jones has also signed it.)
——. *Risonanze* (1918).
——. *Maschere che passano* (1918).

**Hungarian**

——. *Etudes op. 18*. Universal 1920.
——. *Allegro Barbaro*. Boosey & Hawkes (from Nadra Penalurick “July 1948”)
——. Selection from *Roumanian Dances* written out by hand.

**American**

——. Sonata for piano. New York: Schirmer, 1921.
Macdowell, Edward. Polonaise op. 46, no. 13.
—. *New England Idyls* op. 62.

**Polish**

Moniuszko, Stanislow. *Sonety Krymskie*.
Szymanowski, Karol. Sonata no. 3 for piano op. 36. Vienna: Universal, 1919.

**German**

Strauss, Richard. Piano Sonata op. 5.
—. various song books.

**Brazilian**


**Spanish**

Albeniz, Isaac, selected piano pieces.

**unknown**

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———: Noel Butlin Archives; Z401/12 Press Clippings.

BBC Written Archives Centre: RCONT 10, Roy Agnew, 1939-1949.


———: MLMSS 4922 and MLMSS 1653/87, Agnew, Ewing Roy, Papers and Music Compositions, 1912-1944; printed concert programmes.

———: MLMSS 4332, Dorothy Helmrich.

National Archives of Australia: SP 857/2/0, Agnew, Part One, 1936-1943.

———: Australian Broadcasting Commission; C1737/P1, “Agnew” (Mr Roy).

———: Australian Broadcasting Commission; C1737/P1, H. Brewster-Jones,

———: Australian Broadcasting Commission; C663/T1, H. Brewster-Jones, 1939-1955;


———: Australian Broadcasting Commission; SP1011/2, Winifred Burston.

———: Australian Broadcasting Commission; SP1558/2, Roy Agnew, 1936-1943.

———: Australian Broadcasting Commission; SP164/1, Transcription Log Books for 2BL and 2FC.
———: Australian Broadcasting Commission; C1737/P1, Adelaide Orchestra, Also Municipal Band and Wireless Chorus.

———: MS 3095, Frederick Septimus Kelly Papers, 1881-1916.
———: Manuscript Collections; MS 6853, Dulcie Holland Papers, 1913–2000.
———: Manuscripts; NLA MS 5073, Heysen Papers, 1897-1968.


Private Collection in the possession of Anne Bartsch: Hooper Brewster-Jones Papers.

Private Collection in the possession of Janie Maclay: Papers of Roy and Kathleen Agnew.

Private Collection in the possession of Jill Roe: Phyllis Campbell File.

Private Collection in the possession of Margaret Morgan: The Agnew Family Autograph Book.

Private Collection in the possession of Rita Crews: Roy Agnew Archive.

Private Collection in the possession of the Brewster-Jones Family (Cornhill Street, Victor Harbor, SA): Hooper Brewster-Jones Papers.


State Library of South Australia: PRG 45/1 Sanders, William (Organist), Scrapbook;

———: J.D. Somerville Oral History Collection of the Mortlock Library; An Interview with Harold Parsons by James Glennon [transcript], 29 June 1969.

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*A note on journals and newspapers*

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