7

Disciplining music: Too many Peter Sculthorpes?

The Captain Cook from a million years ago. We've got his song, we're dancing for him, we're dancing culture for him … When he died, other people were thinking they could make Captain Cook another way. New people, all his sons, new Captain Cooks. The first Captain Cook never made war. These new Captain Cooks started shooting people down in Sydney. All their families followed. They took over. They made war, to shoot and kill Aboriginal people. That happened all over Australia from the new Captain Cooks, 100 years ago, 200 years ago. Too many Captain Cooks. We the Rembarrnga tribe, we know only one Captain Cook. This story is for all time. Nobody can change our law. Nobody can change our culture because we have ceremony from Captain Cook.

Paddy Fordham Wainburranga, 1988[1]

The 1963 Australian Elizabethan Theatre Trust's *Aboriginal Theatre* opened with the sound of clapstick beats. As the lights went up, the narrator told the audience: 'This sound has been going on for thousands of years'. As his narration ceased, the audience heard a delicate and expertly phrased rendition of the Diver Duck song from Barney Munggin, a Nankiwumirri (Nangomeri) man resident at Daly River (b. 1910).[2] Audiences and critics alike were captivated by this demonstration of performative cultures rarely glimpsed on the stages of capital cities in Australia's southeast. Far more familiar to these audiences had been the representations of Aboriginal culture that had been so consistently supported by Australian musical institutions, and had enjoyed repeat performances, international tours, frequent radio broadcasts and publicly funded salaries for the composers.

The persistent clapstick beat was also the key device opening John Antill's iconic symphonic ballet *Corroboree* (1946). Antill captured the beat's unsettling regularity and continuity in the opening movement of the orchestral score of *Corroboree*, where its repetition takes a syncopated rhythm. Throughout the opening movement of *Corroboree* the clapstick beat persists in the background. The orchestra attempts periodically to drown it out. But as the dynamic levels recede, it becomes apparent to the listener that the clapstick beat is still there. It has always been there. But more than that, it continues in spite of the industry of a large number of orchestral players and their modernist antics.

The persistent clapstick beat of *Corroboree*'s opening evoked a century and a half of settler experience of Aboriginal soundscapes. Quoted Aboriginal melodies or rhythms were not needed to evoke this soundscape, reiterated so hauntingly under the layers of modernist primitivism in Antill's orchestral writing. Antill captured something that had long preoccupied non-Indigenous people – the sounds of Aboriginal presence. Appearing in literature and increasingly in musical composition the sound was a haunting reminder that Aboriginal people are still here, and that the settler colony must remain vigilant in asserting itself to remain dominant. Aboriginal music has long been embedded in the psyche of non-Indigenous Australians.[3]

Tributes to the haunting presence of Aboriginal music have often been countered by dismissive evaluations of its value – in Clive Douglas' 1956 positioning paper, Aboriginal song was described using words like 'undeveloped', 'unmusical', 'monotonous' and 'crude'.[4] In the works of most non-Indigenous composers, Aboriginal song is represented by melodic and rhythmic kernels, devoid of engagement with the specifics of regional practices. In *Corroboree*, a work whose presence has troubled the performance of Australian music and dance culture in the history documented in this book, Antill did not appropriate Aboriginal musical culture. He successfully represented it in a way that settler Australians continued to experience it – as a background presence, a remembered soundscape from childhood, one that was not well understood, was constant, but which would always be subject to inundation by the productivity of nation building. In evoking Aboriginal soundscapes, *Corroboree* may have appeared to celebrate Aboriginal culture, but the action it performed did the opposite, replacing Aboriginal performance cultures on public stages.

Most chapters in this book have focused on the diverse ways in which Aboriginal performers sought to recuperate and maintain culture through public music and dance, however, in this concluding essay, I seek to grapple with the ongoing representationist practices of Australian art music and responses to it. Though cross-cultural musical collaborations have been attempted throughout the twentieth century, a clear role for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander composer/musicians has not yet crystallized as it has in the other 'high' art forms of dance, visual art and theatre.

I begin by showing the persistent influence of nineteenth-century conjectures about Aboriginal cultures and their take-up in representationist music and dance. I then consider the usefulness of settler colonial theory for understanding the repetitive nature of colonizing dynamics and their iterations in the remarkably insular domain of art music. As a counterpoint to this, I consider the disruptive potential of Indigenous interventions offered by recent theorizations of the process of 'postcolonizing'. I end by presenting examples of collaborations or interventions that might point to ways forward.

A *tjurunga* by any other name: Settler colonial theory, representation and the nation state

Tjurunga, an Arrernte word denoting the sacred stones, or wooden objects used in secret ceremonial contexts by initiated men, has had a currency among those interested

in Aboriginal cultural practice throughout Australia during the twentieth century. The word entered the Australian vernacular through Spencer and Gillen's 1899 book *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, along with a raft of other Arrernte words. Alongside *tjurunga/churinga* (*tywerenge*), most prominent in the national imagination was *Alcheringa* (*Altyerrenge or Altyerr*), a term translated by Spencer and Gillen, and widely adopted thereafter as the Dreamtime, or Dreaming (the western desert word *Tjukurrpa* is also widely known).

In his field-defining 1999 book, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology*, Patrick Wolfe critiqued Baldwin Spencer and Francis Gillen for the violence their work inflicts on cultural relativism in their representation of Arrernte knowledge and practice.[5] Wolfe's focus was on Spencer and Gillen's 1899 claim that Arrernte people did not understand the cause of human pregnancies. Wolfe showed that Spencer and Gillen projected theories about European history onto Aboriginal people 'independent of empirical Indigenous data' and that this reinforced imperial thinking about Aboriginal people as a race so alien to white Europeans as to be less-than-human.[6] Wolfe traced the implications for Aboriginal policy and legislation of this popular thinking, including the implementation of policies of removing children from their families, one feature of what would eventually become known as assimilation policy with its aim of diluting the influence of Aboriginal world views on subsequent generations of children.

Though these European world views insisted on excluding Aboriginal people from known epistemologies, Ian McLean suggests that Aboriginal responses to European colonizers performed the opposite function – incorporating Europeans into known worlds:

> There are many accounts of Aborigines first perceiving the colonists not as aliens or even culturally foreign, but as dead relatives returning from the spirit world. And while it didn't take long for Aborigines to be dissuaded of this, they nevertheless incorporated these strangers into their kin systems as if they were indeed relatives. Where colonists saw a gulf, Aborigines saw bridges.[7]

McLean's interpretation echoes evidence presented by Indigenous scholars and artists in varied forms throughout Australia's recent cultural history. Leading Rak Mak Mak Marranunggu scholar Payi Linda Ford articulates the ways that connecting with people across difference is fundamental to her humanity. Co-writing with researchers Linda Barwick and Allan Marett of their collaboration, she notes:

> In our experiences collaboration in ceremony is founded on longstanding relationships (things that people share) rather than on any attempt to cover differing social categories (things that separate people by highlighting differences) … Working together is a fundamental value that underlies human ways of being in the world. Without working together, we would be lost to each other and from the world.[8]

The choice of Spencer and Gillen as objects of Wolfe's critique of settler colonial epistemic violence was not an arbitrary one, but rather reflects the pervasive influence

of their theorizations.[9] Spencer and Gillen's profuse writings on Central Australian Aboriginal cultural, religious and domestic practice influenced anthropological thought, public policy and popular notions of Aboriginality. Their work also captured the imagination of creative artists seeking to depict the mysticism and power of little-understood Aboriginal cultures. The original manuscript of John Antill's *Corroboree* reproduces complete stories and extensive drawings of totems derived from Spencer's books on Arrernte (Arunta) culture from 1927 and 1928.[10] The costume designs by Robin Lovejoy and William Constable for the staged ballet also drew on these designs among other sources depicting totems and ceremonial wear.[11] Antill's long-term collaborator Beth Dean would base her education about Aboriginal dance in the late 1940s on Spencer and Gillen's books. Captivated by the power of sacred knowledge forbidden to women, she fixated on *tjurungas* acquired during travels through Central Australia in 1953.

Two *tjurungas* gifted to Beth Dean by Haasts Bluff settlement manager Les (L. G.) Wilson, who had himself acquired them by unknown means, were used repeatedly in her touring shows.[12] Handling the sacred objects after having danced what she claimed were secret men's dances, Dean would recount stories of how those transgressing the rules of handling such sacred objects could be dealt with in Arrernte, Warlpiri, Pitjantjatjara and Pintubi societies. Dean's notes for public lectures show that while holding a *tjurunga,* she would say 'Even to-day should a native woman see one of these or even be told about it and the accompanying blood letting ceremonials, she could be killed. There was one such tribal murder near Arayonga while we were in the area a few years ago'.[13] The sentencing to eighteen months' hard labour for Pitjantjatjara-man Charlie, the protagonist of the tribal revenge killing of another man (Selly), to which Dean referred, hit the Sydney papers the day after a full pictorial article by Dean and her husband Victor Carell was published in *Pix* magazine. Dean and Carell's accompanying photographs showed bloodletting of the kind shown by Selly to a woman who had condemned him to death in Areyonga.[14] Dean and Carell opened their book *Dust for the Dancers* with a related story, and narrativized these transgressions in their 1968 ballet *Kukaitcha* (see Chapter 6).

The fascination with these most sacred and treasured of spiritual terms brought into circulation by Spencer and Gillen was not just alive in the assimilation era, but rather it continues, even very recently featuring in Australian settler performance cultures.[15] Prominent non-Indigenous composer Ross Edwards named his 2009 choral mass *Missa Alchera* denoting his bringing together of sacred non-Indigenous (Latin) and Aboriginal (Arrernte) religious concepts. Edwards opens his mass with bass voices performing an almost unsingable low drone, an ostinato figure that persists for the entirety of opening *Kyrie* movement. Evoking the didjeridu (or *yidaki*) an instrument essential to musical practice in the far north of Australia, some 4,000 kilometres distant from Arrernte Country, the drone in *Missa Alchera* evokes an unspecific but continuing presence of Aboriginal people and their music in the psyches of non-Indigenous Australian composers. Composed only ten years ago, *Missa Alchera* demonstrates that the representational approach of evoking the haunting ongoing presence of Aboriginal people – in their absence from any part of the creative work – is alive and well.

Non-Indigenous composers and their representations of Aboriginal presence have been co-opted into the wider nationhood project, which aimed to tame Aboriginal Country and define its value in economic terms. John Antill's position as composer of a work that would found a national creative school was not just produced out of his own creative industry and good fortune, rather, it capitalized on the state agenda for representing Aboriginal culture without the messiness of engaging with Aboriginal people and their political demands and physical needs. In addition to the commissions for commemorative events that have been discussed at length in previous chapters, Antill also composed music for films produced by Film Australia, the Department of the Interior and the ABC. The film titles are evocative of the broader national story-making project: *Port Jackson* (1948), *Turn the Soil* (1948), *The Inlanders/Mantle of Safety* (1949), *Australia Now* (1957), *Dark Rain* (1958), *New Guinea Patrol* (1958), *The Land that Waited* (1963). In a ballet collaboration with choreographer Margaret Barr on *Snowy* (1961) that became the first ballet performed for television, Antill's music accompanied a narrative characterizing the colonization of the Australian landscape (through damming the rivers into hydro-electric energy production) as relieving the country of its suffering: 'From the Snowy Mountains in the Great Dividing Range, three mighty rivers run: the Murray, the Murrumbidgee and the Snowy. Once, not long ago, they flowed unchecked, unchained, to waste their waters in the far-off seas. And the land suffered.'[16]

Antill's music backgrounded the message that through taming the land (and the people who had cared for it for so many millennia), the settler colony was rediverting the wastefulness of the continent's prehistory.

Replacement and 'postcolonizing'

A range of scholars have sought to theorize the structures determining Australian engagement with Indigenous cultures. Perhaps most influential among historians has been settler colonial theory as formulated by Patrick Wolfe and championed by Lorenzo Veracini, but also building on earlier work in American Native Studies.[17] Wolfe suggests that in settler colonial nations where the colonizing forces have come to stay with no plans for withdrawal, the ongoing influence of Indigenous cultures is framed within an overall 'logic of elimination'.[18] Veracini adds that settler colonies actively seek to replace Indigenous cultures and settlers seek 'acquisition of entitlement as indigenous', corresponding to an 'indigenous loss of entitlement as such'.[19] But as Veracini's reference to replacement implies – not all elements of the Indigenous disappear in this process. The creative commodification of secret and sacred knowledge disseminated by Spencer and Gillen across the twentieth century is one manifestation of the ways in which 'the native repressed continues to structure settler-colonial society'.[20]

Though counter-formulations (especially by Indigenous scholars – more on these below) contest the inevitability suggested by Wolfe and Veracini's theories, the structural aspects of the settler colonial theory of replacement are useful in making

sense of the repetitive qualities of settler representations of Aboriginal culture over the period 1930–70 examined in this book. This is especially the case in understanding art music, a field characterized by the persistence of its ties to established European traditions, by its aloofness from popular culture and mass appeal, and in this period, by an adherence to the central tenets of European modernism – especially the high value placed on complexity, novelty, difference and suspicion of the traditional and conventional.[21]

As the examples of representationist art music throughout this book suggest, non-Indigenous composers routinely looked to the parts of Australia most remote from their daily lives for inspiration about Aboriginal cultural practices, insisting on the absence of connection with living people, even while Aboriginal people in nearby urban centres sought to maintain and perform culture.[22] In Chapter 5, we saw how the *Aboriginal Theatre*, whose show so surprised Sydney and Melbourne audiences in 1963, was reported to be unlike anything city dwellers had experienced. At commemorative events throughout the assimilation era, Aboriginal people were brought in from elsewhere to perform Aboriginal culture considered to have been lost from the urban landscape (examples in all preceding chapters).

Not only has Aboriginal culture been characterized as something remote from the experience of non-Indigenous Australians, encounters with it have been framed as moments of chance rather than opportunities for further engagement. In many of the appropriative productions in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s, creative producers claimed to have been inspired by one-off encounters with living, performed Aboriginal culture. Most familiar among these stories is Antill's recollections of the corroboree witnessed at La Perouse Aboriginal Reserve as a child, when he noted down melodies and rhythms that he would later score into *Corroboree*.[23] In a similar vein, when working on *Collits' Inn* in the 1930s, Varney Monk wrote about having encountered Dharawal singer Queen Rosie by chance on the street in Kiama, inspiring the corroboree scene featured in the musical. And when Edmond Samuels needed an Aboriginal man to play the tracker in *The Highwayman* in 1951, he recalled wandering along the Yarra River and happening upon a man there, Ted Mullett, who sang him a song in language.

Though framed as chance encounters, these stories point to the continuing presence of Aboriginal people with considerable cultural knowledge living in urban spaces, to the extent that it was possible to stumble upon them while seeking new creative ideas (or indeed to know that a walk along the banks of the local river might make such an encounter likely). Queen Rosie and her husband King Mickey (Johnson) were involved in celebrations of the Wollongong centenary in 1896 and in 1923, the Kiama and Bombo communities along with the Aborigines Protection Board had fundraised to provide Queen Rosie with a house after her husband's death.[24] Ted Mullett was a frequent performer in Melbourne. Mullett was resident at nearby Lake Tyers Mission Station and a member of the Lake Tyers Concert Party. Some suggested he was 'known as Australia's Paul Robeson'. In discussions about concerts for the Old Pioneers' Memorial Committee's annual concert on Pioneers' Day 1937, Mullet was requested as a potential performer.[25] Almost fifteen years later, he was still to be found on the banks

of the Yarra, able to summon up a song for a stranger looking for authentic material for a new theatre production.

These narratives of opportunistic encounter counteract the claim that non-Indigenous creative artists were representing cultural practices that no longer existed, or were unaware of continuing Aboriginal presence; a presence that could nonetheless be happened upon on city streets and riverbanks. Expert singers like Queen Rosie and Ted Mullett were characterized as remnants of an otherwise lost tradition, opening up the space for representation of Aboriginal cultures by others. The perpetuation of the idea that Aboriginal culture was not alive and well in one's own neighbourhood, but rather was an exotic commodity of far-off places, provided a convenient premise for these narratives of replacement.

In 1938 while local Sydney Aboriginal people protested the commemorative celebrations, performers from far western NSW were brought to Sydney and expected to perform a corroboree to re-enact Aboriginal presence at the First Fleet's arrival (Chapter 2). In 1951, John Antill's *Corroboree* celebrated Australian culture at Melbourne's opening Jubilee concert, though Aboriginal performers had staged their own 'Corroboree Season' at one of Melbourne's most popular performance venues in 1948 and 1949 (Chapters 3 and 4). Events like the 'Corroboree Season' have until now been written about by historians seeking to uncover ongoing negotiations of Aboriginality in urban spaces.[26] Representations of Aboriginal culture in Antill's *Corroboree* have been examined in musicology, performance studies and history as evidence of the search for an Australian cultural identity. However, juxtaposing the two as I have done in this book reveals that support for Australianist creative work cannot be disentangled from the deliberate replacement of those Aboriginal performance cultures that the new non-Indigenous productions aimed to represent.

While settler colonial theory provides an apposite explanation of how this narrative of replacement has been performed so persistently, some Indigenous scholars have resisted the apparent inescapability of settler colonial theory, and its tendency to occlude the possibility of Indigenous worlds continuing in spite of the settler colony's impositions. One alternative theorization of settler and Indigenous relationships in Australia is offered by Goenpul, Quandamooka scholar Aileen Moreton-Robinson, who suggests we might 'conceptualize the current condition not as postcolonial but as postcolonizing with the associations of ongoing process, which that implies'.[27]

As Moreton-Robinson's framing suggests, Aboriginal people have often seen their public performance as a process of 'postcolonizing', or as ongoing resistance to state agendas that aimed to erase their cultural practice. Reflecting on the many public performances staged by his grandfather Bill Onus in vaudeville shows, theatre productions, festivals, film, television and through production of material culture, Tiriki Onus suggests that Aboriginal people realized that one way to maintain cultural practice was to hide it in plain sight. If people were prevented from continuing ritual, spiritual and ceremonial practice on their home Country and from teaching their children culture through language, song, art and story-telling, then they would work within the officially approved channels for cultural production. Restrictions on practice of culture did not apply to stages where a representation of Aboriginality in

national events was wanted. Performers and cultural entrepreneurs like Bill Onus quickly realized the potential of these stages for maintaining cultural practice:

> the only way people were legitimately able to practice and perform culture is to do it publicly – it becomes hiding in plain sight – it's the only place you're allowed to do it … the notion of asserting your aboriginality and claiming that publicly … it's quite an authoritative power to say: this is my Country and I'm showing it to you … the very fact that these stories are still here to be told I think it's pretty damn important. And if it was painting up and dancing around Wirth's Olympia, well that's ok.[28]

In a similar analysis, Anne (Wirrimah) Thomas, along with her husband Ted (Guboo) Thomas, well known for their tours as gumleaf musicians and multi-instrumentalists, framed public performance as a substitute for exercising political agency. As Anne Thomas recalled in 1987, public dances and performances of folk musics that had been so active in the assimilation era fell away once Aboriginal people were able to advocate for their rights in explicit ways:

> They got rid of the managers in 1969, the white managers, from all the reserves, so that made a change. People didn't have a set way of life after that. They used to play the local gumleaf and all that, and used to have dances, and used to get together and all that, but after that they began to stand on their own two feet. They got rid of the managers … and they began to set up structures and committees and have conferences on politics and land rights … Aboriginal people then had to prove themselves, that they did have a lasting culture and that they meant to retain that culture. And so that's what's happening today, whereas the tribal culture, the white managers stopped the men activating their culture, because they couldn't come and go any more. But it didn't stop the women teaching their children about the Aboriginal culture, so they reinforced that culture and that area and that totem wherever they were.[29]

Onus' and Thomas' analyses describe the function of public music and dance making, in the form of folk, vaudeville or hybrid performances by Aboriginal people, as assertions of culture and political presence. They suggest that the need for people to come together in this kind of collaboration receded once a different kind of political voice was attained. Popular vaudeville shows, and touring folk bands, especially those with a uniquely Australian flavour like gumleaf bands, were avenues for adaptive 'postcolonizing', where pathways to other forms of high art were largely closed.

Those who did succeed in accessing the rarefied realm of high art making were few. In the immediate post-war era, the problem of reintegrating returned servicemen saw a period of access to the arts, during which the separation between high and popular arts was minimized. Tenor Harold Blair's relationships with unionists enabled him to access classical musical training through the people's music organization Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts (CEMA) in the late 1940s (Chapter 3).

Solidarity between non-Indigenous workers and people of oppressed cultural groups made this a logical alliance. Ballerina Mary Miller's training also occurred during what might be characterized as the 'high assimilation' era of the decade after WWII, in which the possibilities for integration with the mainstream, including high culture, were relatively open. Mary Pearson (formerly Miller) recounts that she was supported to train at the West Australian ballet founded by Kira Bousloff through the 'cottage home' institution in which she was raised, after being removed from her family at age seven. This was part of a larger agenda that Pearson understood as originating in the assimilation project: 'we were lighter in skin and would probably be assimilated more easily'.[30]

Indeed, a key architect of assimilation policy – Paul Hasluck – would directly link the training of Aboriginal people in the fine arts to the goals of assimilation. Funds raised from Hasluck's 1953 booklet *Native Welfare in Australia*, in which a 'new deal' for Aboriginal assimilation was promoted, were donated to a fund to bring West Australian Aboriginal singer Nancy Ellis to NSW Conservatorium to further her studies.[31] Blair's, Miller's and Ellis' careers are examples of entanglement with settler colonial impositions on Aboriginal people. But theirs and many of the stories told in this book also present narratives of resilience – the resilience of Aboriginal people/performers, but also the resilience of cultural practice and its adaptation to ensure its continuation.

Yawuru scholar Shino Konishi suggests that one alternative to settler colonial theory's frameworks for understanding such histories is the potential for 'extra-colonial histories'.[32] The events in this book may have been set in a scene of historical entanglement, but the performances by Aboriginal people could equally be extracted from this to show their 'extra-colonial' potential. In particular, the activities of Bill and Eric Onus and Doug Nicholls in the 1940s and 1950s, though embedded in resistance to colonial priorities, also created extra-colonial narratives in coming together on Country to exchange dance, boomerang throwing and other cultural practice. In newspaper reports, the location of these events was characterized as on the land of a 'white sympathiser', a term evoking a sense of a world beyond the reach of colonial society, in which white Australians could be allies, but where their agendas were not the force against which Aboriginal people were reacting.[33] Their work also evokes the regenerative and 'transformative alternatives' profiled by North American Indigenous scholars such as Leanne Betasamosake Simpson as 'Indigenous resurgence' and the refusal to 'centre whiteness'.[34]

Challenges to the hegemony of representationist Australian music

In the remainder of this chapter, I describe several musical projects in which art music and Aboriginal music have played a role, while seeming to resist narratives of replacement of Aboriginal people and culture through non-Indigenous representation. Some of these are collaborative projects between non-Indigenous composers and

Aboriginal composer/performers that have suggested a possibility for alternative approaches to dialogue. Collaborative efforts have been persistent, if not central to mainstream approaches. Key music institutions for Western art music supported some of these experiments in collaboration, though by and large these have not been representative of the dominant tradition in Australian art music practice. In exploring these approaches, I set the stage for a consideration of how the insularity of classical music has isolated it from other creative disciplines, and of the potential for changes to be wrought within music institutions.

In 1966, English composer Peter Maxwell Davies was composer-in-residence at Adelaide University. During this time, he was introduced to Aboriginal music by Catherine Ellis. In a foreword to James Murdoch's 1972 book, Maxwell Davies wrote that since meeting ethnomusicologist Ellis, Aboriginal music had 'influenced my formal design greatly in the orchestral work I was then writing'.[35] In particular, the through-composed extended structure of works like *Worldes Blis* (1966–9) and Maxwell Davies' symphonies were influenced by the structural insights of understanding Aboriginal song cycles, Indian raga structures and plainsong. For the composer, these musics were 'something beyond entertainment: it really goes into the very core of one's own existence'.[36] But unlike works with a notional atmospheric nod to Aboriginal music, Maxwell Davies' hearing of the recordings shared with him by Ellis led him to understand 'processes of transformation of contour to finely tuned modal filters in a way that could generate harmonic tension over a large time-span'. Through his career, Maxwell Davies acknowledged the debt to Aboriginal music in his thinking about musical and harmonic structure though he did not overtly refer to Aboriginal cultures in his works, nor claim to represent them.[37]

James Penberthy, whose unpublished autobiography acknowledged the likelihood that his grandmother was Aboriginal, engaged with Aboriginal music and dance subjects throughout his career.[38] Opera, ballet and a cantata were influenced by recordings of Aboriginal song from Arnhem Land made by Colin Simpson in 1948, and were composed to libretti and stories that depicted Aboriginal protagonists in the works *Earth Mother*, *Brolga*, *Dalgerie* and *Swan of the Bibbulman*, the last three drawing on texts by Katharine Susannah Prichard and Mary Durack.[39] In oral history interviews, Penberthy emphasized the pervasive influence on his creative practice of Aboriginal culture and its 'unequalled' social system and of the tragedy of Aboriginal people being dispossessed of land.[40] Penberthy suggested that his self-expression was aimed not only at people, but at 'nature and country and so on, in being with it and being related to it'.[41]

Penberthy's framework for conceiving of music as just one way of existing in relation to people and Country is reminiscent of Indigenous frameworks articulated by scholars such as Leanne Betasamosake Simpson: 'Indigenous worlds aren't institutions or states, they are relationships, movement, processes – life itself. I came to understand that the theories or stories or philosophies of resurgence inherent in Indigenous thought were the ways my ancestors had always lived.'[42]

Penberthy's approach to using stories highlighting dispossession and relationship to Country differed from most contemporaneous art music composers, as did his

experimentation with the engagement of Indigenous performers in key roles. In 1954, the West Australian ballet (probably represented by Penberthy and Kira Bousloff) attended a corroboree demonstration at Wiluna to get ideas for new ballet works.[43] They also exchanged dance demonstrations with members of the AETT's *Aboriginal Theatre* while on a tour in Darwin in 1964.[44] The 1959 performance of the opera *Dalgerie* at Perth Festival included a corroboree performed by Aboriginal people from the area.[45] The West Australian Ballet Company's first Aboriginal ballerina, Mary Miller, performed the lead role in the ballet *Kooree and the Mists* and the solo work *Brolga* in the 1960s.[46] Harold Blair was cast in a singing role in *Dalgerie* at the opening of the Sydney Opera House in 1973.[47] All of these works had premiered with non-Indigenous performers in body-paint costumes and blackface before featuring Aboriginal performers in later versions.[48]

Performances of works composed earlier in the century also began to include Aboriginal performers after 1970. Margaret Sutherland's opera *The Young Kabbarli* depicting a story from the life of Daisy Bates featured dancer and singer David Gulpilil and didjeridu player Dick Bundilil in 1972 performances by South Australia's Intimate Opera Group in Adelaide and Melbourne to celebrate Margaret Sutherland's seventy-fifth birthday, with other members of the cast in blackface.[49] The work was recorded the following year at Flinders University in South Australia with the same cast.[50] Also in 1973, a variety of Aboriginal performers participated in concerts for the opening of the Sydney Opera House, including David Blanasi, while Aboriginal actor Ben Blakeney delivered a speech as the spirit of Bennelong from the tip of one of the sails of the building.[51]

For its 1971 Spring Festival, Musica Viva commissioned three new works, Peter Sculthorpe's *The Stars Turn*, Ian Cugley's *Work for Double Wind Quintet* and George Dreyfus' *Sextet for Didjeridu and Wind Instruments* (see Chapter 6). The sextet commission had come after the Adelaide Wind Quintet had heard Mawng didjeridu musician George Winunguj perform during a visit to Yirrkala in northeast Arnhem Land.[52] Dreyfus collaborated with Winunguj in composing the sextet; Winunguj also performed in the premiere concert.[53] In attributing the co-composer credit to Winunguj ('two composers from two distinct cultures working together within an expressive framework'), Dreyfus broke with common practice in Australian music.[54] In 1973, Dreyfus' sextet was toured by Winunguj and the Adelaide Wind Quintet to Fiji, ten US cities and London, with Winunguj proceeding on to Nigeria to preach, while his quintet colleagues continued the tour in Switzerland.[55] The work was also recorded by the initial ensemble, and toured with an SBS film crew to Germany in 1989 with Richard Walley the didjeridu soloist with members of the East Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, but has had only one further Australian performance, in 2011 by William Barton with musicians of the National Academy of Music.[56] It is unclear whether a review of the recording by the influential Roger Covell may have had an impact on Australian performances. Though Covell's review mostly enthused about both the work and the performance of it, he also mused:

> The two worlds do not meet: they co-exist. That, perhaps, is the lesson. Now that it has been done, I do not see how anyone can usefully do it again.[57]

By contrast, Sculthorpe's *The Stars Turn*, in a variety of arrangements, has enjoyed at least fifteen further Australian performances.[58]

Another composer supported by Musica Viva's chamber music festivals was Malcolm Williamson. After moving to London in 1950, Williamson was brought to Australia for the 1967 Musica Viva Spring Festival, occasioning some controversy about his claim to Australian music funding while a resident of Great Britain.[59] Later, as the bicentenary of European settlement of Australia approached, Williamson turned his attention to politically engaged work relating to Aboriginal Australia (though he was still resident in the United Kingdom). For 1988 he composed a symphonic statement to text by historian Manning Clark, and also set some of Oodgeroo Noonuccal's (Kath Walker's) poems in the works *The True Endeavour* (1988) and *Bicentennial Anthem* (1988).[60]

The examples of Peter Maxwell Davies, James Penberthy and Malcolm Williamson do not demonstrate collaborative approaches to Aboriginal music. However, like George Dreyfus' collaboration with George Winunguj, they do stand apart from the main representationist practices in Australian art music, in which composers have engaged little with Aboriginal musics, even in recorded form, working instead with an excerpt of notated melody, a rhythmic motif, or a concept or word (e.g., *Alcheringa* or *corroboree*) as a vehicle for accessing a claim for indigeneity in Australia. Many prominent composers' representation of Aboriginality has tended towards the atmospheric (including Alfred Hill, Peter Sculthorpe and Ross Edwards), rather than the specific or the attentive to regional difference or formal structure. In 1991, ethnomusicologist Catherine Ellis suggested that 'very few composers have taken the trouble to examine the structural intricacies of Aboriginal music. They have preferred to look at the superficialities: a descending melody, a regularly repeated stick beat, a didjeridu-like sound.'[61]

The distinction I make here (following Ellis) between atmospheric representations of Indigeneity on one hand and engagements with the intellectual premise, structural complexity, or political agendas of Aboriginal music on the other may seem subtle, but the narrative implications are significant. When John Antill named his work *Burragorang Dreamtime*, or Ross Edwards underpinned his *Missa Alchera* with a constant bass drone, or Peter Sculthorpe riffed on the *djilili* melody in works as diverse as *Port Essington*, *Kakadu* and *Dua Chant*, they drew on the rhetorical capital of Aboriginal cultures to make a claim for *their own indigeneity* as the voices of Australia. Though the public rhetoric around these works claimed that they aimed to persuade listeners of the value of Aboriginal culture, value (through public recognition, commissions for new works, performances and recordings) was attributed to the composers and their works rather than to the cultures that ostensibly inspired them.

We might think about this in the terms of Sara Ahmed's analysis of whiteness studies and anti-racism. Ahmed suggests some anti-racist actions could be described as 'unhappy performatives': utterances that would 'do something' if the right conditions had been met, but which do not do that thing, as the conditions have not been met.[62] While works like the collaboration between Dreyfus and Winunguj might point listeners to the possibilities of further investigating the musical world of Mawng didjeridu music, works like Sculthorpe's *Djilile* or *Kakadu* refer only back to themselves

(in Wolfe's terms 'soliloquy – a Western discourse talking to itself'), especially when the melodies used appear repeatedly in dozens of works composed decades apart (Chapter 6), and thus begin to constitute a voice so uniquely Sculthorpe's own that they no longer resemble the Aboriginal music on which their performative capital is dependent.[63]

Arguably, a different kind of performativity was enacted when Penberthy centralized Durack's heroine *Dalgerie* in his opera and sought out Aboriginal singers and actors to play the lead roles.[64] Through engagement with the national story, these actions make space for the humanity of Aboriginal people, arguably as tragic figures, but also as complex and nuanced characters in a shared story. When Maxwell Davies attributed the influences on his conceptual thinking about how music can operate to Aboriginal song cycles, how they draw out philosophical realizations through structural complexity and ties to spirituality, he made a claim for the humanity of Aboriginal people and of the potential for their contribution to expanding the currents of artistic practices and the thinking that underlies them. When Williamson revoiced Oodgeroo Noonuccal's poetry in song, he acknowledged the contribution to major shifts in thinking about Australian sovereignty that resulted from the persistent and vocal activism of creative artists such as Noonuccal, whose creative practice could not be separated from her public advocacy and activism. This engagement with intellectual and philosophical features of Aboriginal worldviews is performative in its disruptive and recuperative potential for the otherwise pervasive views inherited from Spencer and Gillen's characterizations of Aboriginal culture as primitive and low on the evolutionary scale.

If Dreyfus, Maxwell Davies and Williamson found ways of working with Aboriginal music that avoided the representationist mode of more popularly celebrated composers, in many other spheres, the rise of Aboriginal self-representation and self-determination in the 1970s and 1980s also saw an exclusion of Aboriginal performance cultures from large-scale public events, as though new terms of engagement had not yet been determined after the cultural shifts of the post-referendum era. As I have shown in previous chapters, Aboriginal people and their allies advocated strongly for Aboriginal arts to be included in public celebrations of local and national culture. This was evident in 1934 anniversary celebrations in Melbourne (Chapter 2), the Australian Aborigines' League's advocacy for inclusion in 1951 Jubilee celebrations (Chapter 4), and debates in the West Australian media about inclusion of Aboriginal performance culture in Perth's 1953 festival.[65]

The Australia Council for the Arts, founded in 1967, funded development of Aboriginal arts in separate allocations from the outset, a practice which supported the widescale development of Aboriginal theatre and dance companies.[66] However, while so many Aboriginal-run performing organizations were driving a whole new agenda in the early 1970s, mainstream festivals and events went quiet on Aboriginal representation through the 1970s and 1980s. An example is the Perth Festival, which had only begun to feature Aboriginal music and dance in a significant way due to the AETT's efforts in the 1960s. After 1967, Aboriginal performance again disappeared from view until an Aboriginal Arts in Perth festival in 1983.[67] Similarly, Darwin Festival was

an event that built on the cultural work of the North Australian Eisteddfod, and which in the 1960s featured a nightly 'Aboriginal Theatre' that seems to have continued the performances developed for the AETT's 1963 shows. As Micky Dewar shows, when the Festival regrouped after the destructive Cyclone Tracy in 1974, the practice of featuring 'Aboriginal Territorians as cultural protagonists in the festivals' was strangely absent.[68] This omission of any identifiably Aboriginal performers continued until 1989, after which an explicit Aboriginal component was reintroduced.[69] As the self-determination era separated Aboriginal performing arts from hybridized expressions of national culture, did the non-Indigenous public also withdraw from including Aboriginal people in their sense of cultural identity? The protests with which national celebrations in 1988 were greeted reset possibilities for national representation of Aboriginality once again, after the major rethinking of 1967.

While Australian festivals were continuing through the 1970s and 1980s without presenting Aboriginal performing arts, innovative new collaborations were founded by Aboriginal-led organizations across the country. After an almost total ban on Aboriginal people touring overseas to represent their own culture (with few exceptions – see Chapter 3 for discussion of Harold Blair's tour), this period also saw considerable opportunities for performance of Aboriginal music and dance internationally (performances by George Winunguj with the Adelaide Wind Quintet and David Blanasi's didjeridu tours are two examples that have been discussed). Significant new organizations were formed, including the Aboriginal Theatre Foundation and its extensive international touring (see Chapter 6) that built on shows staged by the AETT in the 1960s, but also theatre and dance companies that would open up whole new Australian performance contexts.

In 1971 Yorta Yorta actor Jack Charles founded the Nindethana Theatre Company in Melbourne along with Torres Strait Islander and Yidindji man Bob Maza, receiving a grant from the Australia Council for the Arts the following year.[70] Charles had got a start with acting through the Melbourne New Theatre's production of *A Raisin in the Sun* in 1958, just as some of his predecessors such as Eric Onus had built on associations with the New Theatre (Chapter 3).[71] In Sydney, Bob Maza also led the Black Theatre. After touring Australia with the Eleo Pomare Company, African American choreographer Carole Johnson received funding in the 1972 Australia Council round to take dance training out of the major cities and to Aboriginal people in communities all over the country.[72] Johnson became founding director of the Aboriginal Islander Dance Theatre (AIDT) that would later form the Indigenous dance training organization NAISDA, and would lead to formation of the Bangarra Dance Theatre.[73]

The AIDT had links back into dance movements of the 1950s, with the continuation of Margaret Walker's engagement with Aboriginal dancers and her presentation of dance for the people. Margaret's son, Kim Walker, is now CEO of NAISDA, and his oral history in the National Library of Australia's collection gives a rich picture of the early days of those Indigenous dance organizations in formation, and the Aboriginal dancers including Wayne Nicol, Cheryl Stone, Richard Talonga, Michael Leslie and Dorothea Randall who collaborated with Johnson and fellow African American Ronne Arnold to build the AIDT in the early days. As Kim Walker makes clear, the founding of the

AIDT, and its influences from black American dancers (such as Alvin Ailey, teaching Lester Horton's method), with whose dance styles Aboriginal dancers found quick affinities, was not just about creating new art: 'it was a cultural … it was political'.[74] Like Margaret Walker's Unity Dance Group and their performances for factory workers and striking labourers in the 1950s, in the early 1970s, activists associated with AIDT like Gary Foley, Chicka Dixon and Bob Randall led the group in explicitly political forms of dance, Dixon arranging a tour of every gaol in NSW.[75]

Conclusions: Genres for Aboriginal music and dance

These radically self-determined, new performance movements were chiefly oriented within disciplines of dance and theatre, rather than in music. Whereas Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander dance and theatre quickly moved from the folk domain onto the main stage, music remained in the realm of the popular, and only very recently (in the 2000s) has made significant inroads into 'high art'. These most recent incursions have come in the form of collaborative work between non-Indigenous and Aboriginal composers and musicians, as well as leadership by Aboriginal composers. George Dreyfus' collaboration with George Winunguj in 1971 may have pointed to a potential shake-up, but this was apparently not widely influential. Though reviews trumpeted the collaboration as something potentially field-opening and path-breaking, it was Peter Sculthorpe's approach to representationist composition and his embeddedness within the institution of the University of Sydney that proved the dominant approach throughout the 1970s and up until at least 2000.

In 2005, ethnomusicologist Stephen Knopoff reviewed two new works featured in the Adelaide Festival. One, a collaboration between Jardine Kiwat, Grayson Rotumah, Jensen Warusam and Kerry McKenzie and Chester Schultz was 'unprecedented to the extent that it is a large-scale, mixed-genre work for orchestra and contemporary instruments composed primarily by (and about) Indigenous artists'. The second Sculthorpe's *Requiem*, performed with new parts by composer and virtuoso didjeridu soloist William Barton, Knopoff characterized as 'not a collaboration, but a more traditional exchange … but there is an extraordinary rapport between the two'.[76] Gordon Kalton Williams has also pointed to collaborations between Richard Mills and Galpu Wilderness and Elcho Island Dancers on the work *Earth Poem/Sky Poem* commissioned in 1994 by Darwin Symphony Orchestra, and between Iain Grandage and the elders of the Spinifex Lands and West Australian Symphony Orchestra on the 2005 *Ooldea*.[77]

Didjeridu player and composer William Barton has become a sought-after collaborator on new compositions, recently working with Liza Lim on the 2006 orchestral work *The Compass*, and on the 2007 concerto *Kalkadungu* with Matthew Hindson. Both works have enjoyed multiple Australian and national performances and recordings. In a discussion of the collaborative process of composing *Kalkadungu*, which involved agreeing on a structure, using a central melodic motif composed

by Barton and Barton and Hindson composing different sections of the work independently before bringing them together, Barton reflected on his engagement with classical music genres: 'It was an active, conscious thought to pursue the classical world. I know that the majority of the audiences in the concert hall have never had the opportunity to meet an Aboriginal person before, let alone see them on stage with a full orchestra.'[78]

Thematically related to the subject of *Kalkadungu* (which deals with Aboriginal warriors who engaged in guerrilla resistance to the colonists) is the collaboration between Paul Stanhope, Steve Hawke and the Yilimbirri Ensemble from Bunuba community in the Kimberley of Western Australia *Jandamarra* (2014).[79] The plot of the choral and orchestral cantata follows resistance leader Jandamarra after his involvement in a gun battle with police at Windjana Gorge on 16 November 1894. In the work, Stanhope and the *junba* musicians invoke the impossibility of drowning out the presence of Aboriginal song, whether through violent repression, words or oblivion. Richardson, the white trooper, drinks and attempts to drown out the *junba* song being repeated over and over again. In a reinvention of the persistent background of Aboriginal presence articulated by a number of earlier Australian composers (see opening of this chapter), Hawke's text chimes the English words 'the song went on and on' as the *junba* singers led by Kristin Andrews (in both the 2014 and 2019 performances) eloquently perform this continuity – the *junba* and its accompanying beat (produced by clapping and body percussion) repeating again and again, pushing at the limits of melodic quotation in the oratorio's structure.[80]

The musical works discussed so far fit securely into the conventional mode of Australian art music, defined by a tangible musical score as primary object, and where live performance is a secondary product. However, Bangarra Dance Theatre, a major company in the high-art realm of contemporary dance, has also pioneered a new kind of ballet music, especially through its prolific director of music and composer Nunukul and Munaldjali, Yugambeh man David Page. Though Page's oeuvre of compositions created for Bangarra's shows is substantial, in the absence of published musical scores, his works are rarely conceptualized as part of the Australian art music tradition. For example, though an obituary on the Australian Music Centre's site acknowledges Page's twenty-seven compositions for Bangarra among his extensive other musical works and collaborations, none of these are listed in the generally comprehensive and inclusive Australian Music Centre online database of works.[81]

Works that cross the boundaries of art music and other genres have seen collaborative projects blurring lines between jazz, *manikay* song, chamber music and historical and contemporary Tiwi songs. Some recent work in this area staged in major performance venues includes the collaboration *Crossing Roper Bar* (2010) between Paul Grabowsky, Benjamin Wilfred, the Australian Art Orchestra and Young Wagilak group. The eventual work recorded was the product of collaborative music making over a period of five years. As Aaron Corn describes, in this collaboration's combining of musical elements, the musicians 'marry the aleatory of Manikay with the indeterminacy of jazz', producing a musical work not easily rendered in

notation and where the work changes with each performance.[82] Taking a similar approach to musical collaboration and over an extended time period, and combining musical approaches based on improvisation is Ngarukuruwala, a collaboration started in 2007 between the Tiwi Strong Women's Group and Sydney musicians led by Genevieve Campbell. Combining improvised instrumental music, recently composed songs in modern Tiwi language with guitar accompaniment, archival recordings of song in old Tiwi language as well as effects from historical audio tapes, Ngarukuruwala creates a contemporary performance practice in dialogue with traditional practice and current revitalization of song.[83]

The teaching of art music and Aboriginal or other non-western musics in music conservatoria have remained segregated into musicology and ethnomusicology domains respectively, in spite of considerable work in both disciplines that blurs the boundaries between them, as well as ground-shifting analyses of this work by Nicholas Cook and others.[84] Addressing the Australian art music world's adherence to modernist aesthetics, Dharug composer Christopher Sainsbury's recent platform paper suggests some possibilities for decentring the musical score and making way for art music to benefit from the possibilities of Indigenous composers' creative contributions. Early in his career as a composer, Sainsbury came to the conclusion that the 'dominant European tradition in music composition emphasized far too weightily its own aesthetics', but he also saw that in choosing to cease pursuing this aesthetic, he 'quickly became an unknown'.[85] Sainsbury's scholarly writing is just one part of his advocacy in this area. Along with his own work as a composer, Sainsbury has founded the 'Ngarra Burria: First Peoples Composers Initiative' in partnership with the Australian Music Centre, mentoring emerging Indigenous composers. Recent participants such as Elizabeth Sheppard, Brenda Gifford, Tim Gray, Nardi Simpson and Eric Avery have brought to the programme a wealth of experience as composing and performing musicians in genres outside of the classical music sphere.

Deborah Cheetham, Yorta Yorta composer and operatic soprano, has not only had commissions for new works and multiple performances of her operas, but like Sainsbury, has coupled her creative work with mentorship of other Aboriginal musicians. Like Sainsbury, Cheetham identifies the exclusion of Aboriginal artists from the operatic world:

> I guess this is one of the last frontiers for Aboriginal experience. Maybe I'm being unrealistic, maybe there are many more frontiers. I think that opera is a rarefied world; I think that Opera Australia [the national company] has a lot to answer to. They have no Indigenous talent development program at all – on or off stage. Forgive me, but I think that most of the big companies that are federally funded to a degree have to [offer such a programme].[86]

Since Sainsbury published his Platform Paper on the Ngarra Burria composers programme, he reports that it is making an impact, with new commissions for Aboriginal composers featuring in a recent exhibition *The Songs of Home* at the Museum of Sydney, and cultural organizations following suit.[87]

Nardi Simpson is a Yuwaalaraay singer/songwriter, composer, playwright and novelist. In 2019 she was a participating composer in Ngarra Burria. In a final Coda to this book, she offers a rethinking of how creativity and cultural knowledge function. Just as significant moments of activism and assertion of the right to represent one's own culture – in 1938, in 1951, in 1963, in 1967, in 1988 – have shifted the cultural landscape, 2020 – the 250th anniversary of Cook's landing on Gweagal shores – is a moment in which non-Indigenous Australian institutions, academics, composers have the opportunity to listen to Aboriginal people. We can listen to what they have to say, we can listen to the musical voices that are emerging, not just from the past, but from the present, right around us.

committee, 2 June 1969 NRS 12165 Special bundle: correspondence re royal visit 1970, 13/9317 Premier's Protocol Division Royal Visit Files 1951–73, SRNSW.

79 'Those fearsome islanders', *Sydney Telegraph*, 23 April 1970; 'Re-enactment of Cook's landing', *Canberra Times*, 23 April 1970; Alan Underwood, 'Queen Votes Cooktown as Greatest Day', *Brisbane Courier Mail*, 23 April 1970, clippings in Folder 'Aboriginal Protest', II. Files of photocopies of news cuttings concerning the Bicentenary, 1970, MLK 376, Sir Asher Joel – papers, 1953–1970, MLMSS 3284, MLOH 3, SLNSW.

80 Campbelltown City Sesqui-Centenary 1820–1970 Souvenir Programme of Events and Festivities 10–19 April 1970. James Cook M Ephemera – Box 2 – (1900–), SLNSW.

81 'Too Many Cooks?' *Tamworth Leader*, 30 April 1970, clipping in Folder 'Re-enactment of Cook's Landing Kurnell', II. Files of photocopies of news cuttings concerning the Bicentenary, 1970, MLK 376, Sir Asher Joel – papers, 1953–1970, MLMSS 3284, MLOH 3, SLNSW.

82 'Bad News Day at La Perouse', *Tribune*, 6 May 1970, 4. http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article237506973.

83 Earlier that month, Aboriginal people living in the southwest Queensland town of Cunnamulla had invited Princess Anne to have a cup of tea with them at their home on the town rubbish dump. Katrina Schlunke, 'Entertaining Possession: Re-Enacting Cook's Arrival for the Queen', in *Conciliation on Colonial Frontiers: Conflict, Performance, and Commemoration in Australia and the Pacific Rim*, ed. Kate Darian-Smith and Penelope Edmonds (New York: Routledge, 2015), 229. 'Plain Australian', *Tribune*, 1 April 1970, 2. http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article237503832; 'Aborigines and the Bicentenary', *Woroni*, 22 April 1970, 11. http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-page16010215.

84 Aileen Moreton-Robinson, *White Possessive: Property, Power, and Indigenous Sovereignty* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2015), 16.

85 See especially Casey, *Creating Frames*.

Chapter 7

1 Wainburranga contributed to the translations of his words into English from Rembarrnga and Kriol that I quote here. Wainburranga's Captain Cook saga relates modern 'Captain Cooks' to an ancestor Captain Cook, who fought Satan and won, earning him ownership of Sydney Harbour. As a result, he was speared and killed by his own relatives. But though this original Captain Cook ancestor never made war, subsequent people have tried to become new versions of him, vying for ownership of Sydney Harbour and leading to the decimation of Aboriginal people. Penny McDonald, 'Too Many Captain Cooks' (Ronin Films, 1989).

2 'Songs and dances from Bathurst Island, Yirrkala and Daly River performed at the Aboriginal Theatre in Sydney in 1963', ELIZABETHAN_01, AIATSIS.

3 Amanda Harris, 'Hearing Aboriginal Music Making in Non-Indigenous Accounts of the Bush from the Mid-20th Century', in *Circulating Cultures: Exchanges of Australian Indigenous Music, Dance and Media*, ed. Amanda Harris (Canberra: ANU Press, 2014).

4 Clive Douglas, 'Folk Song and the Brown Man – Means to an Australian Expression in Symphonic Works', *Canon* 10, no. 3 (1956): 82.

5 Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event* (London, New York: Cassell, 1999),

Chapter 1. While I present here Wolfe's assertion of this violence to relativism, I also acknowledge critiques of Wolfe's wholescale demolition of Spencer and Gillen by Philip Batty who reminds us that 'the descendants of the Aboriginal groups Spencer and Gillen documented are perhaps the most avid excavators of their ethnography'. Philip Batty, 'Assembling the Ethnographic Field: The 1901–02 Expedition of Baldwin Spencer and Francis Gillen', in *Expeditionary Anthropology: Teamwork, Travel and the 'Science of Man'*, ed. Martin Thomas and Amanda Harris (New York: Berghahn Books, 2018), 58.

6 Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology*, 22.

7 Ian McLean, *Rattling Spears: A History of Indigenous Australian Art* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2016), 10–11. See also Mark McKenna, *Looking for Blackfellas' Point: An Australian History of Place* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2002), 26–35.

8 Payi Linda Ford, Linda Barwick and Allan Marett, 'Mirrwana and Wurrkama: Applying an Indigenous Knowledge Framework to Collaborative Research on Ceremonies', in *Collaborative Ethnomusicology*, ed. Katelyn Barney (Melbourne: Lyrebird Press, 2014), 43–4.

9 Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 'Can the Subaltern Speak?', in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, ed, Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg. (London: Macmillan, 1988), 271–313.

10 John Antill music manuscript for his ballet suite 'Corroboree' [1940s], together with list of performances, 1950–1970 (Safe 1/249), MLMSS 7072, SLNSW; Baldwin Spencer and Francis James Gillen, *The Arunta: A Study of a Stone Age People* (London: Macmillan, 1927); Baldwin Spencer, *Wanderings in Wild Australia* (London: Macmillan, 1928).

11 Olga Sedneva, 'Corroboree: White Fella Vision' Master's thesis, (State Library of NSW, 2013), 16–24.

12 Dean and Carell's acquisition of the *tjurungas* is inconsistently recounted in published and unpublished sources. In unpublished notebooks, Dean recorded the date on which Mr Wilson gave them honey ant *tjurungas*. In the published book, Dean and Carell reported that a *tjurunga* was given to them by Bullfrog, a man who, as ceremony-owner, was one of the few people who 'could have given us' the sacred gift. This may have been Bullfrog (Japanangka), the acknowledged killer of pastoralist Frederick Brooks in 1928. In retaliation, a reprisal party led by Constable George Murray murdered dozens of Warlpiri people – an event known as the Coniston massacre. Beth Dean: research notes and working papers – Aboriginal Australians 'Book IIIA', Beth Dean and Victor Carell Papers, MLMSS 7804/33/6, State Library of NSW; Beth Dean and Victor Carell, *Dust for the Dancers* (Sydney: Ure Smith, 1956), Preface.

13 Beth Dean Literary Manuscripts: 'Lectures Beth', Beth Dean and Victor Carell Papers, MLMSS 7804/47/2, SLNSW.

14 'Candid Comment', *The Sun-Herald*, 15 November 1953: 16. http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28656683; Beth Dean and Victor Carell, 'A Dancer in Our Stone-Age Land', *Pix*, 14 November 1953. A fuller report had appeared some weeks previously: 'Tragedy Comes Out of the Stone Age', *The Sun-Herald*, 18 October 1953, 65. http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28655142.

15 In music, the restricted bullroarer instrument held a similar allure. In the events discussed in this book, we might recall Keith Kennedy's incorporation of rock shelves to hold the Aborigines sacred *tjurunga* in his contribution to designs of

a performative Aboriginal village in the 1930s (Chapter 2), John Antill's use of a bullroarer in *Corroboree*'s score in the 1940s (Chapter 3), Peter Sculthorpe's attempts to acquire the same for film scores in the 1960s (Chapter 5) and the 1963 television series *Alcheringa* depicting Central Australian Aboriginal people and narrated by Bill Onus.

16 Folio Box 28, John Antill papers, MS 437, NLA.

17 J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, '"A Structure, Not an Event": Settler Colonialism and Enduring Indigeneity', *Lateral* 5, no. 1 (2016).

18 Patrick Wolfe, 'Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native', *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (2006): 387.

19 Lorenzo Veracini, *The Settler Colonial Present* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 70.

20 Wolfe, 'Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native', 390.

21 For a useful discussion of the slippery defining features of musical modernism, see Catherine Bowan, 'Wild Men and Mystics: Rethinking Roy Agnew's Early Sydney Works', *Musicology Australia* 30 (2008). Graeme Skinner's assessment of Australian musical modernism places a variety of the contemporary composers discussed in this book on an arc of Australian modernism. Graeme Skinner, 'Australian Musical First Modernism', in *The Modernist World*, ed. Stephen Ross and Allana C. Lindgren (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015). Michael Hooper's recent book also takes a broad view of what can be constituted as modernist (though he ignores the earlier developments discussed by Bowan altogether, seeing modernism as contained within the period 1960–75). Michael Hooper, *Australian Music and Modernism, 1960–1975* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019).

22 For discussion of the fixation on Aboriginal culture in the remotest parts of Australia, see Lesley Head, *Second Nature: The History and Implications of Australia as Aboriginal Landscape* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2000).

23 John Antill music manuscript for his ballet suite 'Corroboree', [1940s], together with list of performances, 1950–1970 (Safe 1/249), MLMSS 7072, SLNSW.

24 'The Procession', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 March 1896. http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article14043231; 'Centenary of Illawarra', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 March 1896. http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article14041563; 'Near and Far', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 August 1923. http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article16087100.

25 Sianan Healy, '"Years Ago Some Lived Here": Aboriginal Australians and the Production of Popular Culture, History and Identity in 1930s Victoria', *Australian Historical Studies* 37, no. 128 (2006): 24–5.

26 Sylvia Kleinert, 'Aboriginality in the City: Re-Reading Koorie Photography', *Aboriginal History* 30 (2006): 69–94.

27 Aileen Moreton-Robinson, *White Possessive: Property, Power, and Indigenous Sovereignty* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2015), 10.

28 See Interlude, Tiriki Onus in conversation with me, recorded 20 June 2019 at the Wilin Centre, University of Melbourne.

29 Guboo Ted Thomas and Anne Thomas interviewed in the Chris Sullivan folklore collection, 21 January 1987, TRC 2750/378, NLA. Quoted with the permission of Lynne Thomas and Chris Sullivan. See also Sullivan's assertion that performance of popular folk music (or 'non-tribal music') 'quickly declined after citizen rights were obtained in the late 1960s', Chris Sullivan, 'Non-Tribal Dance Music and Song: From First Contact to Citizen Rights', *Australian Aboriginal Studies*, no. 1 (1988): 65.

30 Malcolm Quekett, 'Australia's First Aboriginal Ballerina Has Life of Wonder', *The West Australian*, 3 July 2016. https://thewest.com.au/news/australia/australias-first-aboriginal-ballerina-has-life-of-wonder-ng-ya-111800, accessed 12 August 2019.
31 'Minister for Territories (Mr Hasluck) Describes Government's "new deal" for Australia's Colored Minority', *The Daily Telegraph*, 19 March 1953. http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article248862562; 'Nancy Ellis For Sydney', *Sunday Times*, 19 April 1953, 10. http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article59552688.
32 Shino Konishi, 'First Nations Scholars, Settler Colonial Studies, and Indigenous History', *Australian Historical Studies* 50, no. 3 (2019): 20.
33 'Aborigines Restore a Lost Culture', *The Herald*, 8 August 1946, 13. http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article245546981.
34 Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, *As We Have Always Done: Indigenous Freedom through Radical Resistance* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017), 231.
35 Peter Maxwell Davies, 'Foreword', in *Australia's Contemporary Composers*, by James Murdoch (Melbourne: Sun Books, 1972), x.
36 Nicholas Jones, 'Peter Maxwell Davies in the 1950s: A Conversation with the Composer', *Tempo* 64, no. 254 (2010): 19.
37 Peter Maxwell Davies, 'Influence of Aboriginal Music', in *Peter Maxwell Davies: Selected Writings*, ed. Nicholas Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 177.
38 Draft of unpublished autobiography, Box 12, Papers of James Penberthy, MS9748/18/2, NLA. Parts of this manuscript have recently been self-published by Penberthy's son, as David Reid, *James Penberthy: Music and Memories* (Tablo Publishing, 2019) https://tablo.io/david-reid-1/192e51523e4a.
39 James Penberthy, 'The Aboriginal Influence', *Sounds Australian* 30 (1991): 23–4.
40 James Penberthy interviewed by Laine Langridge in the Esso Performing Arts collection, Session 1, 29–30 December 1988, ORAL TRC 2377, NLA.
41 James Penberthy interviewed by Hazel de Berg for the Hazel de Berg collection, Session 1, 30 May 1965, ORAL TRC 1/98-99, NLA.
42 Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, 'Indigenous Resurgence and Co-Resistance', *Critical Ethnic Studies* 2, no. 2 (2016).
43 'News and Notes', *The West Australian*, 14 September 1954, 3. http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49880283. Thanks to Rachel Campbell for alerting me to this source.
44 'The 1964 Tour Kira Bousloff as Told to Val Green', *Brolga* 16 (1 June 2002), accessed 13 August 2019, https://ausdance.org.au/articles/details/the-1964-tour.
45 H. Drake-Brockman, 'Sundry Shows: Opera with a Difference', *The Bulletin* 80, no. 4153 (16 September 1959): 24. http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj–681525015. Vincent Plush also claims that Harold Blair performed in the 1959 performance, but I have found nothing to verify this. Vincent Plush, 'Black Unlike Me', *Griffith Review* 8 (Winter 2005): 167.
46 H. Drake-Brockman, 'Stage and Music', *The Bulletin* 81, no. 4193 (22 June 1960): 60. http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj–684074752; 'This Week on ABC-3', *The Canberra Times*, 4 February 1963, 16. http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article104258165.
47 In earlier stagings of the work, non-Indigenous singers had performed all roles, though Penberthy had flagged the possibility of engaging Blair from the earliest performances. Penberthy to Robert Quentin, 10 October 1958, Correspondence 1955–66 with the Elizabethan Theatre Trust, Box 2, James Penberthy papers, MS 9748, NLA.

48 See, for example, H. Drake-Brockman, 'New Ballet in Perth', *The Bulletin* 80, no. 4148 (12 August 1959). http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-681524652 and H. Drake-Brockman, 'Sundry Shows: Opera with a Difference', *The Bulletin* 80, no. 4153 (16 September 1959). http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-681525015.
49 Elizabeth Silsbury, *State of Opera: An Intimate New History of the State Opera of South Australia 1957–2000* (Kent Town, South Australia: Wakefield Press, 2001), 35–6.
50 Liner notes to *Anthology of Australian Music on Disc 4th Series. Csm:31-Csm:36* (Canberra: Canberra School of Music, Institute of the Arts, Australian National University, 1999).
51 Blakeney asserted the importance of this role in representing Aboriginal people and as formational for his career, in spite of criticism from what he describes as black power groups or radicals. Ben Blakeney interviewed by Terry Colhoun, Recorded between 5–12 October 1994 in Canberra, Session 3, ORAL TRC 3132, NLA.
52 'Didjeridoo Work has Premiere', *The Canberra Times*, 4 October 1971, 9. http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article110680395.
53 'Musica Viva's Third Spring Festival', *The Canberra Times*, 18 September 1971, 19. http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article110678101.
54 W. L. Hoffmann, 'Life Style', *The Canberra Times*, 5 October 1971, 15. http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article110680425.
55 George Winungudj, 'The Sound of the Didgeridu Overseas', *Dhawu* 1, no. 2 (1973).
56 Carmelo Musca, 'Didgeridoo in Deutschland' (Milsons Point, NSW: SBS-TV, 1988).
57 Roger Covell, 'Didjeridu Co-exists in Dreyfus Work', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 August 1972. Reproduced in George Dreyfus, 'George Dreyfus: A Music Education Kit for Senior Students: Sextet for Didjeridu and Wind Instruments, Larino, Safe Haven', in *Music Education Kit for Senior Students* (Melbourne: Allans, 1991). Thanks to George Dreyfus for referring me to this source.
58 According to records of Australian performances maintained by the Australian Music Centre, www.australianmusiccentre.com.au/work/sculthorpe-peter-stars-turn, accessed 22 October 2019.
59 Hazel Reader, 'Malcolm Williamson in Australia', *The Canberra Times*, 27 October 1967, 2. http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article106994731.
60 Much more recently singer and composer Katie Noonan commissioned ten new works to create a song cycle based on Oodgeroo's poetry for 'The Glad Tomorrow' with the Australian String Quartet (2019). The new works have been composed by Carl Vine, Elena Kats Chernin, Richard Tognetti, Iain Grandage, David Hirschfelder, Thomas Green, Robert Davidson, Connor D'Netto, William Barton and Katie Noonan. https://www.katienoonan.com/katie-and-asq.
61 C. J. Ellis, 'Creating with Traditions', *Sounds Australian* 30 (1991). See also my (2020) 'Indigenising Australian Music'. Many popular musicians have also evoked an Indigenous sound without the involvement of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people as Clint Bracknell has shown. 'Identity, Language and Collaboration in Indigenous Music', in *The Difference Identity Makes*, edited by Lawrence Bamblett, Fred Myers and Tim Rowse (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 2019), 107.
62 Sara Ahmed, 'Declarations of Whiteness: The Non-Performativity of Anti-Racism', *Borderlands* 3, no. 2 (2004).
63 Indeed, the self-referential nature of Sculthorpe's approach to composition possibly had its zenith in his musings on his use of the *djilile* melody in an interview published in 2005, in which (in the face of considerable criticism for his appropriation of a

secret/sacred melody) Sculthorpe revised his previous defence that he had never directly quoted a melody, now realizing that actually he liked that melody because it was the same as one he had composed himself some twenty-five years earlier: 'The moment I heard *Djilile*, that was it. I didn't want to hear anything else. I didn't remember that it was a melody that I had written some 25 years earlier in *String Quartet No.4* … Therefore, in a way, *Djilile* has become my melody, my very own song'. Vincent Plush and Peter Sculthorpe, 'Peter Sculthorpe in Conversation', in *Encounters: Meetings in Australian Music: Essays, Images, Interviews*, ed. Vincent Plush, Huib Schippers and Jocelyn Wolfe (South Brisbane: Queensland Conservatorium Research Centre, 2005), 37. Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology,* 4.

64 Penberthy suggested Harold Blair for the role of Mungit and 'a coloured Australian girl' for Noala, conceding that Leontyne Price would be right for the role of Dalgerie 'despite her race'. James Penberthy to Robert Quentin (general manager, Elizabethan Opera, Sydney), 10 October 1958, Correspondence 1955–66 with the Elizabethan Theatre Trust, Box 2, Papers of James Penberthy, MS 9748, NLA.

65 'Life and Letters', *The West Australian*, 29 November 1952, 17. http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49066252. This and several other articles are discussed in correspondence between journalist Keith Ewers and American dancer Ted Shawn, who were outraged by the lack of representation of Aboriginal arts at Perth Festival, Ted Shawn to Keith (John) Ewers, 4 March 1953, 5459A/405 Shawn, Ted, John Ewers Papers mn1870, SLWA, Perth.

66 'Council Grants to Arts', *The Canberra Times*, 12 December 1968, 33. http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article136960737.

67 'Aboriginal Arts in Perth '83', *Filmnews*, 1 June 1983, 1. http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article213734717.

68 Mickey Dewar, 'A Festival Event: Aspects of the Changing Nature and Content of Some Community Celebrations in Darwin in the Twentieth Century', *Journal of Northern Territory History* 19 (2008): 35–6.

69 Note that in the Darwin Festival's own account of its history, it records the start of the festival as the post-cyclone Tracy era: Darwin Festival: History, www.darwinfestival.org.au/about-us/darwin-festival/, accessed 6 August 2019; Dewar, 'A Festival Event', 41–2.

70 '$25,617 for Music 50 Arts Grants for $91,218 Announced', *The Canberra Times*, 1 May 1972, 9. http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article102018868.

71 Maryrose Casey, *Creating Frames: Contemporary Indigenous Theatre 1967–1990* (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 2004), 21–2.

72 '$25,617 for Music 50 Arts Grants for $91,218 Announced', *The Canberra Times*, 1 May 1972, 9. http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article102018868.

73 Johnson also received continued funding in subsequent rounds, see 'PM's Approval $256,412 in Grants to Aboriginal Arts', *The Canberra Times*, 11 May 1974, 3. http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article110777819. Carole Johnson is now working on a doctoral thesis about the founding years of the Aboriginal dance movement in Australia at the University of Newcastle.

74 Kim Walker, Oral History interview with Lee Christofis, 11 January 2011, Session 1, ORAL TRC 6259, NLA.

75 Ibid.

76 Steven Knopoff, 'Indigenous and Non-Indigenous Collaboration in New Orchestral Music: Two Notable Successes from the Adelaide Festival of Arts', in *Encounters:*

Meetings in Australian Music: Essays, Images, Interviews, ed. Vincent Plush, Huib Schippers and Jocelyn Wolfe (South Brisbane: Queensland Conservatorium Research Centre, 2005), 45.

77 Gordon Kalton Williams, 'Utulu̱a Inkantjaku (Let's Get Together and Sing): Australian Aboriginal Music and the Classical Music Strand', in *Encounters: Meetings in Australian Music, Essays, Images, Interviews*, ed. Vincent Plush, Huib Schippers and Jocelyn Wolfe (South Brisbane: Queensland Conservatorium Research Centre, 2005), 11; Iain Grandage, 'Journeys with Spinifex', *Sounds Australian* 68 (2006). Grandage, in his new role as artistic director of Perth Festival, has now dedicated the first week of his inaugural programme exclusively to First Nations work emphasizing that the festival is in and of this place. Richard Watts, 'Perth Festival Dedicates First Week Exclusively to First Nations', *Arts Hub*, 1 November 2019. www.artshub.com.au/festival/news-article/news/festivals/richard-watts/perth-festival-dedicates-first-week-exclusively-to-first-nations-259144, accessed 18 January 2020.

78 Harriet Cunningham, 'A Breath of Fresh Air for the Classical Tradition', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 April 2008, 14.

79 Paul Stanhope, 'Jandamarra – Sing for the Country', Sydney Symphony Orchestra (Sydney: Sydney Symphony Orchestra, 2014).

80 Paul Stanhope, 'Jandamarra: Sing for the Country', in *About Music Public Lecture Series* (Sydney Conservatorium of Music, 2015).

81 'David Page', Australian Music Centre, www.australianmusiccentre.com.au/artist/page-david, accessed 8 August 2019.

82 Aaron Corn, 'Nations of Song', *Humanities Research* 19, no. 3 (2013): 154.

83 Ngarukuruwala, *Ngiya awungarra: I am here, now (audio disc)* (Sydney: Rouseabout Records (RRR75), 2016). See http://www.undercovermusic.com.au/ngarukuruwala.htm Genevieve Campbell, 'Singing with the Ancestors: Musical Conversations with Archived Ethnographic Recordings', in *Recirculating Songs: Revitalising the Singing Practices of Indigenous Australia*, ed. Jim Wafer and Myfany Turpin (Canberra: Asia-Pacific Linguistics, 2017).

84 Nicholas Cook, 'We Are All (Ethno)Musicologists Now', in *The New (Ethno) Musicologies*, ed. Henry Stobart (Lanham, Maryland; Toronto; Plymouth, UK: Scarecrow Press, 2008).

85 Christopher Sainsbury, *Ngarra-Burria: New Music and the Search for an Australian Sound*, Platform Paper 59 (Currency Press, 2019), 12.

86 Deborah Cheetham, Daniel Browning, and Pamela Karantonis, '*Pecan Summer*: The Process of Making New Indigenous Opera in Australia', in *Opera Indigene: Re/Presenting First Nations and Indigenous Cultures*, ed. Pamela Karantonis and Dylan Robinson (Surrey: Ashgate, 2011), 333.

87 Christopher Sainsbury, *Ngarra-Burria*; Sydney Living Museums, Exhibition: Songs of Home, 10 August–17 November 2019, Museum of Sydney. https://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/exhibitions/songs-home, accessed 17 October 2019. Sainsbury reported on approaches from other major organizations in a presentation to the symposium *Narrating Music and Social Change*, 10 October 2019, Sydney Conservatorium of Music, convenors Christopher Coady and Amanda Harris.