

The *Australian Album* for 1857 and Edouard Boulanger's 'The Last Rose of Summer'

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We can send the work home as a specimen of what we can do out here at Botany Bay ... it vindicates our connexion with the old-world genius and skill; and proves that we are not destitute of some of the haughty lineaments of European civilization.¹

These lines, written by English journalist and author Frank Fowler, were published in the Preface to the *Australian Album* for 1857. This *Album* is one of several musical annuals that were published in Sydney in the mid-nineteenth century with 'Australian' themes.² They consist of bound volumes of sheet music alongside illustrations of landscapes in the colonies and portraits of virtuosi and opera singers who had recently toured. The publication of these *Australian Albums* fits into a broader climate of progress in musical and theatrical activities in the colonies that existed during the 1850s. This cultural setting, partly the product of an influx of money from the gold rushes and partly the result of a rapidly increasing population, came soon after New South Wales's transition from penal colony to free society.³ A consequence of this flourishing artistic scene in the early stages of a free society was the active forging of an 'Australian' identity by colonists.

¹ Frank Fowler, 'Preface,' *Australian Album* (Sydney, NSW: J.R. Clarke, 1856), unnumbered page.

² S.B. Clark, 'Fowler, Francis Edmund (Frank) (1833–1863),' *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, accessed 16 June 2014, <adb.anu.edu.au/biography/fowler-francis-edmund-frank-3562/text5509>.

³ The last convict ship arrived in NSW in October 1850, but transportation had slowed significantly since the 1840s. See Alan Atkinson, *Europeans in Australia: A History*, 3rd ed. (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2014), xii, 226.

Mass-produced musical albums first appeared in the United Kingdom in the 1820s. In his pioneering study, 'Julia's Gift: The Social Life of Scores, c.1830,' James Davies argues that musical albums—also known as annuals or musical keepsakes—served as 'documentary accounts of the musical year.'⁴ Davies argues that the target market for the albums of the 1820s and 1830s in England was young females who were 'coming of age,' yet finds that it is not clear 'whether these albums were principally to play, look at or keep.'⁵ Despite this ambiguity, the content and marketing of musical albums can reveal much about personal, social and national identity in the nineteenth century. This study contributes a new perspective on the production and reception of these artefacts by transplanting the debate to the Australian colonies in the 1850s. From an Australian perspective, this article builds on the work of Graeme Skinner, who argues that 'both musical and non-musical sources indicate that notions of Australian nation, nationality, and identity were not only socially current, but aspirationally functional, at least fifty years before they became political facts in 1901.'⁶

The target audience for the *Album* for 1857 was the upper classes. The *Album* itself is a quarto-sized bound volume of eight pieces of music and ten illustrations totalling seventy-seven pages. The paper is off-white wove with gilt edges and was bound in Sydney by Mr. N. Sapsford, a bookbinder who had migrated from England in 1854.⁷ The music was engraved locally, which, while a costly method, allowed for a satisfactory level of detail and precision.⁸ The pieces are mostly for solo piano but also include a ballad for contralto with piano accompaniment and a vocal polka for high voice and piano. The illustrations and celebrity portraits, which were each paired with a musical item in the *Album*, were drawn by Edmund Thomas (1827–1867) and lithographed by Allan & Wigley, also in Sydney. The portraits include musicians who had recently toured the colonies including the Austro-Hungarian violinist Miska Hauser (1822–1887), English soprano Anna Bishop (1810–1884) and Irish soprano Catherine Hayes (1818–1861).⁹ The cover is emblazoned with the words 'Australian Album' in gold lettering surrounded by an ornate border design, also in gold. Extant copies in Australian libraries are bound in a variety of materials including cloth on board—in crimson or royal blue—and leather, in brown or cream. At a price of 30 shillings, the *Album* for 1857 would have been too expensive for the working classes, and even skilled workers such as cabinetmakers earning roughly £2–3 (40–60s.) per week would likely not have been able to afford this type of luxury item.¹⁰ Indeed, an 1857 advertisement for the *Australian Picture Pleasure Book*, which included two hundred illustrations of 'Australian life' and cost 16s. 6d., claimed 'the moderate price of the [*Australian Picture Pleasure*] book places it within the reach of all classes.'¹¹ While the

⁴ James Davies, 'Julia's Gift: The Social Life of Scores, c.1830,' *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 131.2 (2006): 291.

⁵ Davies, 'Julia's Gift,' 298.

⁶ Graeme Skinner, *Toward a General History of Colonial Australian Musical Composition: First National Music, 1788–c.1860* (PhD thesis, University of Sydney, 2010), 7.

⁷ 'Mr. Newman Sapsford,' *Brisbane Courier*, 4 July 1923, 11.

⁸ Fowler's Preface to the 1857 *Australian Album* says 'Here—in this city—they were played, printed, and published.' For the history of engraving in England, see Stanley Boorman, et al., 'Printing and Publishing of Music,' *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, accessed 18 Nov. 2015, <www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40101pg2>.

⁹ For a biography of Hauser see Colin Roderick and Hugh Anderson, 'Introduction,' *Miska Hauser's Letters from Australia: 1854–58*, trans. Colin Roderick (Maryborough, Vic.: Red Rooster Press, 1988), ix.

¹⁰ 'Sydney Labour Market,' *Shipping Gazette and Sydney General Trade List*, 28 Dec. 1857, 280.

¹¹ 'Just Published,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 Mar. 1857, 5.

claim of 'all classes' might be an exaggeration, it reinforces the 30s. price tag as exclusive to the upper class. The hypothetical 'Australia' posed by the *Album* for 1857 was both confident in its artistic merit and self-conscious about its reception. It seems that regardless of whether it was reviewed or taken up for publication in London, which it seems it was not, what mattered was that local products were deemed comparable to contemporary examples from Europe.

The music in the *Album* for 1857 is a reflection of the contemporary concert scene in the colonies and current trends in music from Europe. The opening piece is a piano fantasia based on 'The Last Rose of Summer,' one of Thomas Moore's *Irish Melodies*, composed by visiting French piano virtuoso Edouard Desiree Boulanger (1829–1863). Other works in the *Album* bear titles with a local flavour, such as Miska Hauser's Impromptu 'Australian Flowers' and William Stanley's 'The Rose Bay Quadrilles,' while Stephen Marsh's ballad 'Far O'er the Sea' might represent a colonist's point of view ('Where doth my birthplace lie, Far O'er the Sea!'). Then there is Miska Hauser's virtuoso piece 'The Bird on the Tree,' which was extremely popular with local audiences during his tour, and Frederic Ellard's fantasia on themes from the opera *Lucrezia Borgia* with an accompanying tinted lithograph of Anna Bishop as Lucrezia. The only piece that was imported is 'The Singing Polka,' by Georges Alary, which was performed in the colonies by Catherine Hayes.

In this article I discuss how the *Album* for 1857 functioned as a 'specimen' of colonial advancement, with particular focus on the role of Boulanger and his fantasia on 'The Last Rose of Summer.' This work is described in advertisements and on the contents page of the *Album* as a 'Fantasia,' on the illustrated title page as 'The Last Rose of Summer with Brilliant Variations' and at the head of the music as 'The Last Rose of Summer, "Caprice" for the piano.' The music reveals that the piece falls within the parameters of a typical operatic fantasia: 'a theme and variations, with a freer introductory section and an extended finale.'¹² In this article I argue that each element of Boulanger's fantasia—Boulanger's status as a European virtuoso, Thomas Moore's sentimental ballad 'The Last Rose of Summer,' and the perception of the fantasia as 'the highest form of musical art'—came together to serve as an ideal example of artistic and moral progress in colonial Australia.¹³

Davies argues that musical albums are 'period pieces' that 'invite a certain style of hermeneutic engagement, one mindful of local interests and contexts.'¹⁴ In keeping with Davies's suggestion, this article first investigates the publication history and reception of the first two and final *Australian Albums* (1854, 1855 and 1863) before examining Boulanger's career in the colonies and his own 1856 publication, *Boulanger's Musical Keepsake*, followed by an analysis of the *Album* for 1857 and Boulanger's fantasia.

The *Album* for 1857 can be viewed as one link in a long chain of 'Australian' music published in the colonies. A huge variety of music published locally was labelled 'Australian,' including transcriptions by Europeans of Indigenous melodies, as well as marches, ballads, quadrilles and other dance music composed by Europeans in the colonies.¹⁵ The *Albums* of the 1850s

¹² Christopher D.S. Field, et al., 'Fantasia,' *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, accessed 22 July 2015, <www.oxfordmusiconline.com>. For clarity, I will refer to the work as a fantasia.

¹³ Annette Richards, *The Free Fantasia and the Musical Picturesque* (Cambridge: CUP, 2001), 76.

¹⁴ Davies, 'Julia's Gift,' 291.

¹⁵ See Skinner, 'Appendix 2', Toward a General History of Colonial Australian Musical Composition, 429–581. For an example of a transcription by a European of an Indigenous melody, see 'Australian National Melody (Harry's Song),' in *Geographical Memoirs on New South Wales*, ed. Barron Field (London, 1823), 433–4.

stand out as the first concerted effort within the colonies to produce an 'Australian'-themed collection of music with the specific purpose of presenting it to an overseas audience. The *Album* for 1857 was the third published in the series, following two *Australian Presentation Albums* in 1854 and 1855. The first two *Albums* were published by Sydney-based music sellers Woolcott & Clarke, the third by Clarke alone. Jacob Richard Clarke (1822–1893) and his partner W.P. Woolcott (1821–1905) were both British-born immigrants who established a music publishing business at 555 George Street in 1853.¹⁶ The first *Australian Presentation Album* was advertised in April 1854 for one guinea (21 shillings).¹⁷ Only two musical numbers in this *Album* were composed locally.¹⁸ In the case of the *Album* for 1854, popularity was the most important factor in publication. For example, the opening number, 'Shells of Ocean' by J.W. Cherry (1824–1869), is labelled 'the most popular song of the day!' On the whole, the music in the *Album* for 1854—for piano or piano and medium voice—is aimed at amateurs. In the case of 'The Australian Bird Waltz' by Frederick Ellard, a note indicates that the following concession can be made: 'the octaves are for those who can play them.'¹⁹

Nine months later, Woolcott & Clarke published the *Australian Presentation Album* for 1855. The price had increased from the previous year by four shillings to 25s.²⁰ The *Album* for 1855 was bound in board and was the first to include a contents page. The first illustration, a tinted lithograph accompanying Charles D'Albert's 'Regatta Waltzes,' is a patriotic affair. The image is made up of three small vignettes, including a 'bush scene' with a family of Indigenous people gathered around a campfire and two maritime scenes in Sydney. The central image of Sydney cove during the 'anniversary regatta' is flanked by a kangaroo and an emu, under which a banner reads 'Advance Australia.'²¹ Skinner points out that the music in the *Album* for 1855 'was more substantially local ... there was only one imported song (by Stephen Glover).'²² Thus the contents of the *Australian Presentation Album* for 1855 came closer to embodying its name. This *Album* also contains several pieces of dance music that were popular in the colony at the time. In her pioneering study *Entertaining Australia*, Katharine Brisbane argues that fashionable dances in England were quickly adopted in Sydney. Waltzes and quadrilles, for example, were established in Sydney by the 1820s, with the galop first danced in Perth in 1829.²³ Therefore, their publication in this 'specimen' album would reveal that the Australian colonies were aware of contemporary trends in dance music. The music in the *Album* for 1855 is mostly at an amateur level, although in general there are more active bass lines than in the previous edition and there are some large leaps and parallel octaves. The final number, Miska Hauser's impromptu 'Rain Drops in Australia' stands out as the most technically demanding thanks to the inclusion of brilliant arpeggios, repeated chords in semiquavers, chromatic

¹⁶ E.J. Lea-Scarlett, 'Clarke, Jacob Richard (1822–1893),' *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, accessed 22 July 2015, <adb.anu.edu.au/biography/clarke-jacob-richard-3223/text4855>.

¹⁷ 'Just Published,' *Illustrated Sydney News*, 15 Apr. 1854, 7.

¹⁸ Skinner, *Toward a General History*, 364.

¹⁹ Frederick Ellard, 'The Australian Bird Waltz,' *Australian Presentation Album* (Sydney, NSW: Woolcott & Clarke, 1854), 4.

²⁰ 'Advertising,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 Feb. 1855, 6.

²¹ Since 26 January 1837, the 'anniversary regatta' has been an annual commemoration of the founding of the New South Wales. 'Sixty-Eighth Anniversary Regatta,' *Empire*, 27 Jan. 1855, supplement, 1.

²² Skinner, *Toward a General History*, 364.

²³ Katharine Brisbane, *Entertaining Australia: An Illustrated History* (Sydney, NSW: Currency Press, 1991), 25.

melodic lines, and a short cadenza. Indeed, reviews emphasise the high standard of the music but also attempt to describe in some detail its decorative and illustrative content, including the artists, engravers, and lithographers responsible for each illustration.²⁴ This reinforces the hybrid role of the *Album* for 1855 as both a music publication and an ornament. Indeed, one of its intended roles was advertised in *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 'This work is intended to be forwarded to the Paris Exhibition as a specimen of colonial publications. It will form an elegant present to friends at home or in the colony.'²⁵

The *Album* for 1855 might have been entered into some class of the 'Printing & Photography' category, under which lithography and bookbinding were exhibited. While it is unclear whether the *Album* for 1855 was included in the Paris Exhibition, according to Peter H. Hoffenberg, 'participating in overseas exhibitions ... fundamentally helped colonists in Melbourne, New South Wales and South Australia imagine, envision and reconstruct their identities as overseas settlers within colonial borders.'²⁶ This speaks to the role of the *Album* for 1855 in forming a cultural identity that was seen to meet European standards.

There was no album for 1856; however, in February of that year another Sydney-based firm, F. Mader, published *Boulanger's Musical Keepsake*. According to Skinner, *Boulanger's Musical Keepsake* 'was the first single-composer collection of piano music produced in Australia.'²⁷ Furthermore, it was advertised as 'Australian Music' by its publisher.²⁸ Given that some of the first published music designated as 'Australian' but written by foreign-born composers appeared as early as the 1820s, the application of the term to Boulanger's music does not seem premature.²⁹

Boulanger was born in Paris in 1829 and, following successful tours of the United Kingdom and North America, arrived in Australia in his mid-twenties in 1855.³⁰ Although Boulanger's successful performing and composing career across three different continents suggests he possessed an entrepreneurial streak, eventually his luck ran out. By 1856 Boulanger was in trouble financially and an appearance at the insolvency courts in 1863 seems to have prompted him to leave the colony.³¹ Later that same year he died in a cholera epidemic in Shanghai.³² Boulanger's success with audiences and critics in Sydney was partly the result of his fine playing but was also tied to his status as a high-class European artist. In anticipation of his first performance, *The Sydney Morning Herald* reported that:

He was a pupil of the distinguished and lamented Chopin, whose early death was deeply regretted and widely mourned in France ... The performances of M. Boulanger

²⁴ See 'Australian Presentation Album,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 Jan. 1855, 5; 'Australian Presentation Album,' *Empire*, 13 Jan. 1855, 4.

²⁵ 'Advertisement,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 Jan. 1855, 2. Quoted in Skinner, *Toward a General History of Colonial Australian Composition*, 266.

²⁶ Peter H. Hoffenberg, '"Nothing Very New or Very Showy to Exhibit"?: Australia at the Great Exhibition and After,' in *Britain, the Empire, and the World at the Great Exhibition of 1851*, ed. Jeffrey A. Auerbach and Peter H. Hoffenberg (Hampshire, England: Ashgate, 2008), 120.

²⁷ Skinner, *Toward a General History*, 337.

²⁸ Skinner, *Toward a General History*, 337.

²⁹ See Skinner, *Toward a General History*, 434.

³⁰ Skinner, *Toward a General History*, 337.

³¹ 'Insolvency,' *Freeman's Journal*, 11 Mar. 1863, 3.

³² Skinner, *Toward a General History*, 338.

before Queen Victoria, and Her Majesty's flattering approval of them are recorded in the leading English journals.³³

These biographical details provide key markers of Boulanger's authenticity. His tutelage under Fryderyk Chopin validated his status as a virtuoso and hinted at aristocratic connections, while compliments from Queen Victoria ensured continued endorsement throughout the British Empire.³⁴

Boulanger's concerts and published compositions were regarded as symbols of progress in the colonies. There are no extant copies of *Boulanger's Musical Keepsake* but according to newspaper reports it contained six pieces, each dedicated to a lady in Sydney. The price was 30s. The *Sydney Morning Herald* reviewer describes the *Keepsake* as 'beyond all question the most admirable production to which our country has given birth.' This review, and especially the term 'our country,' is evidence that even publications without a nationalist agenda were drawn into the nation-building debate. The reviewer finds that the collection is 'an album so elegant, that to give or receive it is equally complimentary; to possess, equally desirable and gratifying ... This most beautiful "Musical Present," [is] an offering worthy of any accomplished and intellectual lady.'³⁵ These statements suggest that the value of the collection is in the exchange of cultural capital between the buyer who flatters their recipient with the implication that they are an 'intellectual' while reinforcing their own good taste.³⁶ This echoes Davies's suggestion that musical albums played an important role in the 'coming of age' of eligible females.³⁷ Indeed, the *Herald* reviewer reinforces the value of the *Keepsake* for 'our children, our sons and daughters, reared upon these shores.'³⁸ It is as if the colony—or perhaps 'nation'—itself is coming of age through the publication of *Boulanger's Musical Keepsake*.

Boulanger was one of several travelling musicians who visited the Australian colonies via the 'Pacific circuit' in the 1850s. Catherine Hayes and Miska Hauser arrived in 1854, followed by Anna Bishop in December 1855.³⁹ They were each acquainted with one another and in this way resemble patterns of chain migration to the colonies, but on an artistic and commercial level.⁴⁰ Matthew W. Wittman argues that the Pacific circuit constitutes an 'Empire of culture' and observes that 'touring entertainers ... served as a kind of imperial thread connecting together disparate colonial publics to their metropolitan roots.'⁴¹ At a local level, Skinner has observed that by performing similar music in the major cities—and in some cases regional towns as

³³ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 Feb. 1855, 4.

³⁴ Regarding evidence of Boulanger's claim that he was Chopin's pupil, see Graeme Skinner, 'Edward and Kate Boulanger,' *Australharmony*, accessed 10 Nov. 2015, <sydney.edu.au/paradisec/australharmony/boulanger-edward.php>.

³⁵ 'Review: Boulanger's Musical Keepsake,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 Feb. 1856, 5.

³⁶ Pierre Bourdieu, 'The Forms of Capital,' in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. J. Richardson, trans. Richard Nice (New York: Greenwood, 1986), 46–58.

³⁷ Davies, 'Julia's Gift,' 299.

³⁸ 'Review: Boulanger's Musical Keepsake,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 Feb. 1856, 5.

³⁹ 'Great Musical News,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 Dec. 1855, 1.

⁴⁰ Anna Bishop's tour followed Catherine Hayes to California and San Francisco in 1854 and then to Sydney, New South Wales, in 1855. See Richard Davis, *Anna Bishop: The Adventures of an Intrepid Prima Donna* (Sydney, NSW: Currency Press, 1997), 167, 171. Boulanger had also accompanied Hayes in the United States. See Basil Walsh, *Catherine Hayes, 1818–1861: The Hibernian Prima Donna* (Dublin, Ireland: Irish Academic Press, 2000), 209.

⁴¹ Matthew W. Wittmann, *Empire of Culture: U.S. Entertainers and the Making of the Pacific Circuit* (PhD thesis, University of Michigan, 2010), 129.

well—these touring artists offered colonists shared experiences, an essential ingredient in the ‘imagined community’ of the nation.⁴² Although operatic excerpts and virtuosic pieces were an indispensable part of programming for these artists, one of the most potent ways of fostering the connection to one’s ‘roots’ identified by Wittman was through ballads and the incorporation of folk melodies into virtuosic improvisations (either extempore or pre-composed). Both Hayes and Bishop sang popular ballads with themes of exile such as Henry Bishop’s ‘Home, Sweet Home’ and Moore’s ‘The Last Rose of Summer’ and Hauser frequently performed variations on Irish and Scottish melodies in the colonies. Unlike his contemporaries, Boulanger initially spurned folksong arrangements in favour of his own compositions, variations on operatic themes, and works by established European composers such as Sigismond Thalberg and his teacher, Chopin.⁴³ The first advertised performance of Boulanger’s fantasia on ‘The Last Rose of Summer’ was to take place on Friday 15 August 1856.⁴⁴ This was eighteen months after his arrival in Sydney and just four months before the fantasia’s publication in the *Album* for 1857, which seems to validate the claim in advertisements and the Preface that it was composed in the colony.

Prior to the publication of the *Album* for 1857, it seems that Woolcott separated from the publishing partnership and, according to Skinner, ‘left Jacob Clarke, anyway the more musical of the pair, to issue alone ... his Australian Album 1857.’⁴⁵ Six years later, Clarke released what seems to have been the last in the series, the *Australian Musical Album* for 1863. This *Album* contained fourteen pieces of music and was still priced at 30 shillings.⁴⁶ The continued demand for Boulanger’s compositions is evidenced by his three compositions featured in the *Album* for 1863, including ‘The Columbian Mazurka,’ ‘The European March,’ and a ‘Caprice de Salon’ on themes from William Vincent Wallace’s opera *Lurline*. While the ‘Caprice de Salon’ is difficult, virtuosic music in keeping with his fantasia on ‘The Last Rose of Summer,’ the Mazurka and March in the *Album* for 1863 are pitched at amateur performers. While it is unclear to what extent Boulanger’s more difficult music was performed by amateurs, the inclusion of these simpler pieces suggests that Clarke requested some more accessible works for the 1863 edition. This *Album* also included lithographic illustrations printed by Allan & Wigley. A review printed in the *Goulburn Herald* reinforces that the target audience for this *Album* was young females, stating that ‘the music is dedicated to the “belles of Australia.”’ The reviewer also positions the *Album* for 1863 as equal to foreign examples, arguing that it ‘will compare, in illustration and printing, with many similar works which are usually imported from Europe.’⁴⁷ This being the final *Album* published by Clarke, it seems likely sales diminished as the novelty of Australian-themed musical albums wore off.

Returning to the penultimate edition, the *Album* for 1857 is in several ways a more substantial artefact than the rest of its cohort. The 1857 edition was the first bound in high-quality cloth or leather with gold lettering and decoration. Extant copies in Australian libraries bear three

⁴² Skinner, *Toward a General History*, 378; Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London/New York: Verso, 2006), 39–48.

⁴³ See *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 Feb. 1855, 4. For programming of Chopin works, see ‘Advertisement,’ *Empire*, 3 July 1855, 1.

⁴⁴ ‘Advertisement,’ *Empire*, 15 Aug. 1856, 1.

⁴⁵ Skinner, *Toward a General History*, 365.

⁴⁶ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 Jan. 1863, 9.

⁴⁷ ‘Opinions of the Press: The Australian Musical Album for 1863,’ *Goulburn Herald*, 18 Mar. 1863, 4.

different lettering and border designs manifest in different combinations, which suggests that some were custom-made (or perhaps the availability of materials changed over time). The *Album* for 1857 also stands out thanks to the inclusion of an illustrated title page, a full-page dedication to Miss Denison (a daughter of Governor William Denison) of Government House, Sydney, and the Preface by Frank Fowler. Where the *Albums* for 1854, 1855 and 1863 contained mostly amateur music, the majority of pieces in the *Album* for 1857 are at a much higher level, requiring virtuosity from both the pianist, and in the case of Hayes's 'Vocal Polka' for high voice, the vocalist as well. This difficulty is manifest in widely spaced broken chords in the left hand (Hauser's 'Impromptu'), octave tremolos, rapid chromatic runs, extremes of register (Hauser's 'Bird on the Tree'), and demisemiquaver passages including octave leaps (Ellard's fantasia on themes from *Lucrezia Borgia*). The sense of this music as 'high art' is enhanced by the profusion of performance instructions and Italian terms, written-out ornaments, and meticulously placed pedal markings. While 'The Picnic Polka' and 'Rose Bay Quadrilles' are more accessible, the ballad 'Far O'er the Sea' emerges as the only decidedly amateur inclusion, thanks to a vocal melody restricted to the contralto range and an accompaniment of mostly block chords.

As with previous editions, Clarke marketed the *Album* for 1857 as a gift to be sent overseas. Advertisements for this *Album* in newspapers, which first appeared on 27 December 1856, market it as a Christmas or New Year present and offer a price of 30 shillings or 32s. with postage (see Fig. 1).⁴⁸ The travelling nature of the *Album* for 1857 reinforces its primary function as an example of not only the cultural scene in the Australian colonies but also what the colony—primarily Sydney—actually looked like. Skinner finds that 'colonial sheet music was frequently specifically advertised as suitable for giving as a gift, or, as postal charges fell during the 1850s, sending as a memento to friends and relatives abroad.'⁴⁹ During the 1850s, the postal service between the colonies, England and North America was first operated by steamship and in 1857 it took roughly eight weeks for mail to reach England.⁵⁰ Therefore, it was possible that copies were purchased as Christmas gifts soon after the December advertisement for relatives and friends in England. More broadly, since their inception, musical albums had been advertised as gifts and thus they functioned as symbols of generosity (as well as good taste and wealth) on the part of the giver.⁵¹ Davies argues that in the 1830s, 'music publishers would hide the commercial intent of their endeavours by disguising their products as gifts.'⁵² Woolcott & Clarke also ran advertisements for their range of 'colonial publications' targeting 'passengers for England,' another method by which the *Album* for 1857 could have left the colonies. Viewed another way, Davies argues that the first waves of music annuals found their place in the market as a form of souvenir during 'the heyday of the "I've been there" boasts of the Grand Tour.'⁵³ For those who did receive copies in England, the *Album* for 1857 would represent a connection to the distant and exotic Australian colonies. For those within the colonies, it would reinforce their new reality through depictions of local landscapes, as well as recalling memories of touring performers.

⁴⁸ 'Advertisement,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 Dec. 1856, 3.

⁴⁹ Skinner, *Toward a General History*, 15.

⁵⁰ See 'Sydney News,' *Maitland Mercury and Hunter River General Advertiser*, 21 Apr. 1857, 4.

⁵¹ Davies, 'Julia's Gift,' 292–3.

⁵² Davies, 'Julia's Gift,' 294.

⁵³ Davies, 'Julia's Gift,' 306.

Figure 1: Advertisement for *Australian Musical Album* for 1857. Source: *Australian Almanac for the Year 1857* (Sydney, NSW: Cox & Co. Booksellers and publishers, 1857), 277.

JUST PUBLISHED, PRICE 30s.,
THE
AUSTRALIAN MUSICAL ALBUM
FOR 1857,
 Handsomely Bound in Crimson and in Blue Cloth, Gilt, and
 with Gilt edges.

CONTENTS—MUSIC.

- 1.—FANTASIA ... "The Last Rose of Summer".....*Boulanger*
- 2.—IMPROMPTU....."Australian Flowers".....*Miska Hauser*
- 3.—BALLAD....."Far o'er the Sea".....*S. H. Marsh*
- 4.—FANTASIA....."Bird on the Tree".....*Miska Hauser*
- 5.—POLKA....."The Pic Nic".....*H. Marsh*
- 6.—FANTASIA....."Lucrezia Borgia".....*F. Ellard*
- 7.—QUADRILLE....."The Rose Bay".....*W. Stanley*
- 8.—RONDO....."The Singing Polka".....*Alary*

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- 3.—Sydney Heads and the City of
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- 5.—A View from the North Shore... } 'The Pic-nic Polka'
- 6.—Portrait of M^{rs}. Anna Bishop } Fantasia en Airs in 'Lucrezia
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 South Head Road } 'Rose Bay Quadrilles'
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 the first publishers in London.

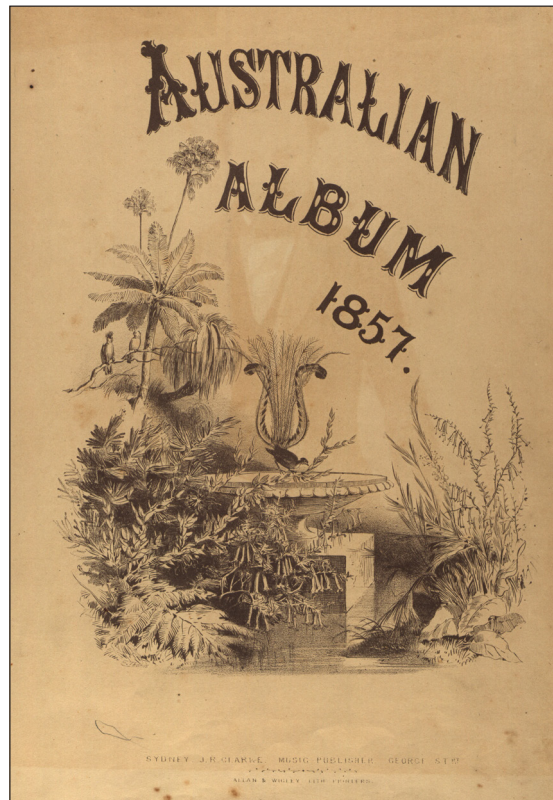
Without knowing how many copies of the *Album* for 1857 were produced and the precise purchaser / dedicatee of each copy, it is difficult to gauge the extent to which they were bought as gifts for relatives or friends in England. Most extant copies are held in Australian libraries, but their provenance is not always clear. One *Album* for 1857 that does retain its dedication was given to 'Rachael' by 'her affectionate uncle' Moses Moses. This is most likely the Moses Moses (1795–1858) who was originally transported to the colonies as a convict in 1813, but who was serving as alderman of the Bourke Ward in Sydney by 1857.⁵⁴ In other cases where the dedication has been removed by cutting out a portion of the first page, it is a fair hypothesis that these were given as gifts. Another copy found its way into the library of British anthropologist James Edge-Partington (1854–1930)—although he was most likely not the first owner—before being donated to the Mitchell Library upon his death.⁵⁵ In short, until more copies are located and their provenance investigated, the important point is that those in the colony viewed the *Album* for 1857 as equal to European examples.

⁵⁴ The Mitchell Library copy (Q85/30) is inscribed 'Rachael from her affectionate Uncle Moses February 23rd, 1857.'

⁵⁵ The National Library of Australia copy (5715788, MUS Musica Australis N 256) bears a James Edge-Partington stamp on the inside front cover. This copy does not show evidence of a personalised inscription having been removed or covered.

The illustrated title page of the *Album* for 1857 says in bold text 'Australian Album 1857' above a drawing of a garden scene (see Fig. 2). The vegetation, a combination of profuse flowers, ferns, and distant palms in the background, is subject to the civilising force of a birdbath. This plays into a trope of colonial imagery noted by David Day, which includes the naming of 'Botany Bay' to emphasise the colony's natural diversity and potential for supporting life.⁵⁶ The lyrebird, with its magnificent harp-like tail feathers, occupies the centre of the illustration and conveys the idea that music is part of the natural world in 'Australia.'

Figure 2. Title page, *Australian Album* 1857 (Sydney: J.R. Clarke, 1856). Image courtesy of Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Sydney.



The contents page in the *Album* for 1857 is reproduced in the advertisement in Figure 1. It contains a list of the genre, title and respective composer of each piece, underneath which is a list of the illustrations and a note connecting each illustration to its accompanying music, for example '1. A View in the Botanical Gardens, Sydney ... For the fantasia "The Last Rose of Summer."' The order of these illustrations follows a logical progression beginning with four inner-Sydney landscapes including three of the Botanical Gardens. The location of the landscapes then moves further afield, offering views of the greater Sydney area such as Rose Bay for the 'Rose Bay Quadrilles.' Portraits of Anna Bishop and Catherine Hayes are placed

⁵⁶ David Day, *Claiming a Continent: A New History of Australia*, 4th ed. (Sydney, NSW: Harper Perennial, 2005), 17.

in close proximity as the sixth and eighth illustrations respectively. Anna Bishop is portrayed as Donizetti's Lucrezia Borgia in a Queen-like costume in a lithograph tinted burgundy and gold, reinforcing the regal image of the British singer. Catherine Hayes's portrait is simple and unaffected, perhaps reflecting Hayes's chaste public image (she was unmarried and toured the colonies with her mother) and Irish background.

Fowler's Preface to the *Album* for 1857 is a dense web of topical allusions that aims to describe the role of the 'purely Musical Album' in colonial society and explains its function and significance as a 'specimen.'⁵⁷ Initially, Fowler reflects with a tone of nostalgia on 'the cheerful period in the history of literature' when there was 'quite an album mania.' However, at the time of writing, apparently musical albums 'are no longer sought for.' Fowler sees the rise of education as the reason for the decline in demand of albums: 'pleasant enough were the days of Albums—when our sons had not grown too solemn for gilt-edged volumes and our daughters preferred a little music at home to Professor Leydenjars' lectures⁵⁸ and the Theory of Matter.' But he also argues that the albums played an important role in this education. During the 'Album mania,' Fowler writes, 'our good friend Pendennis picked up his first five-pound note in the "Row."' The story of Pendennis is one of striving for acceptance in London's civilised society and learning moral lessons along the way. Fowler also mentions Harriet Martineau, a leading Victorian intellectual who wrote extensively on the British Empire. According to Patrick Brantlinger, 'Marinteanu expresses "liberal imperialism" at its best: conscientious, free of racism ... and with progress in civilisation throughout the world as the ultimate goal.'⁵⁹ Taken together, these references indicate the kind of 'Australia' Fowler envisaged: educated, civilised and morally sound.

In the Preface, Fowler attempts to extend the concept of generosity usually associated with the buyer of albums onto the publisher himself. He writes, 'the publisher of this book knows that Albums in the old sense will not pay ... At the same time, however, he sees in this community a healthy and growing taste for Music, and, in taking advantage of this, he does a wise thing for himself and a good thing for the public.'⁶⁰ Clarke's entrepreneurial business decision is thus re-cast as an act of benevolence, which was previously associated solely with the buyer, their purchase, and the giving of a gift to a loved one. When writing about the music, Fowler redeems the concept of the musical album on the basis of its function as a 'specimen,' or marker of taste in the colony

The idea of a purely Musical Album—that is, a book filled with the original productions of our own artistes [*sic*—is, I think, peculiarly happy, and one which the Australian public will readily appreciate ... They [the pieces of music] are all new—all colonial. Here—in this city—they were played, printed, and published. True, some of the composers are foreigners; but still this book is as much an Australian production as a cluster of grapes from the German vineyards at Kissing Point. We can send the work home as a specimen of what we can do out here at Botany Bay—as an index of our education, refinement, art-feeling.⁶¹

⁵⁷ Fowler, 'Preface.' Unless indicated, quotations in this paragraph are drawn from this source.

⁵⁸ The Leyden Jar was an eighteenth-century invention that paved the way for the development of electricity.

⁵⁹ Patrick Brantlinger, 'Preface,' *Harriet Martineau's Writings on the British Empire: The Empire Question*, vol. 1, ed. Deborah Logan (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2004), x.

⁶⁰ Fowler, 'Preface.'

⁶¹ Fowler, 'Preface.'

These paragraphs, which echo the advertisement for the 1855 *Album* in calling it a 'specimen' for analysis by those at 'home,' combined with the literary allusions, are evidence that the ultimate goal of the *Album* for 1857 was to achieve recognition that the colony was a refined, civilised society. In line with the publisher's aspirations for this *Album*, the *Sydney Morning Herald* review describes it as 'the best drawing room annual ever published in the colony.'⁶²

Fowler's Preface also echoes Davies's observation that the threat of loss was central to the *Album* aesthetic.⁶³ Fowler suggests that Miska Hauser had 'enraptured us all ... and yet had not the publisher of this book obtained the composition from Miska it must have been entirely lost and forgotten.' Reinforcing the point, Fowler argues that the 'spirit' of Miska Hauser's playing 'would have hopped off with the maestro had we not trapped it in this *Album*.' Furthermore, the aesthetic of loss was intimately tied to the fantasia genre itself thanks to its fleeting, and improvisatory style.⁶⁴ By the end of the Preface, Fowler fully resurrects the concept of the musical album in light of its role as a measure of refined taste in the colony. He argues that 'we should attest our social progress by some annual publication of this character' precisely because it 'proves that we are not destitute of some of the haughty lineaments of European civilization.'⁶⁵

On the one hand, the ordering of the materials in the *Album* might have been affected by external factors such as the order of receipt of music or the length of time taken to engrave each piece. On the other hand, the contents page, progression of illustrations and the balancing of fantasia works with music from other genres suggests the ordering was planned. Furthermore, it was typical for the *Albums* to open with a popular song, presumably with a view to capturing the imagination of the broadest possible audience. 'The Last Rose of Summer' was extremely popular in the colonies at this time and not only in ballad form. Skinner argues that 'into the 1850s, even while music sellers like Henry Marsh were beginning to import the first good selections of Beethoven sonatas and other "Classical Music," it was still salon gems like Henry Herz's variations on The Last Rose of Summer ... music sellers chose to reissue in Australian prints as better representing the European fashions of the day.'⁶⁶ Matthew Gelbart argues that in the decades around 1800, when the debate over defining the concepts of 'folk' music and 'art' music was underway, 'genius, authenticity and purity' were first attributed to 'folk' music but then the same aesthetic values came to define 'art' music as well.⁶⁷ Thus, 'to be an [individual] artistic genius ... meant to grow organically out of the national and universal genius.'⁶⁸ This places Boulanger's fantasia on 'The Last Rose of Summer' at the vanguard of colonial tastes, combining a universally popular melody with the artistic genius associated with the fantasia genre.

While a comprehensive analysis of Moore's 'The Last Rose of Summer' is outside the scope of this article, a brief overview of the song is necessary due to its role in Boulanger's fantasia.

⁶² 'Review: The Australian Album for 1857,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 Dec. 1856, 5.

⁶³ Davies, 'Julia's Gift,' 294–5.

⁶⁴ See Richards, *The Free Fantasia and the Musical Picturesque*, 76.

⁶⁵ Fowler, 'Preface.'

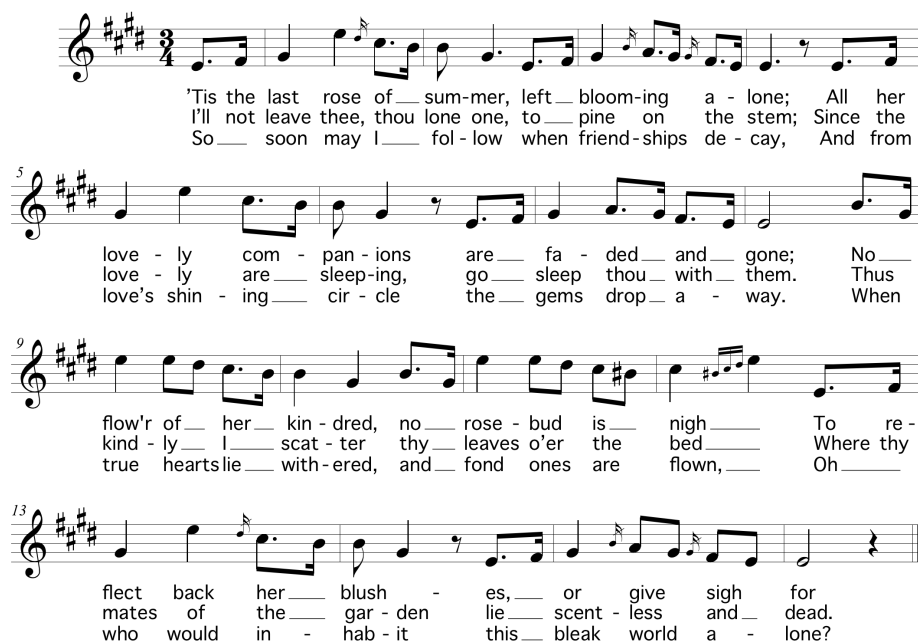
⁶⁶ Skinner, *Toward a General History*, 29–30.

⁶⁷ Matthew Gelbart, *The Invention of 'Folk Music' and 'Art Music': Emerging Categories from Ossian to Wagner* (Cambridge: CUP, 2007), 200.

⁶⁸ Gelbart, *The Invention of 'Folk Music' and 'Art Music'*, 200.

'The Last Rose of Summer' appeared in the fifth volume of Moore's *Irish Melodies*, published in 1813. Moore authored the text, which he set to a known melody, and John Stevenson (1761–1833), an Irish composer, wrote the piano accompaniments. The melody (see Fig. 3) is borrowed from Alfred Milliken's 'The Groves of Blarney,' which itself might be a variation on 'Young Man's Dream,' first published in Irish folk-song collector Edward Bunting's *A General Collection of the Ancient Irish Music* in 1796.⁶⁹

Figure 3. Melody and verses of 'The Last Rose of Summer' by Thomas Moore and John Stevenson, transcribed from Moore's *Selection of Irish Melodies with Symphonies and Accompaniments* by Sir John Stevenson (Sydney: Charles T. Samssoon, c. 1870)



'Tis the last rose of sum-mer, left bloom-ing a - lone; All her
I'll not leave thee, thou lone one, to pine on the stem; Since the
So soon may I fol - low when friend-ships de - cay, And from

love - ly com - pan - ions are fa - ded and gone; No
love - ly are sleep-ing, go sleep thou with them. Thus
love's shin - ing cir - cle the gems drop a - way. When

flow'r of her kin - dred, no rose - bud is nigh To re -
kind - ly I scat - ter thy leaves o'er the bed Where thy
true hearts lie with - ered, and fond ones are flown, Oh

flect back her blush - es, or give sigh for
mates of the gar - den lie scent - less and dead.
who would in - hab - it this bleak world a - lone?

While the melodic shape and structure is similar across the corresponding melodies published by Bunting, Milliken and Moore / Stevenson, some aspects, such as the characteristic minor sixth leap in the opening, are absent from Bunting's version. Nevertheless, each version avoids stressing the fourth scale degree, which aligns the melodies with traditional Irish music. Moore's *Irish Melodies* became so overwhelmingly popular in the early nineteenth century that by the 1850s they were surely part of the cultural baggage of most immigrants from the British Isles. In his study of popular song in the United States, Charles Hamm argues that during the nineteenth century, Moore's melodies were 'the most popular, widely sung, best-loved, and most durable songs in the English language of the entire nineteenth century. The songs became, quite simply, a cornerstone of English life and culture.'⁷⁰ Their appeal to colonists both in Australia and the United States might be found in the melancholic nostalgia for a lost home. For example, the opening lines of 'The Last Rose of Summer' can be read as

⁶⁹ Edward Bunting, *A General Collection of the Ancient Irish Music* (Dublin: Publisher, 1796), 9.

⁷⁰ Charles Hamm, *Yesterdays: Popular Song in America* (New York: Norton, 1979), 44–5.

a metaphor for exile, where the 'last rose' is the lone friend left behind. As well as the theme of homesickness, Derek Scott argues that the narrative of lost love and friends in the poem 'promoted the important "Victorian values" of friendship and family.'⁷¹ Recent scholarship on Moore's ballads reveals that their appeal to the mainstream British market and their political role in Irish nation building are two sides of the same coin.⁷² Leith Davis argues that in the face of negative stereotypes and oppression of the Irish by the British government, Moore chose to represent Irish culture as refined and homogeneous, its people as virtuous and sentimental.⁷³ This resonated with Moore's contemporaries in the nationalist group the United Irishmen, whose slogan 'It is New Strung and Shall be Heard' is acutely aware of the connection between music and Irish nationhood.⁷⁴ In the colonial Australian setting, Patrick O'Farrell argues that Moore's songs functioned for the Irish as a 'bid for respectability in an English setting.'⁷⁵ The role of Moore's *Melodies* in nation-building, albeit in an indirect way in the ballads, runs parallel to the nationalist function of the *Album* for 1857. Read in this way, it is clear why the fantasia on 'The Last Rose of Summer' proved so ideal in the context of the *Album* for 1857, which was itself a 'bid for respectability in an English setting.'

The illustration on the title page of 'The Last Rose of Summer' in the *Album* for 1857 engages with the centuries-old 'pastoral' topic and embodies Victorian values of civilised society (see Fig. 4). An idyllic scene described as 'A View in the Botanical Gardens, Sydney' features a well-dressed lady and an inquisitive young girl walking along a wide, flat path under the shade of an established tree. Several well-dressed figures are in the background and in the distance two ships can be seen on water that is completely calm. There is not an identifiably Indigenous person nor convict in the scene. Together these visual elements convey the sense that all aspects of society in the colony are ordered and under control. Even Boulanger's name undergoes a type of assimilation on this page, with his first name anglicised to Edward, presumably to enhance his familiarity to an English (or at least English-speaking) audience. In a letter dated 1 December 1854 Miska Hauser writes, 'the main meeting-place of the Sydney world is the botanical garden,' which he says is 'filled with Sydney's well-groomed *haute volée*.'⁷⁶ In his letters from the Australian colonies, Hauser often uses sarcasm to highlight what he sees as a disparity between the aspirations of the local population and reality. Nevertheless, in the case of the Botanical Garden, Hauser encapsulates the site as a venue with upper-class associations.

Boulanger's fantasia on 'The Last Rose of Summer' is dedicated to 'his friend' Miska Hauser. Hauser and Boulanger had first performed together at a series of farewell concerts for Hauser in Sydney in 1855, which were well-attended and possibly a good earner for Boulanger. Hauser also often improvised on Irish melodies.⁷⁷ The dedication to a male composer-performer colleague rather than a female dilettante subtly references the

⁷¹ Derek Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois: Songs of the Victorian Drawing Room and Parlour* (Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1989), 28.

⁷² Leith Davis, *Music, Postcolonialism, and Gender: The Construction of Irish National Identity, 1724–1874* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), 141.

⁷³ See Davis, *Music, Postcolonialism, and Gender*, 140–64. See also Harry White, *Music and the Irish Literary Imagination* (Oxford: OUP, 2008), 38.

⁷⁴ Davis, *Music, Postcolonialism, and Gender*, 147.

⁷⁵ Patrick O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia* (Kensington, NSW: New South Wales University Press, 1987), 178.

⁷⁶ Miska Hauser, letter, 1 Dec. 1854, *Miska Hauser's Letters from Australia*, 3.

⁷⁷ 'Miska Hauser's Farewell Concert,' *Freeman's Journal*, 25 Oct. 1856, 2.

Figure 4: Title page and illustration for 'The Last Rose of Summer,' *Australian Album*, 1857 (Sydney: J.R. Clarke, 1856). Image courtesy of the National Library of Australia.



masculine domain of musical genius and *virtuoso* achievement exhibited in the fantasia genre.⁷⁸ Meanwhile, the dedication to a 'friend' simultaneously reinforces the importance of friendship in the Victorian value system.⁷⁹

Boulanger's 'The Last Rose of Summer' embodies various tropes of the fantasia genre including unexpected turns of harmony, sudden changes in mood, brilliant figuration, and virtuosic displays. Although the original publication of 'The Last Rose of Summer' in Thomas Moore's *Irish Melodies* with accompaniment by John Stevenson was written in E major, Boulanger's fantasia is written in A♭ major.⁸⁰ This choice might be traced to Boulanger's teacher, Chopin, who was very fond of A♭ major; in fact, it is his most-used key for piano music.⁸¹ The twelve-bar introduction before the full statement of the theme is typical of the

⁷⁸ The masculine overtones of the *Album* are reinforced by Miska Hauser's portrait being placed in the frontispiece.

⁷⁹ Davies, 'Julia's Gift,' 294.

⁸⁰ Two examples confirm the original key of E major, but there are examples of settings in other keys. See 'The Last Rose of Summer with Symphonies and Accompaniments by Sir John Stevenson' (Sydney: Charles T. Samsoon, c.1870), and Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois*, 27.

⁸¹ Reeves argues that this was an idiomatic consideration to allow for a comfortable positioning of the hand on the piano. See Alan Brent Reeves, *Key Characteristics in Chopin's Piano Music* (PhD thesis, University of Alabama, 1994), 19, 34.

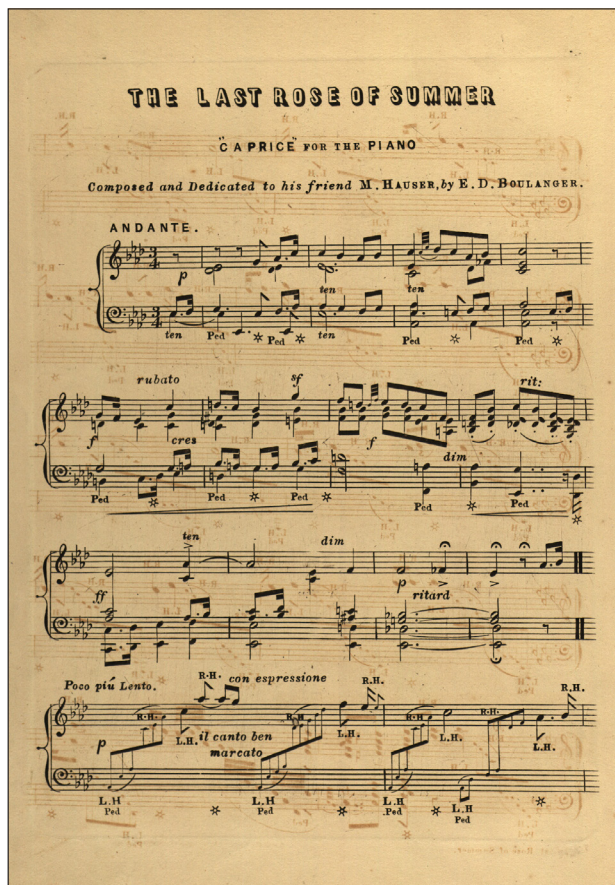
fantasia genre and echoes Stevenson's arrangement of the song (see Fig. 5). The function of the introduction in a fantasia was to establish key and build anticipation for the theme. The harmonies in the introduction to Boulanger's 'The Last Rose of Summer' are an example of the way the composer imaginatively toys with listeners' expectations through unpredictable harmonic progressions. The most recognisable aspect of the ballad melody is the minor-sixth leap on the words 'last rose.' Boulanger avoids using this ascending interval until the first statement proper (bar 13). The opening gesture draws in the listener by what initially sounds like the first three notes of the ballad melody but is harmonised in an unexpected way. In place of the expected minor sixth ascent to E \flat , Boulanger sounds the E \flat in the bass, a full octave below the first note. Expectations are also disrupted by Boulanger harmonising the third note of the melody with a dominant seventh chord in A \flat (lacking the fifth) as part of a perfect cadence with a 6/4, 5/3 suspension in A \flat major. At this point listeners would realise, in retrospect, that the opening three notes had not been $\hat{1} \hat{2} \hat{3}$ as in the ballad but instead were $\hat{4} \hat{5} \hat{6}$. The next phrase once again opens with what sounds like the ballad melody, this time followed by a perfect cadence in C minor (with the dominant chord in first inversion). This second interruption to the expected key (either E \flat major in line with the melody or A \flat given the previous cadence) would be a novel listening experience. Following the cadence into G minor, an emphatic cycle of fifths progression leads to a resolution into A \flat major at bar 9. But Boulanger immediately switches back to the dominant harmony, this time with even more chromatic tension. A dominant ninth chord appears in bars 10–11 in which the suspended ninth falls chromatically (F–F \flat –E \flat) to the root note, which then cadences into A \flat major at the end of the introduction in bar 13. In sum, the numerous harmonic turns of the introduction would be aurally stimulating thanks to subverting the ballad melody and their basis in the cycle of fifths. The harmonies would also uphold the fantasia convention of unexpected yet technically correct modulations.

The first statement of the ballad melody (bars 13–30) is marked *poco piu lento*. The melody itself is marked *il canto ben marcato* and *con espressione*. The ballad melody is divided into groups of between one and three notes, each adorned with a harp-like ascending arpeggio figure. The harmony in the first phrase remains for the most part within the tonic-subdominant-dominant realm, with the exception of added suspensions at the emotional high point of the melody (bars 23–4). A tonic pedal point over the first phrase of the melody borrows from the pastoral topic and alludes to the Irish folk origins of the melody.⁸² The first statement culminates in a chromatic run that facilitates a modulation to B major—the relative major of the tonic minor—for the first variation.

On the one hand, Boulanger's chromatic exploration is at odds with the simple diatonic harmonies of Stevenson's 'The Last Rose of Summer.' On the other hand, a chromatic modulation would have placed Boulanger at the vanguard of colonial Australian composition, or at least reinforced his status as a talented European composer. The B major section in the fantasia is made up of two succeeding variations on the main theme. Each variation is extremely technically difficult, as is expected in the genre. The first variation begins abruptly at *brillante* and *forte* and consists of arpeggio figures in both hands in demi-semiquaver triplets, with the

⁸² Janice Dickensheets, 'The Topical Vocabulary of the Nineteenth Century,' *Journal of Musicological Research* 31.2–3 (2012): 105.

Figure 5: Edouard Boulanger, “The Last Rose of Summer,” “Caprice” for the Piano,’ *Australian Album*, 1857 (Sydney: J.R. Clarke, 1856), unnumbered page [5]. Image courtesy of Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Sydney.



notes of the ballad melody marked with accents. The second B major section, a scherzo, is once again extremely technically demanding with the embellished ballad melody played on some of the highest notes of the piano with acciaccaturas and trills, accompanied by rapid ascending chordal passages in quavers and semiquavers. These sections would present extreme difficulties for amateur performers, especially those with small hands (or females wearing the fashionable yet restrictive clothing of the time), thanks to big hand stretches and rapid arpeggios reaching from low to high notes. Studying the difficulties of the piece, however, might have reinforced Boulanger’s virtuoso status for those playing along at home. The finale (bars 66–75) is filled with repeated semiquaver chords marked *risoluto* and *fortissimo* in the right hand, perhaps drawing on the *Sturm und Drang* style, however, at the highest regions of the keyboard it might also have conveyed transcendence. This is underscored with rapid chords and chromatic runs in parallel octaves in the left hand. The final cadence in the closing bars is marked *precipitamento*, directing the performer to rush to the close (bars 74–5). As a result, the fantasia comes to an abrupt end, which, in performance, would emphasise the transitory nature of fantasias.

According to Dahlhaus's definition of salon music, Boulanger's 'The Last Rose of Summer' would be best termed 'pseudo-salon music.' Pseudo-salon music was composed 'in imitation of the Parisian salons of the grand bourgeoisie' and served to 'delude provincial middle-class audiences into a musical daydream of salons they were not allowed to enter.'⁸³ The same negative assessment could be applied to Boulanger's fantasia, especially if the cycle of fifths harmonic progression in the introduction is taken to be unimaginative. There was, however, more at stake in the *Album* for 1857 than concocting an imaginary Parisian salon in the colonies. Charles Rosen argues that the marrying of folk and popular elements with 'high art' was brought on by 'rising aspirations of the commercial class throughout the eighteenth century and their growing interest in music as an element of aristocratic culture and a proof of social distinction.'⁸⁴ This in turn justified 'the creation of a popular style which abandons none of the pretensions of high art.'⁸⁵ Just by engraving and printing the fantasia, for example, Clarke was able to show off the 'virtuosity' of his music-publishing house. The detailed pedal markings throughout the fantasia and the forty-five different trill markings needed on page seven of the score alone are just two examples of the incredible detail required. This in itself was an important marker of progress in the colony. The *Album* was also a celebration of the internationally renowned musicians who had visited and fashionable English-style botanical gardens that had been established in the colony. Lavish binding and gilt-engraving on the cover, as well as the high quality of the printing, signified wealth. The great technical difficulty of the music was also a symbol of cultural advancement.

In sum, the publication of Boulanger's fantasia on 'The Last Rose of Summer' in the *Album* for 1857 was an early marker of progress towards the Victorian ideal of cultural refinement in the Australian colonies. The publication of the *Album* was symptomatic of a music community striving to establish a national identity that upheld contemporary standards of a civilised society. More broadly, the emotional content of Moore's ballad, and its longing for an imagined 'Ireland,' combined with the high artistic achievement of Boulanger's fantasia, can be mapped onto the aspirations of colonial Australians who envisaged a future 'Australia' complete with refined tastes, high moral standards, and the best of contemporary European culture.

About the Author

Jillian Twigger is currently completing a Master of Music (Musicology) at the Sydney Conservatorium of Music. Her thesis investigates the role of published Irish music in colonial Australia with a particular focus on gender and nationalism. Jillian has presented on her research both locally and in Ireland.

⁸³ Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-century Music*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989), 151, 147.

⁸⁴ Charles Rosen, *The Classical Style: Haydn, Beethoven, Mozart*, rev. ed. (Great Britain: Redwood Burn Ltd, 1984), 333.

⁸⁵ Rosen, *Classical Style*, 332.