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Towards a Reflexive Paradigm for the Study of Musics in Australian Colonial Societies (1788–1900)*

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> Let no one say the past is dead.
> The past is all about us and within.
>
> — Oodgeroo Noonuccal[1]

When contemplating the musical activity of past cultures across vast geographical spaces and from before the era of sound recording, music researchers are confronted with multiple challenges. They must take into account the memories stored in oral histories and textual sources, recognise the plurality of cultural influences and performance practices in complex networks of personal interaction, and grapple with the representational limitations of staff notation and struggle to interpret iconography before and after the age of photography. They must understand how sounds and emotions are linked to places and spaces, and explain how they move and migrate.

* We pay our respects to Elders past, present, and future of all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples mentioned in this article and the traditional custodians of the land on which the research for the article was primarily undertaken, the Gadigal people of the Eora nation. Thanks go to the University of Sydney for supporting this research through an International Research Collaboration Award (no. 63714). We are also grateful to the anonymous readers of the manuscript for their input and feedback, and especially to Graeme Skinner for generously sharing his advice and expertise.

[1] Oodgeroo Noonuccal (Kath Walker), 'The Past,' originally published in *The Dawn is at Hand: Poems* (Brisbane: Jacaranda Press, 1966). Online at https://www.poetrylibrary.edu.au/poets/noonuccal-oodgeroo/poems/the-past-0719068.

Above all, they must be able to analyse and interpret sources to create clearly articulated narratives that have the rhetorical capacity to explain how and why music cultures of today are connected to—or have diverged from—these elusive traces of the past. Acknowledging the limitations of what can be known and explained, based on the sources that are available to the researcher, is vital: sometimes there are insufficient data for persuasive explanations of any given problem, and music scholars must live with the ambiguity that comes with new waves of speculative interpretation.[2] All of these challenges are well known to anyone researching musics[3] as they existed within the continent of Australia (and various adjacent islands now incorporated within the political structures of the Commonwealth of Australia) from the beginning of colonisation in 1788 until the emergence of a federated nation-state on 1 January 1901.

Yet in the study of Australian music history, notions of colonialism and of external impact or exchange cannot be simplistically or reductively confined to the 112 years that preceded Federation, of course. Previous contact by outsiders with the Indigenous peoples of Australia can be traced back many centuries, including the centuries-old trade between Makassar and Arnhem Land, and the earliest documented European contact dating from 1606.[4] Likewise, after Federation the internal colonisation of the vast interior of Australia was under way for most of the twentieth century, and Eurocentric and colonialistic thinking long influenced the interactions between colonial settler peoples and Indigenous societies. The absence of equality and lack of balanced exchange between settler cultures and Indigenous peoples is usually axiomatic of colonial relationships; with this in mind it must be noted that full enfranchisement and citizenship for all Indigenous peoples in the nation-state which had been established in 1901 on their unceded territory was established unequivocally only in 1967, following a national referendum, and that the last 'uncontacted' band of Aboriginal Australians (the nomadic 'Pintupi Nine') discovered the existence of the nation-state only in 1984.[5] From the

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[2] It is perhaps a truism to state that the disciplines of the humanities, in general, relish the ambiguity that necessarily arises from the slippage of meaning in the study of any decipherable traces of the past.

[3] The plural noun 'musics'—a concept that appears to be derived from Euro-Western epistemologies—is often used in musicology and ethnomusicology to acknowledge diversity and heterogeneity in any social constituency. In Indigenous communities of Australia, before and during the colonial period, musical practices differed around the continent. It is important also to note that music, dance, and graphic arts (especially painting in all its forms) are interrelated. However, the question of whether the sonic dimension of these practices can be considered a singular 'music' or plural 'musics' cannot be answered from an etic perspective. Rather, this is a matter to be discussed and expressed by Indigenous people. Thanks to Graeme Skinner for highlighting this point.

[4] The trade between Makassar (Sulawesi) and northern Australia is generally considered to date back to the eighteenth century; it ended in 1906. See Denise Russell, 'Aboriginal-Makassan Interactions in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries in Northern Australia and Contemporary Sea Rights Claims,' *Australian Aboriginal Studies* 1 (2004): 7–8. See also Ian McIntosh, 'Islam and Australia's Aborigines? A Perspective from North-East Arnhem Land,' *The Journal of Religious History* 20 (1996): 53–77. The earliest European record of Australia is usually attributed to the Dutch in 1606. As regards the theories of early Portuguese contact with Australia, incontrovertible material or documentary evidence is yet to emerge. However, it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that earlier (unrecorded) contact did take place, given that the Portuguese established a colony on the nearby island Timor in 1515 and were generally active in exploring the southern hemisphere. A number of speculative theories are set out and assessed in Kenneth Gordon McIntyre, *The Secret Discovery of Australia: Portuguese Ventures 200 Years before Captain Cook*, rev. and abridged ed. (Sydney: Picador, 1982).

[5] For an overview of Indigenous history in Australia from the beginning of colonisation, see Richard Broome, *Aboriginal Australians: A History Since 1788*, 5th edition (Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2019). For a concise description of the 'Pintupi Nine', see Mike Smith, *The Archaeology of Australia's Deserts* (Cambridge: CUP, 2013), 109–10.

legal perspective of the Commonwealth of Australia, Indigenous land rights and native title were established in a number of landmark pieces of legislation, especially the Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976 and the Native Title Act 1993. It was thus only in the late twentieth century that the coexistence of Indigenous nations and non-Indigenous settler societies was recognised in law and history, overturning earlier settler legal doctrines of *terra nullius*.[6] With programmes of reconciliation in the 1990s and 2000s, a National Apology by the government in 2008, and ongoing campaigns to change the date of 'Australia Day',[7] it is clear that Australia is still undergoing a transition between paradigms and epistemologies of the colonial, postcolonial, and decolonial.[8] There is tension within and between these paradigms in academic discourse and in the public sphere (depending on the extent to which these concepts have penetrated popular debates), because of the ways in which Australian history—especially race relations—has become a field of considerable politicisation.[9]

In Australian universities, a number of music departments have offered distinct units of study in Indigenous (Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander) musics, as well as on Australian 'art musics' (in the 'Western art music' tradition) and Australian popular musics.[10] Issues and discourses underlying these typically semester-long units of study include the question of how colonialism before self-governance (i.e. Federation) shaped the conditions for the subsequent evolution of musics in Australia, how 'Australian identity' was fashioned through music before and after Federation, and how, and to what extent, Indigenous culture and the immigrant experience have contributed to the making of 'a' singular and distinct Australian identity; the idea of a unitary identity is also problematised.[11] Questions of this kind came to the fore again at the centenary of Federation in 2001, in the wake of the defeated referendum

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[6] On the history of this concept, see Andrew Fitzmaurice, 'The Genealogy of *Terra Nullius*,' *Australian Historical Studies* 38, no. 129 (2007): 1–15.

[7] 'Australia Day' is the anniversary of the establishment of the first colony at Sydney Cove on 26 January 1788, which became a standard national holiday only in 1994. See the timeline by Elizabeth Kwan on the National Australia Day Council website, 'History,' https://www.australiaday.org.au/about/history.

[8] On postcoloniality and decoloniality see Walter D. Mignolo, *The Darker Side of Western Modernity: Global Futures, Decolonial Options* (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2011), xv–xvi, 55–58. See also the more recent volume cowritten by Walter D. Mignolo and Catherine E. Walsh, *On Decoloniality: Concepts, Analytics, and Praxis* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2018).

[9] See discussion in Andrew Bonnell and Martin Crotty, 'Australia's History under Howard, 1996–2007,' *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 617 (2008): 149–65.

[10] For details of tertiary-level units of study, see the course catalogues of Australian universities. Regarding secondary school education, see discussion of a 2001 survey concerning the presence of Indigenous musics in the curriculum in Peter Dunbar-Hall and Pauline Beston, 'Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Musics in Australian Music Education: Findings of a National Survey,' in *Over the Top: The Impact of Cultural Learning in Our Own and Neighbouring Communities in the Evolution of Australian Music Education*, ed. Robert Smith (Parkville, Vic.: Australian Society of Music Education, 2003), 50–54. Updated surveys need to be undertaken; however, the position of musicology and ethnomusicology in Australian tertiary institutions is increasingly precarious. In late 2020, Monash University announced its intention to discontinue subjects in both areas, a decision that was met with an outcry and protest from the international and national academic communities. See Peter Tregear, 'Monash University Plans to Cut its Musicology Subjects. Why Does This Matter?,' *Conversation*, 1 Oct. 2020, https://theconversation.com/monash-university-plans-to-cut-its-musicology-subjects-why-does-this-matter-147172; Adam Carey, 'Canon Fodder: Monash Cuts to Music Studies Draw Chorus of Protest,' *Age*, 29 Sep. 2020, https://www.theage.com.au/national/victoria/canon-fodder-monash-cuts-to-music-studies-draw-chorus-of-protest-20200929-p5608q.html.

[11] See Scott D. Harrison, 'Who'll Come a[-]Waltzing Matilda? The Search for Identity in Australian Music Education,' in *Cultural Diversity in Music Education: Directions and Challenges for the 21st Century*, ed. Patricia Shehan Campbell, et al. (Bowen Hills, Qld: Australian Academic Press, 2005), 113–22.

that would have abolished the monarchy and transformed Australia into a republic, if it had been successful. Two decades later, following the moves against multiculturalism and rise of ethnonationalism in a number of countries following September 11 and the wars that unfolded in its aftermath, as well as what Martin Stokes describes as 'anxiety about identity in a world increasingly shaped by movement and migration,'[12] such issues and their associated debates are more pressing than ever.

It is therefore timely to revisit the modes in which Australian colonial music history is studied. The critical analysis of music's role and function in colonial and postcolonial societies remains a burgeoning field in musicology, especially with the recent establishment of Global Music History as a well-defined field,[13] and international moves to decolonise the music history curriculum.[14] While there have been many recent studies published on specific colonial cultures from around the world, the bulk of research into music in Australian colonial societies arguably remains in unpublished form, and consists predominantly of theses written for doctoral and master's degrees.[15] These theses focus mostly on localised subjects, and in many cases represent deep archival research and close analysis of recondite data, carefully gleaned from local or state archives. Major subject areas covered by these studies include the composition of 'art music' and 'popular music', urban musical life in specific cities, opera, sacred music, biographical studies of musicians, multicultural musics on the goldfields, and music education. These studies—many pioneering, and some arguably of global significance for musicology, especially given musicology's ongoing 'global turn'—are largely unknown to scholars outside Australia. While the technological capacity clearly exists to enable retrospective digitisation and full-text access on a similar model to dissertations from the United States of America and elsewhere,[16] such a project in Australia remains to be fully implemented. Hence, in what follows we cite many of these unpublished works to demonstrate the kinds of research that have been carried out, much of it in pre-digital contexts. Of course, a major shift took place in research from around 1990 onwards: the rise of the field of Digital Humanities and its associated methodologies, allowing for rapid identification and collation of primary source data from the nineteenth century—especially manuscripts, early printed books, and nineteenth-century newspapers—through portals such as Trove at the National Library of Australia.[17]

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[12] Martin Stokes, 'Globalization and the Politics of World Music,' in *The Cultural Study of Music: A Critical Introduction*, ed. Martin Clayton, Trevor Herbert and Richard Middleton (London: Routledge, 2012), 111.

[13] In 2019, the American Musicological Society, the International Musicological Society, and the International Council for Traditional Music all established Study Groups for the global history of music. The last group grew out of Reinhard Strohm's Balzan Prize project 'Towards a Global History of Music,' 2013–2015.

[14] See, for example, Margaret E. Walker, 'Towards a Decolonized Music History Curriculum,' *Journal of Music History Pedagogy* 10, no. 1 (2020): 1–19.

[15] A large number of full-length studies of musics in Australian colonial societies have remained unpublished, in the form of theses. It is germane to note here that masters and doctoral theses in Australia are often not included in the database of Doctoral Dissertations in Musicology, run by the American Musicological Society (https://www.ams-net.org/ddm), nor indexed in RILM. Rather, they are listed in the MSA Australia and New Zealand Postgraduate Music Research Thesis Register (http://www.musicresearchanz.com/?q=node/56).

[16] These are available via the ProQuest Dissertations & Theses database and the British Library EThOS database.

[17] See Graeme Skinner, 'Mapping Australian Colonial Music with Trove: New Paradigms for Music Research, Teaching, and Librarianship,' *Music Reference Services Quarterly* 14, no. 1–2 (2011): 1–13. Trove can be accessed at: https://trove.nla.gov.au.

This article offers a critical survey of existing approaches to research on musics in Australian societies from the beginning of colonisation (26 January 1788) to Federation (1 January 1901), and proposes that the increased use of a reflexive paradigm has the potential to open the historical study of Australian colonial societies to new directions. While our chosen timeframe for consideration unavoidably reflects imposed political structures, our choice of using 1788 as a point of departure is not intended to evade discussion of the significance of earlier musical pasts, whether Indigenous or introduced. Rather, it acknowledges the limitations of text-based history-making for the period before European invasion and the profound consequences of permanent European settlement for the trajectory of Indigenous and imported musical practices in Australia thereafter. Similarly, in ending at 1900, we seek not to perpetuate notions of national identity being tied to the structure of a sovereign nation-state from the moment of Federation; rather, we see it as a threshold moment that formalised new discourses of nationalism that seeped into thought on music as much as other cultural domains. Of course, in the 120 years since Federation there have been many new developments in the musical expression of identity and history, and these have been shaped by local and global influences. For researchers working on pre-colonial, colonial, and post-Federation Australian music history, the current diversity of approaches and methodologies calls for a critical overview and assessment of the field. In particular, attention must be given to the potential advantages that digital technologies can offer researchers working in this area, and the opportunities afforded by comparative dialogue with scholars working on music and colonialism in other global contexts. Since the so-called 'cultural turn' in musicology of the 1990s and 2000s, new paradigms in textual criticism and postmodern critique have enriched and informed musicological studies of local narratives and the formation of local identity.[18] In Australia, a new wave of cultural analysis surrounded the Centenary of Federation in 2001, but its ripples are still being felt in musicological circles. This is a process of metamorphosis that is vital to the ongoing study of music in Australian colonial societies, which can formulate new paradigms that not only restore agency to marginalised peoples, but also take into account—reflexively—the position of the researcher in postcolonial, twenty-first-century contexts.

What is Reflexivity, and How Does it Apply to Historical Research?

Already well known to practitioners of ethnomusicology and anthropology, and increasingly on the radar of historical musicologists and growing in importance for studies in performance, reflexivity can be described as the discursive means by which scholars (whether of music or of other dimensions of human culture) attempt to divest themselves—as far as possible—from any possibility of intellectual or practical hypocrisy, by taking account of their own subjectivity and incorporating a sense of self-awareness into their critical perspectives.[19] It is essentially the condition of being self-aware in the moment of study and research, and implies the existence

[18] See discussion in David R.M. Irving, 'The Continuing Necessity of Primary Archival Research: A Personal Reflection,' *Musicology Australia* 41, no. 2 (2019): 250–51.

[19] For a concise explanation of reflexivity in ethnomusicology, see Gregory F. Barz and Timothy J. Cooley, 'Casting Shadows: Fieldwork is Dead! Long Live Fieldwork! Introduction,' in *Shadows in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology*, ed. Gregory F. Barz and Timothy J. Cooley (New York: OUP, 2008), 19–20. Bruno Nettl has also stated that 'the recognition that the role and position of observer play a key part . . . [is] encapsulated in the term "reflexivity," that ethnomusicologist outsiders very much affect "the field." Their very presence can even get in the way of their own research.' Bruno Nettl, *The Study of Ethnomusicology: Thirty-three Discussions*, 3rd ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2015), 160.

of a certain threshold of responsibility for cultural scholarship. For us as historians of music, that means acknowledging our own subject position as people who identify as cisgender men of European-Australian heritage, and therefore inescapably the inheritors of particular perspectives and discursive practices that continue to privilege people like us. It means also acknowledging the medium through which this idea is expressed: an article written by professional academics, reviewed by anonymous peers (who, as is usual for the assessment of journal articles, are not paid for their labour), and published by a journal (in this case open access) based at a large public university.

Reflexivity has the capacity to act as an antidote to anachronistic thinking in any form of historical scholarship, and prevents researchers from the uncritical and retrospective imposition of inappropriate historiographical or theoretical frameworks. Academic researchers always need to be conscious of how they themselves fit into the construction of a narrative, whether this be of the recent or distant past. As Sarah Justina Eyerly has noted in a recent study of Moravian communities in eighteenth-century Pennsylvania, in which she explicitly discusses her familial descent from the settlers whose musical activities she examines in the text:

> history is never objective. It is dependent on personal experience, and individual and collective interpretations of written and musical sources, material culture, land usage and property rights, and the legacy of human encounters over many generations.[20]

Through consideration of all these dimensions and more, musicologists can acknowledge their own subjective relationship to the field of study. They also need to be aware of where their research fits into global patterns of musicology. However, research into music in Australian colonial societies still remains a largely circumscribed area of 'national interest' that—with the exception of a small number of publications[21]—is rarely noted within international concerns of musicology, and seldom acknowledged in global connected histories of musical practice.[22] An articulation of the reflexive positionality of the researcher, at the outset of any study, can potentially spur on the ongoing critique of the marginalisation of Australian music history in global musicological activity at large.[23]

Reflexivity is a deliberate acknowledgment that knowledge-making is always contingent: as anthropologist Joel Kahn writes:

> by 'reflexivity' I mean the implications of the 'discovery' by anthropologists and their critics that the knowledge which anthropology produces is not innocent—that it is not a simple reflection of a pre-given social and cultural reality out there in the world.[24]

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[20] Sarah Justina Eyerly, *Moravian Soundscapes: A Sonic History of the Moravian Missions in Early Pennsylvania* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2020), 4.

[21] A prominent example is the 2005 issue of *Nineteenth-century Music Review* (vol. 2, no. 2) devoted to musics in Australia.

[22] The current work of Gabriel Solis (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign) on 'the Black Pacific', for instance, weaves the Australian continent into studies of trans-Pacific and global flows of Black musical activity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, connecting African American musics with those of Melanesia and Aboriginal Australia.

[23] This marginalisation has been gradually changing over the past two decades, however, with an increasing number of studies on Australian music being published and read in the northern hemisphere, and the increased international distribution of Australian musicology journals (such as *Context* being published as an Open Access journal online and the acquisition of *Musicology Australia* by the international consortium Taylor & Francis).

[24] Joel S. Kahn, 'Anthropology and Modernity,' *Current Anthropology* 42, no. 5 (2001): 654.

If this observation is to be applied to historical and philological disciplines, it necessarily demands a greater level of critical analysis of forms of colonialist discourse embedded within late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century texts and a clear statement of the relationship of the scholar to the texts and the epistemologies that they represent.[25]

Histories of Musics in Australia: The State of the Field

The practice of musicology within Australia—'musicology' understood broadly, considering that the discipline in this country engages in the study of all musics, not just musics of Australia—has been surveyed and critiqued a number of times over the past five decades.[26] While the division between 'historical musicology' and 'ethnomusicology' was sharply defined in the United States in the mid-twentieth century and also evident, if less sharply defined, in the United Kingdom,[27] it has been much less apparent in Australia. The numerically smaller constituency of professional musicologists on the continent (with vast geographical spaces separating small departments based in capital cities and a number of regional centres) and the widespread desire to include Indigenous topics in the curricula—and perhaps also the influence of Systematic Musicology in the German training of some influential Australian scholars—meant that such a bifurcation of the disciplines was not such a serious issue as in other Anglophone countries. In contrast to the United States and the United Kingdom, the disciplines of historical musicology and ethnomusicology in Australia do not have separate national societies; the Musicological Society of Australia embraces both fields, as well as many other areas of music research.[28]

Since the mid-twentieth century, a period of rapid and continuing expansion in Australia's research capacity after the Second World War, formal academic studies of Australian colonial music history have taken place in multiple constituencies and across different disciplines, including anthropology, ethnomusicology, historical musicology, history, theatre history, and literary studies.[29] Following the pioneering national overviews given by W. Arundel Orchard,

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[25] This kind of discourse is perhaps comparable to the 'system' of orientalist discourse identified by Edward Said, which resulted in the circulation of a reproducible formula of clichés for the indiscriminate representation of the Oriental Other. See Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 2003), 324.

[26] Andrew D. McCredie, *Musicological Studies in Australia from the Beginnings to the Present* (Sydney: Sydney University Press for the Australian Academy of the Humanities, 1979); Margaret J. Kartomi, 'Musicological Research in Australia 1979–1984,' *Acta Musicologica* 56, no. 2 (1984): 109–45; Andrew D. McCredie, 'The Day before Yesterday, and the Day after Tomorrow: Directions for Musicology in Australia [Text, with Minor Revisions, of an Address Delivered at Monash University on 27 July 1995],' *Australasian Music Research* 1 (1996): 1–12; Margaret J. Kartomi, 'Musicology,' in *The Oxford Companion to Australian Music*, ed. Warren Bebbington (Melbourne: OUP, 1997), 412–15; Stephen Wild, 'Research and Writing: Musicology,' in *Currency Companion to Music and Dance in Australia*, ed. John Whiteoak and Aline Scott Maxwell (Sydney: Currency House Inc., 2003), 577–80; Rachel Hocking, 'Musicology,' *Music in Australia: Knowledge Base* (2007), http://musicinaustralia.org.au/index.php?title=Musicology.

[27] See Nicholas Cook, 'We Are All (Ethno)musicologists Now,' in *The New (Ethno)musicologies*, ed. Henry Stobart (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2008), 48–70.

[28] In neighbouring New Zealand, there is also a single national organisation, the New Zealand Musicological Society, which embraces several disciplines. The statement made above is about national bodies; however, some international societies have regional branches. The Australia/New Zealand Regional Committee of the International Council for Traditional Music represents ethnomusicology across the two countries.

[29] For an overview of musicology, ethnomusicology, and other branches of music research in Australia during the twentieth century, see Kartomi, 'Musicology,' 412–15.

Ann Carr-Boyd (née Wentzel) and Roger Covell in the 1950s and 1960s,[30] research in this field arguably moved into regional and localised studies, with the production of seminal works on local history (especially urban cultures), biography and genre studies. This period also saw the foundation of significant journals including *Musicology Australia* (1963) and *Miscellanea Musicologica: Adelaide Studies in Musicology* (1966), and the creation of large-scale databases of sources. At the Annual Conference of the Musicological Society of Australia in 1984, American scholar Richard Crawford delivered a paper entitled 'Musicology and the Australian Bicentenary: A Methodological Prospectus from an American Viewpoint,' which was published the following year.[31] Crawford made an illuminating comparison of the approaches adopted by historical musicologists in the study of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century music histories in Australia and the United States; he highlighted some significant parallels between the two spheres of research, many of which were related to the idea of settler societies engaged in cultural reproduction at the frontiers of large-scale colonial empires.[32] Four years later, Kay Dreyfus and Thérèse Radic revisited Crawford's article, adding new layers of interpretation and raising crucial questions about the direction of Australian music studies.[33] All these authors pointed out the general lack of cultural and economic value assigned to local subject matter by individual scholars and academic institutions and organisations.

The history of Indigenous musics under colonialism has been a key issue of concern for many music researchers in Australia. Given the loss of so many Indigenous cultural practices and so much Indigenous knowledge in the wake of colonialism, sources for music history that pre-date the lived experience of today's oldest witnesses, and which pre-date sound recording,[34] must be located in texts and material objects. The pioneering and foundational work of Graeme Skinner in creating the open-access online database *Austral Harmony*, which consists of links to primary sources and secondary scholarship, is an invaluable resource for

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[30] W. Arundel Orchard, *Music in Australia: More Than 150 Years of Development* (Melbourne: Georgian House, 1952); Roger Covell, *Australia's Music: Themes of a New Society* (Melbourne: Sun Books, 1967); Ann Wentzel (Carr-Boyd), 'The First Hundred Years of Music in Australia, 1788–1888' (MA thesis, University of Sydney, 1969).

[31] Richard Crawford, 'Musicology and the Australian Bicentenary: A Methodological Prospectus from an American Viewpoint,' *Musicology Australia* 8, no. 1 (1985): 2–13.

[32] Despite their similarities, there are major differences between the 1976 bicentennial of the American Revolutionary War and the 1988 bicentennial of the establishment of the first colony in Australia. The American bicentennial marked the declaration of an independent republic that cut its transatlantic ties to Britain in 1776, after more than 150 years of colonisation, whereas the Australian bicentennial marked the beginning of sustained colonisation that was divided almost in the middle by the federation of the six colonies.

[33] Kay Dreyfus, 'The Current State of Australian Music Studies – A Personal View,' *Miscellanea Musicologica: Adelaide Studies in Musicology* 16 (1989): 7–11; Thérèse Radic, 'The Austral–American Parallel: Towards a Refinement on the Crawford Model for Historical Musicology in Australia,' *Miscellanea Musicologica: Adelaide Studies in Musicology* 16 (1989): 12–18.

[34] Some of the earliest audio recordings of Indigenous Australian sound are examples of Torres Strait Islander performances recorded by the Cambridge Expedition to the Torres Strait (led by A. C. Haddon), and the vocalisations of Tasmanian Aboriginal woman Fanny Cochrane Smith (1834–1905), recorded in Tasmania from 1899 to 1903. See Alice Moyle, 'The Torres Strait Phonograph Recordings: A Preliminary Listing of Contents,' *Australian Aboriginal Studies* 2 (1985): 53–57, and 'Fanny Cochrane Smith's Tasmanian Aboriginal Songs,' *National Film and Sound Archive*, Canberra, Australia, https://www.nfsa.gov.au/collection/curated/fanny-cochrane-smiths-tasmanian-aboriginal-songs. Regarding colonial-era transcriptions, see Graeme Skinner and Jim Wafer, 'A Checklist of Colonial Era Musical Transcriptions of Australian Indigenous Songs,' in *Recirculating Songs: Revitalising the Singing Practices of Indigenous Australia*, ed. Jim Wafer and Myfany Turpin (Hamilton, NSW: Hunter Press, 2017), 375–419.

researchers.[35] This work grew out of Skinner's doctoral thesis and is an ongoing project with regular updates.[36] Skinner trenchantly observes that the earliest textual documentation of music in Australia focused on what was novel to the observers—that is, Indigenous musics—but that the way these texts have been used by scholars reflects the division of disciplinary emphases:

> Historically, a far larger proportion of all surviving documentation from the first fifty years of Australian settlement is concerned with Indigenous music than from any later period. Even so, historians of Australian music have tended to overlook it in favour of chronicling settler music, while general historians have done the reverse. *Oddly, it has seldom occurred to anyone to try to do both*.[37] [emphasis added]

Skinner here highlights the divide between the approaches of ethnomusicology and historical musicology as they relate to the colonial period in Australia, something bridged to some extent by 'general historians' (historians studying history and culture at large). There is thus a paradox surrounding the idea of 'Australian music' and how it is viewed by historical musicologists on the one hand (who have tended to focus on the 'art music' of settler colonists) and historians of Australian society (who have used the texts to create a sense of cultural context for the interactions that took place). Nevertheless, some musicologists and historians have engaged with the soundscapes of Australian colonial societies in ways that go beyond restrictive definitions of 'music'.[38]

Detailed research into musical practices of Indigenous and migrant communities and into cross-cultural musical interactions—a famous example being historian Inga Clendinnen's landmark study of 2003, *Dancing With Strangers*[39]—have brought into sharp focus the impact of colonialism on musical production in societies whose traditional frameworks of power were being either eroded or reinforced. More recently, studies of imperial trans-oceanic networks have demonstrated how certain musical practices across the English-speaking world were commodified and disseminated in broadly standardised forms (such as domestic music and music-theatre) during the nineteenth century; they have also shown how others became locally specific or were resignified in local contexts (for example, multicultural musical practices in the goldfields, and the history of blackface minstrelsy in nineteenth-century Australia).[40]

As this brief overview suggests, studies of music in colonial Australia have been richly diverse in both subject matter and methods. In what follows, we aim to sketch out some methodological

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[35] Graeme Skinner, 'Australharmony: An Online Resource toward the History of Music in Colonial and Early Federation Australia,' https://www.sydney.edu.au/paradisec/australharmony/index.php.

[36] Graeme Skinner, 'Toward a General History of Australian Musical Composition: First National Music 1788–c. 1860' (PhD thesis, University of Sydney, 2011).

[37] Graeme Skinner, 'The Invention of Australian Music,' *Musicology Australia* 37, no. 2 (2015): 291.

[38] The aural impact of the town crier is explored in Anne Doggett, *A Far Cry: Town Crying in the Antipodes* (Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2015). For a historian's take on colonial soundscape see Diane Collins, 'A 'Roaring Decade': Listening to the Australian Gold-Fields,' in *Talking and Listening in the Age of Modernity: Essays on the History of Sound*, ed. Joy Damousi and Desley Deacon (Canberra: ANU E Press, 2007), 7–18.

[39] Inga Clendinnen, *Dancing with Strangers* (Melbourne: Text Publishing, 2003).

[40] On musical practices in the (Victorian) goldfields, see Anne Doggett, '"And for Harmony Most Ardently We Long": Musical Life in Ballarat, 1851–1871' (PhD thesis, University of Ballarat, 2006); '"Strains from Flowery Land": Responses to Chinese Musical Activity in Mid-nineteenth-century Ballarat,' *Context* 33 (2008). On blackface minstrelsy, see Helen English, 'Blackface at Work and Play: Amateur Minstrel Groups in the Hunter Valley, 1840–1880,' *Musicology Australia* 41, no. 1 (2019): 1–21; Richard Waterhouse, 'Minstrel Show and Vaudeville House: The Australian Popular Stage, 1838–1914,' *Australian Historical Studies* 23, no. 93 (1989): 366–85.

approaches that have so far been used in this area, and propose some possible syntheses and ways forward. We must stress, though, that the cited references chosen to support the discussion are intended to be diverse, selective, and illustrative, and by no means comprehensive.

Ten Approaches to Pre-Federation Colonial Music History

During a period of collaborative research at the University of Sydney, we identified a set of themes and approaches that have characterised scholarship on music history in Australian colonial societies that has been produced from the mid-twentieth century to the present. These can be seen as ten distinct but frequently overlapping categories, given here in no particular order:

- 'Grand Narrative'
- The Global and the Transnational
- The Ethnomusicological and the Anthropological
- Institutional History
- Local History
- History of Education/Pedagogy
- Biography
- Material Culture
- Genres and Reception History
- Cultural History

This list of approaches is not intended to be exhaustive, and it is perhaps noteworthy that we have not included a specific standalone category for musical analysis or criticism. Such an omission should not be taken as indicating a rejection of these methods as legitimate ways of understanding music and its history, but rather it reflects the scarcity of scholarship of this kind in relation to music of the colonial era. That, in turn, suggests a largely tacit assumption—perhaps congruent with the Grand Narrative approach—that what is of interest about this music is not primarily its aesthetic qualities *per se*, but rather its social functions; since the canon has not attributed to colonial Australia any 'great composers' producing 'great works', 'the music itself' has not often been considered worthy of close attention. Indeed, studies that have looked closely at individual pieces have tended to do so in the context of a primarily biographical or social history approach in which the composition is emblematic of larger issues as much or more than because of its intrinsic musical interest.[41]

While some approaches are quite venerable and have stood the test of time, others have been abandoned or are being reformulated in new ways. These categories are not intended to be fully comprehensive, and they could be devised in other ways. Digital approaches to archival research—most evident for Australian music research in the establishment of the Pacific and Regional Archive for Digital Sources in Endangered Cultures (PARADISEC)[42] and the *Austral Harmony* website—suggest that this might be considered a distinct approach to scholarship in itself. This may well be true by the time the next critical assessment of the field is written; however, in relation to the study of the colonial period in Australia, digital methods may currently best be understood primarily as resources that support and enable the kinds of approaches we discuss here. While questions of 'identity', 'race', and 'ethnicity' also feed into many of these approaches in different ways, a discrete category has not been devoted to these

[41] See, for example, Sarah Kirby, '"The Worst Oratorio Ever!": Colonialist Condescension in the Critical Reception of George Tolhurst's *Ruth* (1864),' *Nineteenth-century Music Review* 16, no. 2 (2019): 199–227.

[42] See the Pacific and Regional Archive for Digital Sources in Endangered Cultures, https://www.paradisec.org.au.

issues, since it is impossible to study almost any aspect of music in Australian colonial societies without taking these into account.[43] Here a brief description of what each of these approaches entails, with the selective citation of illustrative examples, may serve to demonstrate some ways in which the field of Australian music history has operated to date.

First, a 'Grand Narrative' in any field of (music) history is now usually deemed a work of grandiose historical interpretation that is layered on a sequential chronicle of significant events, exhibiting a teleological framework of linear progression towards 'modernity' and a trope of cultural 'development'. In the Australian context, such an approach is implicit in discussion of the 'potential' of Aboriginal musics in the early twentieth-century work of Henry Tate,[44] and in the first chapter of a 1948 book by Emily Isabelle Moresby (published simultaneously in London and Melbourne, for a metropolitan audience), which refers to Australia having had 'a century and a half of music.'[45] It can also be identified in the works of authors such as Lorna Stirling and W. Arundel Orchard, who use the term 'development' in the titles of their respective publications.[46] In line with the thinking of the times, Stirling writes of the arrival of the first pianoforte in Sydney, for instance, as 'ready to sound the first civilized musical note in a savage and silent land'[47]—a clear nod to the then-current notion of *terra nullius*. This approach has gradually waned in academic writings of the past forty years, but its resonances can still be found in music criticism and debate taking place in the public sphere.

Another longstanding and traditional methodology is the 'Global and Transnational Approach', which embeds Australia within macrohistorical and global structures of transoceanic networks and emphasises the connective forces of cultural production and consumption across large distances. This approach can be seen as subsumed within globalisation studies today, where scholars highlight the social and cultural processes that make distance irrelevant. Recalling Geoffrey Blainey's book title *The Tyranny of Distance*,[48] this approach seems to be motivated by a fascination with the ways in which human culture has grappled with nature to spread musical practices far and wide, and to sustain them simultaneously at a distance. Here issues of standardisation and compatibility come to the fore, as well as consideration of the cultural and economic value that is assigned to particular cultural practices. For example, what does it say about the level of cultural practice and musical ability in a city such as Melbourne which, when only forty years old, could stage a performance of *Lohengrin*, and even write to Richard Wagner to tell him about it?[49] Scholars have highlighted the synchronisation of repertoires between cosmopolitan cities in Europe and urban centres such as Melbourne,[50]

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[43] Diversity of many kinds is a constant theme in scholarship on musics of Australia, and examples can be seen in Dorottya Fabian and John Napier, eds, *Diversity in Australia's Music: Themes Past, Present, and for the Future* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2018).

[44] Henry Tate, *Australian Musical Possibilities* (Melbourne: Edward A. Vidler, 1924).

[45] Emily Isabelle Moresby, *Australia Makes Music* (London; Melbourne: Longmans, Green & Co., 1948), 1.

[46] Lorna Stirling, 'The Development of Australian Music,' *Historical Studies: Australia and New Zealand* 3, no. 9 (1944): 58–72; Orchard, *Music in Australia*.

[47] Stirling, 'The Development of Australian Music,' 59.

[48] Geoffrey Blainey, *The Tyranny of Distance: How Distance Shaped Australia's History*, rev. ed. (Melbourne: Sun Books, 1983).

[49] Jennifer Marshall, 'Richard Wagner's Letter to Australia,' in *The Richard Wagner Centenary in Australia*, ed. Peter Dennison (Adelaide: University of Adelaide, 1985), 149–65.

[50] See, for instance, Janice B. Stockigt, 'A Study of British Influence on Musical Taste and Programming: New Choral Works Introduced to Audiences by the Melbourne Philharmonic Society, 1876–1901,' *Nineteenth-century Music Review* 2, no. 2 (2005): 29–53.

while the role of Australian musicians or the sonic activities of people who spent time in Australia in other locations around the world have been noted.[51] Key to this approach is the critical consideration of how the formation of diasporic connections and global networks have shaped music, and in turn how musical practice has fed into the cultural evolution of these social formations. Numerous musicological studies have already taken the experiences of convicts from the British Isles into account and recent work is highlighting the forced migration and indentured labour of Melanesian people coerced or compelled to come to the Australian continent to be exploited on the plantations of the Queensland coast.[52]

Research into musics of Indigenous societies, global diasporas, and immigrant or settler communities are in line with the 'Ethnomusicological and Anthropological Approach', which concerns the study of music in (or as) culture, in a variety of contexts. Foremost in this area are, of course, the musics of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. Along with a concentration on present-day practice, extrapolations and inferences are made about continuities of tradition, based on the knowledge kept by Indigenous musicians themselves. Given the radical changes and ruptures in transmission of knowledge in the course of the colonial period and beyond, some musicologists have also given attention to colonial-era transcriptions and descriptions of Indigenous musics, which present evidence of colonial settlers' perspectives on the new forms of performing arts that they encountered.[53] Some recent studies have also reassessed colonial-era accounts of Indigenous song and dance from an Indigenous perspective, demonstrating how a knowledge of culture and language allows these records to be understood in a way which was closed to the Europeans who produced them.[54] The musical activities of immigrant communities, such as those of Irish, Chinese, Jewish, and German settlers, among many others, have also been studied.[55] This approach includes the histories of encounters and exchanges, especially with Indigenous cultures. Researchers typically highlight the ways in which the cultural meanings of musics were transplanted to Australian contexts and the ways in which they have been shaped, reconstituted, or resignified to reflect a sensitive engagement with the Australian environment.

The 'Institutional History' approach involves the study of particular institutions, such as theatres, orchestras, bands, churches and schools, and their wider cultural contexts, as well as

[51] Richard White, 'Cooees across the Strand: Australian Travellers in London and the Performance of National Identity,' *Australian Historical Studies* 32, no. 116 (2001): 109–27.

[52] See, for example, Hugh Anderson, *Farewell to Judges & Juries: The Broadside Ballad & Convict Transportation to Australia, 1788–1868* (Hotham Hill, Vic.: Red Rooster, 2000); Michael Webb and Camellia Webb-Gannon, 'Melanesians and Music on the Move: South Sea Island Shipboard and Plantation Performance in Queensland, 1860s–1906,' *The Journal of Pacific History* 52, no. 4 (2017): 427–58.

[53] See, for instance, Graeme Skinner, 'Recovering Musical Data from Colonial[-]Era Transcriptions of Indigenous Songs: Some Practical Considerations,' in *Recirculating Songs*, 349–74; Skinner and Wafer, 'A Checklist of Colonial Era Musical Transcriptions of Australian Indigenous Songs.'

[54] For example, see Clint Bracknell, 'Kooral Dwonk-Katitjiny (Listening to the Past): Aboriginal Language, Songs and History in South-Western Australia,' *Aboriginal History Journal* 38 (2014): 1–18; Clint Bracknell, 'Wal-Walang-Al Ngardanginy: Hunting the Songs (of the Australian South-West),' *Australian Aboriginal Studies* 1 (2014): 3–15.

[55] Harold Love, 'Chinese Theatre on the Victorian Goldfields, 1858–1870,' *Australasian Drama Studies* 3, no. 2 (1985): 45–86; Zheng-Ting Wang, 'Chinese Music in Mid-nineteenth Century Victoria,' *Australasian Music Research* 2–3 (1997–1998): 23–38; Kerry Murphy, '"Volk von Brüdern": The German-Speaking *Liedertafel* in Melbourne,' *Nineteenth-century Music Review* 2, no. 2 (2005): 55–75; Jillian Margaret Twigger, '"My Own Island Harp": Irish Sentimental Ballads in Colonial Australia, 1854–1889' (MMus thesis, University of Sydney, 2016).

cultural reproduction within these structures.[56] Music for religious institutions is a key area that has been the focus of diverse studies.[57] The category of institutions extends naturally to prisons; the role of music in the reform of institutionalised forms of punishment has been a revelatory subject of research.[58] Institutions need not be physical communities with grounded locations, of course; in all colonies except South Australia, Australian history from 1788 to Federation is linked indelibly to the convict experience, and in this context the convict system was a social institution. The sonic arts of convicts, who sang ballads during their transportation to Australia and performed in colonial societies, have attracted detailed research.[59] Social institutions such as slavery or 'indentured labour' are other domains of institutional music history that must be considered. While there are few instances of the explicit use of the term 'slavery' to describe patterns of forced labour in colonial-era Australia, as noted above, recent research is uncovering the long-hidden and troubling histories of Melanesian labourers on the plantations of nineteenth-century Queensland.[60]

Histories of institutions are interlinked with the 'Local History' approach, which focuses on musical culture within a clearly defined community, often—but not always—urban, and usually in a specified time period. There have been many meticulous microhistorical studies of musical culture in a given town or city, undertaken with careful attention to diverse local

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[56] Maureen Thérèse Radic, 'Some Historical Aspects of Musical Associations in Melbourne, 1888–1915' (PhD thesis, University of Melbourne, 1978); Thérèse Radic, 'The Victorian Orchestra 1889–1891: In the Wake of the Centennial Exhibition Orchestra, Melbourne,' *Australasian Music Research* 1 (1996): 13–101; Thérèse Radic, 'Major Choral Organizations in Late Nineteenth-century Melbourne,' *Nineteenth-century Music Review* 2, no. 2 (2005): 3–28; Julja Szuster, 'Hermann Heinicke, a Champion of Professional Orchestral Music in 1890s Adelaide: A Contemporary Counterpart to Marshall-Hall in Melbourne,' *Marshall-Hall's Melbourne: Music, Art and Controversy, 1891–1915*, ed. Thérèse Radic and Suzanne Robinson (North Melbourne, Vic.: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2012), 108–22; Clare A. Thornley, 'The Royal Philharmonic Society of Sydney: The Rise and Fall of a Musical Organisation' (MMus thesis, University of Sydney, 2007).

[57] Graeme Skinner, 'Australian Composers and Arrangers of Early Colonial Synagogue Music: New Light on Isaac Nathan, James Henri Anderson, Joseph Reichenberg, and Herman Hoelzel,' *The Australian Jewish Historical Society Journal* 20, no. 2 (2011): 193–214; Peter Roennfeldt, 'A History of the First Hundred Years of Lutheran Church Music in South Australia' (MMus thesis, University of Adelaide, 1981); Graeme Pender, 'Improvisatory Musical Practices in Australia's Colonial Church of England,' *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society* 93 (2007): 77–93; 'Improvisatory Musical Practices in Nineteenth Century Melbourne Roman Catholic Churches,' *The Australasian Catholic Record* 86, no. 3 (2009): 297–313; Kelvin J. Hastie, 'Music-making in the Wesleyan Churches of New South Wales, 1855–1902: Origins, Attitudes and Practices' (MPhil thesis, University of Sydney, 1991); James Forsyth, 'Music of the Anglican Churches in Sydney and Surrounding Regions: 1788–1868' (PhD thesis, University of Sydney, 2002). The Spanish Benedictine mission and community at New Norcia, Western Australia, has been a subject of particular interest for a number of musicologists in Australia and in Spain. See Eladio Ros, *La música en Nueva Nursia*, Introduction and Appendixes by Francisco Utray, Translation and Notes by Mercedes Utray (Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 1992); Thérèse Radic, *The Salvado Legacy*, Occasional Paper, no. 2 (New Norcia, WA: The Benedictine Community of New Norcia, 2001); Thérèse Radic, 'The Music of New Norcia: Towards a Contextual Understanding of the Use of Music at the Benedictine Abbey of New Norcia,' *New Norcia Studies* 1 (1993): 9–19. See also Michael Noone, review of Eladio Ros, *La música en Nueva Nursia* (Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 1992), *Musicology Australia* 16, no. 1 (1993): 64–66.

[58] Alan Maddox, 'On the Machinery of Moral Improvement: Music and Prison Reform in the Penal Colony on Norfolk Island,' *Musicology Australia* 34, no. 2 (2012): 185–205.

[59] See Anderson, *Farewell to Judges & Juries*; Robert Jordan, *The Convict Theatres of Early Australia 1788–1840* (Strawberry Hills, NSW: Currency House, 2002); Robert Jordan, 'Music and Civil Society in New South Wales, 1788–1809,' *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society* 98 (2012): 193–210; Robert Jordan, 'The Early Sydney Theatre Revisited: A Recently Discovered Playbill for 30 July 1796,' *Australasian Drama Studies* 60 (2012): 71–82; Dorice Williams Elliott, 'Transported to Botany Bay: Imagining Australia in Nineteenth-century Convict Broadsides,' *Victorian Literature and Culture* 43 (2015): 235–59.

[60] Webb and Webb-Gannon, 'Melanesians and Music on the Move.'

and national archives, and often involving an impressive amount of research with non-digital sources.[61] This approach overlaps with institutional history, as it often incorporates the study of institutions, but it also looks more broadly at patterns of social change and the idea of cultural identification with place. It is often underpinned by a desire to establish the significance of the 'periphery' vis-à-vis the 'centre', whether in a national or an international context. Many of these studies have been carried out as theses for higher degrees by research in Australian universities, in the digital and pre-digital era, but a number of publications have also appeared.[62]

The 'History of Education/Pedagogy' approach has been followed by many scholars; it enables and empowers music educators to situate and contextualise current pedagogical practice within the conceptual frameworks of established genealogies. There have been multiple studies of curricula, educational theory, and pedagogical methods in various colonial societies around Australia. In particular, histories of conservatoria and other major music institutions at state and national levels have been written on the occasion of significant anniversaries.[63] However, some of the major sources that inform these studies are often normative; they dictate the desired curricula and set out ideal standards, but are not necessarily indicative of the actual practice of teachers and pupils. Does this, then, privilege archival evidence of theory and method over tangible evidence of results—which, prior to sound recording, often remain within the realm of educated speculation? Such a question calls for sensitive and careful reflection.

The 'Biography' approach examines the life and works of prominent individuals, most often within the realm of 'Western art music', seeking to understand what motivated immigrants to come to Australia (whether as convicts, free settlers, or visitors), or what environmental and cultural influences shaped the musical formation of native-born musicians. Some well-known figures from the long nineteenth century who have attracted this kind of scholarly interest include Isaac Nathan, William Vincent Wallace, Nicolas-Charles Bochsa (the harpist of Napoleon Bonaparte), Charles Packer, William Stanley Jevons, and George Tolhurst.[64] Economic contexts are important in this kind of research, as individual musicians often had to undertake a range of activities to support themselves, rather than being full-time musicians; is

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[61] See, for instance, the self-published work Philip Wright, *The Music History of Rockhampton* (Rockhampton: Philip Wright, 1990). For an early (colonial-era) example of the chronicling of local events, see F.C. Brewer, *Drama and Music in New South Wales: Published by Authority of the New South Wales Commissioners for the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893* (Sydney: Charles Potter, Government Printer, 1892).

[62] See, for example, Andrew D. McCredie, ed., *From Colonel Light into the Footlights: The Performing Arts in South Australia from 1836 to the Present* (Norwood, SA: Pagel Books, 1988); E.J. Lea-Scarlett, 'Music Making in Early Sydney,' *Miscellanea Musicologica* 5 (1970): 26–57.

[63] Those stretching back chronologically before 1900 include: Peter Tregear, 'The Ormond Chair of Music at the University of Melbourne: An Introduction to Its Origins,' *Context* 7 (1994): 34–37; Brenton Broadstock, ed., *Aflame with Music: 100 Years of Music at the University of Melbourne* (Parkville: Centre for Studies in Australian Music, University of Melbourne, 1996); Doreen Bridges, 'Music in the University of Adelaide: A Retrospective View,' *Miscellanea Musicologica* 8 (1975): 1–10. The Elder Professorship of Music (University of Adelaide) and the Ormond Professorship of Music (University of Melbourne) were both established in the colonial period—1885 and 1890 respectively—and these distinguished posts have been the subject of historical enquiry. See Tregear, 'The Ormond Chair of Music at the University of Melbourne.' See also Doreen Bridges's biography of the first Elder Professor, 'Ives, Joshua (1854–1931),' *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/ives-joshua-6807/text11777.

[64] See, for instance, Jamie C. Kassler, 'William Stanley Jevons: Music and the Mechanisation of Logic,' *Australasian Music Research* 1 (1996): 327–35; Kirby, '"The Worst Oratorio Ever!"'; Catherine Mackerras, *The Hebrew Melodist: A Life of Isaac Nathan* (Sydney: Currawong Publishing Co., 1963); Andrew Lamb, *William Vincent Wallace: Composer, Virtuoso and Adventurer* (West Byfleet: Fullers Wood Press, 2012).

this because the economic fabric of colonial society was not sufficiently 'developed' to support the kind of full-time musical profession that had been transplanted from one environment to another? The analysis and critique of the social, political, and cultural capital of musicians in Australian colonial societies are key factors in determining how and why these individuals rose to prominence in the archival record and in oral histories.

Within the realm of tangible cultural heritage, the 'Material Culture' approach relates directly to ways in which colonial societies responded to and manipulated the natural resources of the local environment, or engaged in the exchange of materials, commodities, and technologies that were circulating in long-distance and global networks. Here we see a prominent focus on organology, with studies of the importation and local production of various instruments within colonial societies, such as the piano and the organ.[65] It is also possible to research the history of these instruments in the absence of physical artefacts, through the critical analysis of textual sources.[66] Some studies seek to provide documentary evidence for instruments that were reputedly part of early foundations of colonisation and settlement, thus aiming to transform them into objects of national cultural significance.[67] The places and spaces of performance are also part of material culture: buildings themselves constitute some of the physical capital of musicking, and have been subject to analysis.[68] Underlying the issue of place and music must be the question: how did settler societies respond to the environmental challenges of the Australian climate in introducing, reproducing, and cultivating the use of transplanted tools for musical expression? For instance, it is frequently noted that construction techniques of pianos—both for locally-made instruments and those intended to be imported to Australia—were adapted to deal with the local climate.[69] Within this approach there are also studies of the emergence of local printing and dissemination of music notation, which can be tied into histories of cultural consumption and aesthetic formation, as well as economic

[65] Enid N. Matthews, *Colonial Organs and Organbuilders* (Carlton, Vic.: MUP, 1969); Graeme David Rushworth, *Historic Organs of New South Wales: The Instruments, Their Makers and Players 1791–1940* (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1988); Graeme D. Rushworth, *A Supplement to Historic Organs of New South Wales: The Instruments, Their Makers and Players 1791–1940* (Camberwell, Vic.: Organ Historical Trust, 2006); Alan Coggins, *Violin and Bow Makers of Australia* (Blackheath, NSW: WriteLight, 2009); Michael Lea, 'By Appointment … John Devereux: Australia's First Professional Stringed Instrument Maker,' *Australiana* 30 (2008): 11–17; Michael Atherton, *A Coveted Possession: The Rise and Fall of the Piano in Australia* (Carlton, Vic.: La Trobe University Press in conjunction with Black Inc., 2018).

[66] See, for instance, Deborah Crisp, 'The Piano in Australia, 1770 to 1900: Some Literary Sources,' *Musicology Australia* 18, no. 1 (1995): 25–38.

[67] Geoffrey Lancaster, *The First Fleet Piano: A Musician's View*, 2 vols (Acton, ACT: ANU Press, 2015).

[68] Maree-Rose Jones, 'Musical Activities at the Royal Victoria Theatre, Hobart, Van Diemen's Land,' *Papers and Proceedings: Tasmanian Historical Research Association* 54, no. 3 (2007); Maree-Rose Jones, 'Musical Activities at the Royal Victoria Theatre, Van Diemen's Land: A Study of Cultural Practice 1827–1857' (PhD thesis, University of Sydney, 2009).

[69] See, for instance, discussion in Lancaster, *The First Fleet Piano*, vol. 1, 407–11. Max Weber famously commented in the early twentieth century that 'iron helped overcome the numerous purely climatic difficulties that could affect adoption of the piano … Climatic difficulties also stood [initially] in the way of adoption of the piano in the tropics. By the beginning of the nineteenth century the piano had become a standard commercial object produced for stock.' See Max Weber, *The Rational and Social Foundations of Music*, trans. Don Martindale, Johannes Riedel and Gertrude Neuwirth (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1958), 122. The question of the impact of climate on local piano design is currently part of research by Michael Lea, 'The European Tradition of Musical Instrument Making in Australia 1788–1901: An Examination of the Development of an Australian Instrument Style within Australian Musical Culture' (PhD thesis, University of Sydney, in progress).

histories of music sellers and instrument makers.[70] At the very end of the nineteenth century there emerge technologies for recorded sound and their related commodities.

The 'Genres and Reception' approach entails the historical study of musical culture through the prism of a particular genre, such as opera, popular music, chamber music, or hymnody.[71] Besides exoticist works that evoke the Australian locale, and those that represent or misrepresent Indigenous and neighbouring Asian cultures, the genres practised in colonial Australian societies reflect a tendency to sustain and perpetuate the transplanted genres of European sacred and secular musics. Genre can also be seen as a form of cultural practice, rather than simply referring to typologies of 'works', as exemplified by Robert Jordan in his study of 'convict theatre'.[72] Again, this approach can be seen to overlap with some of the previous paradigms, especially the institutional, local history, and biographical approaches. The nineteenth-century reception of the music of J.S. Bach in Australia, for instance, has been of particular interest to a number of scholars.[73]

Finally, the 'Cultural History' approach dwells on the treatment of music as a cultural practice, often by drawing on methodologies from sister disciplines such as history, drama, literary criticism, and so on. Many of the categories cited above overlap with the study of human musical behaviour of the past. Broadly speaking, forms of historical musicology that do not focus on musical 'works' or the analysis of organised sound itself are often considered cultural histories of music. This approach has a focus on the cultural processes of musical practice within colonial societies, and ways in which music inflected social interactions, rather than a music-analytical examination of specific 'works' or the making of a 'canon'. How did music relate to specific political events, social movements, or religious debates? Correspondingly, how did society respond to certain musical practices? A well-known example is the late Roger Covell's classic study *Australia's Music: Themes of a New Society*, originally published in 1967 (and described as a 'social history') but reissued in 2016 with a new postscript.[74] This approach can rely on a potentially open-ended range of source materials, and creative methods that overlap with those of many of the previous

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[70] Prue Neidorf, 'Composer Compositor: Isaac Nathan's Music Published in Australia,' *Continuo: Journal of IAML* 27 (1998), 25–33; Prue Neidorf, 'A Guide to Dating Music Published in Sydney and Melbourne, 1800–1899' (MA(Hons) thesis, University of Wollongong, 1999); Prue Neidorf, 'The Composing and Publishing Ventures of the Marsh Brothers,' *Bibliographical Society of Australia & New Zealand Bulletin* 25, no. 3–4 (2001): 43–51.

[71] Alison Gyger, *Opera for the Antipodes: Opera in Australia 1881–1939* (Sydney: Currency Press and Pellinor, 1990); Alison Gyger, *Civilising the Colonies: Pioneering Opera in Australia*, Opera (Sydney: Pellinor, 1999); Jenny Dawson, 'Opera in Colonial Brisbane: The First Twenty-five Years (1859–1884)' (MMus thesis, University of Queensland, 1987); Harold Love, *The Golden Age of Australian Opera: W.S. Lyster and His Companies, 1861–1880* (Woollahra, NSW: Currency Press, 1981). For chamber music, see Peggy Jane Lais, 'Chamber-music in Melbourne 1877–1901: A History of Performance and Dissemination' (PhD thesis, University of Melbourne, 2009). For hymns, see Dianne Gome, 'Hymnody in the Australian Colonies, 1788–1901: A Preliminary Investigation of Sources and Functions of Hymns,' *Australasian Music Research* 1 (1996): 141–66.

[72] Jordan, *Convict Theatres*.

[73] See various chapters in Dennis Collins, Kerry Murphy, and Samantha Owens, eds, *J.S. Bach in Australia: Studies in Reception and Performance* (Melbourne: Lyrebird Press, 2018).

[74] Covell, *Australia's Music: Themes of a New Society*. For an example of a much more narrowly focused study, see Alan Maddox, '"The General Softening of Manners among Us": Music and the Moral Power of Nostalgia in a Colonial Penal Colony,' in *Historicising Heritage and Emotions: The Affective Histories of Blood, Stone and Land*, ed. Alicia Marchant (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), 168–82.

approaches. A rich area for research of this kind has been studies of domestic music making, often associated with particular families or houses.[75]

Approaching 'Australian Identity' in Music History

Many of the studies that have emerged from these approaches have been undertaken with the aim of contributing to the historical understanding of the making of 'Australian identity'. This concept, often seen as singular and monolithic, is largely predicated on the making of nationhood within a single nation-state, which came into being on 1 January 1901 by means of the federation of six distinct colonies. The 'imagined community' of people self-identifying as 'Australian' today is of course multicultural and has global origins, but many Australians have often projected onto it a national musical identity that drew on European models of nationalism.[76] The desire to identify a 'national music' reflects the tendency in musicology towards the monumentalisation of cultural artefacts, whether in practice or in discourse.[77] Musicology has long operated according to a nation-state paradigm, as the categorisation of many kinds of practice within the *Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* makes evident.[78] Nationalism has fed into the musical construction of 'imagined communities' since the eighteenth century, but the essentialising tendency of taxonomy often belies the diversity in lived practice and the impossibility of classifying the ineffable. Classification is in many ways linked to colonialism. An issue with a single rubric tied to an adjective such as 'Australian'—or 'American', 'African', 'Asian', or 'European'—is that it essentialises and reduces diversity into a single category.[79] Whether referring to countries or continents, these kinds of adjectives are not necessarily useful musicological tools.

The nation-state paradigm within musicology—since its inception as a formal academic discipline in the late nineteenth century—has given rise to fairly rigid classifications that have often served nationalistic agendas. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, 'national styles' were the subject of much debate, especially the rival French and Italian styles.[80] In the nineteenth century, the idea of 'national music' fed into the re-discovery—or perhaps more accurately, the invention—of 'folk music' and its co-option into 'civilised' parlour settings in arrangements such as Sir John Stevenson's settings of Irish traditional music in the enormously

[75] Notable contributions include Rosemary Richards, '*Frae the friends and Land I love': The McCrae Homestead Music Book* (Box Hill North, Vic.: Author, 2005); Nicole Forsyth, 'The Site of Sound: Sound Heritage and the Rouse Hill Estate Music Collection' (PhD thesis, University of Sydney, in progress).

[76] Roger Covell, 'European Musical Nationalism in a Colonial Context,' *History of European Ideas* 16, no. 4–6 (1993): 691–95.

[77] For a study of the relationship between music, monumentalisation, and national identity, see Alexander Rehding, *Music and Monumentality: Commemoration and Wonderment in Nineteenth-century Germany* (New York: OUP, 2009).

[78] Sarah Collins and Dana Gooley have recently critiqued the limitations of national frames of identity in musicology (such as those given to various composers in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*) and have proposed approaching questions of national identities through the lens of cosmopolitanism. See their article 'Music and the New Cosmopolitanism: Problems and Possibilities,' *The Musical Quarterly* 99, no. 2 (2016): 139–65.

[79] David R.M. Irving is currently undertaking a study of the origins of 'European music' as a term and concept. He presented a paper entitled 'Did "European Music" Exist before the 1680s? Deconstructing an Assumed Category, from a Global History Perspective' at the American Musicological Society Virtual Annual Meeting, 15 November 2020, and is writing a monograph on the topic.

[80] Of course, the concept of 'Italian' was not related to a nation-state as such—Italy was not unified until 1871, and nation-states and their boundaries have been continuously in flux for many centuries.

popular *Moore's Irish Melodies,* Beethoven's and Kozeluch's 'Scottish' settings of Robert Burns, and Isaac Nathan's *Hebrew Melodies*, clearly modelled after the success of Moore.[81] While there was no such concerted attempt to create a corpus of distinctly Australian 'national music' in the nineteenth century, there were certainly harmonisations of some Aboriginal melodies.[82] The desire to create a unique form of expression was also reflected to some extent in the twentieth-century folk revival, which might be seen as an attempt to retrospectively create an Australian national music with its roots in Anglo-Celtic musical traditions imported during the nineteenth century.[83]

Affixing a label such as 'Australian' to 'music' inevitably gives rise to the question 'What is Australian music?' or 'What is "Australian" about this music?' We contend that a reflexive approach would rather zoom out to a macrohistorical level, seeking to enquire about the practice of musics in the cultural-political-geographical construct of 'Australia', and how notions of 'Australianness' have been projected further afield. In postcolonial contexts, the resurgence of nationalism gives rise to an often iconoclastic approach to the definition of what a 'national' music is. In the Philippines, for instance, many local forms of musical expression were bracketed and disqualified as 'not Filipino' because they derived from the arts introduced by the colonial power, even though these local, often hybridised traditions were distinct from what might be found in distant Spain.[84] In similar ways, John Whiteoak and Aline Scott-Maxwell, in their 2003 *Currency Companion to Music and Dance in Australia*, explicitly sought to document these artforms 'in Australia' rather than reinforce the idea of 'Australian' versions of the artform.[85] This stated aim indicates a reflexive way of critiquing the twenty-first-century scholarly approach to the field and offers a way forward which transcends the attempts to define and articulate a 'national music' for Australia that were so evident in the early and mid-twentieth century.[86]

Reflexive Approaches to Musics in Australian Colonial Societies (1788–1900)

Given the far-reaching nature of the ten broad categories outlined above, is there a need to propose any kind of new paradigm for the future historical study of music in Australian colonial societies? One of the clearest problems common to the majority of these approaches

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[81] Thomas Moore, Sir John Stevenson, and Sir Henry Bishop, *A Selection of Irish Melodies* (London: J. Power, 1808–1834); Isaac Nathan, G.G.B.B. Byron and John Braham, *A Selection of Hebrew Melodies: Ancient and Modern with Appropriate Symphonies & Accompaniments* (London: I. Nathan, 1815); Leopold Kozeluch, Ignaz Pleyel, and Robert Burns, *A Select Collection of Scottish Airs* (London: Preston & Son, 1798).

[82] Examples can be seen in Isaac Nathan, *The Southern Euphrosyne and Australian Miscellany, Containing Oriental Moral Tales, Original Anecdote, Poetry, and Music, an Historical Sketch, with Examples of the Native Aboriginal Melodies, Put into Modern Rhythm, and Harmonized as Solos, Quartettes, &C., Together with Several Other Original Vocal Pieces, Arranged to a Piano-forte Accompaniment by the Editor and Sole Proprietor, I. Nathan* (London/Sydney: Whittaker & Co.; Author, 1848), 109–13, 115–18.

[83] See Graeme Smith, 'Irish Meets Folk: The Genesis of the Bush Band,' in *Music-cultures in Contact: Convergences and Collisions*, ed. Stephen Blum and Margaret J. Kartomi (London: Routledge, 2013), 186–203; Graeme Smith and Judith Brett, 'Nation, Authenticity and Social Difference in Australian Popular Music: Folk, Country, Multicultural,' *Journal of Australian Studies* 22, no. 58 (1998): 3–17.

[84] Dave Kendall, '"This Is Not Filipino Music": Syncretism, Homogeneity, and the Search for Philippine-ness in Spanish Colonial Liturgical Music,' *Pintacasi: A Journal of Church Cultural Heritage* 8 (2012): 13–40.

[85] John Whiteoak and Aline Scott Maxwell, eds, *Currency Companion to Music and Dance in Australia* (Sydney: Currency House Inc., 2003), 5. See also discussion in Skinner, 'The Invention of Australian Music,' 291.

[86] Writing in 1924, Henry Tate even advocated a 'racial music' for Australia, by which he meant a music with a distinctively 'national' character, as distinct from music simply composed by an Australian. See *Australian Musical Possibilities*, 14–15.

is the overwhelming reliance on source materials that privilege the perspectives of elite, dominant social groups, and the absence of disempowered, dispossessed and marginalised voices. Anthropologically-informed analysis of one-sided texts—a methodology used by Inga Clendinnen in her attentive reading of British encounter stories in early colonial Sydney, as discussed above—can recover many submerged voices; it can also seek to understand the cultural meanings of actions and practices that are reported in great detail within these accounts. In the same way, musicologists studying histories beyond living memory still need to take into account the 'emic' (insider) and 'etic' (outsider) approaches, long tagged within anthropology and ethnomusicology, to consider whether they are sufficiently steeped in knowledge of a particular cultural tradition or 'system' to make informed assessments of a musical practice's structure, meaning, or function. Self-identifying as 'Australian' is not a prerequisite for the study of musics in Australia's colonial past, nor does it necessarily bestow a privileged viewpoint. We are thus challenged to consider these more ethnohistorical or anthropological approaches if we rely on written sources from before the era of audio/visual recording or before living memory. This way of thinking about doing history suggests that historians can and should also learn from ethnographers about taking seriously our own investment in the perspectives we take, and acknowledging, as far as possible, the assumptions and beliefs we bring to historical study. In turn, it implies an acknowledgement of the power structures within which we work, as well as those that applied to the historical cultures we study.

One way of addressing this problem is to prioritise reflexive thinking in the practice of music history. In order to go beyond the canon, or to extend the canon, one must be aware—through reflexive positioning—where one stands in relation to it. Researchers can be reflexive not only in the sense of articulating how the author can explain their relationship to the subject being studied, but also in terms of critiquing their own perspective. How do concepts of 'modernity' and 'postmodernity' fit into this process? How can 'postmodernity' (or 'post-postmodernity') be brought into productive dialogue with decoloniality?[87] Reflexivity is an 'inward' way of looking as much as an 'outward' way of looking; much has been written about 'emic' and 'etic' approaches to ethnomusicological research of specific music cultures,[88] but these still involve an individual's subjective gaze directed towards an external phenomenon. Autoethnography is one way in which internal processes of subconscious thinking and attitudes can be teased out and critiqued in the act of doing music research.[89] However, autoethnography has mostly applied to reflections on the lived experience of practical music-making in the present, and less so to reflection on and interpretation of the past, beyond living memory. Autoethnography by music historians may yet change the way in which reflexivity can be understood as a valuable method in historical musicology and the burgeoning field of global music history. A new series of articles titled 'Lives in Musicology,' published in *Acta Musicologica* since 2017—and so far featuring Bruno Nettl, Albrecht Riethmüller, Susan McClary, and Margaret Bent—has begun to

[87] See Walter D. Mignolo's chapter 'What Does it Mean to Decolonize?' in Mignolo and Walsh, *On Decoloniality*, 105–34, esp. 111–19.

[88] See, for instance, Nettl, 'You Will Never Understand This Music: Insiders and Outsiders,' in *The Study of Ethnomusicology*, 157–68.

[89] For an overview of autoethnography in music research, see Christopher Wiley, 'Autoethnography,' https://chris-wiley.com/autoethnography. For examples of autoethnographic writing in music research, see Brydie-Leigh Bartleet and Carolyn Ellis, eds, *Music Autoethnographies: Making Autoethnography Sing: Making Music Personal* (Bowen Hills, Qld: Australian Academic Press, 2010).

demonstrate the richness of perspectives that can be offered by scholars looking in a reflexive manner at the trajectory of their careers.[90]

Historical interpretation changes from generation to generation; it is not 'objective' or indicative of a universal truth, but reflects the current concerns and debates of the moment in which it is written. On the one hand, this can simply be a matter of seeing texts within their historical contexts, and not abstracted from the time and place in which they were produced.[91] On the other hand, recognising the positionality of the original producer of a text (or other non-textual source, such as iconography or a material musical object) as the prism through which the musical past is presented, and taking stock of the current-day researcher's own point-of-view in perceiving that source, creates a complex hall of mirrors that can reflect a multiplicity of meanings. Just as methodology is essentially a scholar's critical reflection on method, reflexivity could be seen as the contemplation of how scholars see themselves reflected in the sources or topics studied. It is clearly a dimension with which scholars of the history of music in colonial-period Australia could further engage.

Traditionally, reflexivity in ethnomusicology has been expressed through the first-person narration of the experience of fieldwork—including an acknowledgment of the limitations of observation or the strictures imposed by logistical and other factors—and declarations or disclaimers about conflicts of interest or the inherent bias in using one language (such as English) to report on a culture that speaks another. Links to various hegemonic institutions need also to be recognised as factors that impinge on the kinds of information communicated and how these data are interpreted. From a subaltern perspective, there is no reason why a university would not be perceived as being part of the machinery of government—and understandably so, given that in Australia almost all institutions of higher education, including the research-intensive universities known as the Group of Eight, are state-funded and not private. Self-awareness thus becomes as crucial for the historical musicologist as for the ethnomusicologist, whether dealing with cultures of the present or the past.

A reflexive paradigm for the music histories of Australian colonial societies takes on a new urgency in light of debates on the need to decolonise the music history curriculum currently under way in other domains of Anglophone musicology (mostly the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom).[92] Proposals for action include the necessary steps of resisting

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[90] See Bruno Nettl, 'Have You Changed Your Mind? Reflections on Sixty Years in Ethnomusicology,' *Acta Musicologica* 89, no. 1 (2017): 45–65; Albrecht Riethmüller, 'Lives in Musicology: Musikwissenschaft in Westdeutschland anno 1970—in persönlicher Sicht zur Studienzeit,' *Acta Musicologica* 90, no. 1 (2018): 4–24. Susan McClary, 'Lives in Musicology: A Life in Musicology—Stradella and Me,' *Acta Musicologica* 91, no. 1 (2019): 5–20; Margaret Bent, 'Lives in Musicology: A Personal Perspective,' *Acta Musicologica* 92, no. 1 (2020): 5–20.

[91] New research on frontier warfare in Australian colonial history and data of genocide and abuse continually forces music historians to reconsider the contexts in which documents or musical works representing Indigenous musics or cultures were produced in the nineteenth century. For example, Graeme Skinner has recently discussed how the local reception of songs composed by Isaac Nathan (c. 1791–1864) in collaboration with the poet Eliza Hamilton Dunlop (1796–1880) must be seen in the context of Dunlop's outspoken support and defence of Indigenous rights in regard to the infamous Myall Creek massacre of 1838 (in which twelve colonialists murdered twenty-eight unarmed Aboriginal people). See Skinner, 'Recovering Musical Data from Colonial[-]Era Transcriptions of Indigenous Songs,' 370.

[92] See Walker, 'Towards a Decolonized Music History Curriculum'; Phil Ewell, 'Music Theory's White Racial Frame,' https://musictheoryswhiteracialframe.wordpress.com; and Philip A. Ewell, 'Music Theory and the White Racial Frame,' *Music Theory Online* 26, no. 2 (2020): https://mtosmt.org/issues/mto.20.26.2/mto.20.26.2.ewell.html.

teleology in chronological narratives of 'Western art music' and to negate notions of western exceptionalism or uniqueness.[93] Decolonisation also involves the excision of exclusionary and presumptive language from music history discourse—which has typically valorised hegemonic Eurocolonialist culture—and the diversification of the curriculum through an inclusive approach that highlights the musical activities of BIPOC (Black and Indigenous People and People of Colour).[94] Scholars working on these areas can insert themselves into the global intellectual debates about the decolonisation of music history by demonstrating how their practice informs the present.

The historical study of non-Indigenous musics within Australia and the interactions of these musics with local peoples and places does not necessarily perpetuate the colonialist project. Rather, it can use the explanatory power of historical interpretation to hypothesise 'how we got to where we are' (in musical terms) and to reflect on the meaning of historical sources for our understanding of cultural precedents, whether these are desirable or not. A reflexive paradigm for the historical study of musics in Australian colonial societies speaks clearly to the notion of 'impact' as mandated increasingly by governments and research institutions in Anglophone countries. 'Impact' is essentially the way that a research project has demonstrably changed society's behaviour, in measurable and quantitative ways. Reflexivity, too, has the potential to make a great impact in public and academic discourse. It is not synonymous with the idea of researchers making a 'disclaimer' or either assuming or absolving themselves of guilt or other forms of cultural responsibility. Rather, it is the outward expression of how an individual in the here and now is inscribed within the narrative of the past. History—whether of music or not—is not a chronicle of the past but an interpretation of the past, and this interpretation is made in the present moment (the potential for delays in dissemination notwithstanding) in order to contribute to the world-making processes of the humanities.

Conclusion: Some (Reflexive) Ways Ahead

In practical terms, how might a researcher in this field express reflexivity? First, a study can be framed by the circumstances in which the research was initiated or instigated. While already stated clearly in many ethnomusicological publications, such framing is rarer within historical musicology, although such statements are often found embedded within acknowledgments in theses or articles, or in the forewords and introductions of monographs and essay collections. The kinds of writing usually reserved for research proposals that are typically seen by committees of academics or bureaucrats but which are never published publicly—about socio-cultural benefits of the research, or the way that research speaks to 'national priorities'—could be reformulated in sophisticated ways to address questions of disciplinary direction and to provide a theoretical roadmap that is then signposted throughout the work in question.[95]

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[93] Walker, 'Towards a Decolonized Music History Curriculum,' 17.

[94] Although the acronym BIPOC is gradually entering the Australian lexicon through the reception of American scholarly literature and discourse (as it has in Britain), its history in Australia as a conceptual category is as yet undocumented.

[95] The implicit—and occasionally explicit—demand that grant applications 'pass the pub test' by demonstrating value that would be immediately apparent to a lay person with no knowledge of the field has been a matter of public debate in Australia in recent years. See, for example, Gavin Moodie, 'National Interest Test for Research Grants Could Further Erode Pure Research,' *Conversation*, 31 Oct. 2018, https://theconversation.com/national-interest-test-for-research-grants-could-further-erode-pure-research-106061.

Musicologists studying the colonial-era musical past in Australia are often asked by funding bodies to justify the work that they do. One basic way to address such a requirement is to assert that it is only through a critical examination of the past that historians can attempt to understand why the present is as it is, and explain to the public how it came to be so. Although much nationally-funded humanities research favours projects that involve applied research or result in practical application, the embodied nature of culture and knowledge production needs to be reflexively acknowledged. Aboriginal poet Oodgeroo Noonuccal (Kath Walker, 1920–1993) perhaps expressed the corporeality of Australian history and its complex narratives of race relations most concisely when she wrote in 1966 (as quoted in this article's epigraph): 'Let no one say the past is dead. / The past is all about us and within.'[96] Second, a balance between 'then' and 'now' in the historical topic being studied can be struck not through simplistic binary comparisons and contrasts, but through careful consideration of how to approach a topic in its full context, and in a manner that is not anachronistic. Acknowledgment of changes in performance practice—indeed, the consideration of historical performance practice—is essential for a person today to have a deeper understanding of how music operated in a completely different time and place from before living memory and before sound recording. Third, the consideration of Australian colonial topics in light of broader debates about global music history is likely to provide deeper understanding of the processes and patterns of musicking that unfolded in various parts of the continent. It can be revelatory to step back and contemplate how histories of musics in Australia connect or correlate to those of other places, and also how they differ from them. A musicologist participating in the international and global activities of the discipline can become reflexive through realisation and articulation of the subject position from which that participation takes place.[97]

Self-consciously acknowledging the influence, tradition, or practice of approaches such as those outlined in this article (or others that emerge) is another way for musicologists to be reflexive and self-aware in the study of music history in Australian colonial societies. Although the 'Grand Narrative' approach has more or less been 'put to bed' in musicology as a whole, the other approaches remain valid and fertile areas for much future research. They also present new opportunities for Australian musicology to make further connections with research interests in other parts of the world. Macro and micro scales of analysis represented by the 'Global and Transnational' approach on the one hand, and—for example—'Institutional History' and 'Local History' approaches on the other, provide new ways of connecting Australian music history research to broader patterns and comparative frameworks of scholarship emerging in the new 'global turn' of musicology. In this light, the retrospective full-text digitisation of Australian graduate theses from before 2000, many of which pre-date the (now mandatory) practice of placing completed works in online repositories, would enable quick access to local scholarship and bring a considerable amount of painstakingly sourced primary data to international attention. Along with the new research tools and methodologies afforded by the digital humanities and the increasing intertwined nature of ethnomusicological and historical-musicological research in the new global turn of music studies, reflexivity is an aspiration for

[96] Noonuccal, 'The Past.'

[97] This is a form of 'praxis', which decolonial thinkers Walter D. Mignolo and Catherine E. Walsh describe as 'thought-reflection-action, and thought-reflection on this action.' See Mignolo and Walsh, *On Decoloniality*, 7 (see also Walsh's further discussion of praxis on page 50).

self-aware musicologists to make their musicological studies *matter*, and to generate impact in the true sense of influencing tangible social changes in thought and behaviour. Whether this is accomplished through the trickle-down, trickle-up, or trickle-along dissemination of research, it is all about contributing to a dialogue that shapes the musical world of the here and now, and critical reflection on the processes by which we arrived there. In this way we may continue to form new ways of understanding the musical past in colonial-era Australia, and the complex legacies it has left us today.

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