

CHAPTER 8 - THE SYDNEY SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA AND THE 'THREE MUSKETEERS'

It is clear that for many women in Sydney during the interwar period, cultural matters mattered: that they looked to themselves and to their own experience for ways to contribute to the city's cultural life. Their attention converged in the 1930s with the hopes of actor-managers, playwrights, and other would-be Thespians. They also shared with practicing musicians, the staff and students of the Conservatorium, a handful of music critics, and the music-loving community in general a mutual hope for the formation of a permanent symphony orchestra. As early as 1885 Sydney musicians and concerned citizens had founded the Royal Philharmonic Society and in 1892 the Sydney Amateur Orchestral Society. The Sydney Symphony Orchestra itself originally formed by a male-dominated committee of management in 1908 was supported by public subscription. This first attempt at establishing an orchestra to serve the musical needs of the city fell apart during the First World War. As the first director of the Conservatorium, Henri Verbrugghen established and trained an orchestra that thrilled audiences in the years immediately after the war. His abrupt departure for America again left a void in the city's music life. Neither Verbrugghen's successor nor an earnest Citizens' Committee could find a permanent solution to the city's orchestral needs in the 1920s. The Music Advancement Society and the related annual Music Week activities which emerged late in the decade offered the most concerted and enduring contributions to the cause of a permanent orchestra, though it sought to raise awareness, rather than to erect the musical institution itself. Devotees thus whispered in hope when the federal government took over the privately run Australian Broadcasting Company and renamed it the Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC), in 1932. Between 1932 and 1936 they repeatedly pressured the Commission to address the orchestral problem. Finally, in 1936, the ABC

announced a series of concerts to be performed by the newly established Sydney Symphony Orchestra and a handful of women earnestly petitioned their friends and acquaintances to make the season a success.

As the Sydney Symphony Orchestra was formed under the auspices of the ABC, so too has the history of the orchestra been tied to the evolution of the Commission. Aside from a few booklets published by the ABC which offer chronologies of the increase in orchestra size, and changes in the orchestra's constitution, the earliest work to offer any insight into the evolution of the orchestra is Richard Covell's *Australia's Music*, published in 1967. In Covell's account, the Commission's vision was responsible for the creation of the Sydney Symphony Orchestra. Its chief concern related to the availability of quality players. Covell did not consider the issue of concert attendance, and the concomitant problem of financial viability. Yet these factors were central concerns in the ABC's discussions on the possibility of establishing a permanent orchestra in Sydney.¹ K.S. Inglis in *This is the ABC* (1983), presents a similar sketch of the orchestra's story. He discusses at greater length the respective roles played by key members of the ABC including William Cleary, Charles Moses, Bernard Heinze, and Dr Keith Barry, but only briefly addresses the musical aspects of their work, that is, the creation of the Sydney Symphony Orchestra. The model offered by a committee of women in Melbourne who enlisted subscribers to that city's pre-established orchestra is mentioned, but the efforts of Sydney women to persuade the Commission to found a permanent orchestra are not. Other cultural studies that touch on orchestral development in Sydney, such as Geoffrey Serle's *From the*

¹ See Ron Wills, 'The First Sydney Symphony Orchestra', *The Australasian Sound Archive*, no. 16, Autumn 1994, pp.14-17; Richard Covell, *Australia's Music: Themes of a New Society*, (Melbourne: Sun Books, 1967), pp.109-11; 'The Sydney Symphony Orchestra: The past ten years have revolutionised the city's musical life', *Sydney Symphony Orchestra*, program, Sydney Town Hall, 15 October 1946, ML PAM FILE Q785.1/S; *ABC Subscription Concerts: Twenty-First Anniversary Series, 1936-1957*, Australian Broadcasting Commission, Sydney, 1957; and ABC, *The Sydney Symphony Orchestra*, undated promotional booklet, ML Q785.1/1A1.

Deserts the Prophets Come, have generally presented abbreviated versions of the above histories.² In accounts written by former Conservatorium figures emphasis is placed on the role of successive Directors and on community interest in the evolution of the Sydney Symphony Orchestra. Tribute is made to supporters such as the 'indefatigable team of ladies' who 'made it their ambition to produce an audience of subscribers'.³ However, the accounts are brief - Arundel Orchard dedicates less than a paragraph to orchestral developments in Sydney between 1934 and 1947.⁴

The official history, *Play on! 60 years of music-making with the Sydney Symphony Orchestra*, by Philip Sametz, thus represents a long overdue account of the forces leading to the formation of the orchestra.⁵ Yet, it too explores only the views and endeavours of ABC officials based on information gleaned from the records of the ABC, and the papers of its key personnel. The role of the initial women's committee that raised subscriptions for the first season of orchestral concerts is addressed and dismissed in two paragraphs.

A lesser-known source on the creation of the Sydney Symphony Orchestra tells a very different story. Written by Beatrice Swinson, it describes her own hopes for a permanent orchestra, her early attempts to create interest in the idea, and the Commission's resistance. Finally she relates how three women, collectively dubbed the 'three musketeers', Ruth Fairfax, Lady (Margaret) Gordon and Swinson herself struggled to raise public interest in a scheme hatched in consultation with key ABC personnel. The Mitchell Library document thus suggests that the work of the small women's committee

² K.S. Inglis, *This is the ABC: The Australian Broadcasting Commission, 1932-1983*, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1983), pp.49-51; and Geoffrey Serle, *From the Deserts the Prophets Come: the Creative Spirit in Australia 1788-1972*, (Melbourne: Heinemann, 1973), pp.156-7.

³ Helen Bainton, *Facing the Music*, (Sydney: Currawong Publishing, 1967), p.28

⁴ Roland Foster, *Come Listen to My Song*, (Sydney: Collins, 1949), pp.239-40; and W. Arundel Orchard, *Music in Australia: More than 150 Years of Development*, (Melbourne: Georgian House, 1952), pp.79-80.

⁵ Philip Sametz, *Play on! 60 years of music-making with the Sydney Symphony Orchestra*, (Sydney: Australian Broadcasting Commission, 1992).

assumed some importance in the genesis of the orchestra.⁶ It is this story, its relation to other efforts to establish an orchestra and the strategies available to the trio to promote the cause that occupies this account of the birth of the Sydney Symphony Orchestra.

Beatrice Swinson and the beginning

The central character in the story of the Sydney Symphony Orchestral Committee is Beatrice Swinson. Like many other upper middle class women in Sydney she had a taste for the symphonies, sonatas, arias and operas performed by large orchestras, virtuoso instrumentalists, and vocalists of world renown in the great concert halls of Europe. She was prepared to extend her interest beyond passive appreciation to cultural activism. In 1933 Swinson initiated a scheme to raise musical awareness through informal gatherings known as *musicales*. Other women of her class followed her lead. Three points arise from the story of the *musicale* movement: that a particular group of women felt musical appreciation was important enough to warrant their advocacy; that the movement forged a social network committed to the musical welfare of Sydney; that a female network working independently from male-dominated institutions initiated a scheme that attempted to address the city's musical needs. The story of the three musketeers must therefore begin with that of Swinson and the early campaigns for the foundation of a permanent orchestra, that is, the environment in which the *musicale* movement emerged.

Beatrice Swinson was born Hannah Beatrice Griffiths in West Maitland, New South Wales in 1872. At an early age she showed talent as a pianist. A little later she became a student of the Sydney musician Henri Kowalski. By 1895 she had launched her touring career, accompanying her teacher in the Kowalski-Poussard Company tour of Tasmania. With her equally gifted sisters, Muriel, a violinist, and Bessie, a cellist, she

⁶ Swinson, H. Beatrice, *The Creation of the Sydney Symphony Orchestra, 1922-47*, unpublished

travelled to Europe in order to further her musical studies. Known alternately as the 'Australian Trio' and 'The Three Graces', the sisters toured England attracting both positive press attention and the patronage of the then Prince and Princess of Wales. For more than twenty years Beatrice Swinson toured with professional musicians, listened to acclaimed orchestras and artists, and gained exposure to the musical circles of England and Europe. To her, London was home and the period during which she called the city home was its 'Golden Age'. During this period, she met Walter Wilberforce Swinson at a dinner party following a recital given by the trio at Queen's Hall, London. Another meeting three years later quickly led to their marriage and the birth of their only son, Ryder. After the First World War, the Swinsons moved to Australia, Walter began work as a solicitor and the family settled into a peaceful life in Turramurra, not far from Ball Green where Ethel and Austin Anderson lived from 1924.⁷

Music remained Swinson's chief love and throughout the 1920s and 1930s she maintained an active interest in Sydney's orchestral life. It was a subject that had troubled music-loving Sydney-siders spasmodically for a decade prior to her arrival. Although the Sydney Philharmonic Society and Amateur Orchestral Society subscription lists in about 1910 were full and 'ladies' committees' were not needed 'to induce people to attend concerts', Sydney clearly lagged behind Melbourne and Adelaide in terms of personal patronage.⁸ Names such as Sir James Fairfax (father-in-law of Ruth Fairfax), Mr Justice Gordon (husband of Margaret Gordon) and T.H. Kelly (husband of Ethel Kelly) may have

article, Sydney, n.d.

⁷ See 'Kowalski-Poussard Company. Sacred Concert at Albert Hall', *The Daily Telegraph* (Tasmanian paper), 14 Jan. 1895, cutting, page not cited, in Lilian Frost Scrapbook, in Pitt Street Congregational Church Records, 1828-1971, ML MSS 2093, vol. 57; 'The Late Muriel Griffiths', *SMH*, 29 Sept. 1934, p.10; 'Husbands and Wives. Sydney people tell where they met and how. Fate and the first day', in *Sun*, 6 May 1928, cutting in Robertson, Constance. Mrs William Kinneard, Papers, ML MSS 1105, vol. 3, item 5; and 'Musical Pioneer Dies', *SMH*, 26 Aug. 1951, p.11. Also Swinson, *Creation*, p.5.

⁸ W. Arundel Orchard, *The Distant View*, (Sydney: Currawong Pub. Co., 1943), p.21; and Orchard, *Music in Australia*, pp.161-2.

graced the Sydney Symphony Orchestra subscription lists from 1908, but in 1912, the Professional Musicians' Union, formed in association with the Trades Hall, complained that 'our wealthy citizens might do much more for the art of music'. Only a small proportion of its subscriptions came from outside the ranks of the musical profession.⁹ These complaints coincided with heightened uncertainty over the orchestra's future. The English conductor, Joseph Bradley, accompanied by the lead violinist, Henri Stael, had walked out of rehearsal when members of the Musicians' Union had attempted to force him to join. The clash seems indicative of a pragmatic professionalism among Sydney musicians, which sat uneasily with the dated culturism that simultaneously sponsored the Philharmonic and Madrigal Societies. Non-unionists coalesced in the same year in the Musical Association at a meeting attended by, among others, Arthur Mason and Lilian Frost. Yet even Mason conceded the limits of cultural custodianship; only a small proportion of the public actually appreciated 'the really fine things in music'.¹⁰

Professional and amateur musicians both looked to the government for solutions to the city's musical problems. Ernest Wunderlich, an active amateur musician, and President of the SSO at the time, in writing to the *Sydney Morning Herald* about the Union trouble, argued that the government (although he did not specify whether federal or state) should subsidise the orchestra. The orchestra survived long enough to win an enthusiastic audience for its 1914 concert season, but at least one critic lamented that the State

⁹ Alfred O'Brien, letter to the editor, *SMH*, 15 Oct. 1912; and 'A Divided Orchestra: Unharmonic Proceedings – Personalities and Other Things', *The Sun*, 15 Oct. 1912, both in Bowles, Charles Frederick, Collection of Clippings, ML MSS 3890. Also, Wills, 'The First SSO', p.16.

¹⁰ Arthur Mason, 'Our Standard of Musical Culture', summary of paper delivered to the Musical Association, quoted in [*SMH*], 7 Dec. 1912, 'Music and Unionism', source not cited, 3 Oct. 1912, and 'Musicians' Revolt. Union Crisis. Symphony Orchestra's Trouble', *SMH*, 3 Oct. 1912, all cuttings in Bowles' Collection. See also Orchard, *Distant View*, p.43.

Government had not first established a professional orchestra before it approved plans for the New South Wales Conservatorium of Music.¹¹

The newly established Conservatorium held its inaugural concert on 6 May 1915, and its first Director, the energetic Henri Verbrugghen arrived in August. Although he conducted an orchestra of 75 players comprised essentially of SSO members in November 1915, he quickly set about founding the Conservatorium Orchestra with musicians seconded by him from Europe at its core. Its inaugural 1916 concert season made the new ensemble seem the answer to hopes for a government-backed institution capable of raising musical standards in the state. Perhaps for this reason, the old SSO, as well as the Amateur Orchestral Society both dissolved. When ambition turned Verbrugghen's attention to America in 1921, however, and his resignation seemed likely, it became clear that the new institution was reliant on the forceful personality of one person.

It was in relation to the imminent departure of Verbrugghen, that Swinson, as with many of the city's other music-lovers, was moved to action. An Orchestral Guarantee Fund was established at a meeting of citizens held in May at which representatives of New South Wales and Victorian musical bodies, as well as members of the public pledged to purchase shares in the Fund. A total of £10 000 per year for three years was guaranteed, but the state government refused initially to acknowledge the Citizens' Committee and its proposal to secure the future of the orchestra. A 'Ladies' Section', 'recognizing the National Importance of maintaining the State Orchestra' was established on 21 June with Dame Margaret Davidson, wife of the State Governor of the time, as President.¹² Despite these efforts, the government decided in September to disband the orchestra. Verbrugghen,

¹¹ E. Wunderlich, 'Sydney Symphony Orchestra', *SMH*, 11 Oct. 1912; and 'Songs and Singers: Instrumental Progress – Professional Orchestras', *The Sun*, 2 May 1914, both in Bowles' Collection.

¹² John Mansfield Thomson, *A Distant Music: The Life and Times of Alfred Hill 1870-1960*, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, c.1980), p.161. See also 'State Orchestra to be kept alive – guarantee

after touring New Zealand at the end of the year, travelled direct from there to America, taking his European musicians with him. Only a few people knew of his plans, but they tried energetically to dissuade him. Apparently Beatrice Swinson was one of them. She reported that 'Lady Davidson, the Governor's wife at that time, asked me to do all I could to persuade him, Verbrugghen, to remain'.¹³

Although the new Director of the Conservatorium, Arundel Orchard struggled valiantly, acquired donations of scholarships from prominent citizens, and eventually Orchestral Scholarships from the state government, the situation was not, in Swinson's view, satisfactory. Sometime later in the decade, she approached the newspaper magnate, Sir Hugh Denison, concerning the need for a permanent orchestra. She had considered arranging one herself, and obtained a generous guarantee of £3000 annually from him. Why she 'abandoned the idea' is unclear: Swinson would only state that it was more than she could undertake.¹⁴

Swinson instead campaigned to raise Sydney's musical awareness by encouraging women to hold *musicales* as a form of entertainment in the home. Occasionally Australians in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries with a penchant for chamber ensembles, or a desire for cultural activity, emulated the European practice. By the 1920s, as has already been seen, most Australians seemed apathetic about 'high art' music. American music and dances such as the Charleston attracted many young men and women of the 'social set' to the dance halls. This tendency no doubt alarmed older Society women, such as the State Governor's wife, Lady (Gwendolyn) Game. Cultural judgements

against loss', 28 May 1921, cutting in Conservatorium Archives, Conservatorium Library, 'Musical Courier' folder.

¹³ Swinson, *Creation*, p.1; Orchard, *Music in Australia*, p.76.

¹⁴ *ibid.*; R.B. Walker, 'Denison, Sir Hugh Robert', *ADB*, vol. 8, pp.283-5. A generous philanthropist, a firm believer in the British Empire, and an occasional choir soloist with a 'resonant baritone voice' (p.284), he certainly represented one of the few Australians from whom Swinson could hope to secure financial support for an orchestral scheme.

originally cast by Ruskin and Arnold that saw in American democracy the threat of mass culture and mediocrity, were widely accepted in Britain and its former colonies.¹⁵ The concept of the *musicale* may have appealed to middle class women in Sydney because it adhered to British cultural ideals and because those ideals connoted respectability. Australia had barely begun to recover from the effects of the Depression, through which class differences had been heightened, when Swinson launched the *musicale* campaign. Yet the holding of *musicales* also provided paid work and performance practice for musicians. Further, the Sydney *musicale* movement of 1933 and 1934 was aimed at sharing and spreading a cultural ideal rather than defining the lifestyle of a particular class of Sydney residents.

Sometime during the festive season of 1932-33, Swinson and her husband held the first *musicale* at their home, known as The Cottage, in Gilroy Avenue, Turramurra. Reported in the Social Pages of *The Home*, the *musicale* attracted over seventy guests including Lady Game, her son Philip and her secretary Isabel Crowdy, the wife of the former State Premier, Mrs T. R. Bavin and her daughter Valerie, and others from diplomatic and military circles.¹⁶ A series of well-attended and carefully reported *musicales* followed. By May, the *Sydney Morning Herald* could provide a list of Society hosts, including Miss Mary Fairfax, Miss Macarthur Onslow, Mrs Lang Campbell, Mr and Mrs Hubert Fairfax, Sir Alexander and Lady Gordon, Mrs F.W. Learoyd, Mrs Sinclair Gillies, Mrs H.S. Baird, Mr and Mrs David Maughan, and the Consuls-General and wives of various countries.¹⁷ Although it played on the Society factor, the paper awkwardly explained Swinson's vision of *musicales*:

¹⁵ For further discussion of this subject see Richard White, "Combating Cultural Aggression": Australian Opposition to Americanisation', *Meanjin*, vol. 39, no. 3, Oct. 1980.

¹⁶ "Personal and Social", *Home*, 3 Jan. 1933, p.4.

¹⁷ *SMH*, 20 May 1933, p.7. In October, the *SMH* article on a *musicale* held by the Victoria League noted that it formed part of the 'series inaugurated this season by Mrs W. Swinson'. This confirms that the

being held in a simple, informal manner, not necessarily large parties, or in big houses, but always the musical aspect to be uppermost. By this means she hopes to bring music more into daily personal life, and to provide opportunity for people to share in the wealth of talent with which Sydney is endowed.

Subsequent reportage in the *Sydney Morning Herald* repeated Swinson's message, thus maintaining her centrality to the movement. In August, the paper even published her portrait.¹⁸

It appears that through the involvement of these titled, influential women in the campaign to raise appreciation for a certain class of music, the *musicale* became fashionable. Swinson used her social network to bring attention to the practice. The active support of Society women, whose names appeared in the print media under numerous social and philanthropic banners, conveyed to the public the impression that the *musicale* was a worthy and respectable social event. The effectiveness of this message is reflected in the proliferation of reports in the papers on such entertainments being held by clubs, societies and suburban groups. In January, the Feminist Club, and the Women's Country Club both held *musicales*. Over the next few months similar events were also held under the auspices of the Arts Club, the Queen Victoria Club, the music circle of the Lyceum Club, and the United Associations (who 'stood for the participation of women in world affairs'), the last two to farewell Lady Game's secretary, Isobel Crowdy. The Lady Mayoress, Mrs R.C. Hagon, also hosted a *musicale* for the Anzac Festival.¹⁹ During the following winter, the Women's Club, the Chatswood WCTU, the Queen Victoria Club and the Arts Club again, the Royal Empire Society, the Music Lovers' Club (founded by Emily Marks as an organisation for musicians following Music Week in 1932), the

bulk of Swinson's *musicale* campaign was carried out during 1933. The *SMH* article of 20 May 1933 implied that the movement began in 1932. As I found no reference to *musicales* in connection with Swinson for 1932, it seems reasonable to suggest that by 'last year', the writer meant the *musicale* held by Swinson sometime prior to 3 January 1933, when it was reported in *The Home*. See *SMH*, 24 Oct. 1933, p.4.

¹⁸ *SMH*, 12 Aug. 1933, p.7.

¹⁹ See various articles, usually on the page, 'For Women', in the *SMH*, Jan. – April 1933; also 'United

Blackfriars' Infants' Health Movement, the Mayoress for the Adult Deaf and Dumb Society, the Junior Red Cross, the Legacy Club, and the Blaxland Galleries all hosted *musicales*. Several suburban Music Clubs, branches of the Associated Music Clubs, also observed the practice of holding musical entertainments featuring small instrumental ensembles or vocalists with accompaniment. By 1935 the *Sydney Morning Herald* could confidently declare that Sydney had 'now come into line with the fashions abroad, and the *musicale* is well established as an entertainment'.²⁰

While *musicales* rapidly became part of the calendar for the Society hostess, Swinson was careful to maintain the musical integrity of the events. A report on the Dixson's *musicale* at their home in Castle Hill may have devoted almost as much time to the floral decorations as to the program, but the paper still recorded Swinson's arrangement of the program, the blend of instrumental and vocal music, and the names of the musicians and the pieces performed.²¹ Most club *musicales* were not held in homes, but in Clubrooms, halls and galleries and many were held as entertainments at functions in aid of other causes. Yet the Royal Empire Society arranged an 'excellent program' that included 'classics and some interesting examples of modern composition'. The program at the Blaxland Galleries, performed in conjunction with a Musical Exhibition, was also reported to feature modern compositions. On that occasion the students of Muriel Fletcher presented songs from Japan to a gathering that included members of the Fairfax, Street, Stephen and Osborn families.²² Distracting though the Society garb may have been, the *musicale* movement thus saw work opportunities for new and established musicians and listening opportunities for many women and men increase from 1933.

Associations. Farewell to Miss Crowdy', *SMH*, 21 March 1933, p.3.

²⁰ *SMH*, 11 Sept. 1935, p.7.

²¹ *SMH*, 9 Oct. 1933, p.4.

²² *SMH*, 18 July 1933, p.4; and 23 Aug. 1933, p.5, respectively. See also *SMH*, 4 Dec. 1933, p.4.

The movement, however, did not occur in isolation. Early efforts made by the ABC amid increasingly anxious calls on the part of the city's musical circles to address the question of a permanent orchestra created a climate of anticipation in mid-1933. With the momentum of the *musicale* movement driving her, Swinson returned to her original and now more timely hope for the foundation of a permanent orchestra in Sydney.

The Three Musketeers and the Crusade of 1936

According to her account, Beatrice Swinson's desire to see an established orchestra in Sydney reawakened when Lady Hore-Ruthven (or Lady Gowrie, as she was later known), wife of the new State Governor, showed some interest in the cause. A letter to Hore-Ruthven convinced her secretary, Harry Budge, and the vice-regal figure herself of Swinson's sincerity. A meeting between the two ladies ensued, in which they 'thrashed out the matter from A to Z' and Hore-Ruthven promised her support. More importantly, it gave Swinson the courage to act. She arranged for a 'few intimate friends' to meet at the Queen's Club in order to devise a plan of action. The gathering included her husband Walter Swinson, the new Director of the Conservatorium Dr Edgar Bainton and his wife Ethel, the amateur theatre organiser Lady (Margaret) Gordon, the pastoralist Mr Hubert and Mrs Ruth Fairfax, and the Minister for Health Mr Herbert Fitzsimmons and his wife, Eleanor.²³ Following the meeting, they sought the support of the Supreme Court judge Sir Philip and Lady (Belinda) Street, and the former State Premier Sir Thomas Bavin. According to Swinson's account, Bavin then wrote a letter to William James Cleary, Chairman of the ABC, for Ruth Fairfax, Gordon, and Swinson to deliver. They did not regard the subsequent meeting with Cleary as a success, and Swinson recalled feeling that

²³ Swinson, *Creation*, p.2; and John McCarthy, 'Fitzsimmons, William Robert and Herbert Paton', *ADB*, vol.8, p.517; Helen Bainton, 'Bainton, Edgar Leslie', *ADB*, vol. 7, pp.146-7; and Martha Rutledge, 'Fairfax, Ruth Beatrice', in *ADB*, vol.9, p.462.

the project was 'doomed to fail', although the Chairman promised to discuss their case for a permanent orchestra with his colleagues.

Swinson claims that these events took place in 1933. Another woman associated with Swinson's early attempts to raise support for a permanent symphony orchestra, Mrs Rene Hope Gibson, also recalled a meeting in 1933. One of her colleagues recorded Gibson's version of events:

In July 1933, the small Foundation Committee, of which Rene was a member, met in the old ABC Concert Department in Market Street to urge the formation of a Symphony Orchestra. This small group of women visited schools, held Musicales and tea parties in their own homes, playing recorded music and urging their guests to subscribe to the cause.²⁴

Gibson herself elaborated:

After an unsuccessful initial response to us from the chairman of the ABC in the early 1930's, Lady Gordon, Mrs Walter Swinson, Mrs Hubert Fairfax and I banded together and proceeded with our idea to form an orchestra. We held meetings and musicales in our homes, with great support from people like Hepzibah Menuhin who gave her services free, and we persuaded 72 people to pledge their help. Fund-raising, growing support and eventual subsidies resulted in the orchestra's formation and that first subscription season in 1934.²⁵

A brief consideration of both statements suggests that the bulk of activity, and the meetings to which Swinson and Gibson referred, did not take place in 1933. Key participants in both accounts were not in a position to be involved until 1934 or '35. Edgar Bainton arrived in Sydney in May 1934, Cleary became Chairman of the ABC in July 1934, Lady Hore-Ruthven permanently resided in Sydney from February 1935, and Yehudi Menuhin, the young violinist who entranced audiences around Australia, and his sister, Hepzibah, did not reach Sydney until 29 April 1935.

What did happen in 1933? Two possible centres of formal orchestral activity existed in Sydney at the time: the ABC and the Conservatorium. The former, the ABC,

²⁴ Ann Williams Clark, 'Tribute to Irene Hope Gibson, MBE', unpublished, Sydney, 1989, p.2, in Ann Williams Clark, private collection, Lindfield, Sydney.

²⁵ Quoted in Sydney Symphony Orchestra Subscribers Committee, 'How it all began', *Bulletin* [of the

was barely a year old, and struggling to establish its roots as a cultural institution. Patricia Lemaire recalled that her mother first subscribed to an ABC concert series in 1932. In that year the ABC called its Sydney-based studio orchestra of 24 players, the National Broadcasting Orchestra. By 1933, the ABC had engaged British conductor, Malcolm Sargent, to visit Australia and issued him a directive to create a competent national orchestra. Sargent, however, cancelled in late April 1933.²⁶ In August, the ABC announced that another British conductor, Hamilton Harty, would tour Australia in 1934.

It is possible that the first of the meetings that Gibson recalled did take place in July 1933. Following Sargent's cancellation it seems likely that some disheartened music-lovers pressured ABC personnel to keep their promise to assist in raising the profile of orchestral music by sponsoring public performances. Although the Commission toyed with the names of replacement conductors, and Professor R. S. Wallace toured America and Britain in search of a substitute on their behalf, observers suspected that the ABC seemed willing to drop the whole idea, or to import a bandmaster instead. In fact, the Sydney correspondent for the *Australian Musical News* (AMN) speculated that the ABC may have regretted its decision to invite Sargent even before his cancellation, and that the conductor's illness offered 'a good "let off"'.²⁷ This reluctance related in part to the Musicians' Union's propensity to complicate matters through claims for rates that threatened to swallow an inordinate proportion of the Commission's budget. In addition, the General Manager, Major Walter Conder, held no affection for the 'big orchestral plan'.²⁸ It is likely that some external pressure was necessary to trigger the ABC's decision to engage Harty, and that such persuasion took the form of a meeting held during July in

SSOC], Nov. 1981, p.1.

²⁶ 'Malcolm Sargent Not Coming - Too Ill For Tour', *AMN*, 1 May 1933, vol.23, no.10, p.9

²⁷ *ibid*; see also 1 June 1933, vol.23, no.11, pp.3-4.

²⁸ *AMN*, 1 May 1933, p.9.

the ABC's Concert Department, just as Gibson had said. As the Commission had previously invited subscriptions for the 1932 season, it is feasible that the Harty plans were made on the grounds that further subscriptions be raised, explaining why Gibson referred to 'that first subscription season in 1934'.²⁹

On the other hand, another early subscriber who socialised in musical circles felt certain that prior to 1936, perhaps even as early as 1932, she had subscribed to the Conservatorium orchestra. In 1934 Edgar Bainton, as the new director, ran a subscription series and looked forward to a special concert scheduled for 31 October, which combined the Conservatorium and ABC studio orchestras for the first time.³⁰

At that stage, Bainton seemed to represent Sydney's best hopes for satisfactory live symphonic music, for, when Cleary replaced Charles Lloyd Jones as Chairman of the Commission in 1934, he made clear that he had no intention to pander to either 'highbrows' or 'lowbrows'.³¹ However, the ABC's broadcast policy reflected, if anything, a tendency to indulge the lowbrow. One music-loving journalist accused Cleary of 'mutilating the masterpieces' when the ABC scheduled the separate movements of musical works at different times because of 'the difficulty the non-musical person finds in keeping his attention throughout the four movements of a symphony'.³² According to Sametz, Cleary in fact did appreciate high art music, and it was Condor's aversion to orchestral

²⁹ Patricia Lemaire to Jane Hunt, 21 Nov. 1996; *SMH*, 2 July 1932, p.17; 6 Jan. 1933, p.8; 25 April 1933, p.9; 28 Aug. 1933, p.10.

³⁰ Marjorie Chartres, interview conducted by Jane Hunt, Mosman, Sydney, 3 Dec. 1996; and *SMH*, 6 Oct. 1934, p.10.

³¹ Speaking after a band performance in Mosman, Cleary touched on 'the old battle ground of the highbrows and the lowbrows. He had no time for either, if they desired to monopolise the field'. See 'Mosman Municipal Band', *The Daily*, 24 July 1934, in W.J. Cleary Papers, NLA MS 5539, folder 7; also 'Mr Cleary's Taste', *Wireless Weekly*, 3 Aug. 1934, pp.11-12; *SMH*, 23 April 1934, p.11; and 'The ABC and Taste', *Home*, 1 Sept. 1934, p.24. Yet correspondence to Cleary and newspaper reports on his resignation in 1945, credit him with an enthusiasm for music and with responsibility for the musical developments that took place under his chairmanship. This forms the basis of a popular assumption reinforced by Sametz, that contradicts or at least overlooks Cleary's earlier reluctance. See Cleary Papers, folder 7.

³² G.S.L. 'Mutilating the Masterpieces', *AMN*, 1 April 1934, p.21.

matters that was responsible for the ABC's apparent lack of interest. The General Manager was forced to resign in the winter of 1935, and the administrator, Charles Moses, who was much more sympathetic to the cause, was appointed in his stead.

Personality accounts for only a portion of the dilemma over the foundation of a permanent city or state orchestra. Part of the problem related to responsibility. Music lovers in Sydney were thrilled when the Commission, through 2FC and 2BL, aired a season of operas in the last months of 1933 under the direction of the 'Italian Maestro Wando Aldrovandi', and subsequently disappointed when the operas were discontinued in 1934. Emily Marks, for the Music Lovers' Club, Florence Taylor, for the Arts Club and on behalf of a high profile committee of concerned citizens, and Gladys Marks, representing the Australian Federation of University Women, protested the move. The tone of their protest reveals an entrenched perception of a dichotomous culture, and the feeling that in Sydney 'good music' was in a dangerously impoverished condition. Emily Marks voiced what many others implied, 'the Broadcasting Commission are a Government concern, and surely with all the facilities at their command they should be pleased to educate as well as entertain'.³³

On arriving in Sydney Bainton had clarified the assumption made by music-lovers protesting against the cessation of Aldrovandi's operas. Acknowledging the potential to influence public taste inherent in broadcasting, and in the Commission's position as a government (albeit Federal) institution, Bainton had proposed an 'alliance' of 'orchestral forces'. His suggestion entailed a series of concerts by a full sized orchestra comprised of ABC, Conservatorium, and other professional musicians, and the broadcasting of selected

³³ Emily Marks, Letter to the Editor, *SMH*, 5 March 1934; and 'Battle Raging For Good Music. Mrs Taylor's Speech', *SMH*, 13 March 1934, both cuttings in Sydney Section meeting (Australian Broadcasting Commission) agenda and minutes, Australian Archives, New South Wales office, Series No. C1870/P1 (SSM-AANSW), Item No. 13/3/1934.

public concerts by Conservatorium and other musical society ensembles.³⁴ But the relationship between the Conservatorium and the Commission was not a straightforward one. If music-lovers in Sydney distrusted the broadcaster's tastes, the ABC, armed with a damning report by Hamilton Harty on the standard of local music making, distrusted the Conservatorium's ability to produce music of a consistently high standard. As late as December 1935 Professor Bernard Heinze, as the Commission's musical adviser, was forced to defend Bainton and the Conservatorium, which he regarded as 'the centre of music in New South Wales', and to urge cooperation 'in the interests of cultural development'.³⁵ Indeed the spirit of cooperation seemed to be absent from the 1935 orchestral combination of ABC and Conservatorium musicians. As Sametz observed, it 'was something of a musical mirage. Artistic control was uncertain, and there was much organisational jealousy and intrigue'.³⁶

Unlike Emily Marks' supposition that a governmental body would automatically possess unlimited resources, the Commission was also financially constrained. When the NSW manager, H.G. Horner, observed in July 1935 that the ABC should aim to have at its disposal an orchestra capable of equalling standards abroad, and proposed and compared four alternatives, he evidently had money on his mind. He concluded that the BBC practice of retaining a sufficient number of professional musicians for assorted uses was most practical for Sydney. The arrangement would offer what Condor may have meant when he spoke of 'broadcast value' before his forced removal from the Commission. It required the least amount of additional cost, allowed rehearsal time, gave freedom from Conservatorium demands and provided already paid musicians for other ABC broadcast

³⁴ G.S.L. 'The New Director', *AMN*, 1 Aug. 1934, p.25; and Bainton to Charles Lloyd Jones (Chair), 15 June 1934, in SSM-AANSW, Item No. 27/6/1934.

³⁵ See Minutes of Programme Meeting, 26 Nov. 1935, in SSM-AANSW, Item No. 11/12/1935.

³⁶ Such jealousies resulted in the alternate naming of the same group as the NSW Conservatorium Orchestra and the NSW State Symphony Orchestra, depending on the public concert venue. See Sametz,

needs. Horner thus proposed that the ABC experiment with the idea of a permanent NSW orchestra.³⁷

It is thus clear that, for all the uncertainty, the year 1935 marked an increase in pragmatic consideration of the possibility of an orchestra on the part of Conservatorium and Commission personnel, and other interested parties. However, another problem remained – public support. While the voices were loud, the size of the financially able music-loving public in Sydney seems to have been fairly small. Whatever was said behind closed doors a number of orchestral concerts were held during 1935. They were poorly attended. Midway through the year, the *AMN*'s Sydney correspondent pinned the blame neither on Bainton and the Conservatorium players, nor on the people at the Commission and their attitudes: 'It is the public that has failed'.³⁸

Awareness of the role that the public had to play in the foundation of an orchestra contributed to the course of action undertaken by Swinson. The details of the meetings described by Swinson and Gibson suggest that some sort of meeting must have occurred in 1935. The gathering of Swinson's friends, including Gordon, the Fairfaxes, and the Baintons, had led to the decision to approach Cleary. While Swinson is vague on the dates of the subsequent meeting with the Chairman of the ABC, Cleary fills in the blanks, and details their specific concern with public patronage. He wrote a memorandum on the day that Beatrice Swinson and Ruth Fairfax visited him. Dated 30 September, it read:

Mrs Hubert Fairfax and Mrs W. Swinston called on me to-day, and expressed the hope that a permanent orchestra might be established in Sydney, and suggested that the poor response to the concerts during the last twelve months has been due to ineffective organising and lack of publicity.

Play On!, p.35.

³⁷ 'Copy of Report to the Chairman from the Manager for NSW, H.G. Horner', 2 July 1935, in SSM-AANSW, item 11/7/35, and assorted minutes and correspondence in items 31/1/1935; 12/2/1935; 11/4/1935; and 16/4/1935. See also memorandum, Condor to Commissioners, 10 April 1935, in item 11/4/1935; and Sametz, *Play On!*, pp.23, 31-6.

³⁸ A.L.K., 'Does Sydney Want an Orchestra?', *AMN*, 1 June 1935, p.25.

They, with Mrs Alexander Gordon, would be willing to arrange to have a meeting called by the Lord Mayor. They think that they could organise a large committee with a view to getting a few thousand subscribers. I made clear to them some of the difficulties, but after some discussion, I said I felt sure that we would be only too glad to see them make an attempt to awaken public interest, and suggested that they might wait until our orchestral plans for next year were more mature.³⁹

Although the spelling of Swinson as 'Swinston' could be explained as a typographical error, it is also possible that Cleary was not previously acquainted with the former concert pianist. Indeed, the tone of Cleary's report suggests that he did not personally know the pair, and by implication, that they had not approached him previously concerning the orchestra. None of the accounts suggest that they may have spoken to the previous chairman, Charles Lloyd Jones.

Whether the initial meeting with the Commission had an immediate impact is uncertain. Horner had already proposed the formation of a permanent orchestra almost three months earlier, but the Commission had suspended discussion on the subject until after its proposed opera season and a series of orchestral concerts in Melbourne had ended. Swinson and other campaigners felt that the first encounter with the Commission was discouraging. It was only after a subsequent meeting at the Australia Hotel that was called by the ABC and described by Swinson as 'memorable and historic' that she could claim that 'the Sydney Symphony Orchestra saw the light of day'.⁴⁰ Indeed an article in the *SMH* on 25 October 1935 suggests that by then the ABC had agreed to experiment with larger permanent orchestral arrangements. The paper reported that, speaking to a newly augmented symphonic orchestra during their preparations for the operatic season, Cleary outlined a new orchestral policy. Previously, 24 musicians had sufficed. For the Hamilton Harty concerts in 1934, studio orchestras had dashed from Melbourne to Sydney and vice-

³⁹ W.J. Cleary, Memorandum, 30 Sept. 1935, Subscribers (Sydney) and Ladies Orchestral Committee folder (SLOC), Australian Archives New South Wales Office (AANSW).

⁴⁰ Swinson, *Creation*, p.3.

versa in order to give the famous conductor a few more inexperienced and unrehearsed players with which to produce his symphonic masterpieces. Following the opera season, Cleary explained to the new orchestra, a permanent body of 45 players would exist. During concert seasons, that orchestra would be enlarged to 60 or 70 players. As two thirds of the larger ensembles would consist of a permanent, well-rehearsed nucleus, the orchestra would reach a higher standard in the studio, and be able to provide more public concerts and a greater variety of programs. The ABC Chairman continued:

The formation of this orchestra, and the immediate and interesting programme arranged for it, is evidence of the Commission's optimism as to the public taste for first-class music performed at a high artistic standard: but, at the same time, it would be idle to pretend, as some do who speak and write about these matters, that there has been during the past year or two a so-called 'public clamour' for orchestral concerts - that is, if one interprets 'public clamour' in practical terms of purchase of tickets of admission. The attendances of the public concerts, both in Sydney and Melbourne, have not been satisfactory. At present we can only hope that this increased opportunity for hearing good music performed excellently will widen the circle of appreciative listeners. At any rate, the Commission is doing its part, and may fairly claim that it is anticipating, and not lagging behind, public demand.⁴¹

By the time Cleary made his speech, he seemed certain at least of the ABC's role in the provision of orchestral music. Yet it was not as clear as Cleary implied. Concern still surrounded the issue of the Commission's relationship with the Conservatorium and the question of the potential cost to the ABC still begged an answer. Ruling the Conservatorium out of the equation on the grounds that the ABC was responsible to the Federal and not the state government temporarily solved the difficulties with the state institution. However, finances remained a problem. As Cleary himself implied, it was not to the ABC, but to the public that the onus now fell. This was further confirmed when the ABC was forced to cover the losses of the Melbourne Symphony Orchestra's 1935

⁴¹ *SMH*, 25 Oct. 1935, p.5.

season.⁴² Writing from Melbourne James Barnett promised that in 1936 the Orchestra managers would avoid extravagance and seek, by increasing the revenue, to reduce the impact of the high charges insisted on by the Musicians' Union. He argued that Dr Bainton had shown that 'yearly subscribers are the sheet anchor of the undertaking'.⁴³ A report on the 'Orchestral Position in NSW' submitted by the State Manager, C.J. Moses, in January 1936, advised that the ABC consider the formation of a committee to assist with the sale of tickets. The Sydney Section of the Commission subsequently confirmed in a series of final decisions on the nature of the Sydney-based ABC orchestra, that a committee would be formed to enlist subscribers.⁴⁴

Cleary thus held Swinson, Gordon and Fairfax to their promise to assist with the task of selling subscriptions to the 1936 Celebrity Concert season planned by the ABC for its new orchestra. Swinson confessed that the ABC's expectations surpassed the trio's own intentions, 'we had not anticipated so much responsibility [but] resolved, success or failure, we must do our utmost'. It was agreed that the women should not be hampered by 'red tape; no committee, minutes or criticism. Just a "crusade" and carte blanche'. Naturally Cleary remained 'deeply interested' in their activities. The Commission assigned them a 'room at Broadcast House' and appointed the music critic Dr Keith Barry as a Liaison Officer. The campaign itself 'prove[d] long and sometimes heart-breaking, the result more than disappointing'.⁴⁵ In fact, by May 1936, the trio had not made much progress at all and a meeting was called involving a representative of the Musical Association, the trio, and Barry. As a result, plans were made to hold a public meeting at

⁴² Although Melbourne already possessed a much better orchestral infrastructure courtesy of early patronage, particularly that of Lady Northcote, and the leadership of the conductor Bernard Heinze, the ABC still complicated matters in its efforts to employ skilled and experienced musicians, and cover its live symphony broadcasts through public concert attendance. See *SMH*, 24 Aug, 1935, p.10, regarding suspended discussions on the possibility of an orchestra in Sydney.

⁴³ James W. Barnett to Cleary, 13 Nov. 1935, in SSM-AANSW, item 25/11/1935

⁴⁴ C.J. Moses, Report, 4 Jan. 1936, and Minutes, 6 Jan. 1936, in SSM-AANSW, Item No. 6/1/1936.

⁴⁵ Swinson, *Creation*, pp.3-4.

the Australia Hotel on 28 May to which the trio would invite hundreds of 'leading citizens'. They arranged for Sir Mungo MacCallum, Sir Henry Braddon, and Lady Gordon to speak at the meeting. Each committee member drew up large lists of names of possible subscribers, and together arranged the printing of five thousand circulars for distribution during the week following the meeting. Sadly, the professional musicians resisted involvement in the trio's plans.⁴⁶

That the trio, in their preparations, deliberately appealed to Sydney's elite, and played on that sense of civic responsibility that devolved on a city's wealthy and influential citizens, is obvious from the contents of the letter of invitation sent to those on the guest list. The letters urged the recipients to 'make a special effort to be present, as we are anxious that our most representative citizens should be associated with this movement'. Signed by all three women, the requests conveyed to the reader the unspoken but implicit message that respected, well-known members of Sydney Society felt that orchestral patronage was important.⁴⁷

Lady Gordon's name, for example, had appeared as patron, guest of honour, organiser or host in the social pages of Sydney's print media without cessation, except when she was abroad, for nearly thirty years. Her campaigns on behalf of the Little Theatre movement, individual musicians and assorted charities have already been noted. Whether the cause involved the arts, charities, social events or personal occasions, Gordon's gift for organisation, and her personal repute brought supporters and success to her door. A special feature article on Gordon described her in March 1936 as '[o]ne of Sydney's most indefatigable and best-loved women'. 'Every charity with which she comes

⁴⁶ K. Barry, memorandums, 11 May 1936, and 20 May 1936, SLOC.

⁴⁷ Ruth B. Fairfax, Margaret Gordon, Beatrice Swinson (signed) to the Lord Mayor, 15 May 1936, marked 'Specimen only', SLOC.

in contact', the report continued, 'benefits from her interest and help, and every person she meets is left with a vivid impression of her charm'.⁴⁸

Ruth Fairfax (1878-1948), daughter of the pastoralist Vincent James Dowling, and wife of John Hubert Fraser Fairfax, fifth son of Sir James Reading Fairfax, similarly appeared consistently in the women's and social pages of numerous newspapers and magazines of the period. She supported, above all else, the Country Women's Association (CWA). Elected the first President of the Queensland CWA, she had toured much of southern Queensland during the 1920s, promoting the organisation, and helping to establish numerous rural branches. She continued to support the CWA when she moved to Sydney, but added to her commitments the Adult Deaf and Dumb Society of NSW, the Girl Guides Association, the Benevolent Society of NSW, the Free Library movement, and the Bush Book Club. For all this, she was appointed OBE in June 1935.⁴⁹ Known also for her love of music and gardening, her involvement in the Subscribers' Committee no doubt provided little surprise to many. Swinson paid special tribute to Fairfax in her account, particularly to her 'integrity of character and the depth of her wisdom. Mrs Hubert (sic) had the highest conception of service to her Country and lived up to those ideals'.⁵⁰

Together, Gordon and Fairfax represented the upper rungs of Sydney's social ladder. In November 1934, both attended the vice-regal dinner party held in honour of the Duke of Gloucester. Certainly Swinson attended the garden party held in the Duke's honour; she personally knew many of the city's wealthy and active citizens herself and her husband was a solicitor, but the Swinsons occupied no special status in Sydney Society. Beatrice Swinson appeared frequently in the papers in connection with her musical crusades, but she was rarely mentioned just for her presence at other events. In fact, the

⁴⁸ See *SMH*, 26 March 1936, p.22.

⁴⁹ Rutledge, Fairfax, *ADB*.

⁵⁰ Swinson, *Creation*, p.8.

most society-conscious reports on the concert season of 1936 deigned to mention the music-lover from Sydney's upper North Shore. It appears that Swinson relied on her association with Fairfax and Gordon to attach prestige to the drive for concert subscriptions. By working with them, Swinson obtained much-needed links to those circles in which women had the power to render significant service to their community by reason of the prominence, title or wealth of their family of birth or marriage.

Immediately after the 28 May public meeting, Gordon recommended to Cleary that a box plan be made available at the music warehouse, Palings, and arrangements made to enable people to obtain subscriptions there. This, she argued, would warrant some publicity, which, in view of the shortness of time, would further assist their cause. ABC officials promptly acted on Gordon's suggestion, with the result that both the *Daily Telegraph* and *Sydney Morning Herald* published a number of notices and articles over the ensuing weeks.⁵¹ The ABC also arranged a series of three minute promotions on radio station 2FC each evening for a week. Sir Henry Braddon, Lady Gordon, Keith Barry, Ruth Fairfax and Beatrice Swinson took turns to present the talks.

The public meeting and heightened publicity together sparked a rapid rise in subscriptions. Just a day after the meeting, the subscriptions had reached 200. Ten days later they approached 750. By September, the trio had raised a total of 1089 subscriptions.⁵² Long before the season's end, a jubilant Cleary issued a statement to the papers expressing:

the commission's appreciation of the splendid work of the committee, which organised the subscribers for the celebrity concert season. This committee, which comprised Lady Gordon, Mrs Walter Swinson, and Mrs Hubert Fairfax, had been largely responsible for the enthusiasm with which the celebrity season had been received by the public. The commission also wished to thank the 900 subscribers

⁵¹ M. Gordon to Cleary, 29 May 1936, SLOC; A. Quinn to Cleary, 30 May 1936, SLOC; Cleary to Gordon, 1 June 1936, SLOC.

⁵² C.J.A. Moses, Memorandum, 29 Sept. 1936, SLOC; Barry, Memorandum, 5 June 1936, SLOC; "Orchestral Concerts - Subscribers to 11 June 1936", SLOC.

for their interest and support, which had encouraged the commission to contemplate a similar series next year, and perhaps to venture even further.⁵³

The experience of the 1936 campaign revealed the important role that a women's committee could play during the tentative, 'experimental stage' in the evolution of the SSO.⁵⁴ It demonstrated that initially the key to success lay not in educating the public in the joys of orchestral music, but in the personal impact of social networking, the lure of fashion, and the compelling rhetoric of civic duty. In promoting the celebrity concert season, the trio encouraged 'full evening dress'.⁵⁵ Yet the public meeting of 28 May evidently evoked the seriousness of civic responsibility. At the height of the campaign, a critic called for 'less talk of duty' and 'more mention of the sheer delight to be drawn from orchestral music excellently played'.⁵⁶ But there was no time for education. For the experiment to work, the trio needed money via subscribers, which they interpreted as patronage and prestige through association. Using methods familiar to them from the charitable fund-raising drives, or social events such as pageants, balls, and patriotic celebrations in which they had participated, the trio thus appealed to the two distinct schools of cultural thought evident in Sydney Society – the responsible and the frivolous.

That the trio's efforts were symptomatic of a wider movement of women culturists who acted out of a sense of duty is clear. It has already been noted that that numerous women gave support to the Music Week movement and the City of Sydney Eisteddfods, and that Emily Marks, Gladys Marks, and Florence Taylor spearheaded protests against the cessation of broadcast operas in 1934. In the early months of 1935, a resident of Turramurra and neighbour of Ethel Anderson, Mrs A.C. Godhard, attacked (perhaps

⁵³ *SMH*, 19 June 1936, p.10.

⁵⁴ 'ABC Concerts - Some Suggestions for Developing a Concert Organisation', Celebrity Concert Season 1936 folder, AANSW.

⁵⁵ *SMH*, 6 June 1936, p.12.

⁵⁶ *ibid.*

naively) the ABC for its failure to negotiate the purchase of a recording of a recent Government House Garden Party musical program. She made the challenging proposal that 'a committee of women' should investigate the qualifications and processes of appointment of every member of the Commission. Godhard was not alone in her interrogation of the Commission's musical policies. The radical Jessie Street, daughter-in-law of the Chief Justice and Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Philip Street, forwarded criticisms concerning the selection of musicians for the 'ABC Opera Orchestra'. Street also supported a movement initiated by the architect and Arts Club founder, Florence Taylor, and the visiting conductor, Madame Jensen, to launch a 'women's symphony orchestra' in the latter half of 1935.⁵⁷ While the 'Three Musketeers' exerted themselves over concert subscriptions, a committee of women under the active patronage of Lady (Belinda) Street, wife of Sir Philip Street, 'pledged themselves to create interest in the International Art Exhibition' to be opened at the National Art Gallery of New South Wales on 1 July.⁵⁸

Florence Taylor's hand in many musical and artistic projects of the mid-1930's makes her summary of the purpose of the Arts Club, of which she was sole founder and permanent patron, appropriate:

to help others wherever we can by our joint support, to contribute reasoned judgement to the country's problems, and pull our weight in patriotism.⁵⁹

While some historians might see women of the interwar period in terms of the pursuit of 'pleasure and freedom', it is clear that the women culturists of the 1930s, or at least the

⁵⁷ *SMH*, 29 Aug. 1935, p.5; 'A Woman Orchestral Conductor', *Harmony*, 25 Sept. 1935, pp.28, 40; *SMH*, 2 Feb. 1935, p.9; and Jessie Street to the Commission, 13 Nov. 1935, in SSM-AANSW, item 25/11/1935. See also Christa Ludlow, 'Florence Taylor', Radi, Heather (ed.), *200 Australian Women: a Redress anthology*, (Sydney: Women's Redress Press Inc, [1988]), pp.115-6; Christa Ludlow, 'Taylor, Florence Mary', *ADB*, vol. 12, pp.176-7; and Susanna de Vries, *Strength of Purpose: Australian Women of Achievement from Federation to the Mid-20th Century*, (Sydney: HarperCollinsPublishers, 1998), pp.255-62. Elizabeth Todd, a Conservatorium student in the 1930s, confirms Florence Taylor's role in the musical circles of the period. Information from interview conducted by Jane Hunt, Darling Point, Sydney, 2 Sept. 1999.

⁵⁸ *SMH*, 18 June 1936, p.17.

⁵⁹ 'The Arts Club', *Harmony*, 25 May 1936, p.15.

most prominent among them, acted on the lingering lessons of maternal citizenship.⁶⁰ Most attained maturity as the new woman emerged from obscurity; many acted on a sense of duty; all identified with the need for particular cultural forms that could be distinguished from other mass-produced cultural forms. They were thus active participants in the process of cultural bifurcation, itself a response to the rise of the modernity, and in Sydney manifest as a drive to securely found cultural institutions that enshrined what was then spoken of as the highbrow.

The possibility that the celebrity concert season was embraced by the public on the basis of its promotion as a Society event thus negates neither the seriousness of the motives of the movement's originators and the type of female culturism they exemplified nor the importance of the role that they played in the success of the ABC's orchestral experiment. Despite all the efforts to raise public awareness made by professional musicians' organisations, the Conservatorium and concerned journals, it was an informal social committee of women with an appreciation for high-art music that seems to have helped the modern Sydney Symphony Orchestra into being.

Widening social circles, and the Committee of 1938

Inspired by the successes of 1936, the ABC planned a full program of orchestral concerts for 1937. Beginning with an Italian conductor, Giovanni Patti, in January and February, followed by the contralto Essie Ackland in March, the soprano Lotte Lehmann and conductor Georg Schneevoight in April, and Vladamir Horowitz the pianist in June, it concluded with a series of concerts under the conductorship of Malcolm Sargent.⁶¹

⁶⁰ See Marilyn Lake and Katie Holmes (ed.), *Freedom Bound II: Documents on Women in Modern Australia*, (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1995). Part I is labelled 'Maternal citizenship, 1900-1920', while Part II is labelled, 'The modern desire for pleasure and freedom, 1921-1940'.

⁶¹ *SMH*, 5 Dec. 1936, p.12.

However, an appraisal of the public response to the 1937 season concluded that concert-goers did not rush to attend every concert, but rather became more selective.⁶² It seems that the new found appreciation for orchestral music did not create a body of spontaneously enthusiastic subscribers capable of sustaining their numbers and expanding in proportion with the ABC's ambitions for the new orchestra. By early 1938, the ABC had begun to panic. Its season of four concerts featuring the tenor Dino Borgioli, timed to complement the sesqui-centenary celebrations through February and March, attracted poor audiences and few subscriptions. The social network had worked, but it needed a continuous approach to generating interest in the wider, reluctant community.

This time, the trio called on Lady Street and Lady Gowrie for assistance. The significance of the involvement of the two women cannot be underestimated. Gowrie, for example, was a well-known music-lover and patron of the arts. Her thoughtful attention to the progress of budding musicians, her initiation of fund-raising schemes so that artists such as Joan Hammond could study abroad, and her propensity to request private recitals are readily confirmed on perusal of the vice-regal columns and women's pages of newspapers and glossy magazines. As wife of the Governor of South Australia, she had amazed and humbled Miriam Hyde, a budding pianist and composer, by attending a fund-raising bridge party designed to assist her plans to study at the Royal College of Music in London.⁶³ After her arrival in Sydney, Gowrie (still known as Hore-Ruthven) readily attended *musicales* and concerts. Rene Gibson served as Gowrie's aide-de-camp during 1935-36. Herself a founding member of the Killara Music Club, Gibson naturally encouraged Gowrie to attend Killara's *musicales*. It was at one such event that Gowrie

⁶² SMH, 1 Jan. 1938, p.5.

⁶³ Miriam Hyde, *Complete Accord*, Sydney, 1991, pp.39-40. See also Joan Hammond, *A voice, a life: autobiography*, (London: Gollancz, 1970); Deidre Morris and Chris Cunneen, 'Gowrie, Sir Alexander Gore Arkwright Hore-Ruthven', *ADB*, vol.9, pp.63-4; and *The Times* (London), 20 July 1965, p.14; 22 July 1965, p.12; and 30 July 1965, p.12.

heard the young singer, Joan Hammond, for the first time. Shortly afterwards, the Governor's wife called a meeting to 'discuss plans' for sending Hammond abroad to continue her studies, and to establish an executive committee for that purpose. It is hardly surprising that Swinson and Gordon were both members, although the latter played a much more significant role than the former.⁶⁴ In 1936, when Miriam Hyde returned to Sydney from London, Gowrie invited her to Admiralty House in order to follow up on the musician's progress and hear a private recital. Gowrie also put similar requests to singers of international renown such as Dino Borgioli.⁶⁵ Her commitment to music, both as a source of personal enjoyment, and as a desirable part of civic culture, thus emerges as a well-documented characteristic.

In relation to the birth of the SSO, we already know of the early encouragement that Gowrie offered to Swinson. During the crusade of 1936, she again offered assistance. Conscious of the weight that her station carried, she accepted the invitation to attend the first public meeting at the Australia Hotel. When ill health prevented her appearance, she sent a gracious letter of apology, and countered any disappointment with her request to become a subscriber. Through Keith Barry, this request was published in the *Daily Telegraph*, thus making known her support of the movement.⁶⁶

Perhaps the most important figure in the 1938 campaign, however, was Lady (Belinda) Street. Wife of Sir Philip Street, Chief Justice and Lieutenant Governor of NSW from 1934-37, she energetically took on the many social obligations entailed by her position as a prominent member of Sydney's upper middle class. Like Gowrie, she also became a familiar figure at musical events in Sydney. During her husband's service at

⁶⁴ *SMH*, 2 Oct. 1935, p.9; 20 Nov. 1935, p.7; 22 Feb. 1936, p.11; 18 March 1936, p.9; 20 March 1936, p.4; 3 April 1936, p.4.

⁶⁵ Hyde, *Complete Accord*, p.90; *SMH*, 26 Jan. 1938.

⁶⁶ *Daily Telegraph*, 29 May 1936, p.6.

Government House in 1934, Street held a large *musical* in its grounds. While Gordon and Swinson attended, a lot of people who do not seem to have been staunch supporters of musical causes also accepted Street's invitation.⁶⁷ It was perhaps her connections with so many circles within Sydney Society, and her ability to interest them in musical activities, that made Street an asset to the trio's campaign. While the political interests of her daughter-in-law, Jessie Street may have caused her some distress, it is also worth recalling Jessie's interest in the musical welfare of the city. This was perhaps one point on which the two could agree. That Belinda Street was regarded as a natural leader in female social circles is demonstrated by her election as the first President of the committee formed in 1938 to promote the celebrity concert season. In 1939, for reasons of health, she submitted her resignation to Charles Moses. His reply expressed some dismay:

It is with genuine regret that the Committee accepts your resignation as President of the Ladies' Orchestral Committee. I do not think it is possible that we shall find someone to replace you adequately.⁶⁸

With the support of Lady Gowrie and Lady Street secured, the trio planned a 'meeting Extraordinaire' for 18 March 1938.⁶⁹ As before, they issued personal invitations to the event, and promoted the fact that Lady Street would preside, and that Lady Gowrie had promised to speak to the meeting. This gesture again demonstrated Gowrie's good will, as she was due to depart for England on the same day. Swinson affectionately recorded Gowrie's opening line, 'I am going to be brutal'. 'Imagine Lady Gowrie being brutal' she gushed.⁷⁰ The *Sydney Morning Herald* adds another detail to this story. Despite their imminent departure from Sydney, and planned absence during the entire concert season, Lady Gowrie purchased six season tickets.⁷¹

⁶⁷ *SMH*, 14 July 1934, p.7.

⁶⁸ C.J.A. Moses to Lady Street, 20 March 1939, SLOC.

⁶⁹ Swinson, *Creation*, p.4.

⁷⁰ *ibid.*, p.3.

⁷¹ *SMH*, 24 March 1938, p.21.

Given the prestigious company, it is perhaps not surprising that a large and respectable body of women attended the March meeting. Following the speeches, Ruth Fairfax moved that 'all those present form themselves into a committee known as the Sydney Symphony Orchestral Committee' (SSOC). The motion passed.⁷² Thus the trio formally involved a larger number of Society women in their campaign, enabling them to draw on a widening network of associations for the social resources they needed. Swinson proclaimed that the 'meeting was an unqualified success. We gained many friends and adherents, and that hurdle was safely over'.⁷³

To maintain the interest aroused by the March meeting, Lady Street held a reception at her home at Elizabeth Bay on 5 April. The stated purpose of the reception involved consideration of 'ways and means of making a great success of the season' beginning on 31 May. By way of encouragement, it was announced at the reception that applications for season tickets had reached seven hundred, and that Lady Huntingfield had sent a letter from Victoria, 'expressing her great interest in the movement'. Swinson, Fairfax, Cleary, Barry, Lady Sheldon, and Mrs Alexander Kipnis, 'wife of the visiting Russian singer' all spoke to the assemblage.⁷⁴ Sadly, it appears that this gathering did not provide enough interest to have an impact on Kipnis' final concert a week later. The papers recorded a disappointing attendance.⁷⁵

Despite the April attendance figures, Lady Street's reception proved effective, and the new committee members embraced their roles with enthusiasm. Yet, even as their membership guaranteed the success of an institution geared to serious cultural pursuits, the committee showed an increasing attention to the social aspects of their work. A reception

⁷² *SMH*, 11 March 1938, p.6; 19 March 1938, p.18; SSOC, Prospectus 1938, 21 March 1938, SLOC.

⁷³ Swinson, *Creation*, p.4.

⁷⁴ *SMH*, 6 April 1938, p.8.

⁷⁵ *SMH*, 14 April 1938, p.7.

was organised at the Australia Hotel, in honour of the first of the celebrity artists, the well-known conductor, Professor Georg Szell. On behalf of the Ladies' Committee, as they were less formally known, Lady Street received the guests, wearing her best 'silver fox fur'. Other committee members dressed to the hilt, treating the occasion as a significant social event. At the first concert of the season a few days later, Lady Street, Lady Gordon, Lady Jordan, Swinson, and Fairfax were all prominent. The *SMH* detailed their apparel, and rejoiced at the multitudes that streamed into the Town Hall for the concert.⁷⁶

The trio counted on this prestige-creating publicity to expand on the interest generated by their March and April meetings. A decade earlier, a journalist had spoken of Sydney's 'upper four hundred'.⁷⁷ Even with full support and allowing for some expansion of its ranks, Sydney 'society' alone could not guarantee the success of the season. Swinson needed to reach a broader section of the population – the suburban middle class. Prestige and civic pride, not taste, was important. In an announcement issued in May, Swinson declared that the committee had sold over a thousand tickets. She cleverly drew on the rivalry between Sydney and Melbourne to rally support for the SSO, pointing out that:

the seating capacity of the Town Hall is 3300, so that there remains a considerable leeway to make up before the list of subscribers is complete... in Melbourne the Town Hall had been completely booked out only 24 hours after the sales began ... The social committee here is determined to bring about an equal enthusiasm in Sydney.⁷⁸

The high public profile thus imbued on the 1938 concert season along with the prestige value attached to it seems to have affected ticket sales, which continued to rise until they reached a total of 1231 subscriptions, bringing in over £2000.⁷⁹ The musketeers certainly seemed to have touched on a magic formula.

⁷⁶ *SMH*, 27 May 1938, p.4; 1 June 1938, p.7.

⁷⁷ Susan Mary Waterford, 'Pen Portraits of Some Sydney Women', *Woman's World*, cutting in Robertson. Constance, Mrs William Kinneard, Papers, ML MSS 1105, vol. 3, item 5, n.p.

⁷⁸ *SMH*, 7 May 1938, p.20.

⁷⁹ ABC, Comparative Statement of Subscribers to Orchestral Concerts, not dated, SLOC.

Not everyone appreciated the strategies used by the trio. *The Home* published an article by David McNicoll in its July issue, which applauded a comment he overheard at one concert; 'Mrs Swinson scores another touchdown for Dear Old Art'. Agreeing with its cynical tone, he argued that most of the concert patrons cared more about the social aspects of the occasion, than the music itself. He wondered, 'gazing around at the sea of vacant faces, ... what interest did 75 per cent of these people have in music or in Georg Szell?' He knew that many could intelligently discuss the family background of this or that important figure, or the size of someone's estate before the Depression, but doubted that more than fifteen per cent of the audience held an even rudimentary knowledge of music.⁸⁰

Indeed, A.L.K., the Sydney correspondent for *Australian Musical News*, had politely observed that the 'clamorous and long-continued demonstrations that followed Miss [Eileen] Joyce's performance' in July 1936 revealed that certain flaws in her style had 'disturbed the intelligent public not at all'.⁸¹ By '38, A.L.K. spoke with greater directness and unconcealed contempt for a musically illiterate public:

Where music is concerned, my fellow-citizens are actually a laodicean throng, prepared to swallow uncritically what is offered them. This is true, I suppose, of most great modern cities but in Sydney the core of real music-lovers, people who know the repertoires that count and who cleave to definite viewpoints and standards in music and its performance, are, I believe, a smaller part of the "musical public" than is the case elsewhere...

He continued:

Properly stirred from without Sydney can get quite excited about great artists, even though the masterpieces presented may mean almost nothing to the vociferously cheering crowd. Values in art mean little in Sydney; otherwise, we should not find practically the same people, who acclaimed Pinza, Huberman and Lehmann, roaring with delight at the inanities or antics of a combination of slick entertainers in the department of unaccompanied vocal music.⁸²

⁸⁰ David, McNicoll, '...', *Home*, 1 July 1938, p.23

⁸¹ A.L.K., 'A Dual Farewell', *AMN*, 1 July 1936, p.11.

⁸² A.L.K., 'Viewpoints in an Orchestral Discussion', *AMN*, 1 July 1938, p.13.

McNicol was thus not alone in his scepticism. His reaction provides a clue to the lack of acknowledgment in historical accounts of the contributions made by ladies' committees to the development of state orchestras and other cultural institutions. A critical and historical bias against the patronage offered by social committees existed.

McNicol's observations do raise questions concerning the sincerity, or at least the motives, of the participants in the 1938 campaign. Without a doubt, the new Committee comprised a note-worthy, socially prominent collection of women. As mentioned, Street was its first President. Elected as Vice President in 1938, Lady Bertha Jordan also brought great prestige to the Ladies' Committee. Her husband, Sir Frederick Jordan, was appointed Chief Justice after Street, and Lieutenant Governor when Street left that post. The daughter of an early subscriber to the SSO concerts recalled Jordan's active recruitment of friends and relatives during the difficult periods that afflicted the early Subscribers' Committee.⁸³ Mrs W.J. Cleary, wife of the ABC Chairman, was also a member of the executive of the first formal Orchestral Committee.

Non-office bearing members included: Lady Anderson, wife of a former NSW Governor; Lady Davidson, also wife of a former Governor of NSW; Dame Mary Hughes; Dame Constance D'Arcy, obstetrician and gynaecologist; Miss Ruby Board, voluntary welfare worker and daughter of the Director of Education; Miss Kate Egan, President of the Catholic Women's Association; Miss Camilla Wedgwood, president of the Sydney University Women Graduates' Association; Mrs Rene Gibson, whose husband William Hope Gibson was a lecturer at Sydney University and was listed in 1938 *Who's Who*, while Rene herself received an MBE in 1948 for her services to the music community in Sydney; Mrs Jean Alice Maughan, wife of the barrister, David Maughan (later Sir), and

⁸³ Patricia Lemaire to Jane Hunt, 21 Nov. 1996, p.1.

daughter of Sir Edmund Barton; Miss Macarthur Onslow, charity and church worker; Miss Lena Ward, long time secretary of the Associated Music Clubs of NSW; Lady Eva Julius; Lady Blanche Sheldon; Mrs Thelma Dixson, wife of Robert Dixson; Mrs Hannah Lloyd Jones; Miss Mary Fairfax; Mrs Wilfred Fairfax; Miss Gwen Friend, sister of the artist, Donald Friend, and prominent figure in amateur theatre circles; Mrs Sibyl Mitchell, author and wife of Thomas Walter Mitchell; Miss Nancy Jobson, Headmistress of the Presbyterian Ladies' College at Pymble to 1933, and founder of Hopewood House, a finishing school for girls; Mrs Ruth White, mother and active promoter of Patrick White; Mrs Percy C. White, who did much work for the Kindergarten Union; and numerous other wives of politicians, military figures, and senior ABC or Conservatorium personnel.⁸⁴ Further, it is likely that the wider community of middle class women to whom Swinson appealed were the same women that crowded the ranks of war volunteers two years later.⁸⁵

If not all music-lovers, most of the above women obviously lived up to adapted Victorian notions of womanhood. Most belonged, through family or marriage, to that class of Society that deemed involvement in service to the community and the preservation of a certain set of moral and cultural values an appropriate public activity for a woman. Many evidently fulfilled these social expectations in a number of capacities, while others focused on particular philanthropic, philosophic or cultural causes. Thus, each had their own circles of influence, and together they represented a broad range of nurturing, charitable, cultural, philosophic and feminist interests. A large number of them resided in the prestigious eastern suburbs. Most of the remainder lived in large rambling homes high on

⁸⁴ See SSO, Celebrity Concert (8th in 1938 series), program, Sydney, 1 Sept. 1939. Over half of the members listed appear in the *ADB* either on their own merit or as wives or relatives of men who held distinguished positions in Sydney. Some are mentioned in the 1938 *Who's Who*. See Joseph A. Alexander (ed.), *Who's Who in Australia, 1938*, (Melbourne, 1938). All receive mention in the social pages of newspapers and magazines on a relatively regular basis.

⁸⁵ See Melanie Oppenheimer, 'Volunteers in Action: Voluntary work in Australia 1939-1945', PhD thesis, School of History, Philosophy and Politics, Macquarie University, February 1997; and Melanie

the hills of Sydney's upper North Shore. An early subscriber, Marjorie Chartres, suggested that not all of them were 'workers'.⁸⁶ Some seemed to enjoy the benefits of their position without carrying out the concomitant social obligations. Despite this, many of the women listed participated directly in Swinson's *musicale* movement in 1933, and maintained the practice in following years. Many also supported or initiated fund-raising committees in support of young, skilled musicians. A survey of *The Home* magazine, or the *Sydney Morning Herald* during the 1930s, provides sufficient proof of the commitment of most to musical causes: a commitment that reflected not just an Anglo-centric bourgeois education, but, as previously mentioned, a broader preoccupation with the highbrow.

Initially, in responding to demands for the foundation of a permanent orchestra, the ABC struggled with the constitutional inconsistencies and bureaucratic dilemmas inherent in the formation by a federal organisation of a state musical institution. On resolution of those matters it still faced the pragmatic dilemma of financial viability. The three musketeers gave the ABC the confidence to experiment with arrangements for a permanent orchestra, and proved, during the 1936 season that their methods were effective. Through expanding concentric circles of social acquaintance, Swinson enlisted the significant services of Gordon and Fairfax, acquired the essential endorsement of Government House, and attracted the cream of Sydney's female elite to her cause. Through word of mouth, as each tapped into her own social resources, through force of example, as prominent women were seen to support the cause, through sheer determination, as those particularly committed bent their time and energies on its progress, and through the passionate hopes of a few, the SSO and the subscription committee became permanent civic institutions.

Oppenheimer, 'Vas: Australian Voluntary Aids during the Second World War', *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*, no. 18, April 1991, pp.28, 30.

⁸⁶ Chartres, interview.

Eventually, ABC personnel acknowledged the strength of the social networking strategies used by the Ladies' Committee. Successes in Melbourne were attributed to the same approach. When the Manager for Queensland complained of a poor response to the 1938 season, Moses replied:

I cannot help but feel that the reason for the poor response is your decision not to form a social committee. ... The only sound plan to adopt is ... to get together a Social Committee comprising people who by their own attendance at the concerts, or by their enthusiasm in rounding up subscribers, persuade more and more people to believe it is 'the correct thing' to be seen at orchestral concerts.⁸⁷

Swinson was introduced by Cleary to the American conductor, Eugene Ormandy, when he visited Australia in 1944 as 'one of the Musketeers who helped to create the orchestra'. Ormandy felt it was an 'amazing coincidence' that the 'financial well-being' of the Philadelphia Orchestra likewise depended on a group of three women, whom they had dubbed 'the Three Musketeers'.⁸⁸ Sametz acknowledged this approach to 'audience-building'. He reported that great importance was placed on the 'patronage of the social elite'. The Ladies' Committees were 'taken very seriously' as '[t]hey were really crucial at this early stage, when subscribers had to be created from nothing'.⁸⁹ Even McNicoll conceded that at least 'Mrs Swinson and the rest of the team [were] clever enough to round everyone up, and herd them into the Town Hall'.⁹⁰ The musketeers indeed had mobilised a public which three years earlier had clearly shown no interest in patronising orchestral music.

The work of the Sydney Symphony Orchestral Committee gave the orchestra life. It nursed the orchestra until a more permanent funding arrangement between the Sydney City Council, the State Government and the ABC could be reached following the Second

⁸⁷ Moses to Manager for Queensland, 27 Oct. 1938, Celebrity Concert Season 1938 folder, AANSW.

⁸⁸ Swinson, 'Creation', p.7.

⁸⁹ Sametz, *Play On*, p.47.

⁹⁰ McNicoll, *Home*.

World War. Ironically but appropriately, though raising interest in public concerts through public campaigns, the committee was not a public institution, but rather a social, supportive and consequently semi-public one. It cultivated an audience, ensured its survival, and nurtured an institution. Its key members did so out of a sense of duty; out of a perception of responsibility to city, state and nation; out of a belief that orchestras were necessary civic institutions in modern societies. Their actions represented an application of the ideal of maternal citizenship, in which culture was added to welfare and women's rights as a subject on which they could speak.

Many women culturists, as aging Edwardians, thus dealt with modern cultural issues. Some embraced modernity more bravely than others: Jessie Street as a feminist and social reformer; others as professionals in their chosen field. Ethel Anderson had become an exponent of modernism in art. The Mosman-born Mary Alice Scheffer, as the wife of Labor politician, Herbert Vere Evatt, developed both progressive political leanings and an appreciation of modern art. While she advocated acceptance of new approaches to art, she viewed the arts with an eye that drew distinctions between cultural forms. Her cultural activism echoed the same idealism, albeit in a more progressive manner, that drove the musketeers to such lengths to create an audience for orchestral music. Just how a Labor-leaning modern-art-lover could belong to the same category of women culturists as the socialites of the Sydney Symphony Orchestral Committee now begs further consideration.



This page: Beatrice Swinson, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 August 1933, p.7.