"The most divine of all Arts": Neoplatonism, Anglo-Catholicism and Music in the Published Writings of A E H Nickson

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Statement of Sources

This thesis contains no material published elsewhere or extracted in whole or in part from a thesis by which I have been qualified for or been awarded another degree or diploma.

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Abstract

This thesis examines Neoplatonic and Anglo-Catholic influences in the writings of the influential Melbourne organist, music critic and teacher, Arthur E. H. Nickson (1876-1964). Nickson won the Clarke (Southern Provinces) Scholarship, founded to enable young Victorians to study at the Royal College of Music, where he studied organ under Sir Walter Parratt (1895-99), and came under the very strong influence of the Catholic revival in the Church of England at its height.

In 1901 Nickson returned to Melbourne where the aesthetic views he had begun to develop during his studies in England formed the basis for his activities as a church musician, which was centred on the parish of St Peter's Eastern Hill, a prominent Anglo-Catholic parish in Melbourne, recitalist and lecturer. These views were further developed as he began to write and publish essays expressing his aesthetic views that span a forty year period beginning in 1905.

Over the course of a 56-year career as a lecturer at the University of Melbourne Faculty of Music, Nickson had a strong influence due to the fact that every student passed through his lectures at some point in their course. In his lectures on the history, literature and aesthetics of music, Nickson presented a distinctive view that saw fine art as a sacrament. Nickson's presentation of these ideas will be explored through the notes of Bruce Steele, a student who attended his lectures in 1950, other student recollections, and Nickson's own lecture notes.

This thesis falls into two broad sections, seeking first to provide an adequate biography tracing Nickson's development, and secondly, to examine Nickson's presentation of his aesthetic views in his essays and lectures. The final chapter falls into two parts. In the first, Nickson's central claim, that art is a sacrament, will be examined. From this it will be seen that Nickson viewed artistic creation as a sort of sign making which could be understood in three ways, as symbol, metaphor and sacrament. It will be shown that Nickson's central claim, that art is a sacrament, and his view that the world emanates from God, expose tensions in his thought that appear to be inconsistent with these central claims. Nickson focussed his thinking on the artist in the creative process, rather than on the art object itself. The central requirement he placed on the artist was that they should cultivate a particular religious disposition of mind, based on the assertion that "the powers of the Artist reach their fullest extension only in the Christian Faith"; this requirment will be seen to have been based very firmly on Nickson's own mysticism.

In the second part, Nickson's application of his ideas will be examined through his teaching, making use of student recollections, and his own rereading of Karg-Elert's *Seven Pastels from the Lake of Constance* (Op. 96), presented in his program notes for a concert where this work was played. Challenges to Nickson's ideas included his own rejection of twentieth century developments in music, such as jazz and dodecaphony, and the work of non-Christian composers and performers, particularly given that some of these people held views very similar to his own. It is clear that Nickson did not respond to these challenges.

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis examines the life and thought of the influential Melbourne organist, teacher and music critic, Arthur Ernest Howard Nickson (1876-1964). Born in Melbourne, Nickson studied in England on the Clarke Scholarship at the Royal College of Music (1895-1899). During his studies in England, Nickson experienced the Catholic revival in the Church of England at its height. On his return to Australia in 1901 Nickson's activities as a church musician, and later, as a teacher provided the platform for him to articulate views that were formed as a result of these influences. Beginning in 1904, Nickson's 56-year career as a lecturer at the University Of Melbourne Conservatorium Of Music is important, as every student had to pass through his lectures at some point in their course. As music critic at the *Age* from 1927, Nickson played a decisive role in shaping public taste at the time of the establishment of the Melbourne Symphony Orchestra under Bernard Heinze, who was also Ormond Professor of Music at the University of Melbourne (1926-57).

Nickson's essays form a distinct group of writings that are probably unique in Australia. The main published essays cover a forty-year period beginning in 1905, and show the development of Nickson's thinking about the moral basis and spiritual nature of music, his views on the nature of the Church, and his worldview, based on Neoplatonic philosophy, which shaped his thinking about the process of creation. While Nickson's view of the created order was shaped by Neoplatonic influences, his view of the

redemptive function of art was expressed in terms of sacramental theology, and was related very closely to his Anglo-Catholicism.

In his essays and lectures Nickson frequently worked with an abstracted concept of 'Art', rather than specific art objects. While reference was made to art objects, it is not clear how Nickson defined the term 'artist'. Nickson's attention in his discussions of 'Art' tended to focus on the artist, rather than the object. This was a result of his worldview, which saw art objects as an emanation from the personality of the artist; this necessitated the cultivation of a disposition of mind, which was enabled by the acquisition of mystical intuition. While his description of the fine arts as consisting of architecture, sculpture, painting, poetry and music was in line with older views of art, his views on the artist are difficult to discern, which raises the question of whether Nickson saw himself as an artist. Clearly his vocation was not as a composer, as the discussion of his mass settings in Chapter 3 will demonstrate, while as an organ teacher he was more interested in interpretation than in the mechanics of playing the instrument.

This thesis falls into two broad sections. The first three chapters seek to provide an adequate biography of Nickson, which has never previously been done. The fourth chapter examines Nickson's worldview and the implications this had for his thinking about music, and falls into two parts. The first part follows Nickson's worldview as it was expressed in his essays, and focuses attention on the concept of art as a process of sign making. The manner in which this sign making is understood is essential to its function, and in Nickson's writings three understandings emerge: symbol, metaphor and

sacrament. The second part of the discussion examines Nickson's articulation of his worldview in relation to music, which he considered to be the "most divine of the arts",[1] drawing on lecture notes, student reminiscences and Nickson's own.

Nickson's central claim was that art is a sacrament. This can be seen in relation to his faith, where the regular use of the Church's sacraments was central. This claim is challenged by statements Nickson made about the faith of composers such as Beethoven and Bach. This raises questions about sacramental efficacy when applied to art, and some limitations implicit in viewing art as a sacrament.

It will be argued that Nickson conceived of artistic creation as fundamentally a process of sign making. The sign may be regarded as a symbol, metaphor or sacrament, and the process of creating the sign reflects God's own creative activity in human creative acts. Nickson conceived of human creative action as having a redemptive character, bringing the artist into closer unity with the godhead. This union was the ultimate aim of art, being the act of redemption that paralleled the union brought about by such sacraments as the Eucharist. This term also points to some tensions in Nickson's worldview, where he expressed a view of the creation of the material world as being both a dynamic, continuing activity of emanation from God, and a single action of the will of God, such as the creation account of Genesis.

[1] "Organ Recitals," *Ecclesia* January 1913.

Sources & Literature Review

The principal source of primary material for Nickson is the Nickson Collection at the Grainger Museum, University of Melbourne. This collection, amounting to 16 boxes of material, contains copies of Nickson's published and unpublished writings, consisting of essays, lecture notes, personal writings, and personal papers including family correspondences and documents, some books and music from Nickson's personal library and ephemera such as concert programs and newspaper clippings. Nickson was not in the habit of keeping copies of the letters he sent, and the absence of these letters is a major area in which the Nickson Collection is incomplete.

The Nickson Collection also contains drafts of some of Nickson's essays. Only a single manuscript survives of *Christ in Art* (published 1925), which appears to have been a fair copy, and *The Mind Beautiful*. The only essay for which a complete series of drafts have been preserved is *A Speculative Fall* (1934-5?). These drafts show refinements of expression, and annotations by Johannes Heyer, a close friend and advisor to Nickson; an undated letter to Beryl Nickson is attached to one draft that discusses the contents of the essay.[2] Unlike Nickson's other essays, *A Speculative Fall* was never printed, and was circulated only in annotated typescript. No manuscripts survive for Nickson's writings on church music.

Nickson's lectures show the pattern of his preparation. The vast bulk of the lecture notes were written after 1929, when Nickson began to teach the history, literature

[2] A E H Nickson, *A Speculative Fall*, Typescript & MS essay, Nickson Collection, PVgm, Box 4; Nickson, Letter to "B", Correspondence attached to MS of *A Speculative Fall*, Nickson Collection, PVgm, Box 2, Melbourne.

and aesthetics of music regularly, following changes in the distribution of teaching at the Conservatorium. A number of lectures are simply lists of topics to be covered, as is the case with "Pre-Xtian BC".[3] Others are completely written out, such as the two versions of "The heart is the first of physical organs…"[4] Nickson's surviving through-composed lectures are generally focussed on aesthetics, rather than history. The lectures that survive discuss the lives of composers primarily in the context of a wider appraisal of the aesthetic values of their music, rather than being purely fact-based accounts of their lives and times. Nickson's lecture notes were generally written on scraps of paper, or on the backs of cut-down AMEB stationery. The size is quite economical, and would have sat easily in the hand without the need to make use of a reading desk in the lecture theatre. Nickson's handwriting was idiosyncratic, and is often difficult to decipher, particularly when he had worked over a lecture in different inks and pencil. The notes were generally written out first in black ink, followed by alterations either in the same or blue ink. Another layer of Nickson's work on these notes can be seen in grey and blue pencil markings. Where two versions of the one lecture survive they generally duplicate one another word-for-word, with very minor differences being in expression rather than substance.

Fabrikant's edition of the Karg-Elert letters in the Nickson Collection presents the record of the interesting exchange between the Australian organist and the German composer. Commencing in 1913 and ending at Karg-Elert's death in 1933. Nickson and Karg-Elert had a correspondence of which only the letters to Nickson have survived.

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[3] A E H Nickson, *Pre Xtian Bc - 2nd Lecture*, MS lecture notes, Nickson Collection, Pvgm, Box 2.
[4] A E H Nickson, "the Heart Is the First of Physical Organs..." Ink & pencil MS lecture notes, Nickson Collection, PVgm, Box 2; Nickson, "Heart Beat:..." MS lecture notes, Nickson Collection, PVgm, Box 2.

Nickson did not speak or read German, and Karg-Elert clearly had limited English, so the correspondence took place through interpreters in Australia. This book reproduces all of the contemporary translations, but not the German originals, and includes a small amount of newly-translated material that was not translated at the time.[5]

An extremely useful source related to Nickson's lecture notes is the notebook of Bruce Steele, a Melbourne organist and church musician who attended Nickson's lectures as a first year arts student at the University of Melbourne in 1950. His notes provide a fascinating glimpse into how a student heard Nickson's lectures, and show some of Nickson's teaching patterns. Steele's notes frequently reproduce the exact text of Nickson's lecture notes, where they survive, and also provide notes where gaps exist in the lectures held in the Nickson Collection. They demonstrate that Nickson was very clear in his presentation of his subject matter in the early part of the year. However, Steele's notes began to trail off in the third term, possibly because the direction of the lectures had become difficult to follow as Nickson moved towards more abstract metaphysical discussions of his aesthetics. Steele's notes contain three extensive quotations from Stephen MacKenna's translation of Plotinus's *Enneads*, one in roneo copied typescript on a slip of paper that Nickson distributed at lectures, and two that were presumably dictated or written on the blackboard that Steele copied directly into his lecture notes. Steele's notes indicate that Nickson used overtly religious language in the lecture theatre.

[5] Harold Fabrikant, ed., *The Harmonies of the Soul* (Adelaide: Academy Music, 1996) p 18.

Another useful source is the University of Melbourne Faculty of Music archive, which contains the minute books of the Conservatorium Committee (1903-25), the Board of the Faculty of Music (1926-) and prospectuses. This material shows the development of Nickson's teaching activities, and very occasional references to remuneration.

Resources for examining Nickson's philosophy, theology and interests in mysticism constitute a vast literature. Nickson's theology was deeply influenced by the theology of Charles Gore's *Lux Mundi: the Theology of the Incarnation* (1889), which was an important step in the development of Anglo-Catholic theology in the second generation of the Catholic Revival.[6] Another theologian whose work was an important influence on Nickson was W. R. Inge. Inge's 1899 Bampton Lectures, delivered at Oxford under the title *Christian Mysticism*, presented Christian mysticism as the Neoplatonic tradition in Christianity.[7] This was a book Nickson possessed and valued.[8] Nickson's interest in mystical literature covered a wide range of authors. He had a particular interest in Teresa d'Avila, and he introduced his students to her spiritual manual *The Interior Castle*.[9] This book is of particular interest, as Teresa presents the process of reaching union with God as a series of clear stages of developing mystical intuition.

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[6] Charles Gore, ed., *Lux Mundi: A Series of Studies in the Religion of the Incarnation*, 12 ed. (London: John Murray, 1902).
[7] William Ralph Inge, *Christian Mysticism: Considered in Eight Lectures Delivered before the University of Oxford*, 7th ed. (London: Methuen, 1932).
[8] Howard Hollis, *For the Anglican Historical Society, Chapter House, St Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne, 21st April 1993: Dr A. E. H. Nickson - the Man + Melbourne's Music*, Unpublished MS lecture notes, Melbourne, p 7.
[9] St Teresa d'Avila, *The Interior Castle, or, the Mansions*, trans. The Benedictines of Stanbrook, Joan Bazeley, ed., *Retrospections A. E. H. N.* (Melbourne: Private printing, 1996) p 9.

Other material related to Nickson's philosophy includes the writings of two nineteenth century English idealists, John Ruskin and Walter Pater. In his lectures Nickson quoted from Pater's *The Renaissance* and Ruskin's *The Two Paths*.[10] These two authors were very important to Nickson, as they presented a view of art that accorded with the position he articulated in a 1905 article titled "The Moral Basis of Music" that it should glorify God, edify the audience and further the study of beauty, which was one of the attributes of God. Nickson's former students recalled being pressed with the loan of books by Ruskin, and while no titles are mentioned, it is more than likely that *The Two Paths*, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* and *The Stones of Venice* were among the books that Nickson kept in his briefcase for the purpose of lending to students. Those who visited the Nickson home recall him drawing books down from the shelves and reading selected passages.[11] A critical influence on Nickson's development was Plotinus, and the translation he read was that of Stephen MacKenna, which was published in sections from 1918.[12] This was the translation that Nickson quoted from in lectures.

Howard Hollis (1916-), an organ student of Nickson in the 1930s who subsequently became an Anglican priest, has been a central figure in the transmission of Nickson's ideas. He has written several items on Nickson, and has been working on a biography that is still in progress at the time of this research. Hollis was Nickson's assistant organist at St Peter's in the 1930s, but they also had a close personal relationship and maintained regular contact: he married one of Nickson's goddaughters and, as a

[10] Bruce Steele, *Lecture Notes*, Excercise book containing notes from lectures given by Nickson in 1950., Unpublished MS, Melbourne, p 20. Steele noted the authors and titles of the books, but no reference to the place in the books where the quotation was drawn from.
[11] Bazeley, ed., *Retrospections* pp 12-13, 19, 21, 31, 33-4.
[12] Plotinus, *The Enneads*, trans. Stephen MacKenna (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1952).

priest, was closely involved with his former teacher in the closing stages of his life.[13] Another former pupil, Leonard Fullard, wrote of Hollis's address at Nickson's funeral that "we almost felt we were listening to our old master, so steeped is he in Dr Nickson's mysticism."[14]

Hollis holds many materials, including books, personal papers and letters, which came to him from Nickson prior to 1964,[15] and has written two biographical articles, published in *Harmonies of the Soul* and the *Oxford Companion to Australian Music*.[16] A more extended discussion of his views on Nickson is contained in a paper Hollis gave at the Diocese of Melbourne Historical Society in 1993, the manuscript of which was kindly made available for this research.[17] Hollis discussed Nickson's organ teaching in both *Harmonies of the Soul* and in his biography of Sir William McKie (another Nickson organ student), *The Best of Both Worlds*,[18] although nothing explicit about how his own playing was guided by Nickson. He did not hear any of Nickson's recitals, which ceased when Hollis was only a child, and appears to have heard him play in the liturgy only once.[19] However, as an organ student, he had the opportunity to hear Nickson play often,

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[13] Howard Hollis, *Address for the Funeral of Dr. A.E.H. Nickson (1876-1964) at St. Peter's, Melbourne. 10 Am 18 February, 1964. By the Reverend Howard Hollis, Chaplain of Geelong Church of England Grammar School.*, Nickson Collection, PVgm, Box 5.
[14] Leonard Fullard, "Dr A. E. H. Nickson," *The Anglican* 27 February 1964.
[15] H Hollis, Letter to Kieran Crichton, 27/10/2003.
[16] Fabrikant, ed., *Harmony of the Soul* pp 12-15, H Hollis, "Nickson, A. E. H.," *Oxford Companion to Australian Music*, ed. W Bebbington (Melbourne: Oxford University Press Australia, 1997).
[17] Hollis, *Dr A. E. H. Nickson - the Man + Melbourne's Music*.
[18] H Hollis, *The Best of Both Worlds: A Life of Sir William Mc Kie* (Burwood: Sir William McKie Memorial Trust, 1991) pp 10-11, Fabrikant, ed., *Harmony of the Soul* pp 12-13.
[19] Personal conversation with Howard Hollis, 27th August 2003.

and has commented that, even late in life, he was able to demonstrate the pieces his students were learning with "enviable competence."[20]

Hollis is one of the many students to write recollections of Nickson's teaching at the University, although his description differs markedly from others:

> in a secular University like Melbourne ~~was so explicitly no~~ no [religious] terms could be used in the interpretation of the art of music. But he managed more the less [sic] in non-Christian terms to convey such meaning by using ~~some terms of~~ philosophy and idealism as his references. Some of the most worldly of his students were bewildered, but none could escape being influenced by the elevation of his thought + ~~of~~ the concept of the ideal he held before them; or fail to consider values and quality ~~as~~ in ultimate terms. ~~✳ In~~ of this I can… speak from first-hand experience.[21]

The notes of another former student, Bruce Steele, along with comments in a collection of student's reminiscences,[22] indicate that Nickson's students were deeply aware of his religious convictions, and in some cases, he often took an active interest in the spiritual lives of his students. The difference of opinion on what constitutes "religious terms" is no doubt attributable largely to the spiritual beliefs which led Hollis, but few others amongst the Conservatorium students, to theological training.

Hollis's long and close relationship to Nickson has some advantages; for instance, anecdotal information about his life dating from before the time they met reflects the way Nickson himself recounted his own history, and Hollis has a deep understanding of Nickson's ideas and perspective on matters spiritual, aesthetic and musical. Much of

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[20] Fabrikant, ed., *Harmony of the Soul* p 15.
[21] Hollis, *Dr A. E. H. Nickson - the Man + Melbourne's Music*, p 15. The University of Melbourne has always been secular, and has no theology faculty, a legacy of the sectarian arguments of the 1850s, when the University was founded.
[22] Steele; Bazeley, ed., *Retrospections*.

Hollis's biography of McKie is written from direct personal experience "to provide an authentic account,"[23] and quotes from correspondence between Nickson and McKie not held at the Grainger Museum, therefore presumably in Hollis's private collection.

Despite the existence of documentary evidence, Hollis is not always reliable on biographical details. For example, he stated in one essay that "[a]fter qualifying, A.E.H.N. spent several years in charge of the music at Farnham Parish Church."[24] However, a letter to Nickson from the Vicar and Churchwardens of St Andrew's, Farnham, formally offered him the post in September 1896,[25] during the second year of his studies at the Royal College of Music, and other evidence shows that he accepted the position immediately.[26] In addition, Hollis has not always revealed—or been able to reveal, it is unclear which—his sources of information. *Best of Both Worlds* was published by the Sir William McKie Memorial Trust, and contains no bibliography, only a brief list of primary and secondary sources. Quotations from published material are fully cited, but no details are given for his extensive quotations from primary sources.

Joseph Rich's article on Nickson for the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* was the first biographical article not written by a former student, and made use of the Nickson Collection and Peter Tregear's 1996 book on the history of the University of Melbourne Conservatorium.[27] Rich's article, while necessarily short, is a fair assessment of him in

[23] Hollis, *Best of Both Worlds* p x.
[24] *Harmony of the Soul*, p.12.
[25] Nickson Collection, Box 5
[26] St Andrew's Church Farnham, *Church Wardens Accounts*, Surrey History Centre, Woking, 2nd Nov. 1896.
[27] Peter Tregear, *The Conservatorium of Music, University of Melbourne: An Historical Essay to Mark Its Centenary 1895-1995* (Parkville: Centre for Studies in Australian Music, 1997).

light of student recollections and the sources extant in the Nickson Collection. However, Hollis has expressed reservations about this article, mostly on the basis of its analysis of Nickson's views.[28]

Another of Nickson's former students, Joan Bazeley, has played an important role in the development of the small amount of literature on Nickson, through her compilation of the recollections of 105 other students who attended Nickson's lectures from the 1930s-50s. *Reminiscences A.E.H.N.* is a fascinating body of anecdotal material that illustrates the formative influence Nickson had on his students, which extended well beyond simply teaching music in many cases. The book was published privately in 1996, more than thirty years after Nickson's death, although Bazeley stated that she had asked "[s]everal years ago" through her personal networks and an advertisement in the *Age* for former students of Nickson to send her "any anecdotes, impressions, reactions, etc. regarding this highly respected teacher."[29] *Reminiscences* demonstrates very powerfully that Nickson's immediate influence lingered until the late 1980s; many of the former students whose reminiscences were compiled by Bazeley were themselves quite advanced in age by the time of the book's publication.

One of the themes that emerge from *Reminiscences* is that Nickson's influence shaped people's lives in a decisive way, and this provides a useful way to understand the motivation behind the compilation of this book. Bazeley stated her belief that Nickson had been "an enlightened thinker who revealed to many of us, not only the deeper

[28] Personal Conversation, August 27th 2003.
[29] Bazeley, ed., *Retrospections* p iii.

significance of music, but also of life itself, imparting to time the glory of eternity."[30] As a follower of Christian Science, Bazeley was interested in the collection of testimony of life-changing experiences and people who acted as a catalyst in these events; Nickson was clearly qualified in her mind for this classification. It is important to note that Bazeley included a wide range of student responses, ranging from people who clearly found Nickson's influence a positive experience to a few who found his influence to be profoundly negative. An example of this is Jean Starling's comment that

> When I contemplate the number of musicians whom I respect and who obviously hold Mr Nickson in deep respect and love, then it should be obvious that…I missed out…But I don't feel like that at all, neither then nor now…The trouble was, he didn't take the trouble to dig, and, in my book, that's the true teacher's responsibility.[31]

While this collection is not a biography, Bazeley's use of biblical quotation sets out a view of Nickson that she was seeking to promote. On the first page there is a quote that also appeared on Nickson's confirmation card from 1891: "They that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever" (Dan 12.3).[32] Very short quotations from Nickson's essays also appear through the book, but these are seldom more than one sentence. All of the quotations are drawn from parts of the essays where Nickson was dwelling on the concept of revelation, either through art, the Church, church music or philosophy.

In the course of this research recorded personal interviews were conducted with Mrs Beryl Newland, the granddaughter of one of Nickson's translators for the Karg-Elert

[30] Bazeley, ed., *Retrospections* p iii.
[31] Cited in Bazeley, ed., *Retrospections* p 29.
[32] Bazeley, ed., *Retrospections* p ii, Jemima Hunter Nickson, *Bible (1)*, MS notes in flyleaves, Nickson Papers, PVgm, Box 14, card inserted.

correspondence,[33] Mr John Mallinson, a former organ student,[34] and Emeritus Professor Noël Nickson, Nickson's youngest son.[35] Newland had a very particular relationship to the Nickson household, as Beryl Nickson, Nickson's wife, was her godmother. Her admiration for Nickson remains absolute, based partly on his assistance to her grandmother, Greta Bellmont, and her father, Rudolf Wendriner, whose passage to Australia was arranged by Nickson in 1912. In the course of his studies at the Conservatorium in the 1950s Mallinson studied the organ under Nickson, in addition to attending his lectures. Mallinson recalls that Nickson was a decisive influence in shaping his spiritual life, resulting in his confirmation as an Anglican after growing up in a predominantly Presbyterian home and attending Scotch College, a Presbyterian secondary school. Noël Nickson provides a distinctive view of his father. As a student at the Conservatorium in the late 1930s he attended Nickson's lectures, and it is intriguing to note that he claims to have understood very little of his father's philosophy.

Some other views of Nickson have been developed in the histories of the two institutions with which he was associated. Colin Holden's history of St Peter's Eastern Hill, where Nickson was organist and choir director 1901/3-16 and c1929-48, contains a fair assessment of Nickson's influence on the development of music in the liturgy in that church, and some discussion of the recitals he gave there between 1912 and 1933.[36] Holden's other work on the development of Australian Anglo-Catholicism is very important in showing the gradual acceptance of this worship style over Nickson's

[33] Personal recorded interview with Beryl Newland, 19th November 2003.
[34] Personal recorded interview with John Mallinson, 25th November 2003.
[35] Personal recorded interview with Noël Nickson, 2nd March 2004.
[36] Colin Holden, *From Tories at Prayer to Socialists at Mass: A History of St Peter's, Eastern Hill* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1996) pp 101-3, 49-51, 256.

lifetime, and has been very useful in this research.[37] Peter Tregear's historical essay on the University of Melbourne Faculty of Music contains a brief discussion of Nickson's activities at the Conservatorium.[38] In addition to the Faculty of Music archives, Tregear made use of a wide range of archival sources and personal interviews with past staff and students.

Among general sources for the philosophical and theological aspects of this study, the first volume of Frederick Coplestone's *A History of Philosophy*, which provides a thoroughgoing survey of the development of Neoplatonism, and an older essay, B. F. Westcott's "Origen and the Birth of Christian Philosophy", which gives a further view from the nineteenth century of the influence of Neoplatonism in Christian philosophy, are both good starting points in examining the vast literature on Neoplatonism and Christianity.[39] The *Cambridge Companion to Plotinus* is a valuable overview of Plotinus's thought, particularly the articles on Plotinus's metaphysics and the assimilation of his thought into Christian philosophy.[40] The questions posed about Plotinus as a Platonist and as an instigator of Neoplatonism in the Introduction and opening essay of the *Cambridge Companion* have helped to give shape to the discussion of Nickson's Neoplatonism in Chapter 4. In examining mysticism, Evelyn Underhill's *Mysticism: A Study in the Nature and Development of Man's Spiritual Consciousness* is a standard work that presents mysticism from a more empirical perspective, while Rowan

[37] Colin Holden, *'Awful Happenings on the Hill': E S Hughes and Melbourne Anglo-Catholicism before the War* (Melbourne: St Peter's Church, 1992); Holden, *Ritualist on a Tricycle: Frederick Goldsmith, Church, Nationalism and Society in Western Australia 1880 - 1920* (Nedlands: University of Western Australia, 1997).
[38] Tregear, *Conservatorium of Music* 81-3.
[39] Brooke Foss Westcott, "Origen and the Birth of Christian Philosophy," *Essays in the History of Religious Thought in the West* (London: Macmillan And Co., 1891).
[40] John Rist, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Plotinus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

Williams's *Teresa of Avila* is essential reading for an introduction to her thought.[41] In examining the conflicts over styles of churchmanship in the nineteenth century, Owen Chadwick's *The Mind of the Oxford Movement*, *The Victorian Church* and *The Spirit of the Oxford Movement* are all standard texts.[42] Elisabeth Jay's *The Evangelical and Oxford Movements* is an informative anthology of writings from the leaders of both parties in the development of the churchmanship debates of the nineteenth century, and her opening essay provided a useful framework for discussing the contrasting emphases of the Evangelicals and Anglo-Catholics in Chapter 1.[43]

This thesis is the first substantial study of Nickson's life and writings. It is important to reach a fuller understanding of Nickson's ideas as he expressed them in his essays and lectures because of the critical role he played as an influence on several generations of musicians through his teaching of the organ and academic subjects. Unfortunately it has not been possible to examine Nickson's writings for the *Age* or his work for the AMEB, which remains as a project for future scholarship. Nickson's criticism for the *Age* is very important because the newspaper was the medium that enabled his influence to be dispersed well beyond the confines of his academic teaching and work as a church musician. This is yet more important when it is observed that Nickson's time at the *Age* coincided with the establishment of the Melbourne Symphony Orchestra and the development of public broadcasting through the ABC. Without

[41] Rowan Williams, *Teresa of Avila* (London: Continuum, 1991).
[42] Owen Chadwick, *The Mind of the Oxford Movement* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1960); Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, vol. 1, 2 vols. (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1966); Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, vol. 2, 2 vols. (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1970); Chadwick, *The Spirit of the Oxford Movement: Tractarian Essays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
[43] Elisabeth Jay, *The Evangelical and Oxford Movements* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

reducing the significance of Nickson's *Age* critiques, the writings discussed in this thesis follow such a particular set of themes that it would not have been possible to do justice to Nickson's critical work. The essays and lectures must be considered as a distinct group of writings where Nickson worked out his philosophy and articulated his very distinctive worldview, and this in turn shaped his work in other spheres, such as the *Age* critiques. The *Age* critiques can therefore be seen as another distinct group of Nickson's writings, given that the main body of Nickson's *Age* critiques were frequently focussed on his interpretations of the works performed than the performances he attended. For this reason Nickson's writings for the *Age* have been omitted from this study. This thesis will be of assistance to any future research focussed on Nickson's critical writing, for it explores Nickson's worldview in the context of his thinking on questions of musical aesthetics.

As a Neoplatonist, Nickson was not unique in Australia. However, his articulation of a scheme of creation, based on this philosophy, and redemption, based on Anglo-Catholic theology, represented a distinctive synthesis of ideas.

Chapter 1

Early life, 1876 – 1901

Arthur Ernest Howard Nickson was born on March 1st 1876, the youngest of Frederick Thomas and Jemima Hunter (neé Snowball) Nickson's three children. His father had arrived in South Australia from Hampshire, England, on the *Emily Smith* in 1866, and appears to have been in Western Australia before relocating to Melbourne sometime before 1870.[1] His mother and her family had arrived in Western Australia on the *Palestine* in 1853,[2] and she relocated to Melbourne, presumably to follow Frederick Nickson, whom she married at St John's Church of England, Toorak, on May 4th 1870. The wedding certificate indicates that Frederick's father was a solicitor, Jemima's a carpenter. Frederick's own profession was given as a footman at Government House. Jemima may also have worked in the same house; although no profession or rank was listed for her, her address being the same as Frederick's. Samuel Nickson, Frederick's father, was one of the witnesses to the marriage, although records of his arrival in Australia did not emerge in the course of this research.

By 1876 the Nickson family had moved to Cambridge St, Collingwood, where Arthur was born.[3] In 1883 the family settled in Canning St, Carlton North, where they remained until 1910.[4] Frederick's status also changed; in 1873, the birth certificate of his second child, Frederick James gave his occupation as a storeman. He commenced

[1] Rica Ericson, ed., *The Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians: Pre-1829-1888*, vol. iii (Nedlands: University of Western Australia Press, 1988) p 2322.
[2] Ericson, ed., *West Australians Pre-1829-1888* p 2893.
[3] *Sands & Macdougall Directory of Melbourne Householders* (Melbourne: Sands & MacDougall, 1874-79).
[4] *Sands & Macdougall Directory of Melbourne Householders* (Melbourne: Sands & MacDougall, 1883-1909).

duty in the Postal Department less than a month after the birth of Arthur, and the Electoral Roll of 1903 gave his occupation as a letter sorter.[5]

Although Nickson certainly attended school, no evidence came to light during this research to show where. Nickson later described his early musical development: his first teacher, a Mr Heathcote, saw that Nickson's taste "was directed aright" by introducing him to Bach and showing him the "beauty and solemnity" reached by Beethoven in his slow movements.[6] After 1889 Nickson began studying the piano under Miss Wood, sister of the newly appointed organist of St Paul's Cathedral, Ernest Wood (1861-1914), who became Nickson's organ teacher. Miss Wood was remembered by Nickson as a "rare teacher" of technique to achieve artistic results, who regarded her teaching room as a "Hospital for curing faulty hands + fingers."[7] Ernest Wood's teaching imbued Nickson with a strong appreciation for the tone of the Cathedral organ, built by T. C. Lewis of London, the tones of which "ever since made me discontented with inferior sound."[8] Although Nickson did not elaborate on his impressions of Wood in any written records, Hollis notes that Nickson "often spoke [of Wood] in the highest terms".[9]

Following the arrival in Melbourne of George Marshall-Hall (1862-1915) to take up the post of first Ormond Professor of Music at the University of Melbourne in 1890, "Musical Education… centred round" the concerts given by the orchestra he

[5] John F Waghorn, *Index of Victorian Postal and Telegraph Department Staff Who Commenced Duty between 1839 and 1901* (Thomastown: John F. Waghorn, 1989) p 93. FTN commenced duty 26/4/1876.
[6] A E H Nickson, "Overwhelmed with Kindness + Good Feeling...." MS speech notes: 80th Birthday function, Nickson Collection, PVgm, Box 2, p 4.
[7] Nickson, *Overwhelmed*, p 5.
[8] Nickson, *Overwhelmed*, p 4.
[9] Hollis, *Dr A. E. H. Nickson - the Man + Melbourne's Music*, p 3.

established.[10] Nickson formed a very high opinion of Marshall-Hall's interpretative abilities, which Nickson understood to be based on a highly personal style of interpretation, where music's mission was seen in terms of fine art. Marshall-Hall's work with his orchestra demanded "hard thinking from his players + relied upon descriptive notes to elucidate the meaning of the Symphonies", and all interpretations were "brought out with unmistakable force."[11] After observing that Frederick and Jemima Nickson were remembered as "people of some piety – good evangelicals I suppose, of the most admirable kind", Hollis wonders what opinion Nickson's parents would have had of the influence of the atheistic Marshall-Hall on the young Arthur.[12]

In 1893 Nickson began his first appointment as organist at St Mark's Fitzroy.[13] At an earlier stage of its history, St Mark's had become a parish attended by the well-to-do, and in the church building a gallery survives with its separate entry that enabled servants to leave the service early to prepare the Sunday meal for their masters, who would sit in the nave. At the age of seventeen Nickson evidently displayed a great deal of talent to be taking on such a prestigious position; however, it could be argued that the financial strain placed on the parish as a result of the depression of the 1890s may have been a factor in the appointment of a young and inexperienced organist.

[10] Nickson, *Overwhelmed*, p 5.
[11] Nickson, *Overwhelmed*, pp 6-7.
[12] Hollis, *Dr A. E. H. Nickson - the Man + Melbourne's Music*, p 2.
[13] All the archives of St Mark's are held in the State Library of Victoria: no vestry records have survived from this period, and no parish magazine appears to have existed, so it is impossible to say precisely when in that year Nickson began his appointment at St Mark's.

In January 1895 Nickson was among ten candidates examined for the Clarke Scholarship. This scholarship was founded in 1882 by the pastoralist Sir William Clarke to enable young Victorian musicians to study at the Royal College of Music (RCM) in London for three years, at a time when Melbourne had no established music school. The examiners were the priest and organist Rev. Dr Torrance; the pianist, and later fourth Ormond Professor of Music at Melbourne University, William Adolphus Laver; and T H Guenett, music critic at the *Argus* and conductor of the Metropolitan Liedertafel. The review of the examination that appeared in the *Australasian* noted that Nickson played Mendelssohn's fifth Organ Sonata and three works by Bach: a Trio Sonata, a Toccata and Fugue in D minor (presumably BWV 565), which he played from memory, and a Fugue in G minor (probably BWV 578). The critic commented that the winner was an unexpected choice, as Nickson's name was "almost unknown in musical circles."[14]

A benefit concert was held at the Melbourne Town Hall on March 8th, at which Nickson played the Mendelssohn sonata and a *Grand Choeur* by Theodore Salomé. The critic at the *Age* commented that Nickson performed in "a style which abundantly confirms the opinion of the judges by whom the prize was awarded him. He has remarkable facility and correctness of execution…his choice of stops was always judicious and effective."[15] Nickson's choice of works at this concert is interesting. Instead of repeating all the works from his examination, he retained only the Mendelssohn, substituting the Salomé for all the Bach. Since the *Grand Choeur* was a somewhat showy piece, could this be seen as a nod to popular taste? The critic at the

[14] "Music: Concerts, &C.," *The Australasian* February 2 1895: p 223.
[15] "Amusements," *Age* March 6 1895: p 6.

Australasian took the opportunity to comment on the adverse response to the Town Hall organ of the English organist W. T. Best, who had toured to Australia to open the new organ at the Sydney Town Hall in 1890. He had given one concert in the Melbourne Town Hall at which he had also played the Mendelssohn sonata, when "the exertion of performing upon our antiquated instrument prostrated him to such an extent that he could on no account be persuaded to repeat the experiment."[16]

Nickson was in London to enrol at the Royal College of Music on May 2nd. The Scholars' Register gives Frederick Nickson's profession as 'civil servant';[17] one wonders if this was an attempt by Arthur Nickson to raise his social rank. The Clarke Scholarship provided for his tuition and lodging during term time only and Nickson lived close to the College at first; his earliest English address was 69 Earl's Court Square.[18] Throughout the twelve terms of his enrolment, Nickson took his principal and second studies, organ and piano.[19] His piano teacher, Herbert Sharpe, complained of his frequent absence without permission in five terms, culminating in his final term, when Sharpe noted "4 attendances only".[20] In 1898 he also commented that Nickson was "Not always fully alert".[21] This is in contrast to the remarks of Nickson's organ teacher, Sir Walter Parratt; a typical report from him consisted of the comment "In every particular excellent" hurriedly scrawled across all the fields for lecturer's remarks.[22] For his first six terms Nickson took Harmony, for which the lecturer commented on his lack of punctuality, and

[16] "Music: Concerts, &C.."
[17] Royal College of Music Scholars Register, Enrolment record, RCM archives, London, p 30.
[18] Royal College of Music Scholars Register, p 30.
[19] The report for the Midsummer term of 1897 is missing.
[20] R.C.M., Easter Term Report, 1899, Nickson Collection, PVgm, Box 4, Melbourne.
[21] R.C.M., Easter Term Report, 1898, Nickson Collection, PVgm, Box 4, Melbourne.
[22] R.C.M., Easter Term Report, 1897, Nickson Collection, PVgm, Box 4, Melbourne.

in the Christmas term of 1897 noted cryptically that his disposition was "Too vaguely artistic."[23] Counterpoint replaced Harmony for the remaining six terms, with the lecturer commenting in the final report that regular attendance and punctuality was "Still unachieved."[24] Nickson took choir training for the first 6 terms, and the lecturer, W. S. Hoyte, generally regarded him as "Very promising."[25] As Director of the RCM, Sir Hubert Parry's comments on Nickson's reports were always positive, a typical example being: "An excellent report. Always doing well."[26] In 1897 Nickson's scholarship was extended.[27] In 1899 he was awarded the prize for improvisation, and he graduated at the end of the 1899 Easter Term.[28] Nickson also took the examinations of the Royal College of Organists, becoming a Fellow in the 1901 examinations.

An explanation for the comments on Nickson's punctuality comes in an aside made by his harmony lecturer about late trains in his report for Christmas term 1897. In November 1896 Nickson had begun an appointment as organist of St Andrew's Church, in the village of Farnham, Surrey, where he lived until his return to Melbourne in 1901. He developed a recital career as organist at St Andrews, and also served as conductor of the Farnham Choral Society. It is clear that Farnham demanded much of Nickson's attention, as the comments on attendance and punctuality in his RCM reports seem to grow with his concert activities.

[23] R.C.M., Christmas Term Report, 1897, Nickson Collection, PVgm, Box 4, Melbourne.
[24] R.C.M., Easter Term Report, 1899.
[25] R.C.M., Easter Term Report, 1896, Nickson Collection, PVgm, Box 4, Melbourne.
[26] R.C.M., Christmas Term Report, 1898, Nickson Collection, PVgm, Box 4, Melbourne.
[27] Directors & Board of Professors Minutes, March 1897, Royal College of Music, London, p 72.
[28] Royal College of Music Scholars Register, p 30.

Nickson's position at St Andrew's brought him under the patronage of the Bishop of Winchester, Randall Davidson, then resident at Farnham Castle. Thory Gage Gardiner, the rector of Farnham, wrote on Nickson's departure in 1901 that he had been "conspicuously successful" in managing the choir of the Parish Church, and while he had been considered somewhat young for the post when he was appointed, Nickson had "developed in a way which I dared not expect and to a degree which has often made me thankful." In contrast to somewhat despairing remarks of his teachers at the RCM, Gardiner noted that Nickson was "conscientious, painstaking, punctual and industrious."[29]

During his time in England, Nickson witnessed the progress of two revivals, which were united in his work at Farnham.

The Church of England in the late nineteenth century was going through the latter stages of a revival of Church discipline, ritual and theology, a significant cause of conflict within the Church, known as the Oxford Movement. Nickson's spirituality can be said to have been forged at this crucial moment. The Oxford Movement originated among a group of academics gathered around John Henry Newman (1801-91) whose main aim was to restore traditional Catholic teaching in the Church of England. They claimed their descent through the older High Church party. They promoted this aim through the series of lengthy publications, called *Tracts for the Times* (1833-41), which earned them the tag "Tractarians". Their theology was manifested in the enrichment of worship through an engagement with the visual arts and the cultivation of ceremonial. The progress of the

[29] Thory Gage Gardiner, *Testamonial*, Nickson Collection, PVgm, Box 5.

Catholic revival was marked by tension between the High and Low, or Anglo-Catholic and Evangelical, parties, and was based fundamentally on how they saw the nature of the Church. The Evangelicals viewed the Church as an invisible federation of believers, with the Bible as the seal of the covenant between God and each individual believer, and their churches and worship style tended to be rather bare. This was the sort of spirituality in which Nickson was brought up, and can be seen in the ordering of the building at St Michael's Carlton North prior to 1914 (Figure 1). Despite the presence of a cross on the altar, the church was decorated very sparingly: the altar itself sat against the east wall of the church; there were no altar candles, and no decorative hangings on the altar.

The Anglo-Catholics saw the Church as God's instrument in the world, in effect seeing it as the continuation of the Incarnation. They emphasised the importance of the Church visible through the decoration of their churches, and the frequent celebration of the Eucharist with fitting ceremony.[30] This was the outcome of their theological emphasis on the Incarnation. Bodies such as the Camden Society were founded to promote the aesthetic aims of Anglo-Catholicism, publishing lists of 'approved' architects, furniture suppliers and embroiderers.[31] The decoration in the church of the parish of Brunswick, neighbouring the Carlton North parish, at Christmas 1893 shows the difference that could come from another theological tradition in the same Church: cross and four candlesticks on the altar, which had an embroidered frontal (Figure 2). The sanctuary screen shown in Fig 2 was a temporary addition for the festival, and was made from papier-maché.

[30] Jay, *The Evangelical and Oxford Movements* pp 6-15.
[31] Chris Brooks, *The Gothic Revival* (London: Phaidon Press Ltd, 1999) pp 246-52.

Figure 1: Interior, St Michael's Church of England Carlton North, c1900-14.
Archives of St Michael's Church, Carlton North

Figure 2: Interior, Christ Church Brunswick, Christmas 1893.
Archives of Christ Church, Brunswick.

Much of the tension between the Anglo-Catholic and Evangelical parties was focussed on liturgical expression. The Evangelicals feared that the Anglo-Catholics were seeking to introduce the practices of the Roman Catholic Church into Anglicanism, and one area of intense conflict was music. In Melbourne, Charles Perry, the first Anglican Bishop (1847-1876), issued edicts in 1857 and 1865 banning the singing of the responses in services, although he permitted the psalms and canticles at Matins and Evensong to be sung. Perry's primary concern was that the responses at the beginning of the service ought to be rendered congregationally. Perry's objection was primarily to florid musical service settings that might lead to the perception of liturgies being concerts.[32]

The reason music raised such strong responses was that it worked through the senses without communicating an unequivocal and controlled message; different people could respond to the same music in different ways. Evangelical preaching placed the spoken word, communicating a particular view of revelation rooted in the Bible, at the centre of public worship, as the prominent placement of pulpits in their churches showed. Anglo-Catholicism had a stronger emphasis on the sacraments, and Anglo-Catholic parishes tended to have churches that had a prominent altar placed in a roomy sanctuary, with a fair amount of decoration. Anglo-Catholic emphasis on the sacramental life effectively limited the role of Bible as the means of revelation, teaching that Christ was revealed through the sacrament of Eucharist. This was felt by the Evangelicals to be contrary to the *Book of Common Prayer*, and the most common charge against Anglo-Catholic clergy was that they were being disloyal to that book. This argument lingered

[32] Holden, *From Tories at Prayer* p 37.

on in Melbourne until the middle of the twentieth century, where it was largely resolved in England by the end of the nineteenth century.

In the Melbourne of his youth, Nickson experienced the emphases and worship styles of both parties. His parents were founding parishioners of St Michael's Church of England, Carlton North, and Frederick was a member of the Board of Guardians, becoming one of the first churchwardens upon the consecration of the church in 1907.[33] Nickson's parents were also deeply involved in the Sunday school, and a hall survives at the church that bears Frederick's name. An illuminated address given to Frederick on his departure from the parish to take up residence with his youngest son in Malvern in 1922 comments that "[i]n work, in worship, in unstinted and unostentatious giving…single-hearted devotion to our blessed Lord, you have been an example to all."[34] Hollis noted that Nickson's parents were remembered as "people of some piety – good evangelicals I suppose, of the most admirable kind."[35] Jemima Nickson's evangelicalism is evident in annotations made in the flyleaves of her two bibles, such as "The Bible is like a mine, Search the Scriptures Find out conditions to the promises, Christ does a perfect work in every case up to the measure in which the conditions are met."[36] The sense of a personal covenant is very clear in these annotations, and appears to have been confirmed to Jemima through the granting of visions.[37] Evidence of a wide range of spiritual reading is also evident in Jemima's bibles, particularly a quote from Fénelon's *Introduction to the*

[33] A copy of an illuminated address presented to F. T. Nickson on his departure from the parish to live with A. E. H. Nickson in 1922 is held at St Michael's North Carlton, and the text describes F.T.N.'s role in the parish from the earliest days to that time. St Michael's Church of England, *Guardians (1891-1907) & Vestry (1907-1938) records*, University of Melbourne Archives, Melbourne.
[34] *Testamonial to F T Nickson*, 1922, Illuminated Address, St Michael's North Carlton, Melbourne.
[35] Hollis, *Dr A. E. H. Nickson - the Man + Melbourne's Music*, p 2.
[36] Nickson, *Bible (1)*, leaf 3.
[37] Nickson, *Bible (1)*, leaf 2.

Devout Life. This was a guide written to enable people who wished to live under a religious rule while carrying on their business in the world.[38] Such readings suggest that Nickson was encouraged to cultivate this interest in his youth.

Nickson's appointment as organist at St Mark's Fitzroy brought him into contact with a very different style of Anglican churchmanship. St Mark's was, at the very least, broad, as the presence of the well-known and controversial Anglo-Catholic figure, E. S. Hughes (1860-1942) as curate (1889-93) attests. Hughes was responsible for the foundation of the Mission of the Holy Redeemer,[39] which was based on his experience of the Oxford settlement house at Bethnal Green in London, and the organised social activities he observed at St Peter's London Docks under Fr Wainwright during a visit in 1888.[40] The Mission had another side, however, 'advanced' practices such as the use of Eucharistic vestments were reputed to have been introduced in the chapel, while other unspecified devotional practices of an Anglo-Catholic character were cultivated and encouraged.[41] Hughes's socialism was a strong motivating factor in his organisation of missionary activities.[42] The Vicar of St Mark's, Barley Sharp (1892-1897), was also well identified with the Anglo-Catholic cause in Melbourne. He was a strong advocate of advanced practices, at one stage publicly lamenting the lack of a centre in Melbourne where the full extent of Catholic teaching and ceremonial was practised.[43]

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[38] Jemima Hunter Nickson, *Bible (2)*, MS Annotations in flyleaves of Bible, Nickson Papers, PVgm, Box 14, Melbourne.
[39] Holden, *Awful Happenings* pp 35-41.
[40] Holden, *Awful Happenings* p 37.
[41] Holden, *Awful Happenings* p 38.
[42] Holden, *From Tories at Prayer* pp 73-4.
[43] Holden, *Awful Happenings* p 39.

The style of churchmanship that Nickson experienced at Farnham was broad.[44] This may have been partly a reflection of Randall Davidson's own policy, which was to avoid the extremes.[45] An earlier rector of Farnham, Philip Hoste (1875-1893), had cultivated a well defined Tractarian position through his advocacy of confession.[46] As a memorial to him, a new pulpit was erected in St Andrew's in 1898, opened by one of Nickson's heroes of the Oxford Movement, Dean Church of St Paul's Cathedral, London.[47] While Hollis claims that Nickson embraced "the whole Catholic concept of the church" represented by the Oxford Movement while he was in England, this embrace was probably the result of a development that was well under way before he left Australia, given his experience at St Mark's Fitzroy.

Nickson also encountered contrasting views of organ playing while in England, views which to some extent informed musical tastes in Australia. Peter Hardwick identifies two broad approaches to organ music and performance at the end of the nineteenth century, based on conservative and progressive views on organ technology and composition. The main exponents of the two approaches were Sir Walter Parratt and W. T. Best, and the difference between them was partly brought about by technological advances.[48] The development of the organ over the century led to the standardisation of instruments to include expressive devices such as swell boxes, and registration aids, such

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[44] A. E. H. Nickson, Letter to F. E. Maynard, 30/6/1948, St Peter's Eastern Hill, Melbourne, p 1.
[45] Melanie Barber, "Randall Davidson: A Partial Retrospective," *From Cranmer to Davidson: A Miscellany*, ed. Stephen Taylor, vol. 7 (Woodbrige: Church of England Record Society, 1999) p 428.
[46] Personal conversation, Chris Hellier, Farnham Historical Museum, 31/12/2003.
[47] Minutes of Churchwarden's Meetings, St Andrew's Church, Farnham, October 1898, Surrey History Centre, Woking; A E H Nickson, Hymn for Opening of Hoste Memorial Pulpit - Farnham Parish Church., Hymn tune: no words attached, Nickson Collection, PVgm, Box 1B; Hollis, *Dr A. E. H. Nickson - the Man + Melbourne's Music*, p 6.
[48] Peter Hardwick, *British Organ Music of the Twentieth Century* (Lanham, Maryland & Oxford: Scarecrow Press, 2003) pp 1-3.

as composition pedals and thumb pistons, which enabled organists to make rapid changes in dynamic and tone colour. Questions flowing from these developments centred on how and to what extent these devices were to be exploited in both new and established organ music. The conservative approach emphasised music that was written specifically for the organ, and encouraged new composition along 'classical' lines that used well established organ genres such as preludes and fugues, chorale-based composition, fantasias and sonatas that could incorporate use of the new technology as part of the expressive techniques available to the composer and performer. The progressive approach exploited the adoption of new technology in organ building during the second half of the nineteenth century to cultivate a more colourful, orchestrally-inspired style of playing that was focussed on the performance of organ transcriptions of orchestral repertoire. This approach to playing was based as much on the ability to make frequent and swift changes of registration as showmanship in playing the music.

As the main exponent of the conservative approach to organ playing, Parratt, organist at St George's Royal Chapel Windsor, and Nickson's organ teacher at the RCM, dismissed the motives of those whom he saw to be turning the organ into an imitation of the orchestra through the programming of copious amounts of transcriptions at the expense of music written specifically for the organ.[49] The progressive approach was taken by Best, who presided over the organ of St George's Hall in Liverpool and had toured to Australia in 1890, giving the one concert in Melbourne, referred to above, which Nickson must surely have attended. Best was recognised as a pioneer of

[49] Walter Parratt, "Music," *The Reign of Queen Victoria: A Survey of Fifty Years of Progress*, ed. Thomas Humphry Ward (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1887) p 604.

transcription and the symphonic potential of the late-Victorian organ, especially the instruments of Henry Willis; one of Willis's more famous organs was the one at St George's Hall. Best's programs for the opening of the Sydney Town Hall organ show a blend of Victorian character pieces, along with at least one more substantial work, often by Bach or Mendelssohn, and an original piece or transcription of his own.[50] These approaches were not mutually exclusive: "both camps were not always faithful to their cause in the choice of music played and quite frequently temporarily crossed over to the other side."[51]

Nickson's Farnham concert programs (see Appendix 1) certainly show the influence of Parratt's views. The structure of the programs was invariable: the first work was usually by Bach, followed by a bracket of shorter organ pieces by more recent composers, and a vocal or instrumental work involving a soloist. Chorale-based organ music by any composer was completely absent from Nickson's programs until 1899; it is possible that he regarded these works as more suitable for liturgical use. More surprising is the appearance of a single work by Buxtehude, the Ciacona in E minor [BuxWV 160], as this was hardly well-known music at the time.

Nickson also played works by Liszt, Brahms, Rheinberger, Mendelssohn, Schumann, Haydn and Mozart, both original works and transcriptions of chamber and orchestral pieces. Transcriptions of Russian composers such as Rachmaninov and Tchaikovsky appear, and current works also found a place, with the Finale from Dvořák's

[50] Robert Ampt, *The Sydney Town Hall Organ: William Hill's Magnum Opus* (Woodford: Birralee Publishing, 1999) pp 21-35.
[51] Hardwick, *British Organ Music* p 352.

"New World" symphony played as a transcription in 1899. Nickson included French composers such as Franck and Saint-Saëns but does not appear to have played any of Franck's larger works, such as the *Trois Chorales*, in any of the Farnham concerts. The fifth, sixth and seventh organ symphonies of Widor were given complete, in single-work programs, where he gave spoken commentaries. It is curious that Nickson seems to have ignored Widor's two later symphonies, *Symphonie Gothique* and *Symphonie Romane*, both based on plainchant melodies associated with Christmas and Easter respectively. These symphonies were the only two that Widor wrote that had a clear connection with the liturgy, and would have accorded very closely to Nickson's views on the purpose of music. Of the English music appearing in Nickson's Farnham programs, Harwood's *Sonata in C Sharp* (Op. 5) is the most substantial work; the majority of the English music appears to be the lighter fare that characterised much late-Victorian organ composition. The organ recitals were given weekly at the conclusion of Sunday evensong.

The surviving program bills suggest that the recitals were not a weekly fixture, but that they were organised in seasons. For example, a complete five-month sequence beginning in January exists for the first half of 1899, with a break over the summer months of June and July. The breadth of the programs shows Nickson's exploration of the organ repertoire, and the inclusion of transcriptions shows that he did not hold narrow views of what organ music should be played in concerts. As Hardwick suggested, Parratt probably didn't either.

In 1901 Nickson decided to return to Australia, and with him travelled a small bundle of testimonials from his supervisors and patrons. He resigned from Farnham in August 1901, and his final Sunday there was September 26th. Parratt had high respect for Nickson, writing that "I can without reserve recommend him for any Cathedral or Church post."[52] Gardiner, the Rector of Farnham, indicated hopes for Nickson's future activities:

> He is right, I think, as a matter of honour to return to his native land. And while we shall miss him here, I am quite confident that he will help members of the Anglican Church to worship God in Greater Britain overseas.[53]

The formative influence of Nickson's years of study in England remained intense throughout his career, as he exhorted students to travel there to complete their education. The strength of this influence can be seen in a comment made to a student making the trip in 1957:

> Approach the Home Land trembling + with thankfulness. Here is Holy Ground.
> Stop at the first foot fall, seriously expecting, rejoicing.
> Pause, Number + gather the centuries. Recall the Saints, knowing yourself among them. Divinity is at work all around here to make things new.
> <u>This</u> is the Mystery of our beloved <u>England</u>; and Christ is the First Citizen in the <u>Courts of Heaven</u>.[54]

[52] Walter Parratt, *Testamonial*, Nickson Collection, PVgm, Box 5.
[53] Gardiner, *Testamonial*.
[54] A E H Nickson, Letter to Bruce Naylor, January 1957, Bruce Naylor, Adelaide.

Chapter 2

1901-1933

Nickson returned to Melbourne in late 1901. Almost immediately, he was appointed Organist and Choirmaster at Holy Trinity Balaclava and also Choirmaster at St Peter's Eastern Hill, which was at that stage establishing its reputation as the most 'advanced' Anglo-Catholic parish in the Diocese of Melbourne. He held these two positions simultaneously, a situation that was facilitated by the presence of two assistant organists at Holy Trinity. The appointment at Holy Trinity was brought about by the vicar's desire to improve the music. The vicar who made his appointment at St Peter's was E. S. Hughes, who had been curate at St Mark's Fitzroy when Nickson was there in the 1890s.[1] At Easter 1903 Nickson was appointed Organist and Choirmaster at St Peter's, resulting in his resignation as Organist at Holy Trinity, although he remained as Choirmaster until May 1906.[2] Nickson also began teaching in Anglican boys' schools: in 1903 he was appointed at Trinity Grammar School, Kew; in 1906 he moved to Melbourne Grammar School, where he presented altar hangings to the chapel in 1907.[3]

[1] Vestry Minutes, December 1901, Holy Trinity, Balaclava, Melbourne.
[2] *Annual Report* (Melbourne: Holy Trinity, Balaclava, 1906).
[3] "Chapel Notes," *The Melburnian* 25/10 1907.

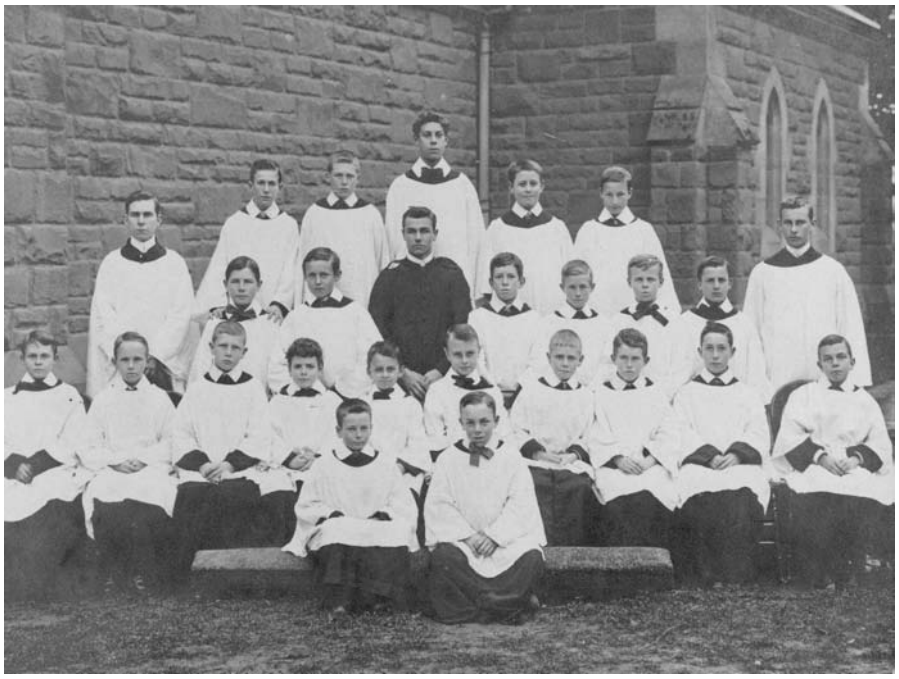

Figure 2: Choir of Holy Trinity Balaclava, c1905. Nickson is standing to the left of the second row.
Archives of Holy Trinity Balaclava.

Nickson's longest continuous association with a single institution began in 1904 with his appointment to the practical teaching staff at Melbourne University (see Table 1).

Figure 4: The University of Melbourne Conservatorium of Music, c1901.
Reproduced from http://buffy.lib.unimelb.edu.au/archives-images/ArchiveImages/UP4178-055.jpg, 27/9/2004

Year	Subject(s)	Notes.
1904	Organ (2nd study).	
1906	Organ, Piano (2nd study), Harmony & Counterpoint.	
1907	Organ (chief & 2nd study), Piano, Harmony & Counterpoint.	Ernest Wood resigns in 1910: AEHN remains sole chief study teacher for organ.
1911	History, Literature & Aesthetics	Professor Peterson takes leave of absence: AEHN appointed to take over 2nd year Diploma classes.
1913	Harmony, Composition & Counterpoint	
1914	History, Literature & Aesthetics	Professor Peterson takes sick leave: AEHN appointed to take over 2nd year Diploma classes.
1921	History, Literature & Aesthetics	Professor Laver takes leave of absence for 4 months: this arrangement appears to remain in operation following Laver's return.
1926		Nickson appears as a founding member of the board of the Faculty of Music.
1929	Piano (Intro.), Organ (D&D; M.S.); History, Literature and Aesthetics of Music, Form and Analysis & Harmony, Counterpoint and Composition	Following reorganisation of the Faculty of Music into three schools (Introductory; Degree & Diploma; Master School).
1959		Nickson awarded DMus (honoris causa) at December graduations.
1960		Nickson retires from active teaching duties from the end of the academic year.

TABLE 1: Nickson's teaching duties at the University of Melbourne Faculty of Music, 1904-1960.

Ernest Wood, Nickson's first organ teacher, may have been a decisive influence in the development of Nickson's career in Melbourne. In 1898 St Peter's had requested Wood's advice on improvements to the organ, and given the difficulties encountered with the music there in 1901, it seems likely that Wood's advice was sought on a new appointment.[4] It is probable that Wood also had a hand in Nickson's appointment at Melbourne University. In 1904 Wood was the sole chief study organ teacher; Nickson was raised to chief study in 1907 and, following Wood's resignation in 1910, he became the sole chief study organ teacher. Nickson was appointed first as a practical and theoretical teacher, and not as a member of the academic staff. He began lecturing in the academic part of the music course only in 1911, when he taught history, literature and aesthetics during the leave-of-absence granted to the second Ormond Professor (1901-

[4] Geoffrey Cox, "The First Organ at St Peter's Eastern Hill, Melbourne: Part 1: The Organ and Early Organists," *Victorian Organ Journal* 19.3 (1995): p 31.

1914), Franklin Peterson (1861-1914). Nickson did not teach any academic subjects regularly until after 1921. Following the establishment of the Faculty of Music in 1926 there was a significant reorganisation of the course structure, and Nickson's teaching duties became fixed from around 1929.

Figure 5: The University of Melbourne Conservatorium of Music, c1930.
Reproduced from http://buffy.lib.unimelb.edu.au/archives-images/ArchiveImages/1030.jpg, 27/9/2004

Despite his long career teaching there, Nickson was never formally employed by the University of Melbourne.[5] At the Conservatorium the only salaried staff members were the Ormond Professor, the Vice Director and Secretary of the Conservatorium.[6] Other members of staff in practical and academic studies were paid an hourly or sessional rate, and here it is possible to see the financial importance to Nickson of maintaining a large quantity of teaching. The Victorian branch of the AMEB was also run from the Conservatorium, and provided money for the day to day expenses of running the

[5] Personal recorded interview with Noël Nickson, March 2nd 2004.
[6] Therese Radic, *Bernard Heinze* (South Melbourne: Macmillan, 1986) p 170.

institution, which was financially independent of the University.[7] Radic notes that the rest of the staff at the Conservatorium "relied on fees from students, less the conservatorium's commission. They supplemented this pittance from off-campus teaching, using their university status to advertise."[8]

In 1905 Nickson published a newspaper article, "The Moral Basis of Music", an essay that set down the main themes of his aesthetics. This was Nickson's earliest public utterance. In it he argued that music had three purposes: the greater glory of God; the edification of the audience; and as the furthering of the study of beauty, and thus of God, one of whose attributes was Beauty.[9]

In the same year, evidence of the esteem in which Nickson was held by his former patrons in England was manifested when he was offered the post of Organist and Choirmaster at St Peter's Bournemouth, England. The offer had come about through the recommendation of Thory Gage Gardiner (formerly rector of Farnham) and Helen Coxe, a lifelong friend of Nickson from his Farnham days.[10] Nickson turned the offer down; it is likely that he was confident that his career was becoming sufficiently advanced in Melbourne to warrant staying. A further reason for Nickson to stay was the establishment of a local music examinations body based at the University Conservatorium, which later became the AMEB: this was modelled heavily on the

[7] Radic, *Bernard Heinze* pp 26-30.
[8] Radic, *Bernard Heinze* p 170.
[9] A E H Nickson, "the Moral Basis of Music", Unidentified newspaper clipping at pp 100-101 of Scrapbook, Nickson Papers, PVgm, Box 4, Melbourne.
[10] A E Daldy, Letter to A. E. H. Nickson, 4 February 1905, Nickson Collection, PVgm, Box 4, Melbourne; A E H Nickson, *Christ in Art* (Melbourne: Diocesan Book Depot, 1925) p 1.

English Associated Board, which was connected with the RCM.[11] In 1907 Nickson was in correspondence with Parry over the Associated Board's Melbourne representative, seeking to be appointed to that position, although this did not eventuate.[12]

In 1906 a representative from the English organ building firm, Norman & Beard, was in Melbourne to seek commissions.[13] It is probable that this visit led to the acquisition of new organs at St Peter's and the Chapel of Melbourne Grammar School five years later. In late 1911 Nickson made his first return visit to England, chiefly to oversee the construction of the two new organs at the Norman & Beard organ building works in London. Nickson had a personal investment in the organ at St Peter's: he paid for four ranks, which cost £172 – scarcely a small sum. The whole instrument cost £1407, including Nickson's donation.[14]

During his stay in England, Nickson returned to Farnham for lodgings, and also took the opportunity to 'relaunch' his recital career: on November 25th 1911 he gave a recital at St Andrew's. Nickson's recital career had been suspended following his return to Melbourne. Apart from the lack of access to adequate instruments in Melbourne for the repertoire he had been playing in England, the development of his teaching career seems to have taken priority over recitals. During this visit to England, Nickson first heard the organ music of the German composer Sigfrid Karg-Elert (1877-1933), which

[11] Radic, *Bernard Heinze* pp 27-8.
[12] C H H Parry, Letter to A. E. H. Nickson, 26 August 1907, Nickson Collection, PVgm, Box 5, Melbourne.
[13] Enid Matthews, *Colonial Organs and Organ Builders* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1969) pp 92-3.
[14] G A Beard, Letter to A. E. H. Nickson, 5/9/1911, St Peter's Eastern Hill, Melbourne.

was to prove decisive for the direction of his activities in Melbourne when he returned in 1912.

Back in Melbourne, the new organ at St Peter's was opened at Michaelmas 1912, while the earliest recitals on the new instrument at Melbourne Grammar School for which the printed programs survive were in 1913.[15] Following his return Nickson lived at the vicarage at St Peter's, which was given as his address when he reported his mother's death in 1913.[16] In the same year a correspondence commenced between Nickson and Karg-Elert. Although Nickson's letters to Karg-Elert have not been preserved, it is clear from the letters written by Karg-Elert that they shared some aesthetic ideals.[17] He began to perform Karg-Elert's music, and in July and August 1914 he presented a series of three recitals dedicated to Karg-Elert.

Nickson's reputation as a teacher received a significant boost in 1913 when his student, William McKie, won the Clarke Scholarship to the RCM, where he also came under the influence of Nickson's former teacher, Parratt. A potential promotion opportunity for Nickson came with the death of Ernest Wood in 1914. In London, Parratt made a strong recommendation to the St Paul's Cathedral appointing committee in 1914 that they should appoint Nickson.[18] In the event he was not offered the Cathedral post, possibly on the grounds of churchmanship. A. E. Floyd (1877-1974) was appointed, and held the organistship until 1947.

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[15] Holden, *From Tories at Prayer* p 102, A E H Nickson, Concert Programs, Nickson Collection, PVgm, Box 5, Melbourne.
[16] Death Certificate 3556/8622, 12/8/1913.
[17] Fabrikant, ed., *Harmony of the Soul*.
[18] Personal Recorded Interview with Noël Nickson, March 2nd 2004.

At the end of 1914 Nickson married Beryl Florence Bennie (1891-1959). Beryl had been a vocal student at the Conservatorium and in 1914 she appeared as an associate artist in Nickson's recitals at St Peter's. Beryl was clearly a very able artist as she sang, among other things, "Elisabeth's Prayer" from Wagner's *Tännhauser*. Her sister, Eda Bennie, was also a singer, with a successful career with the Carl Rosa and National Opera companies in England.[19] The newly married Nicksons shared a number of interests and a common religious background. Beryl Nickson appears also to have been brought up in an Evangelical home, as a comment in a letter to F E Maynard (1882-1973), vicar of St Peter's (1926-63), suggests.[20] However, Beryl's class origins contrasted with her husband's. According to the wedding certificate, her father was an Inspector in the Bank of Victoria, based at the Fitzroy branch of the bank.[21]

The Nicksons lived in Armadale, first at 1 the Terrace, then in Wattletree Road, where they lived first at number 6, and from 1929 at number 58. In 1915 their first child, Frederick Arthur Bennie, was born, followed in 1917 by Beryl Claire Bennie, and in 1919 their youngest, Noël John Bennie. Beryl Nickson became a member of the Mother's Union at Holy Advent Armadale in 1920, where she strenuously opposed the involvement of the MU in schemes to improve sex education among girls and young women as a means of controlling problems related to sexually transmitted diseases.[22]

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[19] Eda Bennie, Scrapbook, press cuttings, reviews, etc. from English newspapers compiled by E.B., Nickson Collection, PVgm, Box 4.
[20] Beryl F B Nickson, Letter to F. E. Maynard 22/1/1936, St Peter's Eastern Hill, Melbourne, p 2.
[21] Wedding Certificate 4558, St Peter's Eastern Hill, Melbourne.
[22] Mother's Union Membership Card, Beryl F B Nickson: Holy Advent Armidale, 23/9/1920, Nickson Papers, PVgm, Box 14, Melbourne, Ellen Warne, "'Tell Them!' Anglican Mothers and Sex Education 1890 - 1930," *People of the Past?*, ed. Colin Holden (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2000).

The Nickson household was a welcoming place for visitors; Beryl Newland recalls their hospitality as generous and the company as a refining influence on manners. Newland had a very close connection with the Nickson family; her grandmother, Greta Bellmont, was one of the translators for Nickson's correspondence with Karg-Elert to and from German, and Beryl Nickson was Newland's godmother.[23] Nickson taught many students in a studio in the house, where lessons were often laced with references to books and prints in the room.[24] The Nickson home was also sometimes the venue of concerts; for example, in 1933 a fundraising concert was held to raise money for St Peter's.[25]

Nickson published *An Ideal in Church Music*, his first essay in pamphlet form, in 1916. In May 1916 he resigned from St Peter's to become Organist and Choirmaster at St John's Toorak, where he remained until 1920. Following this, he does not appear to have held any further church music positions until he began to return to St Peter's from 1927. This may have been brought about by the changes in his teaching load at the Conservatorium through the 1920s and his commitments as an examiner for the AMEB. His recitals continued, culminating in the 1924 premiere of Karg-Elert's *Seven Pastels from the Lake of Constance* (Op. 96) at St Paul's Cathedral.

In 1925 Nickson published his most important essay, *Christ in Art*. This essay is of central importance, as it is here that Nickson expressed his views on art in the context of his worldview, using theological language. His account of creation was based on the

[23] Recorded Personal Interview with Beryl Newland, 19/11/2003. Fabrikant, ed., *Harmony of the Soul* pp 15-17.
[24] Bazeley, ed., *Retrospections*.
[25] Beryl F. B. Nickson, Letter to F. E. Maynard 13/6/1933, St Peter's Eastern Hill, Melbourne.

concept of emanation, a process that began with God, and continued into human life through the exercise of the faculties of reason, feeling, imagination and will. A further essay, *The Mind Beautiful: the Musician's World*, dedicated to his students at the Conservatorium, was published in 1927. This essay treated the subject of aesthetics as an area of philosophy, carefully avoiding overtly theological language. *Christ in Art* was given in the reading list at the end of the essay, and suggests that Nickson regarded this as a way of expanding the themes developed in *Mind Beautiful*. Also in 1927, Nickson was appointed music critic at the *Age*, one of Melbourne's major daily newspapers, where he remained until his second return visit to England in 1948. This position gave Nickson an important role in shaping public taste during the early years of the Melbourne Symphony Orchestra, the realisation of the long-held desire for a permanent orchestra in Melbourne.

Following trouble between the new vicar of St Peter's Eastern Hill, F. E. Maynard (1882-1973, vicar 1926-64), and two successive organists, Nickson returned to the parish from 1927, remaining until 1948.[26] In 1930 Maynard referred to Nickson in the parish paper as "our organist".[27] This comment implied that some sort of formal appointment had been made, but closer scrutiny suggests otherwise. The vestry minutes of St Peter's have little evidence to suggest that Nickson held any formal position, and there is no discussion of an organist's salary: at the April meeting in 1931 the vestry resolved that Nickson could have the free use of the organ for teaching purposes, with responsibility for collecting practice fees from his students.[28] It is clear from the minutes that Nickson was not offered any remuneration. Nickson was also clearly reluctant to accept any

[26] Holden, *From Tories at Prayer* pp 150-1.
[27] Holden, *From Tories at Prayer* p 151.
[28] St Peter's Vestry Minutes, 14/4/1931, St Peter's Eastern Hill, Melbourne.

positive comments on his work at St Peter's, as a note by Beryl Nickson to Maynard in 1936 suggests, when she wrote "If you see A.E.H, do say something nice about the Music at Easter. He does not want thanks, but it was all so glorious, that I am sure it would not be taken amiss."[29] It is possible that the lack of remuneration was a response to the circumstances surrounding the departures of the two previous salaried organists; if the parish wasn't paying Nickson, he couldn't be removed at the vicar's whim.[30]

In 1931 Nickson sat on the committee that appointed William McKie, his former student, as Melbourne City Organist.[31] McKie began a series of concerts at the Melbourne Town Hall which, in the ideals that underlay the program planning, formed a sequel to Nickson's recitals at St Peter's twenty years before. McKie's earliest statement as City Organist was that he would aim to "give the best programmes possible, consistent with the idea that the recitals are still popular ones…There is no need, however, to depart from a really good musical standard in catering [for public taste]".[32] McKie's predecessor, Dr Price, had given programs during his long tenure as City Organist (1907-1930), had played for civic functions and gave public recitals which were intended to entertain rather than edify. McKie's aim in carrying on these duties was to improve the standard of music appreciation among the public at large. McKie would sometimes speak to the audience before playing an unfamiliar piece, saying that a work might only begin to appeal on a second hearing.[33]

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[29] Beryl F B Nickson, Letter to F. E. Maynard 15/4/1936, Letter, St Peter's Eastern Hill, Melbourne.
[30] Bruce Naylor, Letter to Kieran Crichton, 13/6/2003, Melbourne.
[31] Hollis, *Best of Both Worlds* p 31.
[32] Cited in Hollis, *Best of Both Worlds* pp 31-2.
[33] Hollis, *Best of Both Worlds* p 32.

1933 marked a change of direction for Nickson. Karg-Elert died in April, and the concert held at St Peter's in the following June appears to have been Nickson's final public appearance as a recitalist. Nickson had developed Dupuytren's Contracture, a relatively common condition affecting the fifth fingers of the hands, although more commonly in the right hand.[34] Dupuytren's tends to affect men more than women, and generally occurs after the age of forty. Nickson would have been in his mid-fifties by the time the condition became sufficiently advanced to preclude his giving recitals. John Mallinson has described Nickson's 'trigger fingers', permanently curled over, which is consistent with Dupuytren's.[35] That the condition had advanced sufficiently by 1933 to prevent Nickson from performing works that made large technical demands is evidenced by the memorial recital for Karg-Elert held at St Peter's. The largest and most demanding work on the program was the *Chaconne and Fugue Trilogy* (Op. 73) was played by Elsa Glasson, a student of Nickson's, while Nickson himself is known to have played the *Interludium* (Op. 36 II B) and *Funerale* (Op. 75), neither of which could be considered greatly taxing on the technique.[36] It is questionable whether this was to be regarded as a 'Nickson' recital at all; Beryl Nickson described it as "Miss Glasson's recital" a few days prior.[37] Nickson's activities as a church musician also decreased, and his students tended to take a large portion of the service playing at St Peter's. Another aspect of this change of direction was in Nickson's teaching duties, with his pattern of academic teaching at the Conservatorium set from 1929 (refer to Table 1), while his examining commitments with the AMEB were also quite significant.

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[34] Sergio I. Magalini, *Dictionary of Medical Syndromes*, 4th ed. (Philadelphia: Lippincroft-Raven, 1997) p 243.
[35] Personal recorded interview with John Mallinson, 25/11/2003.
[36] Fabrikant, ed., *Harmony of the Soul* p 8.
[37] Beryl F. B. Nickson, Letter to F. E. Maynard 1/6/1933, St Peter's Eastern Hill, Melbourne.

Nickson was identified at a very early stage of his career with the Anglo-Catholic cause in Melbourne, mostly through his connection with St Peter's, and with E. S. Hughes, who was vicar of St Peter's 1900-26. Nickson's articles and letters in Anglican newspapers show that he was concerned for the development of opportunities for spiritual growth through Church structures, at one point looking forward

> to the time when the monastic life, which flourishes now in various parts of the English Church, will spring up in our land and do its special work amongst those who are called to the "religious" life ; and surely the germs can be sown in no more effective way than by supplying a foretaste of entire devotion for the short period of a few days.[38]

He also had a concern for the 'proper' performance of public services, evidenced by a reproving missive over the conduct of a marriage service.[39] Another letter deplored the poor state of access to the sacraments and 'definite' teaching across the Melbourne diocese as a whole. Nickson commented that the theory was "truly Catholic", but in practice he found that in most parishes he would be

> denied the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar but once a month; the Sacrament of Penance altogether; Matins, Litany, and Evensong (with one exception) every day of the week…my children would not be catechised…their preparation for the Sacrament of Confirmation would be…inadequate.[40]

The pattern of services that Nickson did find adequate was that which had developed at St Peter's, where a sung Eucharist was the main Sunday service; the pattern elsewhere tended to be Matins, with Eucharist once a month. Churches were frequently kept closed

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[38] A E H Nickson, "Retreats," *Church Commonwealth?* 1903?
[39] A E H Nickson, Holy Matrimony, unidentified newspaper clipping at p 71 of scrapbook, Nickson Collection, PVgm, Box 4, Melbourne.
[40] A E H Nickson, "Are We Congregationalists?", unidentified newspaper clipping at p 69 of scrapbook: written after 1917?, Nickson Collection, PVgm, Box 4.

during the week, and Matins and Evensong tended not to be public services other than on Sunday. Nickson's main complaint here was that he saw a fundamental confusion in the priorities of the Church, commenting that in the

> neglect of any one portion of the Church's system so much failure is courted…if doctrine be eliminated from the teaching men can not be expected to know the Truth; if ritual is neglected ideas of worship will be meagre and weak; if "bright" services be the continual aim, then penitence, from which true joy springs, must be disproportionately obscured.[41]

Under these circumstances, Nickson asked, who could reproach him for seeking a parish where these needs could be met? This letter was most likely written after 1917, at a time when Nickson was concerned for the development of his children's spiritual lives, and the fostering of their relationship to the Church. There is a strong element of the line of loyalty to the *Book of Common Prayer* that had been a major issue in the churchmanship debates of the previous century, and this was something that Nickson held to be important when he stated that the Church should give people with families like himself "a reasonable chance of faithfully fulfilling the end of their being by becoming intelligent worshippers of Him Who created us for this express purpose".[42]

Nickson's views on church music were the logical outcome of his views on the Church. Nickson published numerous articles related to church music, ranging from reviews to essays on congregational participation in the music of the liturgy and commentary pieces on how the use of music could express the structure of the liturgy and the Church seasons.[43] Nickson viewed the Church as God's instrument in the world: the

[41] Nickson, "Are We Congregationalists?"
[42] Nickson, "Are We Congregationalists?"
[43] A E H Nickson, "Plainsong Pt. 1," *Church Commonwealth* (1903); Nickson, "Plainsong Pt. 2," *Church Commonwealth* (1903); Nickson, "Congregational Singing," *Church Commonwealth ?* (1903); Nickson,

music of the Church had to express this. In *An Ideal in Church Music*, Nickson identified several qualities possessed by true church music, which was

> the unfolding of the Church's musical will interfused with its mind and swayed by its innate feeling of adoration in worship. The Church shuns idolatry…it follows that its music must not minister to its own delight, but must ring again with an echo that answers to the nature and quality of the sphere from which it springs.[44]

Liturgical music had to express the nature of the Church itself. To show how this might be made clear, Nickson identified qualities in the music that had to be present in order that it might be expressing something of the nature of the Church. This was heavily influenced by the statement in the Nicene Creed that the Church was "one, [holy,] Catholick and Apostolick".[45] Church music had one style, vocal music. Church music was holy because it reflected human participation in the divine. It was catholic because it had the capacity to "deepen penitence and to perfect praise" in people so disposed. Church music was apostolic because music was ultimately of divine providence, and had been "ascribed to Divinity by writers sacred and profane" throughout history.[46]

Nickson identified several composers whose music he identified as representing the greatest advances in music at every stage of history: Ambrose, Pope Gregory, Palestrina, Bach, Handel, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Brahms, Elgar, Parry; "these names are among the greatest that can be mentioned."[47] These composers stood out for Nickson

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"Intention in the Work of the Organist," *The Mitre* (1904); Nickson, "Music as an Expression of Liturgical Form", unidentified newspaper clipping at pp 90-1 of scrapbook, Nickson Collection, PVgm, Box 4, Melbourne; Nickson, "Congregational Worship", unidentified newspaper clipping at pp 92-3 of scrapbook, Nickson Collection, PVgm, Box 4, Melbourne; Nickson, "The Attitude of the Clergy Towards Musical Reform", unidentified newspaper clipping at pp 88-9 of scrapbook, Nickson Collection, PVgm, Box 4, Melbourne.

[44] A E H Nickson, *An Ideal in Church Music* (Melbourne: Private printing, 1916) p 4.

[45] Church of England, *The Book of Common Prayer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1662) p 241.

[46] Nickson, *An Ideal in Church Music* pp 3-4.

[47] Nickson, *An Ideal in Church Music* p 4.

because "while the artist can be fully satisfied with the glory of their creations, the Churchman also willingly accepts them, for, applying a still more searching test, he finds in addition that the Church's ideal, the eternal Marks are there." The music possessed an authority that Nickson regarded as "Apostolic if there is any meaning in the word; therefore, their Authority, when it has not been driven from the upper consciousness of the Church's mind, has been recognised 'Everywhere, Always, and by All.'"[48] On the other hand, as Nickson saw it, ultimately it had to be admitted that there "are both unmusical Churchmen, and unecclesiastical musicians working as precentors, organists, choirmasters"; if they would listen to each other's concerns and work together, a better way that furthered the Church's mission might be found.[49]

Nickson's work as a church musician demonstrated these ideals at work, and the response that his ideals could draw. At St Peter's he ran a choir of men and boys, and on his first Sunday as organist in 1903 he introduced plainsong, resulting in a sudden strike by members of the choir.[50] Hollis claims that Nickson's ideal liturgical expression was that of St Peter's under Hughes. This was based heavily on Percy Dearmer's *Parson's Handbook*, which had argued for a liturgical expression that was distinctively English and Catholic, but not Roman, in that order (See Figure 2). Hollis's impression was that Nickson had not been

> beguiled by the excesses of Catholicism which followed the Oxford Movement. The obvious borrowing from Rome and the lack of English reserve in their worship, he found not quite authentic…Hughes's Catholicism was more patterned

[48] Nickson, *An Ideal in Church Music* p 4.
[49] Nickson, *An Ideal in Church Music* p 5.
[50] Holden, *From Tories at Prayer* p 101.

upon the ~~leadership~~ of Percy Dearmer, with its restrained English ~~restraint~~ tradition ~~but~~ and its natural use of the arts in worship.[51]

Dearmer's ritual was based on a reconstruction of the pre-Reformation ritual of Salisbury, and was known as the "Sarum" use, distinct from the "Western" use, which was based directly on the contemporary Roman rite.

Figure 6: English and Catholic, but not Roman; Sanctuary party robed according to the 'Sarum' use of Percy Dearmer, St Peter's Eastern Hill c1900. E. S. Hughes is second from the right. Reproduced from Holden, *The Holiness of Beauty: Ecclesiastical Heritage* (Melbourne: St Peter's Anglican Church, 1996), p 12.

One of the main features of the "Western" use was the performance of High Mass where the congregation did not receive communion, which became the pattern at St Peter's early in Maynard's incumbency.[52] Before this, Hughes had been a promoter of a style of worship that enabled people to participate fully in the whole service, including communion, and it was this aspect, rather than the source of the ritual, that Nickson was most likely to have been attached to. Dearmer condemned non-communicating masses by referring to the rubrics of the *Book of Common Prayer*, which "attacked the very great

[51] Hollis, *Dr A. E. H. Nickson - the Man + Melbourne's Music*, pp 6-7.
[52] Holden, *From Tories at Prayer* p 146.

evil by which, before the Reformation, attendance at the Lord's Supper had taken the place of reception".[53]

Figure 7: Interior, St Peter's Eastern Hill, after 1929, showing alteration to a different style of Anglo-Catholic worship. Reproduced from Holden, *The Holiness of Beauty*, p 20.

Nickson viewed congregational participation as an important part of the Anglican liturgy, and his view of this was summed up in a series of suggestions published as an appendix to *An Ideal in Church Music*, which strongly suggests that he regarded this participation as part of the preparation for receiving communion. He stated that each person should

> Enter the Church with the intention of fulfilling as far as you are concerned the responsive nature of the Prayer Book Services.
>
> Say in an audible voice what is to be said. Sing the parts intended to be sung by all. Congregational singing is more a matter of will than of musical

[53] Percy Dearmer, *The Parson's Handbook*, 2nd ed. (London: Grant Richards, 1899) p 134.

> ability. Only a few have no ear for music. If you know yourself to be one of these, then, and then only, be content with the silent melody of the heart.[54]

Music tended to be the focus of liturgical innovations during Hughes's incumbency at St Peter's, and he supported music as enrichment to the liturgy.[55] However, Hughes himself had no musical gifts, and considered himself "amongst the few doomed to 'be content with the silent melody of the heart'".[56]

Nickson's focus tended to be on the elaboration of the Eucharist; while he was clearly concerned that all the worship of the Church should be given the best musical enrichment, the Eucharist held a particular place in Anglo-Catholic devotional life. An example of how this could meet with resistance occurred at St John's Toorak at the end of 1917. Following the introduction of 'choral communion' services once a month, the parish vestry remonstrated with the vicar, Canon Drought, requesting that the service should be discontinued. It is not clear whether Nickson was the instigator of the choral communion services, however, Drought informed the vestry that "the choral communion had been in vogue in St John's Church some time back" and that the move in 1917 was not an innovation.[57] The main Sunday service at St John's at this time was Matins, with the Eucharist celebrated only on the third Sunday of the month, a pattern consistent with an Evangelical style of worship. In a move that recalled Bishop Perry's edicts on music in the liturgy, fearing that the introduction of surpliced choirs and sung services would lead to the full program of 'ritualist' doctrine, one parishioner had threatened legal action

[54] Nickson, *An Ideal in Church Music* p ii.
[55] Nickson, *An Ideal in Church Music* p i, Holden, *From Tories at Prayer* p 102.
[56] Nickson, *An Ideal in Church Music*.
[57] Vestry Minutes, 1/11/1917, St John's Toorak, Melbourne.

against the parish vestry to stop the service from being offered.[58] One wonders how close Nickson stood to the centre of the controversy at St John's in 1917.

The ten-year gap between the end of Nickson's recitals in England and the commencement of his recitals in Australia can be accounted for by the lack of access to adequate instruments in Melbourne and the demands of establishing his career in church music, teaching and examining. The new organs at St Peter's and Melbourne Grammar School were undoubtedly a catalyst for Nickson's return to recital-giving. There was a certain amount of continuity from his earlier recitals at Farnham; the structure of his programs remained largely the same, with a work by Bach usually first on the program (see Appendix 2). There was a slightly more limited repertoire in the St Peter's recitals, however. There were no single-work programs such as when Nickson had performed Widor's organ symphonies. The emphasis was on presenting the 'greats', works by Handel, Bach, Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven all appeared either as organ works, transcriptions or songs.

Substantial works by Karg-Elert appeared, culminating in the series of recitals in 1914. Curiously, Nickson concentrated on presenting the large works, such as the immense *Chaconne and Fugue Trilogy, with Chorale* (Op. 73), all but ignoring works that might have been more accessible to his audiences, such as the *66 Chorale-improvisations* (Op. 65), many of which were based on well known hymn tunes. Hollis claims that, as a teacher, Nickson's concentration was "always upon full-scale works, the

[58] Holden, *From Tories at Prayer* pp 40-1, 237-8, Albert McPherson, "Architecture, Music Art and Liturgy in the Diocese of Melbourne," *Melbourne Anglicans: The Diocese of Melbourne 1847-1997*, ed. Brian Porter (Melbourne: Mitre Books, 1997) pp 62-4, Vestry Minutes, 1/11/1917.

mastery of which would put the smaller works within the student's own reach; this included the choral [sic] preludes."[59] A notice in *Ecclesia*, the parish paper at St Peter's, stated that programs for his recitals "do not make an appeal to those who desire a mere entertainment"; the purpose was much higher, as good music "like all Art, requires considerable effort on the part of those who desire to follow it, before the understanding can grasp its meaning, or the emotions enjoy what it tries to express." Nickson's organ recitals were an important expression of his ideals. In "The Moral Basis of Music" (1905) Nickson had stated that music served three purposes: the greater glory of God, the edification of the audience, and the furthering of an understanding of God's nature through the study of beauty. He viewed the growing interest in his recitals as a sign that "there are some who are seriously learning something of music's message, and we confidently encourage them in the cultivation of "the most divine of all Arts" to the enlarging of their mental and artistic outlook, the quickening of their spiritual imagination, and to a higher appreciation of the good the beautiful, and the true."[60]

Nickson's recitals at St Peter's were clearly different to the offerings of the City Organist, Dr Price, at the Melbourne Town Hall. Price's standard concert program consisted almost entirely of transcriptions from operas, symphonies and chamber works, with a number of popular organ pieces thrown in. These programs were pitched as tuneful entertainment; edification was definitely not the primary aim.[61] Nickson's inclusion of pieces by Wagner and transcriptions of Beethoven piano pieces could be read as a nod to popular taste through 'approved' works, although some seem to have been

[59] Cited in Fabrikant, ed., *Harmony of the Soul* p 13.
[60] "Organ Recitals."
[61] Bruce Steele, "The Melbourne Town Hall Organ: Facing the Music," *Organo Pleno* 3.2 (2001): p 6.

brought about by the presence of particular performers, such as Beryl Nickson's performances of "Elizabeth's Prayer" from *Tännhauser* suggests. Another contrast to the Town Hall recitals was programs that were designed to reflect the liturgical year. From 1915 Otto Malling's *The Seven Words of the Redeemer from the Cross* became a fixture as a devotional concert in Holy Week with addresses given by a member of the clergy at St Peter's, and later at St John's Toorak.

A common factor uniting Nickson's work as a recitalist and church musician was the organ. Although he never wrote directly about the tonal ideals he sought in any particular instrument in the form of an essay, the two organs designed by Nickson for St Peter's and Malvern Congregational Church, which were practically identical but for a difference of a couple of stops, demonstrate his tonal ideals. A useful contrast may be drawn with the Melbourne Town Hall organ. Following a fire in 1925, which destroyed the organ, Price designed a new organ, built by Hill, Norman & Beard and opened in 1929. This instrument contained a variety of 'extreme' sonorities that were more closely associated with theatre organs, with choruses of tibias, imitation-orchestral strings and reeds and a range of percussions that might have been expected in the organs in the recently built cinemas nearby. This was not the sort of instrument meant for the conservative performance of 'orthodox' organ music.[62] Price's design was the subject of some public debate. Following a letter from Sir James Barrett, who had expressed a strongly conservative view on the proposed design of a new organ for the Town Hall, Nickson and A. E. Floyd, organist at St Paul's Cathedral, defended the scheme put forward by Price. They argued that owing to advances in organ building, orchestral-

[62] Steele, "Melbourne Town Hall Organ," pp 6-7.

imitative tone colour had "now developed into what is virtually a new species of legitimate organ tone, permanent, varied, and existing in its own right". Furthermore, this was a development that had enabled composers to demand a wider range of tone colour, commenting that composers rivalled "poets and painters in the exuberance of their fancy, and in the delicacy and richness of their colouring."[63] If a large instrument was considered unsuitable, then "the first desideratum is an organ enriched with every type and variety of tone now regarded as constitutional in small, medium, and large scales, made subject to all dynamic shades and degrees."[64] The organs Nickson had designed could be said to have achieved this desideratum, with their breadth of tone colour, ranging from soft flutes and strings to vibrant chorus effects.

Of course, town hall organs had always had an ambivalent dual status as both a 'one man orchestra' and a vehicle for edifying music, as the approaches represented by Best and Parrat had shown at the end of the nineteenth century. While organs in public halls were not intended as vehicles for the performance solely of sacred music, the ecclesiastical associations of the instrument remained pervasive. Price was certainly aware of this in 1929 when he included Bach's "Wachet Auf" [BWV 645] and an arrangement of Arcadelt's "Ave Maria" in the opening recital for the new organ at the Town Hall.[65]

[63] A E Floyd & A E H Nickson, "Town Hall Organ", Unidentified press clipping, dated "March 6", Nickson Collection, PVgm, Box 2, Melbourne.
[64] Floyd & Nickson, "Town Hall Organ".
[65] Steele, "Melbourne Town Hall Organ," p 6.

Nickson's relationship with Karg-Elert was an important aspect of his profile as a recitalist. The entire relationship took place through intermittent letters that began in 1913. Unfortunately Nickson's letters to Karg-Elert have not survived, only Karg-Elert's letters to Nickson. The correspondence had to be carried out through translators, as Nickson did not have any German, and Karg-Elert's English was extremely limited. The two main translators on the letters were Greta Bellmont (c1870-1927) and Johannes Heyer (1872-1945). Karg-Elert sent photographs of himself to Nickson, a gesture that was not reciprocated and was a matter of consternation to Karg-Elert.[66] The correspondence lapsed during the First World War, but recommenced from 1923 when Nickson sent money to assist the financially strained Karg-Elert in time for Christmas 1922.[67] Karg-Elert wrote about the deterioration of social and cultural conditions in Germany.[68] Writing about the difficulties he encountered in obtaining an organist position, Karg-Elert revealed a deep antipathy for the prominent German organist Karl Straube, then organist at the Thomaskirke in Leipzig, whom he regarded as a professional rival, writing that he was "a man of unequalled vanity and an almost pathological place-hunter" for his students.[69] Deploring the limited opportunities available for the performance and publication of his own works, Karg-Elert wrote

> people do not know that I have written some things for the organ. And those who do know say…brr, he writes in a non-Germanic style, Anglo-French barrel-organ music. For only in Germany is there the art of the organ, Bach and the most German of Germans: the great Reger; everything else is "fux", not even worth examining![70]

[66] Fabrikant, ed., *Harmony of the Soul* pp 24-5.
[67] Fabrikant, ed., *Harmony of the Soul* p 21.
[68] Fabrikant, ed., *Harmony of the Soul* pp 22-3, 26-7, 35-41.
[69] Fabrikant, ed., *Harmony of the Soul* p 32.
[70] Fabrikant, ed., *Harmony of the Soul* p 33.

Karg-Elert had been unique among German musicians in retaining honours received from universities in the Allied countries before the First World War, and exposed an exasperation for the bigoted nationalism of his colleagues in his comment that "So long as we run about in self-deification and pig-headed ostrich-politics, we will remain artistically as well as politically imprisoned in an isolation cell. And we have ourselves to blame for being abandoned by God…"[71] What stung Karg-Elert most was that he was regarded by his colleagues as un-German; he viewed himself as a cosmopolitan, with his roots very firmly planted in Germany and its culture.[72]

Nickson certainly responded to these statements in program notes written in 1924, when he distanced Karg-Elert from his fellow countrymen

> He is a modernist in the most acceptable meaning of the term. Behind his novelty is an unerring logic (the emotions have a logic of their own), that at once lifts his music above the experimental stage, and gives it an assured permanency. Unlike Reger, his intellect is suffused with the keenest imagination, and with a rich fund of Poetry. He is not typical of the present-day German Composer. He has none of the folly of the super-man. Rather he represents his unfortunate country as its earlier idealists would have developed it, with their strong intuitive human sympathy…His exceptionally mystic idealism, wasted on the desert air, received instant recognition and an enthusiastic welcome in healthier and more fortunate lands. So his worth is in this, that he transcends the limits of Nationality, and appeals to the Allied countries that have retained their artistic sense, and their contact with the Divine.[73]

Nickson attempted to organise an Australian tour for Karg-Elert in 1923. Karg-Elert suggested that he could demonstrate the Kunst-Harmonium, an instrument on which he considered himself to be a noted virtuoso.[74] The suggested tour did not eventuate, due in

[71] Fabrikant, ed., *Harmony of the Soul* 33-4.
[72] Fabrikant, ed., *Harmony of the Soul* p 34.
[73] A E H Nickson, *Concert Program Notes*, St Paul's Cathedral, 25/5/1924, Nickson Collection, PVgm, Box 4, Melbourne.
[74] Fabrikant, ed., *Harmony of the Soul* p 57.

large part to "German exclusion" laws operating on Australia's borders until 1925.[75] Nickson was also instrumental in providing financial relief to Karg-Elert following the First World War, and this was a catalyst for the resumption of the correspondence in 1923 when a cheque enclosed with a letter arrived in time for Christmas 1922. Karg-Elert was overwhelmed by the assistance coming from Australia, which relieved the economic hardship of life in Germany. However, he was frustrated when he discovered the "German exclusion" laws, and demanded that all performance of his works should cease in Australia.[76]

The two translators who assisted Nickson and Karg-Elert in their correspondence both had important links with Nickson that reveal sympathetic spiritual views and philosophical outlooks. Greta Bellmont was born in eastern Germany to Jewish parents. Following study at the Breslau Conservatorium in piano, any prospect of a career was cut short by marriage to her uncle, Ludwig Wendriner, with whom she had two children. The marriage was unsuccessful and they were divorced in 1903. After further musical study in Berlin, Bellmont emigrated to Australia with her second husband, Benno Bernstein, settling in Melbourne around 1906.[77] Family tradition maintains that the couple met in Italy, and changed their name to Bellmont in remembrance of Monte Bello, a mountain resort in the south of Italy.[78] It is probable that anti-Semitism was also a motivating factor.[79] Bernstein died in 1908.[80] Bellmont and Nickson probably met

[75] Fabrikant, ed., *Harmony of the Soul* p 7.
[76] Fabrikant, ed., *Harmony of the Soul* pp 67-8.
[77] Fabrikant, ed., *Harmony of the Soul* p 15.
[78] Personal recorded interview with Beryl Newland, 19th November 2003.
[79] Fabrikant, ed., *Harmony of the Soul* p 15.
[80] Fabrikant, ed., *Harmony of the Soul* p 15.

through the Conservatorium, where newly arrived musicians would frequently apply for work; in this she was clearly unsuccessful. Bellmont eventually set up a music school in a shopfront in the regional Victorian city of Horsham, where her reputation was enhanced following a performance of Beethoven's 'Waldstein' sonata for the opening of the Horsham Town Hall in 1911.[81] Despite her move to the country, she stayed in touch with Nickson, and following spiritual guidance from Nickson, Bellmont was baptised at Easter 1911 at St Peter's and confirmed there a few months later.[82] During his visit to England in 1911-12 Nickson arranged for Bellmont's son to come to Australia from Germany.

As the main translator of Karg-Elert's letters, Bellmont had a very important role in the correspondence. Bellmont was able to render Karg-Elert's rich German into comparable English, and presumably to do the reverse when translating Nickson's letters into German. A fruit of the relationship she built with Karg-Elert was the opportunity to travel to Germany and have some lessons with him in the second half of 1926. It seems odd that Bellmont, by then in her mid-50s, and well established as a teacher and performer herself, felt the need to seek tuition. However, her visit there included bringing gifts from the Nicksons to Karg-Elert and his family, including brooches made by Beryl and Claire Nickson for Karg-Elert's daughter. Nickson evidently sent Bellmont with orders to take the Karg-Elert family out to dinner, as a letter sent on notepaper from a hotel restaurant suggests.[83] One of Karg-Elert's final letters to Nickson following

[81] Personal recorded interview with Beryl Newland, 19th November 2003; Fabrikant, ed., *Harmony of the Soul* p 16.
[82] Fabrikant, ed., *Harmony of the Soul* p 17.
[83] Personal recorded interview with Beryl Newland, 19th November 2003; Fabrikant, ed., *Harmony of the Soul* p 77.

Bellmont's death in 1927 was a pitiful plea from the cash-strapped German for payment that had not been received for lessons.[84]

The second translator, Johannes Heyer, was a kindred soul to Nickson, and they shared interests in philosophy, theology, music and history, although it is not known how they met. Born into the family of a Lutheran minister, Heyer was ordained as a Presbyterian minister in 1900, and became minister at St John's Presbyterian Church Hobart (1904-23). Unlike Bellmont's, Heyer's translations were more literal, and Nickson sometimes had both translate the same letter.[85] As a musician himself, Heyer was interested in Karg-Elert's music, and in the course of his travels he visited Karg-Elert in Germany at one stage.[86] Heyer also translated German poetry for Nickson, particularly Schiller and Goethe.[87]

The period 1901-1933 was a period of consolidation and expansion in Nickson's career and dissemination of his views on music, art and the Church to a wider audience in Melbourne. Nickson's long-term associations with the University, the AMEB and the Church were in place before the First World War, and his recitals showed the practical application of his aesthetics. While Nickson's work as organist at St Peter's was interrupted by a decade of other activities, his ideals were most strongly put into practice there, and the impress he had made before 1916 was still strong when he began to return

[84] Fabrikant, ed., *Harmony of the Soul* pp 86-7.
[85] Fabrikant, ed., *Harmony of the Soul* p 18.
[86] Fabrikant, ed., *Harmony of the Soul* p 18.
[87] Schiller, *Ode to Joy*, Poem translated by Johannes Heyer, Nickson Collection, PVgm, Box 2, Melbourne; Goethe, *Goethe's Tribute to Schiller*, Typescript translation of a poem - tr J Heyer?, PVgm, Nickson Papers, Box 4, Melbourne.

from 1927. The strength of this impress was in Nickson's view of the Church, and the manner in which it was realised in liturgical music. Nickson's recitals in Melbourne were important for his advocacy of the music of Karg-Elert, lent a forceful immediacy through his personal connection with the composer. Ultimately, Nickson's recital career in Melbourne was not long-lived, compared to his teaching career, chiefly due to his development of Dupuytren's Contracture. 1933 marked a turning point; instead of the practical work of performance in the liturgy and recital, Nickson's main focus turned towards teaching.

Chapter 3

1933-1964

The last thirty years of Nickson's life were devoted mostly to teaching. In this work he presented a view of music that was expressed primarily in terms of its moral purpose. This was the long-term working out of the ideas he had presented in his 1905 article "The Moral Basis of Music". Nickson's religious views were central to the way he presented his ideas. It will be argued that Nickson's presentation of music history was based on a view of history as revelation, a view that was developed through two essays dating from this period, *A Speculative Fall* (c1934) and *The Sisters Three* (1942). A link was formed between Nickson's activities at the Conservatorium and his second tenure as organist at St Peter's Eastern Hill, where he enjoyed a warm relationship with F. E. Maynard, the vicar from 1926 to 1963. Church music composed by Nickson and his students formed part of the repertoire at St Peter's during this time and it will be argued that Nickson was profoundly in sympathy with Maynard's broad liturgical aims, despite his unease about particular aspects, such as the non-communicating high mass.

In 1933 Nickson published his second essay on church music, *The Catholic Spirit in Song*. The year was significant, as it marked the centenary of Keble's sermon before the Oxford Assizes, which was considered to have been the commencement of the Oxford Movement. Nickson's essay was first published in the *Defender*, the journal of the Australian Church Union, an Anglo-Catholic organisation, and later printed as a pamphlet. The *Defender* was edited by the vicar of St Peter's, Maynard. The *Defender*

carried commentary and coverage of events held across Australia to commemorate the hundredth anniversary of the commencement of the Catholic revival, as well as similar events held in England.

In his essay, Nickson presented the Movement as the catalyst for the return of mystical insight which enabled "a new grasp of truth, a firmer hold on goodness and a re-evaluation of the significance of beauty", all of which were the fruits of the growth of the appreciation of Catholic truth in religion.[1] Nickson's survey of the music of the century since 1833 focussed on his perception of the inadequacies of church music prior to 1833, commenting that a "musician would not see a vital difference between Mozart's operas and his masses".[2] One of the important developments Nickson identified as being associated with the Oxford Movement was the revival of plainchant, and an increased appreciation for the style of Palestrina. Nickson acknowledged that plainchant had not been a popular development at first, noting that the art of performing it was "of the utmost delicacy, requiring special training and rare sympathy, with a mode of expression that had long passed out of normal use."[3] Nickson's view of the relationship between the nature of the Church and the nature of church music had not changed since he published *An Ideal in Church Music* in 1916. In a paragraph he summarised the "marks" of the Church and how they were manifested in church music.[4] The role of music in the liturgy was central; Nickson had observed in 1916 that music had the capacity to "deepen

[1] A E H Nickson, *The Catholic Spirit in Song* (Melbourne: Private printing, 1933) p 4.
[2] Nickson, *The Catholic Spirit in Song* p 4.
[3] Nickson, *The Catholic Spirit in Song* p 5.
[4] Nickson, *The Catholic Spirit in Song* pp 6-7.

penitence and to perfect praise".[5] With the marks of the Church kept in mind, Nickson saw that church music could be the catalyst to union with God. Noting the misuse of music in the liturgy he wrote that in music "the Church shelters an Angel of Illumination whom she frequently has silenced in favour of the strife and clamour of dark spirits unworthy of her nature and cause."[6]

Nickson's second essay in this period was *A Speculative Fall*, and it is unique among his writings in this style because the complete series of drafts survive, ranging from manuscripts to annotated roneo copies of the typescript: the essay was never printed, and was circulated only in typescript. Although no record survives to date this essay, it is most likely to have been written in the years 1934-35, during one of Nickson's annual summer visits to Tasmania. In a letter attached to one of the manuscripts, addressed to "B" (presumably his wife Beryl), Nickson commented that the essay drew out his meditations on the "Here + Yonder of Plotinus", and that to a less sympathetic reader "it would appear stupid + grotesque".[7] Evidence for this date is a comment Beryl made in a letter to Maynard in a letter dated 23rd October 1934, writing that she had had "to read over some matter for A.E.H., and you would be quite astonished at my appearance for I have had my head bitten off for daring to make what I considered some helpful suggestions."[8] Pencilled notes appearing in the manuscript are not in Beryl Nickson's handwriting. These are more likely to have been the work of Johannes Heyer, who was based in Hobart. Nickson's visit to Tasmania gave him the opportunity to

[5] Nickson, *An Ideal in Church Music* p 3.
[6] Nickson, *The Catholic Spirit in Song* p 7.
[7] Nickson, Letter to "B".
[8] Beryl F. B. Nickson, Letter to F. E. Maynard 23/10/1934, St Peter's Eastern Hill, Melbourne.

discuss his ideas with Heyer, who was clearly an important sympathiser whose training as a minister had included a firm grounding in Greek, an important tool in coming to grips with the writings of the third-century Roman philosopher, Plotinus (204-70). Nickson himself never learnt Greek, and it is unlikely he ever read a completely reliable translation of the *Enneads* until the publication of Stephen MacKenna's translation in 1918.

In 1939 Nickson's youngest son Noël won the Clarke Scholarship. The *Argus* carried the news under the headline "Father and Son".[9] Noël had studied at the Conservatorium 1935-38, graduating with the BMus. He had benefited from a personal scholarship to study violin under Bernard Heinze, although lessons were sporadic due to Heinze's frequent absences on conducting tours.[10] Heinze, like Nickson senior, was not concerned with teaching technique, preferring to focus on interpretation.[11] Noël's scholarship was interrupted by the outbreak of war shortly after he arrived in London, and he had to complete it following the end of WWII in 1945. Noël's war service brought him back to Australia.

In 1942 Nickson published *The Sisters Three* as part of a series compiled by St John Wilson, then chaplain at Melbourne Grammar School, and published under the title "The Open Eye".[12] This essay included an extensive reading list that would have been

[9] Oriel, "Father and Son," *The Argus* March 22 1939.
[10] Tregear, *Conservatorium of Music* pp 82-3.
[11] Tregear, *Conservatorium of Music* pp 82-3. Personal recorded interview with Noël Nickson, March 2nd 2004.
[12] A E H Nickson, "The Sisters Three," *The Open Eye*, ed. P st J Wilson (Melbourne: Ramsay, Ware Publishing, 1941).

quite challenging for senior secondary school readers. Among other items were Robert Bridges's *The Testament of Beauty*, as well as some of Bridges's essays, and Nickson's own *Christ in Art*, with the prices of the books included. Some ideas that had been developed in *A Speculative Fall* are present in *The Sisters Three*, particularly the view of history as revelation, and the derivative nature of human life.

In 1948 Nickson made his second return visit to England, travelling with his wife. At St Peter's, the vestry recorded in March 1948 that Nickson intended to travel to England and received a report on the cost of the choir, which Nickson had been paying from his own resources, but oddly, nothing in the proceedings indicates that Nickson had resigned from the organist's post; rather, it almost appears as if Nickson was requesting leave-of-absence.[13] At the April meeting the vestry minutes recorded that a testimonial fund was being collected: it was felt that this gift should be "not less that £100". One of Nickson's students, Keith Taylor, was appointed organist, while the financial arrangements of the choir were retained by the parish pending review.[14] Because of Nickson's refusal to accept remuneration, St Peter's had not paid an organist for nearly twenty years, and the arrangements in the salary for the new organist reflected this. After some discussion, the vestry agreed to pay Taylor an annual salary of £60 plus half wedding fees, which, while it was not insubstantial, was far from generous.[15] The parish had not previously had a consistent pattern of paying wedding fees to the organist, and one wonders if Nickson had completely withdrawn his financial support for the parish music, given that he had previously been paying choir members out of his own pocket.

[13] St Peter's Vestry, 9/3/48, St Peter's Eastern Hill Archives, Melbourne.
[14] St Peter's Vestry, 13/4/48, St Peter's Eastern Hill Archives, Melbourne.
[15] St Peter's Vestry, 13/4/48.

Intriguingly, Nickson's elder son, Arthur, was on the vestry of St Peter's at this time; presumably he was in a position to make comment on the relation of the salary paid to the duties performed.

Nickson's influence over the development of the liturgical music at St Peter's over the first half of the twentieth century had been absolute. Even after his retirement from the organist position there, Nickson continued to teach his organ students at St Peter's, and his two immediate successors, Keith Taylor and Bruce Naylor, had both studied under him; it is probable that Nickson had an instrumental role in securing their appointments.

Nickson's final Sunday as organist was May 2nd. Maynard paid a generous public tribute to Nickson's work following high mass. In a letter responding to Maynard's tribute, Nickson summed up his attitude to church music:

> I wished to present the music at Mass in a manner consistent with the ideal of worship which St. Peter's has always set before it…I believe the spirit of understanding worship + adoration + the spirit of Beauty + Truth have to be suggested to our musicians + congregations with the utmost sincerity + care in preparation + expression. Imperfection in the most important adjuncts of worship seems to me to border on active heresy.[16]

The Nicksons arrived in England by mid-June 1948. An impetus for the timing of the trip was Noël's wedding. The visit brought reunions with former students: William McKie at Westminster Abbey, and Howard Hollis, who had travelled to England to become an assistant organist at the Abbey in 1947, and his wife Margaret, one of Nickson's godchildren; as well as Mack Jost, whose Wigmore Hall debut was attended

[16] A. E. H. Nickson, Letter to F. E. Maynard 8/5/1948, St Peter's Eastern Hill, Melbourne.

by the Nicksons. McKie had feared that Nickson might find the devastation in England brought about by the war too confronting but Nickson himself commented that for all the damage he considered that the enemies had been bad shots.[17] Nickson revisited old sights, taking a trip to Farnham. Of the changes there he noted that the parish that was "Once broad now has vestments etc, the clergy are not up to those in Randal Davidson's day."[18]

Back in Australia, in 1949 Nickson was invited to become an honorary life member of the British Music Society of Victoria, with which he had had a long association. Writing to ask Nickson's acceptance of this honour, the Secretary of the Society, Sybil Hewett, noted that in addition to honouring Nickson's contribution to the musical life of Melbourne and the principles he stood for, the honorary life membership would also be a reflection of the warm regard between Nickson and Louise Hanson-Dyer, the founder of the L'Oiseau-Lyre Press. This relationship went back many years; Hanson-Dyer had given Nickson an inscribed copy of a specially-bound limited edition of Charles Sandford Terry's seminal book on Bach's cantatas in 1926.[19]

In 1950 major celebrations were mounted in Melbourne to mark the bicentenary of the death of Bach, including the first of the Bach Festivals at Christ Church South

[17] Sir William McKie, Letter to Noel Nickson, 18/2/1964, Nickson Collection, PVgm, Box 5, Melbourne; Nickson, Letter to F. E. Maynard, 30/6/1948.
[18] Nickson, Letter to F. E. Maynard, 30/6/1948.
[19] Charles Sanford Terry, *Joh. Seb. Bach Cantata Texts Sacred and Secular: With a Reconstruction of the Leipzig Liturgy of His Period* (London: Constable & Company, 1926). Inscribed in flyleaf: "To Arthur Nickson / "In Music's Name", / A remembrance from / Louise B. W. Dyer / August 3rd 1926 / Number 170 of a limited ed. of 500

Yarra, instigated by Leonard Fullard.[20] The ABC presented a significant series of broadcasts between April and August that showcased a large number of Australian performers and musical organisations in the performance of Bach's music. On July 28th, Nickson gave an illustrated radio lecture on *Die Kunst der Fuge* [BWV 1080] and *Musicalisches Opfer* [BWV 1079] as part of a presentation of these works by a local string orchestra, probably the only occasion that he spoke on radio. Nickson's comments reflected some of his experience of concerts in London during his visit to England in 1948-49, where he had attended a performance of *Kunst der Fuge*.[21] Nickson's comments also reflected his own reading of the work. Recalling his requirements in "The Moral Basis of Music", Nickson placed the works in the context of the intellectual world of mid-eighteenth century Germany, and traced some of their history since, including that *Kunst der Fuge* had been first orchestrated in 1927 by Wolfgang Graeser "a young recondite German".[22] The lecture was part metaphysical and part historical reflection; the first part of the lecture was occupied with Nickson's views on the unity of religion, philosophy, science and the arts mixed in with a brief history of the origins of the works under discussion and some commentary on their reception. It is not clear what arrangement of *Kunst der Fugue* was used in the performance. In contrast to Nickson's introduction, the performance was not a success; afterwards, Nickson commented to Peter Larsen that he thought the players must have been drunk.[23]

[20] David Cuthbert, *Christ Church in South Yarra: A Social History, 1850 - 1990* (South Yarra: Christ Church South Yarra Vestry, 1996) p 47.
[21] A E H Nickson, *Bach's "Die Kunst Der Fuge"*, lecture, Nickson Collection, Pvgm, Box 2, p 10.
[22] Nickson, *Bach's "Die Kunst Der Fuge"*, pp 10-11.
[23] Bazeley, ed., *Retrospections* p 26.

Figure 8: Sir William McKie and A. E. H. Nickson photographed during McKie's 1953 tour to Australia to raise funds for the restoration of Westminster Abbey following the Coronation. Reproduced from Hollis, *Best of Both Worlds*, between pp 84-5

In 1956 Nickson celebrated his 80th birthday, and a dinner was organised by friends and former students to mark the occasion. Although he was reluctant to accept public adulation, Nickson wrote a speech in which he commented that his feelings on this occasion were

> similar to those of certain pupils when the time draws near for them to come to their lessons. Some have wished the Earth would Open + Swallow them up…it is one thing for a Teacher to give a lesson to a Student in a privileged position of Authority: it is quite another for the Teacher to be confronted with an array of his Students to hear what they pleased to say about him.[24]

Nickson's influence through his former students broadened during the 1940s and 1950s, and among these he could count organists in cathedrals and significant churches both around Australia and in other countries. The most prominent was William McKie,

[24] Nickson, *Overwhelmed*, pp 1-2.

who had returned to England in 1938 to become organist at Magdalene College Oxford before being appointed to Westminster Abbey (1941-63), also serving as President of the Royal College of Organists (1956-58).[25] Two of Nickson's former students held prominent organ and teaching posts in Canada and America. Gordon Atkinson was organist at St Catherine's Cathedral, St Catherine's, Ontario, and later at All Saints Virginia Beach, Florida.[26] Barrie Cabena was organist at First St Andrew's Church, London, Ontario, and was also a professor at Wilfrid Laurier University, Waterloo.[27] As an expression of affection for his former teacher, in 1998 Cabena published a series of works that had been composed over a twenty years from 1977 as *Homage to A. E. H. Nickson* (Op. 350).[28] Both Atkinson and Cabena served as presidents of the Royal Canadian College of Organists. Nickson's former students were a major part of Australia's music life, especially in Melbourne, led by Lance Hardy at St Paul's Cathedral (1951-73), Bernard Clarke at All Saint's East St Kilda (1951-65), Bruce Naylor at St Peter's Eastern Hill (1953-7, 1960-1) and later at St George's Cathedral Perth. Leslie Curnow, who was strongly influenced by Nickson although not a student directly, was at Christ Church South Yarra (1919-30) and later at the First Church of Christ, Scientist, South Melbourne (1946-75). Another former student who held the position at Christ Church South Yarra with great distinction was Leonard Fullard (1949-87).

Until 1960 Nickson remained a central member of the staff at the Conservatorium, where every student passed through his lectures at some stage in their course of study.

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[25] Hollis, *Best of Both Worlds* pp 155, 65.
[26] J Henderson, *A Directory of Composers for Organ*, Second ed. (Swindon: John Henderson (Publishing) Ltd., 1999) p 23.
[27] Henderson, *A Directory of Composers for Organ* p 97.
[28] Henderson, *A Directory of Composers for Organ* p 97.

The parallels between the careers of Nickson and his son Noël became more apparent after 1959, when Noël Nickson returned to Melbourne after eight years assisting Sir Eugene Goosens and later Sir Bernard Heinze at the Sydney Conservatorium. His return to Melbourne was partly brought about by Heinze's succession as director at the Sydney Conservatorium. The controversial circumstances of Goosens's departure in 1956 meant that it was important he be succeeded at the Sydney Conservatorium by a musician of comparable stature and Heinze fitted the bill as a conductor and as an educator.[29] The vacuum resulting from Goosens's departure also placed Heinze in the ascendant in Sydney as he undertook reform of the Conservatorium and continued to capitalise on his connections with the ABC. Noël Nickson could see that there would be little likelihood of furthering his career there while Heinze remained prominent, since it was hardly a propitious situation for the younger Noël Nickson as he sought to develop his conducting career.[30] Following his return to Melbourne, Noël began to sit on the Music Faculty board, while his father gradually withdrew. Noël remained at the Conservatorium until 1965, the year after his father's death, when he was appointed as the foundation Professor of Music at the University of Queensland.

In 1959 Beryl Nickson died after a long illness. In December that year Nickson was made an honorary Doctor of Music in recognition of his long service to the University of Melbourne, and his activities in recital giving and newspaper criticism.[31]

[29] Radic, *Bernard Heinze* pp 174-5.
[30] Personal recorded interview with Noël Nickson, March 2nd 2004.
[31] *Citation Read at the Conferring of the Honorary Doctorate of Music Upon Mr A. E. H. Nickson - 19th December, 1959*, Nickson Collection, PVgm, Box 5. Personal Recorded Interview with Beryl Newland, 19th November 2003.

Nickson's final year of teaching at Melbourne University was 1960. A further honour came in 1963 when the Royal College of Music made Nickson an honorary fellow.[32]

Nickson died on February 16th 1964 at the Linwood Hospital in Mont Albert; the funeral was held at St Peter's two days later. Lance Hardy played the organ, and the service ended with a performance of Karg-Elert's *Interludium in F#* (Op. 36 II B), based on the closing words of the Nicene Creed "the life of the world to come";[33] Fullard commented that the *Interludium* "was a favourite work of Dr. Nickson…He used to tell us how sublimely it expressed the meaning of the words."[34] Howard Hollis, who had returned to Australia to become chaplain at Geelong Grammar School in 1957, gave the funeral address. Fullard commented that Hollis reminded his listeners of Nickson's influence in directing his students to think about "the Good, the Beautiful and the True, the attributes of God."[35]

For many of his students, Nickson appeared like the hangover of a bygone era, and this was reinforced by the formality of his dress. He wore high collars and a frock coat throughout his teaching career, long after they had gone out of fashion. A battered briefcase, homburg hat and a raincoat of venerable provenance were the distinguishing features of Nickson's outdoor clothing. Beryl Nickson once tried to give the raincoat to the Salvation Army, and in the wake of Nickson's fury at the loss had to go and retrieve

[32] J Rich, "Nickson, Arthur Ernest Howard," *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, ed. J Ritchie, vol. 15 (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2000).
[33] Sigfrid Karg-Elert, *Interludium Aus Der H Moll-Sonate (Op. 36 2 B)* (Berlin: Carl Simon, 1906).
[34] Fullard, "Dr A. E. H. Nickson."
[35] Fullard, "Dr A. E. H. Nickson.", Hollis, Funeral Address.

it.[36] Hollis related how Nickson used to walk past the memorial to Sir William Clarke, who had founded the scholarship that enabled his studies at the RCM, doffing his hat as he passed, and reminding his students of the patronage of the man whom he regarded as his personal benefactor.[37] While his attire could be seen as a mark of eccentricity, it was also a mark of Englishness. To Nickson the standards pertaining at the time of his studies in England in the late nineteenth century, were the ones by which all things in art, and in life generally, were to be judged. The conservatism of his clothing was a reflection of the essentially conservative tastes of the man, and his influence over the syllabus of the Conservatorium reflected a deeply held view on music education. The music course remained largely unaltered from the beginning of Professor Peterson's tenure in 1901 until 1960.[38]

By the 1950s the course at the Conservatorium was seen by many students as outdated, and having little relevance to the important developments in music taking place at the time. For example, students would listen to records of contemporary European music in the Union building, not in the Conservatorium library.[39] Students were given a solid grounding in the conventions of tonal music, but clearly they had to go elsewhere in order to broaden their musical education. Nickson's interest in universal principles could be seen as one aspect of his resistance to recent developments. Noël Nickson and Howard Hollis have both claimed that Nickson strongly resisted any discussion of altering the content of the music course that might take account of more recent

[36] Naylor, Letter to Kieran Crichton, 13/6/2003.
[37] Hollis, *Dr A. E. H. Nickson - the Man + Melbourne's Music*, p 4.
[38] Tregear, *Conservatorium of Music* pp 39-40.
[39] Tregear, *Conservatorium of Music* p 95.

developments in music when discussion was raised at the Music Faculty board.[40] Anecdotal accounts of Heinze attempting to float the concept of changes to the music course during his years as Ormond Professor show that he was not oblivious to the inadequacies of the course. However, Heinze's frequent absences on conducting tours meant that he was practically unable to press any substantial changes to the music course. These frequent absences contributed to Nickson's influence among the students, as he taught Heinze's classes in Heinze's absence, often causing some disquiet by appearing to disagree on principle with everything Heinze had said in the previous lecture.[41] Hollis records that as long as Nickson sat on the Board of the Music Faculty his security in his view of musical education was such that he was "utterly indifferent about what anyone might think of the high line he took" and that in expressing his views Nickson had "a way of commending the highest standards as the only ones worth contemplating."[42] Even the prospect of change was viewed as potentially admitting mediocrity, and while Nickson sat on the Faculty Board "no concessions got by, no reduction of standards no admission of anything trivial".[43]

Nickson's view of music education was part of a more general view of education that he shared with Heinze. This common view was expressed in a shared frustration with the limited horizons imposed on teachers and students by specialisation in their university studies. In a series of notes passed while examining students with Nickson in the 1950s, Heinze observed that the tendency to specialisation had "destroyed in

[40] Personal recorded interview with Noël Nickson, March 2nd 2004; Hollis, *Dr A. E. H. Nickson - the Man + Melbourne's Music*, p 18.
[41] Bazeley, ed., *Retrospections* p 39.
[42] Hollis, *Dr A. E. H. Nickson - the Man + Melbourne's Music*, pp 17-18.
[43] Hollis, *Dr A. E. H. Nickson - the Man + Melbourne's Music*, p 18.

medicine the G.P. the most valuable mind".[44] Nickson responded that the "little that we know…needs the expansion gained by insight into the wider realms of thought" and that if the arts and sciences were to realise their full potential "they must be tending towards the metaphysical."[45]

Nickson's view of music was clearly limited to tonal music of the western tradition, and while he could exercise a potent influence in shaping the worldview of a composer such as Sculthorpe, the course he taught at the Conservatorium was "fairly irrelevant" to the compositional direction Sculthorpe was to take.[46] A contrast can be seen in Heinze's encouragement of Australian composers who began their careers as students at the Conservatorium such as Sculthorpe and Margaret Sutherland, and his willingness to explore and embrace newer composition styles.[47]

Nickson's conservatism was reinforced by the number of his own former students on the staff of the Conservatorium, many of whom were sympathetic to Nickson's views. Heinze himself had studied counterpoint under Nickson during 1912-13, prior to winning the Clarke Scholarship.[48] Hollis comments "I remember how much …Heinze sought his advice and deferred to his opinions".[49] Nickson's former students, who had also been his assistant organists at St Peter's, dominated the organ teaching list at the Conservatorium: Fred Nott (1921-35, 1937-49), who had succeeded Nickson at St Peter's in 1916, Nott's

[44] Bernard Heinze & A E H Nickson, *Conversation Notes*, Heinze collection, State Library of Victoria, Box 24.
[45] Heinze & Nickson, *Conversation Notes*.
[46] Bazeley, ed., *Retrospections* p 39.
[47] Radic, *Bernard Heinze* pp 121-22, 77, 96, 98, .
[48] Radic, *Bernard Heinze* p 23.
[49] Hollis, *Dr A. E. H. Nickson - the Man + Melbourne's Music*, p 18.

departure in 1928 was a factor that brought about Nickson's return there, and Lance Hardy (1953-81) and Bernard Clarke (1962-65), who balanced their teaching with careers in the wider musical life of Melbourne.[50] Among the cohort of piano teachers, Mack Jost was the most prominent of Nickson's former students when he began teaching at the Conservatorium in 1951.[51] Many other piano teachers at the Music Faculty were influenced less directly, including Nancy Weir, Jean Starling, Ronald Farren-Price, who all passed through Nickson's classes. Nickson's influence over the curriculum at the Conservatorium can be seen as an obvious result of his remarkable longevity both as a member of the Board of the Faculty and in his teaching activities. With only two short breaks, by 1956 Nickson had been teaching counterpoint at the Conservatorium for fifty years, in addition to other academic subjects that had become part of his routine teaching pattern after Heinze became Ormond Professor.

The main academic subjects Nickson taught were history, literature and aesthetics of music, harmony and counterpoint. Nickson's perfectionism in counterpoint classes could be expressed through withering sarcasm, with students' exercises cast to the floor. Many students were in awe of his standards, which he exemplified to a high level through his improvisation of fugues as demonstrations of how students could have improved their work. When making positive comments in his students' work, Nickson's statements were a direct echo of his lecturers at the RCM: the best judgement Nickson's students could hope for was "quite pleasing" or "very fair".[52]

[50] Tregear, *Conservatorium of Music* p 156.
[51] Tregear, *Conservatorium of Music* p 153.
[52] Tregear, *Conservatorium of Music* p 82.

As a student, Bruce Steele attended Nickson's twice-weekly history and aesthetics lectures to first year students in 1950, and his notes from these lectures reveal that Nickson's discussion of the historical development of music was very much in the spirit of Parry's *Evolution of the Art of Music*, first published in 1893, and which Nickson presumably read during his studies at the RCM.[53] These notes are of great interest, because they make it possible to see the order in which Nickson's lectures were given, and also because they show how Nickson was heard by his students.

The opening lectures of the first term (March-May) discussed the development of music from pre-Christian times to the fifteenth century. Nickson saw music developing in parallel directions as folk music and church music. He was of the view that folk music relinquished its vocal origin to become instrumental music, while church music remained essentially vocal. The Renaissance was presented as a period of ultimate artistic achievement. Nickson identified composers such as Palestrina and Byrd as the leaders of the musical movement, and Michelangelo's sonnets were regarded as the "heights of artistic achievement in the Renaissance."[54] Some reference was made to secular vocal music of the Renaissance and Baroque, particularly that of Byrd, Palestrina, Gibbons, Purcell, Rameau and Couperin. The aim of this set of lectures was to set a historical background for discussing later music, but there was an aspect of idealism implicit in these lectures. Nickson regarded the Renaissance as a time when all fine art had been inspired by the Church, and there was a strong emphasis on entering the thought world of

[53] C Hubert Parry, *Evolution of the Art of Music* (London: Kegan Paul, 1901).
[54] Steele, *Lecture Notes*, p 6.

the Renaissance. Steele recorded Nickson's reading list, which included a fair amount of literature on mysticism and religious aesthetics.[55]

Sets of lectures were devoted to discussion of individual composers, with attention focussed on Bach, Handel, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and Schubert.[56] Keyboard music, string quartets, choral music and symphonic writing were discussed in detail. Opera was completely omitted. Musical form and some aspects of compositional technique were discussed. All of this was very much in line with the procedures Parry had used in his *Evolution*, where he had argued that music history could only be discussed in terms of the development of design, genre, and form.[57] Nickson differed from Parry in that he had no interest in music that was outside the Western canon, while Parry had been concerned to show that musical form as it was understood in terms of the Western canon was a fundamental aspect of music-making in all cultures, and that this development was directly correlative to the degree of civilisation.[58]

Nickson's lectures on musical form had a relationship to his lectures on aesthetics. Because form was a large-scale aspect of musical construction, it was possible for Nickson to introduce metaphysical principles that related music to spirituality: "Form is the act of shaping and matter, its substance, is to yield to the impression of the ideals."[59] Plato was discussed, and his doctrine of the Forms was introduced. This was a way of discussing musical form in terms of universal principles, as the doctrine of the Forms

[55] Steele, *Lecture Notes*, pp 14-16.
[56] Steele, *Lecture Notes*.
[57] Parry, *Evolution* pp 3-7.
[58] Parry, *Evolution* pp 5-6, 8, 47-8.
[59] Steele, *Lecture Notes*, p 20.

envisaged all individual things in the material world in terms of a single transcendent reality. Musical form thus served as a vehicle for the discussion of the metaphysical ideals that Nickson presented in more overt language in the lectures of the second term (June-August). Aesthetics was presented primarily as an area of philosophy.[60] Nickson's view of the human condition was the starting point for his investigation of aesthetics; he regarded human consciousness as incomplete in itself, unless it was informed and shaped by universal principles. Hollis has expressed the view that Nickson actively avoided the use of religious terminology in discussing music in his lectures. However, this view is called into question by Nickson's assertion in a lecture that the questions in Greek philosophy were answered in the Christian revelation:

> Aesthetics begins with Greek Philosophers. Christian era gives greater certitude to the gropings…There is a spirit in Music…we must seek it, extend it. Only then can we come into the meaning of music. Christian revelation responsible for the heritage and advance of the West. East Nothing…The average man must find the door to the higher order through truth, beauty, goodness, nature which exists in Metaphysics, (above physical)[61]

Nickson's discussion of the music of particular composers was cast firmly in terms of his aesthetic views. A lecture discussing the presence of musical symbolism in Bach's music developed the theme of finding transcendent realities in individual works, and then proceeded to discuss other composers in the same terms.[62] Quotations on form and composition from Pater and Ruskin appeared. Although not directly related to music, these were writers who had been highly influential in Nickson's early development, and were significant because they urged the study of Christian philosophy in order to gain a

[60] Steele, *Lecture Notes*, p 28; Nickson, *The Mind Beautiful (the Musician's World)* (Melbourne: Private printing, 1927) p 5.
[61] Steele, *Lecture Notes*, pp 28-30.
[62] Steele, *Lecture Notes*, p 32.

deeper appreciation of metaphysical realities.[63] Nickson's discussion of particular musical forms followed the development of concerto, symphony, trio, quartet and sonata. He did not teach any technical analytical techniques, such as the method of harmonic analysis presented by Tovey in his *Companion to the Pianoforte Sonatas of Beethoven* (1931), which was based on accounting for musical structure by a straightforward observation of harmonic events. Nickson commented that analysis of form alone "is mere dissection."[64]

In the third term (September-November), Nickson introduced quotations from Plotinus (AD 204-70), a major source of inspiration for his own thought. Steele's lecture notes preserve three quotations from Plotinus's *Enneads*. Nickson kept a stock of slips of paper containing a quote from MacKenna's translation of Plotinus's first tractate *On Dialectic*, which he was in the habit of distributing at lectures. The quotation summed up Nickson's priorities very neatly:

> The musician we may think of as being exceedingly quick to beauty, drawn in a very rapture to it; somewhat slow to stir of his own impulse, he answers at once to the outer stimulus: as the timid are sensitive to noise so he to tones and the beauty they convey. All that offends against unison or harmony in melodies and rhythms repels him; he longs for measure and shapely pattern.
>
> This natural tendency must be made the starting-point to such a man; he must be drawn by the tone, rhythm and design in things of sense; he must learn to distinguish the material forms from the Authentic-Existent which is the Source of all these correspondences and of the entire reasoned scheme in the work of art; he must be led to the Beauty that manifests itself through these forms; he must be shown that what ravished him was no other than the Harmony of the Intellectual world and the Beauty in that sphere, not some one shape of beauty, but the All-

[63] Steele, *Lecture Notes*, p 20.
[64] Joseph Kerman, *Contemplating Music: Challenges to Musicology* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985) pp 82-3; Steele, Lecture Notes, p 20.

> Beauty, the Absolute Beauty; and the truths of philosophy must be implanted in him to lead him to faith in that which, unknowing it, he possesses in himself.
> - Plotinus (Dialectic) [I.3.1][65]

Nickson's aesthetics lectures contained a strong message based on his religious views. He saw human nature as derived from the nature of God. God possessed and used the faculties of reason, imagination, emotion, and will, just as humans did, and this was the basis of the quality inherent in human life that could only be revealed after a solid grounding in the truths of philosophy had been achieved. Humans could, through art, achieve a participation in the characteristics of God, Goodness, Beauty and Truth; these qualities were inherent in human life because Nickson saw it as ultimately derived from the divine life. The significance of Plotinus to Nickson's worldview was fundamental, for Nickson had appropriated much of his metaphysical views, while offering an alternative grammar for expressing truths that he viewed as fundamentally grounded in Christian revelation. Steele recorded two further quotations. The first quotation was from Plotinus's urging his disciples to search for the Good [V.5.11], while in the second quotation, Plotinus argued that knowledge of the Good was necessary to an apprehension of the Beautiful [V.5.12].[66] This underpinned another aspect of the way of thinking about art that Nickson was trying to convey. In his lectures Nickson warned against the cult of performance for its own sake; as he saw it, all creative endeavours that did not ultimately seek to bridge the gap between the human and the divine was ultimately pointless.[67]

[65] Plotinus, Quote from "Enneads", handout slips, typed and roneo copied, Nickson Collection, PVgm, Box 2, Plotinus, *Enneads* p 10.
[66] Steele, Lecture Notes, p 116.
[67] A E H Nickson, "Composers Are Inclined..." Lecture fragment, Nickson Collection, Pvgm, Box 2.

There are some significant gaps in Steele's notes in the third term, as he found Nickson's lectures increasingly difficult to follow.[68] It is probable that Nickson's lectures became more obscure as he began to dwell in abstract terms on the metaphysical message he was seeking to convey. This was the working out of the theme he had been moving towards in the quotes from Plotinus, which was the education of musicians to use the faculties of reason, imagination, emotion and will to a good moral end. It is possible that one of these missing lectures was "The heart is the first of the physical organs…", where Nickson presented his interpretation of Plato's Cave Myth:

> We in our unreasoned, unexamined lives are as the prisoners in the dark, very dimly aware of the true nature of the world, ~~+~~ of one another. Our casual glances around us are deceptive. We need a full blaze of light, light ~~of~~ in the mind, intellectual understanding, if we desire to see things in the true perspective. The shadows we presume is substance; but things are not what they seem. We ascend into the real world + gain a knowledge of life by the play of ~~an~~ unembodied Light in us, around + through all we see. We possess a faculty…rescuing us from ~~the~~ false, misconceived impression. If this faculty is awakened + speedy, we then posses a knowledge wh. will be found true when the whole order of life + the Universe is finally shown to us in its intended + original status. We ourselves, meanwhile, are shadows. / We are free to create out of semblances, that wh. they reflect, + that of which they symbolically speak. There is thus the world as it seems, imperfect + prosy + the world as it was intended to be, ideal + poetical. It is reflection that enables us to transform appearance + actuality into the supernal + real. So we say see the best in poems + things: enhance the suggestions of Nature + experience, + live in a knowledge that is creative, restorative + true. Clothe yourself with an armour of Light.[69]

In this lecture, Nickson presented music as a parable, but emphasised the importance of attaining a disposition of mind that would enable the musician to unfold its inner meaning. Significantly, Nickson quoted from his own writings, taking an excerpt from *The Mind Beautiful* that discussed sense perception and an unidentified quotation from

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[68] Personal conversation with Bruce Steele, October 7th, 2003.
[69] Nickson, "the Heart Is the First of Physical Organs..." pp 3-4. Original emphasis. Last sentence in pencil.

The Sisters Three.[70] Nickson's purpose in the third term lectures was to encourage students to take on his way of thinking.

The connection between Nickson's teaching work at the Conservatorium and his role as organist at St Peter's was primarily in his use of the organ there for teaching his organ students. Students were also recruited to the choir, where some were paid out of Nickson's own pocket. By the mid 1930s there were roughly 20 people regularly singing there, many of them current students at the Conservatorium.[71] Nickson also had his organ students handle the bulk of playing for high mass at St Peter's, as he was absent for long periods due to examining commitments for the AMEB, and when he was at St Peter's he would occasionally leave during the service to listen to the choir across the road at St Patrick's Cathedral after the Vienna Mozart Boys' Choir was stranded in Melbourne at the conclusion of a concert tour to Australia following the outbreak of war in 1939, when they became the choir of St Patrick's.[72] In a privately printed article "written by an independent onlooker", Nickson wrote

> The fortunes of war are many and various…Tangible evidence of these…is read in the recent history of Dr. Gruber's Vienna Mozart Boys' Choir. A mere accident, as one would say, lost these visitors their passage home…As a newly constituted body the Vienna choir sings week by week at the Cathedral, giving Melbourne for the first time a perfectly rendered exposition of the Church's musical mind.[73]

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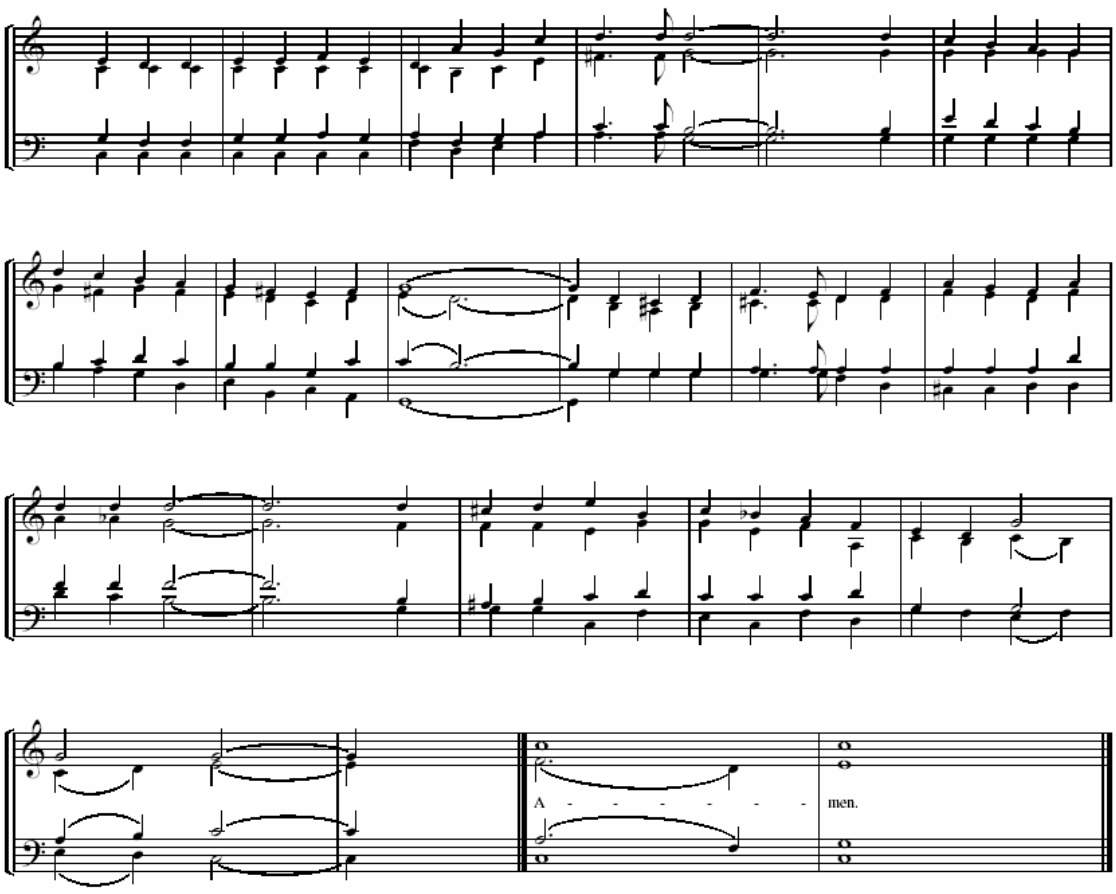
[70] Nickson, "the Heart Is the First of Physical Organs..." p 6, Nickson, *The Mind Beautiful (the Musician's World)* p 12.
[71] Based on the number of performing parts of Nickson's own compositions dating from the period; Nickson, *Sanctus & Agnus Dei in a Flat*, SATB + Organ mass setting; Nickson, *Sanctus & Agnus Dei in F*, SATB + Organ Mass setting; Nickson, *Sanctus and Agnus Dei in D*, SATB + Organ Mass setting, Nickson Collection, PVgm, Box 1B. See also Holden, *From Tories at Prayer* p 151.
[72] Bazeley, ed., *Retrospections* p 18.
[73] A E H Nickson, *Cathedral Music: The Enrichment of Worship*, Pamphlet, Nickson Collection, PVgm, Box 5, Melbourne.

St Peter's could provide the opportunity for promising students to have works performed, as was the case in 1937 when a mass setting by Vera Eddy was sung at high mass. The work had attracted positive comments from Heinze and Edgar Bainton.[74] Nickson himself composed three mass settings and a couple of motets for performance at high mass at St Peter's. The masses were not complete settings, but only the Sanctus, Benedictus and Agnus Dei; a Kyrie survives in manuscript, but it is unclear whether this was in regular use as no performing copies survive, unlike the Sanctus, Benedictus and Agnus Dei settings in D-major, F-major and A flat-major.[75] The music was strictly tonal, the part writing very simple and always doubled by the organ. The masses were not polyphonic; indeed, the music is utilitarian in its homophonic texture and brevity. No evidence can be found of any influence of Karg-Elert, although George Dreyfus's recollection of Nickson improvising in the style of Karg-Elert clearly indicates that he had a sufficient understanding of advanced chromaticism to go beyond simple tonal music.[76] No extended compositions by Nickson survive, or appear to have been written. Everything that survives of Nickson's compositions is in small forms: hymn tunes, short anthems and the three mass settings. In addition, he seems to have written in the same conservative tonal diatonic style all his life. An example of Nickson's composition before returning to Australia in 1901 is the hymn tune he composed for the opening of the Hoste memorial pulpit at Farnham Parish Church in 1899 (Example 1).

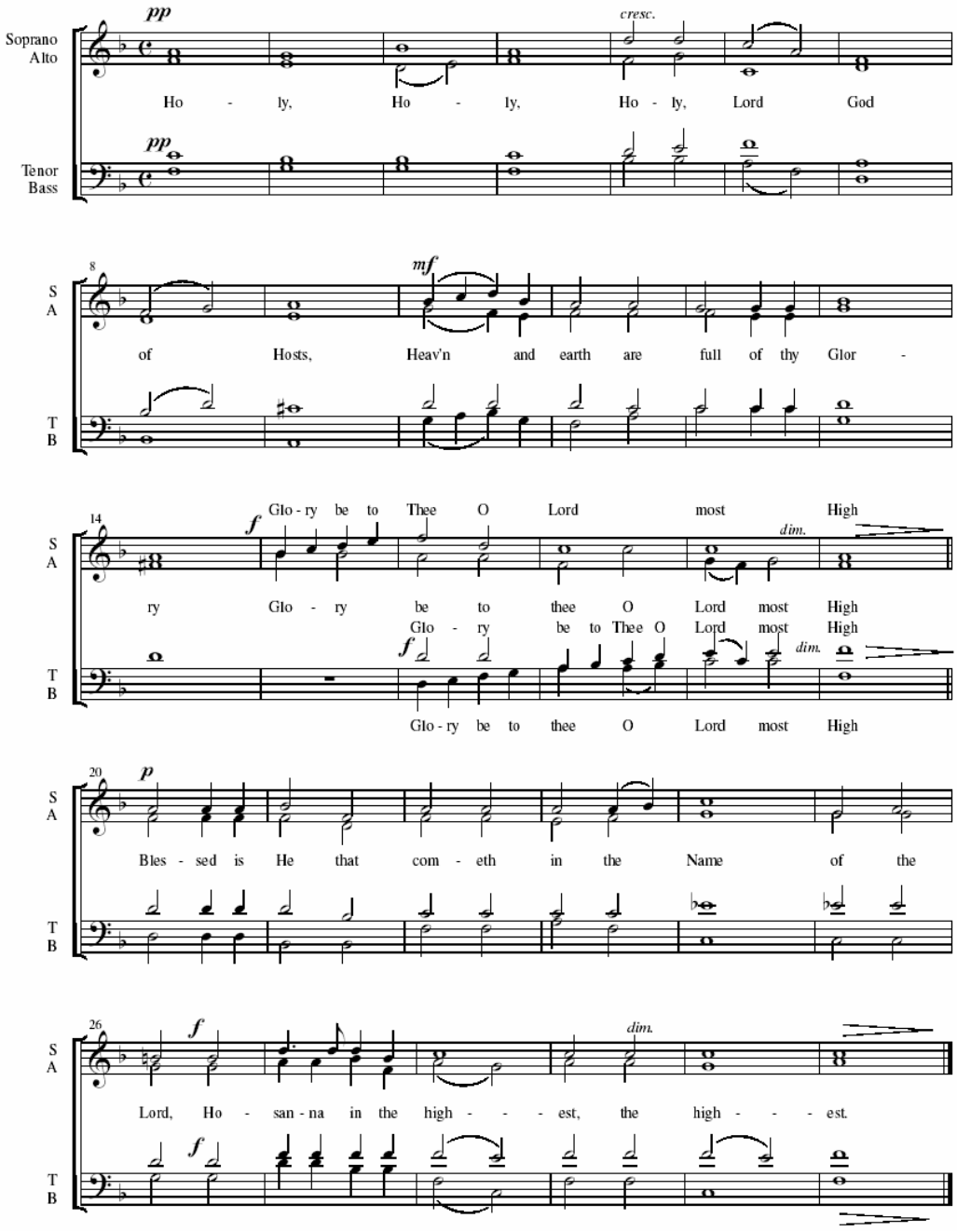
[74] Holden, *From Tories at Prayer* p 151.
[75] A E H Nickson, *Kyrie Eleison*, SATB (+organ?) Movement of a mass setting, Nickson Collection, Pvgm, Box 1B.
[76] Bazeley, ed., *Retrospections* p 14.



Example 1: A.E.H. Nickson, Hymn Tune (1899).[77]

Nickson's Sanctus in F (Example 2) displays a similar simplicity. Apart from a moment of independence in bars 15-19, the writing is almost completely homophonic, and was clearly doubled by the organ. It may be that this piece was composed at the keyboard, despite the conviction expressed by Graham Hardie that many of Nickson's students were convinced that he "had a 'direct line' to Palestrina".[78] While the harmony was "correct", and shows that Nickson had the solid technique that he imparted to his students, it has to be said that this is not exciting music.

[77] Nickson, Hymn for Opening of Hoste Memorial Pulpit - Farnham Parish Church.
[78] Bazeley, ed., *Retrospections* p 17.



Example 2: A.E.H. Nickson, Sanctus in F (1930s)[79]

Clearly Nickson's vocation was not as a composer, although his improvisations were recalled by students to have been sublime, and this was clearly where his strength

[79] Nickson, *Sanctus & Agnus Dei in F.*

lay.[80] His mass settings were probably intended as utilitarian pieces to enable the liturgy to be sung without adding to its length, probably for use at times of the year when elaborate music was not desired, possibly to encourage congregational participation.

Some account for the simplicity of Nickson's music can be seen in the liturgical ideals of Maynard, who was concerned that the congregation should be able to take part in the liturgy beyond simply singing hymns.[81] Nickson had expressed the same concern in 1916, when he gave suggestions on congregational singing as an appendix to *An Ideal in Church Music* that included the statement that the congregation should sing "the Great Hymns of the Church…They are the Creed, Sanctus, Gloria in Excelsis, the Paternoster" in the ordinary course of worship.[82] Clearly he considered it important that the congregation participate by singing the texts of the Ordinary of the mass. While Nickson was disquieted by Maynard's transformation of high mass into a rite where the congregation did not receive communion, he was deeply sympathetic to a liturgy where the congregation was encouraged to participate as fully as possible in other ways. Hollis comments that, despite Nickson's reservations over Maynard's more extreme liturgical innovations, there was a strong bond of respect between the two for the complementary strengths they brought to the realisation of the ideal of Anglo-Catholic worship at St Peter's.[83] Contrary to Naylor's claim that Maynard did not appreciate another "giant" in the parish, there was clearly a strong common ground in liturgical ideals of Nickson and

[80] Naylor, Letter to Kieran Crichton, 13/6/2003, Bazeley, ed., *Retrospections* pp 5, 8, 12, 14, 24, 38, 40.
[81] Holden, *From Tories at Prayer* pp 149-50, 256.
[82] Nickson, *An Ideal in Church Music*.
[83] Hollis, *Dr A. E. H. Nickson - the Man + Melbourne's Music*, pp 12-13.

Maynard.[84] The origins of Maynard's conflicts with two successive organists at St Peter's in the late-1920s, Fred Nott and Claude Montheath, may well have arisen over the matter of congregational participation; the poor performance standards of the choir were clearly an issue, as well as Maynard's perception that Nott and Montheath lacked the sort of liturgical sensitivity he sought.[85] The use of Merbecke, a congregational setting of the *Book of Common Prayer* versions of the mass Ordinary, during Lent, Advent and at midnight mass for Easter and Christmas indicates that for major festivals Maynard considered it important to have as much congregational participation as possible. A further aspect was time constraints. High mass was regularly broadcast on the radio during the 1930s-60s, so it had to fit into the time allowed by the radio programmers.[86] The brevity of Nickson's mass settings certainly points to a strong awareness of the time involved, and the movements would never exceed two or three minutes each (the Sanctus and Benedictus were performed as a single unit). By contrast, Naylor commented that sometimes Nickson's improvisations would run longer than was necessary to cover the action, and the master of ceremonies would be sent to tell him to stop.[87]

In his writings after 1933 Nickson continued to develop his thinking about the human condition, and how this was related to God. The implications of these developments will be discussed more fully in the following chapter, along with how they affected his approach to teaching. The nexus between Nickson's teaching and his religious expression was very clear, as the discussion of Bruce Steele's lecture notes

[84] Naylor, Letter to Kieran Crichton, 13/6/2003.
[85] Holden, *From Tories at Prayer* pp 149-50.
[86] Holden, *From Tories at Prayer* p 151.
[87] Naylor, Letter to Kieran Crichton, 13/6/2003.

demonstrate, and the connection was reinforced by his use of the organ at St Peter's for teaching his students and his work there as a church musician.

Chapter 4

Philosophy and Musical Aesthetics

At the centre of Nickson's worldview was his claim that art is a sacrament. This claim was mediated through a very particular view of the Eucharist that was not necessarily shared by everyone who attended his lectures or read his essays. The discussion in this chapter falls into two sections. The first part will examine Nickson's worldview, paying attention to the philosophical influences on his view of art, and examine his central claim, that art is a sacrament, through a consideration of the Eucharist and parallels between the vocation of a priest and Nickson's demands on the artist in developing a particular disposition of mind. The second part will examine the implications of Nickson's worldview for his expressed views on music, which was of great importance to him, being the most clearly spiritual of the fine arts. This will be examined through a discussion of Nickson's essays, his presentation of these ideas in his lectures, and the recollections of former students.

Part A: Nickson's Philosophy of Art

Nickson's definition of the term 'aesthetics' was to see it as a branch of philosophy concerned with the "consideration of the nature and scope of Beauty", and can be seen as the philosophical investigation of the properties of art.[1] Nickson's

[1] Nickson, *The Mind Beautiful (the Musician's World)* p 5.

definition of philosophy was that it found its origin in a sense of wonder that flowed from the experience of beauty.[2]

Nickson's philosophy was based on Neoplatonism, exemplified in the writings of the third-century teacher Plotinus (205-c271), whose system was based on his own reworking of the older philosophy of Plato (c427-347 BC). One central element in Plato's system was the doctrine of the Forms, a theory that was intended to reconcile the longstanding problem of the one and the many by positing a theory of transcendental eternal truths or archetypes. While Plato expounded on and dealt with the implications of this doctrine in many of his dialogues, the classic exposition of the doctrine is found in the cave myth, which is related in the *Republic*.[3] In the myth an image is invoked of prisoners chained to their places in a cave, facing a wall lit from above and behind them. Behind the prisoners is a walkway where people pass by carrying objects that are then projected as shadows on the wall in front of them. One of the prisoners is released and sees the objects that are carried through the cave. After adjusting to the light, over time the prisoner is able to tell the difference between shadows and the objects that casts them. The prisoner is then returned to the cave, where his senses are confused by the return to darkness, and would challenge the perception of the other prisoners who regarded their own limited perception as superior by being able to guess what the sequence of objects carried past the fire would be, telling them that they do not see things as they truly are. Eventually the prisoners round on their troublesome colleague and murder him. Nickson

[2] Nickson, "The Sisters Three," p 3.
[3] Plato, *The Republic*, trans. Desmond Lee (London: Penguin Classics, 2003) pp 240-44.

quoted the cave myth in a lecture, describing it as a parable of the artist's state of being "strangely betwixt + between in the world".[4]

The underlying principle of all expressions of the doctrine of the Forms is that "eternal truth exists; that eternal truths are truths about eternal entities; and that eternal truth is complex".[5] Both Plato and Plotinus asserted that the Forms exist on an abstract and transcendental plane, and are manifested through objects in the material world. However, two distinctions are important in the accounts of these two philosophers on how this manifestation affects the relationship between the Forms and the material world, in Plato's account this relationship is likened to that of the shadow to the object that casts it, while Plotinus posited that it was the result of emanation, the Forms being thrown into the physical world like sparks from a fire. Secondly, Plato offered the doctrine as a solution to the problem of the one and many, using the doctrine as a theory of archetypes to account for the ability to classify groups of objects such as trees, chairs, and tables. Plotinus reinterpreted this to conceive of the Forms as abstract entities that could only be comprehended on an intellectual level; the Forms became the abstract and transcendental quality of an object that existed in the material world. Plotinus vested the three high Forms of Goodness, Beauty and Truth in an abstract entity that he called the One. Nickson's ideas were based on the doctrine of the Forms as it was developed by Plotinus, which allowed him to vest the three high Forms in the godhead. This important development enabled Nickson to concentrate on the three high Forms as abstract truths

[4] Nickson, "the Heart Is the First of Physical Organs..." pp 2-3.
[5] Lloyd P Gerson, "Introduction," *The Cambridge Companion to Plotinus*, ed. Lloyd P Gerson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) p 6.

that could only be understood through the intellect, which had to be trained in order to reach the stage of being able to comprehend them.

Nickson's aesthetics were focussed on the person of the artist, rather than seeing the art object as existing in its own right. The transformative function of art was to effect a change in the person engaged in the creative act, rather than the physical or sonic object thus created. Nickson never explicitly defined what he considered artists to be, or how this vocation might be recognised in order to be realised. He focused on the imagination "common in its native state to all". However, it was only through the development of a way of looking at the world that the abstract realities comprehended through the imagination could be given expression in non-abstract terms through the creation of art objects.[6]

Instead of discussing music as an art object, Nickson identified three activities that constitute musical art: composition, interpretation and teaching. However, his lines of differentiation between them were quite vague. In *Christ in Art* he referred to composers who were themselves performers: Bach, Mozart, Handel, Beethoven and Karg-Elert.[7] It is possible that Nickson did not see any essential division between the composer and the performer. He made only one comment about interpretation, in his eightieth birthday speech: "My Experience is that the musician who is interested in Music only + not in some way acquainted with the Kindred Arts is inadequately equipped either

[6] Nickson, *The Mind Beautiful (the Musician's World)* p 15.
[7] Nickson, *Christ in Art* pp 8, 11 , 15, 18, 20.

for Teaching or Interpretation."[8] These activities were all related through the disposition of mind that Nickson advocated. When he referred to art objects, he was ultimately discussing them in terms of their function as signs of, and vessels for, the revelation of higher realities. The sign itself might be thought of in material terms as simply 'the art object'. The context that develops the perception of higher reality in the object is the key to how the sign is understood. For Nickson, signs could be viewed in three ways, as symbol, metaphor and sacrament.

As a symbol, the sign contains some sort of 'trigger' that makes apparent the higher reality it is representing. An example of this is Karg-Elert's *Interludium* (Op. 36 II B), which had an inscription from the Nicene Creed at the top. In discussing this work, Nickson stated that it required no explanation: the higher reality the music was representing was made clear from the presence of the text.[9]

A metaphor involves the transference of a concept from one context to another context. In teaching and discussing music, Nickson employed metaphor to discern meaning in works that conveyed no specific program, such as his description to students of Beethoven's Op. 14 No. 2 piano sonata as a depiction of "marital bliss". When he related this interpretation to Ronald Farren-Price, going through the piece "phrase by phrase", Nickson was transferring his experience of the concept of marital bliss onto a work that had some suggestive characteristic that prompted the transfer of context. This depended on aspects of the composition technique, which was predominantly two-part

[8] Nickson, *Overwhelmed*, p 7.
[9] Nickson, *Concert Program Notes*, St Paul's Cathedral, 25/5/1924.

counterpoint, which suggested to Nickson an "obvious" conversation between husband and wife.[10] Of course, Nickson's program depended on ignoring the conditions of Beethoven's own personal life, given that he never married.

The third type of sign was Nickson's central claim about the nature of fine art. In discussing art as a sacrament, Nickson noted that art was of divine institution, "initiated as a Sacrament of the Manifest Presence", to bring humanity back into union with the Godhead from which it had emanated.[11] Nickson would have been familiar with Anglican sacramental theology, expressed in Article XXV of the *XXXIX Articles of Religion*, published with the *Book of Common Prayer*, which spoke of the sacraments of baptism and Eucharist as instituted by Christ to "be not only badges or tokens of Christian men's profession, but rather they be certain sure witnesses, and effectual signs of grace, and God's good will towards us, by the which he doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our Faith in him."[12] F Paget, writing of the all-embracing nature of sacraments in *Lux Mundi*, an important influence on Nickson's theology, believed that

> The body, as well as the spirit, is accessible to the Divine life: there are avenues by which the energy of Christ's perfect and glorified manhood can penetrate, inform, affect, transfigure our whole being, bodily and spiritual.[13]

A sacrament differs from symbols and metaphors in that it is part of a clearly articulated process of transformation: through sacraments, union of human life with the life of God is achieved. Nickson's view of the sacraments was distinctively Anglo-Catholic, which

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[10] Bazeley, ed., *Retrospections* p 15.
[11] Nickson, *Christ in Art* p 7.
[12] *The Book of Common Prayer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1662) p 621.
[13] F Paget, "Sacraments," *Lux Mundi: A Series of Studies in the Religion of the Incarnation*, ed. Charles Gore (London: John Murray, 1902) pp 312.

bore affinities to Roman Catholic theology in its view of the Eucharist. Evangelical Anglicanism held that sacraments, particularly the Eucharist, were a memorial of the crucifixion as an event contained in historical time. The view of the Eucharist that Nickson was using to make his claim that art is a sacrament was anathema to Evangelical theology. However, it needs to be acknowledged that Nickson's central claim was problematic to begin with, as sacraments are not works of art. They are repeatable ritual actions that do not alter the everyday function of the signs used. Artistic creation takes the materials it uses and removes them from their everyday function and, as original creation, is unrepeatable. In this, Nickson's use of the term 'sacrament' is itself transference of context in a similar way to a metaphor. The transference has to do with the process that takes place in the function of a sacrament, Paget's statement that "in the Sacrament the powers of the world to come invade the present" is a description that fits with Nickson's account of the creative process of the artist.[14]

A difficulty with Nickson's claim that art is a sacrament concerns artistic originality. Nickson held that "God Himself is manifest in the fallen world to the inner eye of faith, by the Artist's imaginative insight".[15] He never claimed that artists were in any way self-inspired, but rather, that their whole creative process was ultimately derived from God through the experience of the Forms of Goodness, Beauty and Truth. Nickson viewed the artist's creative process as proceeding from this experience, when

> The Imagination presents an idea to the mind's eye. The Intellect ponders the nature of the thought. Feeling assimilates the essence of the experience and assumes responsibility for the possession of the idea; and Will finally sees that a

[14] Paget, "Sacraments," p 314.
[15] Nickson, *Christ in Art* p 19.

> requital is made, as a thank-offering for the reception and growth to fruition of the initial impulse.[16]

In giving a comprehensible shape to the experience of the Forms, the artist was testing "the worth of experience. This must then be poured into a mould to take shape."[17] Art could only be original in the shape it assumed through the use of stone, pigment or language, but not in the inspiration that led to the shaping, which was ultimately derived from, and in some sense controlled by, the Godhead. Karg-Elert viewed his creative process in these terms, and wrote to Nickson that ideas for compositions presented themselves as sparks of inspiration which then had to be formed into music.[18] Even in the case of improvised music, the process of the experience of the Forms and the shaping into a comprehensible form was immediate.

A similar point can be made in relation to Nickson's distinction between the three forms of sign, symbol, metaphor and sacrament. The first two are related in that they are aspects of purely human activity, either by the placement of a signifier, in the case of a symbol, or through transference of a concept from one context to another, as is the case with metaphor. Sacraments differ in that they are not primarily human activities: being instituted by God, sacraments achieve union with the life of God. Most importantly, sacraments are to be understood in terms of their transformative activity in human life through this encounter with the life of God. The line of difference between sacraments and symbols and metaphors is the faith of the person participating in the aesthetic experience. Symbols and metaphors are not dependent on the possession of a particular

[16] Nickson, *Christ in Art* p 11.
[17] Steele, Lecture Notes, p 20.
[18] Fabrikant, ed., *Harmony of the Soul* pp 46-7.

religious conviction, which is essential to the effectiveness of a sacrament. In the Anglican formularies, the importance of faith in the use of the sacraments was emphasised by Article XXIX, which states that "such as be void of a lively faith" could participate in the sacrament of the Eucharist, but "in no wise are they partakers of Christ: but rather, to their condemnation do eat and drink the sign or Sacrament of so great a thing." On this understanding, participation in a sacrament without faith was not just blasphemous, but positively dangerous to the person committing the act. Nickson's claim that art is a sacrament demands that fine art is to be understood as being initiated by divine inspiration rather than by any purely human form of creativity, subject to the artist possessing and practising the Christian faith.

In accounting for the origin of the world, Nickson consistently stated that he believed it emanated from God.[19] In a similar way, he saw fine art as an emanation from the personality of the artist, in contact with the divine life. The imagination was central in this, because it was through this faculty that the artist had access to the nature of God. God's action in creation was through the realisation of God's thoughts: the world was only Good, Beautiful and True because these qualities resided in the Godhead from which it had emanated. Through the use of will, God's thoughts were realised. Artistic creation was a reflection of God's activity in the creation of the world; human activity reflected the pattern the divine action had set.

[19] Nickson, "the Moral Basis of Music"; Nickson, *Christ in Art* pp 3-5; Nickson, *A Speculative Fall*, pp 2-3; Nickson, "The Sisters Three", Essay, Nickson Collection, PVgm, Box 4, Melbourne, pp 4-5.

Nickson's account of the creation of the world differed from the creation narratives found in Genesis and from the theory of evolution. The reasoning behind Nickson's rejection of Genesis was that it limited God's activity to being a single, unrepeatable event: as a myth, Genesis could be read too literally, and in doing so, the possibility of a present-time encounter with God was ruled out. Evolution was viewed as unsatisfactory because it attempted to account for the material world in isolation from God, and furthermore, it took the development of physical life as the measure of progress, rather than viewing such progress in terms of alienation or union with God.[20] Instead, Nickson advocated the view that all life proceeded from God by emanation, writing that "'Creation' as a term may suggest a sense of remoteness separating the Creation from the Creator. The idea of Emanation is therefore more suggestive, and, we must think, closer to fact."[21] This idea was present throughout Nickson's writings from 1905.

For Nickson, the ultimate source for meaning was to be found in the nature of God, and in accounting for this he followed the Neoplatonist tradition in Christianity, represented among the Fathers of the Church by writers such as St Augustine, St Ambrose and Origen, by reinterpreting the doctrine of the Forms as a way of speaking about nature and attributes of God. The doctrine of the Forms, or Ideas, sought to describe the attributes of higher absolute and abstract reality: the three high Forms, Goodness, Beauty and Truth, were personal characteristics of God. This was an eternal truth that Nickson saw as having been revealed in part through pre-Christian philosophy, writing that "if the ancient Philosophers looking into Universe summed it up in its highest

[20] Nickson, *A Speculative Fall*, pp 2-3.
[21] Nickson, *Christ in Art* p 3.

characteristics as Good, Beautiful, and True, we have there a consensus of belief authentic alike in the Christian, as well as in the Pagan sense."[22] The importance of personality, or agency, in the realisation of the Forms was very high for Nickson, because

> Every act, every indication of taste conscious or un-conscious, is a manifestation of character. So that Personality and Character are not merely alike, they are identical; and this we may regard as true in an absolute sense; for we have no conception of Personality apart from action – apart from Life.[23]

Because Nickson viewed the world as having emanated from God, he viewed the material world as shot through with God's presence, noting that "the world of Matter, secreting Life every-where and concealing its mechanism, is the chastened residuum of [a] one-time Theocratic See of supernal Beings" that had originated in pre-historic, purely spiritual life of complete union with the Godhead.[24] The most direct expression of God's presence in the material world was Christ. Nickson held that it was impossible for the material world to have been intrinsically evil; had this been the case, then "the Incarnation could not have taken place."[25]

Nickson's account of the human condition was couched in terms of a disjunction: humans had their origin in a purely spiritual existence, lived in total union with the Godhead, but lived their physical life in a material world. Nickson's use of the concept of emanation accounts for his perception that divinity was inherent in human nature; what proceeds from the Godhead continues to partake of the qualities of the Godhead, even at a distance. This inherent divinity was seen in the possession of and capacity to use the faculties of reason, emotion, imagination and will. Through the exercise of these

[22] Nickson, *Christ in Art* p 5.
[23] Nickson, *Christ in Art* p 5. Punctuation original.
[24] Nickson, *Christ in Art* pp 7-8.
[25] Nickson, *A Speculative Fall*, p 4.

faculties, the divine attributes of Goodness, Beauty and Truth could be realised in human personality and activity.[26] The spiritual aspect of human life was centred on the function of the mind, and its higher life as the soul; Nickson spoke of the mind and the soul as two stages of the same entity. The human mind was an unavoidably physical entity: the brain, as the seat of reason, emotion, imagination and will was also the central organ to the life of the body.[27] Nickson likened the human mind to a mirror, perpetually making symbolic images that were part of the process of revelation.[28] The mind was therefore not in contact with the origin of the images it reflected. Soul, on the other hand, was a stage of development of the mind where contact with the divine was achieved, and there was no longer simply reflection, but active contact with God.[29]

On the other hand, Nickson saw that human life in the material world was characterised by a longing for reunion with God, which originated in the "dim recollection of the trailing clouds of glory that once enveloped us". Had this remnant not been preserved as part of the spiritual condition in human life, "we might have remained insentient, content to exist without conflict, as the animals, our soft-footed cousins; finding no faculty or power of aspiration to regain our eternal Home."[30] Animals existed without any apparent conflict because their lives appeared to Nickson to be focussed entirely on material needs; they did not have reason and imagination, two attributes that distinguished humans from animals. Nickson expressed this fundamental paradox when he observed that two worlds meet in human life: the one being the purely spiritual world

[26] Nickson, *Christ in Art* p 5.
[27] Nickson, *A Speculative Fall*, p 1.
[28] Nickson, *The Mind Beautiful (the Musician's World)* p 19.
[29] Nickson, *Christ in Art* p 10.
[30] Nickson, *Christ in Art* p 4.

willed into being by God, while the other was "the God-willed world as we have unmade it."[31] This paradox points to a deeper tension in Nickson's thinking, where he moved back towards a Genesis-type of worldview, where a specific act of will by God explains the creation of the world. The human state of alienation from God represented in Genesis by the fall was clearly an important part of Nickson's worldview, but this could appear to be inconsistent with seeing the world as an emanation.[32]

Nickson's account of revelation and redemption depended on the reunification of all things to God, which was achieved through the person and work of Jesus Christ. Nickson's understanding of the nature of Christ was firmly grounded in the Nicene Creed; this was demonstrated in the closing paragraph of *Christ in Art*, where the Creed was elaborately paraphrased.[33] In Christ the partial nature of human life was made whole and sanctified by being gathered up into the Godhead. Nickson understood Christ to be the revelation of God in the world, making God's presence explicit. Nickson used the descriptions of Christ as the Word of God and Light of the world, elsewhere describing him as a "celestial Visitant", coming to resolve the inherent disjunction of human life in the material world.[34] This is a constant theme in Nickson's essays.[35] Christ was central to Nickson's view of art as sacrament, as it was Christ who instituted the only two sacraments mentioned in Article XXV, baptism and communion. In Anglo-Catholic theology, the sacraments themselves were seen as a manifesting of Christ, particularly the Eucharist, where Christ was seen to be present under the symbols of bread and wine.

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[31] Nickson, *A Speculative Fall*, p 5.
[32] Nickson, *A Speculative Fall*, pp 2-3.
[33] Nickson, *Christ in Art* p 21.
[34] Nickson, *Christ in Art* p 3, Nickson, "The Sisters Three," p 3.
[35] Nickson, *Christ in Art* p 3, Nickson, A Speculative Fall, p 4, Nickson, "The Sisters Three," p 4.

This view of the Eucharist bore some affinity with the Roman doctrine of transubstantiation, which was anathema to the Evangelical view that the Eucharist was the memorial of the crucifixion, an event contained in the historical past. Nickson viewed redemption as a reunion with God which had been accomplished in the life, work and resurrection of Christ, and available to all people through the Church, which was the continuation of the Incarnation.

Nickson's thinking about redemption is worked out through the disposition of mind that he advocated. In describing an artist, Nickson wrote that artists are not said to "**have** souls, for they **are** soul."[36] The essential character of this disposition of mind can be described in terms of 'seeing clearly'. Nickson's statement that artists "**are** soul" introduces a distinction between mind and soul, where symbols can be seen in relation to mind, and sacraments to soul. His view of the physical world as both a symbol and sacrament of God's presence and activity necessarily demanded that those who wished to participate in God's life through this symbolic and sacramental world should be able to interpret the signs. Faith was indispensable to this clarity of vision, and Nickson maintained that "the powers of the Artist reach their fullest extension only in the Christian Faith."[37]

Nickson wrote of the stages of mind and soul in terms of becoming and being: "How complex is the moment of consciousness when we feel and become aware, when we become aware and reflect, when we reflect and find ourselves inert, when we finally

[36] Nickson, *The Mind Beautiful (the Musician's World)* p 6. Original emphasis.
[37] Nickson, *Christ in Art* p 18.

act and become Real."[38] Where the mind could be seen in relation to the world of symbols and becoming, the soul was related to the world of being, where symbols give way to become a sacramental revelation of the realities they represent. The disposition of mind that Nickson was advocating was not a purely intellectual or imaginative exercise; in *Christ in Art* he argued that it was primarily a matter of faith and intuition on the artist's part, which was enabled by a remembrance of the "trailing clouds of glory that once enveloped us".[39] This intuition was not limited to artists, but could also be seen at work in the "postulate of the wiser Scientist", studying the physical world in order to come to a closer understanding of the work of God in creation.[40] This disposition of mind must be regarded as an account of Nickson's own mysticism, which was focussed on seeing the world as a symbol and sacrament of God's presence and activity.

Nickson believed that one of the purposes of fine art was to deepen the appreciation of Beauty as an attribute of God, which was facilitated by a broad knowledge of the fine arts.[41] Nickson viewed the fine arts as consisting of architecture, sculpture, painting, poetry and music.[42] The study of fine art was ultimately an historical argument for the disposition of mind that Nickson was promoting, and showed that artists' "education has not been built up in the 400 years of the Modern world. Their dialectics + practise [sic] go back 3,000 years in addition to those 400. So they are not on trial. We are on trial by them."[43] Nickson clearly identified some artists who had

[38] Nickson, *Christ in Art* p 11.
[39] Nickson, *Christ in Art* p 4.
[40] Nickson, *Christ in Art* p 19.
[41] Nickson, "the Moral Basis of Music".
[42] Nickson, *Christ in Art* p 18.
[43] Nickson, "the Heart Is the First of Physical Organs..." pp 5-6. Original emphasis.

developed the disposition of mind he was advocating: Michelangelo, Handel, Bach, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and Karg-Elert were all discussed in the essays or the lectures as illustrations of this disposition.[44]

The problem this raises is Nickson's tendency to treat all of the artists he named alike, putting them all on the same artistic and religious footing. However, it is quite clear that Bach and Beethoven, for example, did not view Christianity or art in the same way. Nickson tended to focus on the inherent poetry of their music, commenting that musicians had been slow to appreciate works such as Bach's *Kunst der Fuge* and Beethoven's late quartets, because "It is difficult to understand the music + poetry of men who are acknowledged universally as among the greatest who have appeared in all history."[45] In the same way, Nickson wrote of Karg-Elert's *Seven Pastels from the Lake of Constance* (Op. 96) primarily as a kind of poetry.[46] The disposition of mind that Nickson advocated was focussed on enabling people to discern the divine attributes inherent in Bach's music, for example, which served as a model for teaching counterpoint. Through a performance that interpreted this music along Nickson's lines one could catch a glimpse of the transcendent reality that Bach had seen at the time of composition. The problem with this is that Bach left no record of having attained such a vision, unlike Handel, whose declaration that he had seen the heavens opening as he composed the "Hallelujah" chorus was quoted in *Christ in Art*.[47]

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[44] Nickson, *Christ in Art* pp 1, 8, 15-16, 18, 20; Nickson, *The Grand Manner*, MS lecture notes, Nickson Collection, PVgm, Box 2.
[45] Nickson, "the Heart Is the First of Physical Organs..." p 5.
[46] Nickson, *Concert Program Notes*, St Paul's Cathedral, 25/5/1924.
[47] Nickson, *Christ in Art* pp 18-19.

One can compare Nickson's demands on artists with the development of the vocation of a priest. Both are expected to undertake extensive study with the aim of understanding the creative and redemptive work of God. A priest achieves this through the study of theology and the development of prayer and sacramental life, and is to manifest the redemptive work of God through the celebration of the sacraments and the proclamation of the Gospel. Through art, the artist's work is to manifest the divine characteristics through the creation of art objects, and through the process of creation, to bring about a transformation of their spiritual and physical life. Both achieve a transformation of the wholeness of human personality, the priest through the celebration of the sacraments, and the artist through the creation of art. Redemption was therefore an inherent feature of art; art was sacramental in that it was a means by which union with God was achieved, and through this, the transformation not just of individuals but of human society as a whole:

> There is a kingdom to be fashioned upon Earth, to counteract the civil warfare masquerading as enlightenment and progress: an edifice of Brotherhood; invisible in the heart of man; but visible as far as Personality can be objectified in acts, in manners and in things.[48]

The comparison between artist and priest is at its strongest in discussing music, which Nickson described as the "most divine of all Arts."[49] In performance the musician is effectively creating the musical work, given that the score is no more than a record of the 'shape' of the sonic object. Like the priest, the function of the musician is defined according to the process he or she enacts, rather than the end that is achieved by the act. In the case of the Eucharist, the priest recites the words and performs the actions

[48] Nickson, *Christ in Art* p 19.
[49] "Organ Recitals."

associated with the ritual that achieves union with God; the priest is defined by the ritual. Similarly, in performing a musical work the musician is interpreting the score, and through the interpretation, creating the shape that the composer gave to the experience of Goodness, Beauty and Truth, making God manifest. In this case, the musician is defined by the activity of interpretation. The musical performance was simultaneously the creation of the musical artwork and the exercise of the musician's art, and was an example of emanation in that the shape of the elements of a musical performance such as phrasing and rhythmic flexibility was affected by the musician's response to the feeling inherent in the work. Music bore an affinity to the Eucharist in bringing about a union between human and divine life by enabling artists and their hearers to participate in an experience that was essentially of divine origin.[50]

The disposition of mind Nickson advocated was essential to articulating the moral and religious purpose of music. The first demand was that it should in some way express a specifically religious truth. Nickson's central claim was that God was made manifest through fine art in exactly the same way as God was made manifest in the sacraments, under the guise of a sign that was ultimately traceable back to the Godhead. Artistic creation was itself of divine institution, and because of this had the status of a sacrament.[51]

[50] Nickson, *An Ideal in Church Music* pp 3-4.
[51] Nickson, *Christ in Art* p 7.

Part B: Nickson's Application of this Philosophy in Musical Aesthetics

The place of music among the fine arts was very high in Nickson's estimation: he described it as picking up at the "terminus of all other modes of expression".[52] Because music was a spiritual art, it was capable of presenting the divine nature most explicitly by means that were apprehensible to human sense. Nickson did not discuss music in terms of its sonic or sensation properties, although he did state that the senses were the "windows letting in knowledge to the mind."[53] Nickson was not always clear in articulating these important aspects of music to his students, John Mallinson recalls that, as a student, he was aware that music held a high importance in Nickson's worldview, but was not sure precisely how this came to be.[54]

Nickson's overwhelming focus was on abstract music, what Kivy has termed 'music alone'.[55] Kivy's definition of this is music without text, but with other associations, such as a program, or a listener's previous experience. Nickson wrote that "abstract music so called, classic, poetical music, music *per se*, is the Beauty of an immaterial, a supernatural world."[56] He considered program music to consist of imitative effects, having a close affinity with the physical world; an example of this might be opera or ballet, which serves the action on the stage. Texted music was not admitted unless the words were clearly sacred. The only texted music Nickson referred to in *Christ in Art*

[52] Nickson, *The Mind Beautiful (the Musician's World)* p 16.
[53] Nickson, "the Heart Is the First of Physical Organs..." p 6.
[54] Personal recorded interview with John Mallinson, 25th November 2003.
[55] Peter Kivy, *Music Alone: Philosophical Reflections on the Purely Musical Experience* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990) pp 14-29.
[56] Nickson, *The Mind Beautiful (the Musician's World)* p 16.

was Handel's "Hallelujah" chorus and Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis*.[57] Nickson's only extended treatment of texted music was in relation to church music.[58] From this it can be concluded that Nickson only admitted text to music when it had a clear religious meaning. This was a consistent pattern in Nickson's recitals between 1913 and 1933, when Beryl Nickson performed a number of works with sacred or quasi-religious texts (see Appendix 2). Songs with sacred texts included Dvořák's "All ye that labour", sung to an English translation, Handel's "Angels ever bright and fair", settings of the "Ave Maria" by Schubert and Verdi, and "With verdure clad" from Haydn's *Creation*. Songs with quasi-religious texts included "Elisabeth's Prayer" from Wagner's Tannhauser, Schubert's "Die Junge Nonne", Parry's "Peace (A Song of Darkness and Light)" and "Art". However, it does need to be remembered that Nickson's recitals were all given in churches. In this context it would have been difficult to include works that had no sacred theme in the text, as the inclusion of arias with quasi-religious texts from operas by Verdi and Wagner show.

While Nickson generally rejected texted music, he did not necessarily reject music that had a program suggested by the composer using inscriptions, as his comments on Karg-Elert's Op. 36 *Interludium* for a concert in 1924 demonstrated. Nickson wrote that this work needed no explanation because it was based on words from the Nicene Creed "et vitam venturi saeculi. Amen", which Karg-Elert had placed at the top of the work.[59] Bruce Steele's 1950 lecture notes show that Nickson ignored texted music,

[57] Nickson, *Christ in Art* pp 9, 19.
[58] Nickson, *An Ideal in Church Music* pp 3-4.
[59] And I look for the Resurrection of the dead, *And the life of the world to come*. Amen. Nickson, Concert Program Notes, St Paul's Cathedral, 25/5/1924.

making no reference to genres such as opera, lieder, cantatas and madrigals.[60] Instead, his lectures focussed on instrumental genres such as concerto, symphony, quartet and sonata. In examining these genres, however, Nickson emphatically rejected analysis, stating flatly that "Analysis of Form is mere dissection", and that for music to achieve its purpose, "structure must merge with a whole. If the whole is perfect a communication is made and thought lofty and deep is transferred".[61] Analysis posed the danger of treating music as something that existed in a predominantly material form. Nickson's teaching of harmony and counterpoint was focussed on giving students the tools to create expressive music. His opposition to any alterations to the curriculum at the Conservatorium that might have altered the status of counterpoint in the syllabus can be seen as a mark of the importance he attached to this discipline.[62] In performance, which Nickson thought of in terms of interpretation, he was actively opposed to any focus on technique as an end in itself in musical performance. In his expression of these somewhat contradictory views Nickson was attempting to avoid any negation of the primarily spiritual nature he wished to articulate for music.

Sometimes particular works could threaten to subvert his views, such as Karg-Elert's *Seven Pastels from the Lake of Constance* (Op. 96), a sequence of tone poems for organ, which was dedicated to Nickson. A clear program was suggested by the titles of the movements:

> Psyche of the Lake
> Landscape in the mist
> A Legend of the mountain

[60] Steele, Lecture Notes.
[61] Steele, Lecture Notes, p 20.
[62] Hollis, *Dr A. E. H. Nickson - the Man + Melbourne's Music*, pp 18-19.

The Reed-grown pond
The Sun's night-song
The mirrored moon
Hymn to the stars

The use of inscriptions and evocative titles that convey a sense of program was a distinctive feature of Karg-Elert's music. If anything, the titles of the movements of the Op. 96 *Pastels* speak of a pantheistic program, rather than presenting a sacrament of the divine life. In his program notes on this work for a concert in 1924 Nickson undertook a rereading of the program of this work that attempted to impute a religious program that the work did not bear out on its own. Nickson focussed on the personality of the composer, playing on themes of nationality, dissociating Karg-Elert from his German countrymen, writing that "his worth is in this, that he transcends the limits of Nationality, and appeals to the Allied countries that have retained their artistic sense, and their contact with the Divine." He also focussed on the poetic nature of the music: "As Poets at times take pleasure in a fanciful onomatopoeia…so our composer seems to have devised a similarly ingenious construction for many of his chords and figures, in subtle transfiguration of a spontaneous music heard in the order of Nature alone." Writing of the symbolic nature of the work, being symbolic of the lake itself rather than a depiction of lake scenery, Nickson commented that the symbol "is sacramentally elevated by the artist's prerogative into that of which it speaks – the Reality that true mystics ever seek."[63] Here is where the Op. 96 *Pastels* posed a challenge to Nickson's aesthetics. Any sacramental elevation in the work was through the artist's prerogative, not the underlying direction given to the creative process by God. More importantly, the work lacked any 'trigger' that might make an underlying religious program apparent; the titles

[63] Nickson, *Concert Program Notes*, St Paul's Cathedral, 25/5/1924.

of the movements clearly suggested something closer to pantheism. One of the logical outcomes of the disposition of mind that Nickson advocated was that one should be able to interpret the signs in order to see the divine presence that was represented by the symbol. Nickson felt bound to undertake this kind of interpretation because the work had been dedicated to him, thus it was important that this work be seen to accord with his ideals.

It is clear that the music that accorded to Nickson's views was restricted to the tonal music of the Western canon. Nickson emphatically rejected developments in music in the twentieth century such as dodecaphony and jazz. It is probable that Nickson's conservatism was affronted by the sound of these types of music, but on another level, they posed a profound challenge to his metaphysical views. It is useful to recall that by the time jazz was becoming widely available in Australia, through live performances in the 1920s and the advent of radio broadcasting in the early-1930s, Nickson was in his mid- to late-fifties. Despite jazz's origins in the religious songs of African slaves, by the 1920s jazz had come to be associated with the breakdown of social constraints, especially on women, the poor and black people. Dodecaphony, although a product of the 1910s and 1920s in Europe, only became available in Australia through recordings and printed scores after the Second World War, when Nickson was in his seventies. Dodecaphony had its origins in the breakdown of tonality occurring from the middle of the nineteenth century, exemplified by the developments of Liszt and Wagner, whose music was included in Nickson's concert programs (see Appendix 2), and proceeded alongside the fundamental changes in philosophy that came to view the human being as potentially

existing next to or above, or even *without* God. This can be seen most clearly in the writings of Nietzsche, and to a certain extent, in Jung. The growth of expressionism in music, characterised by a strong reaction against traditional forms and experiments in extended harmony that culminated in Schoenberg's treatment of all twelve tones as equal in the process of composition, was based on a searching of the inner life of the artist, expressing the intensity of emotional responses rather than seeking to express transcendent realities of the order that Nickson sought in music. Quite simply, Nickson saw this music as focussed solely on the material world and turning away from God. Neither dodecaphony nor jazz could have been said to have poetic potential to Nickson's mind, and even less likelihood of communicating religious truth.

Nickson drew a distinction between performers who depended on their ability to amaze audiences with technical display, and those for whom technique, fused with a faith, or at least showing some signs of the disposition of mind he advocated, was a means of revealing the transcendent reality concealed in the musical work.[64] Jewish performers, such as Yehudi Menuhin, posed a serious threat to this claim. In his lectures in 1950, Nickson was asked about his estimation of Menuhin's playing. This question clearly disturbed the views he was trying to convey about the importance of religious truth in music.[65] In answering the question, Nickson denied that Menuhin had a genuine apprehension of the divine nature in music, as his Jewishness ruled out the cultivation of the disposition of mind that Nickson advocated. Instead, Nickson said that Menuhin's interpretative abilities depended overwhelmingly on the possession of a dazzling

[64] Nickson, "the Moral Basis of Music".
[65] Personal conversation with Bruce Steele, 7th October 2003.

technique. Nickson's view of Schoenberg, a composer whose religious life moved between Catholicism and Judaism, and Mahler, another Jewish composer who converted to Catholicism, is likely to have been expressed along similar lines.[66] Both placed a great emphasis on the acquisition of musical skill as craft in a way that was very similar to Nickson's own view of the importance of disciplines such as counterpoint, yet his view was that their music could never express the sorts of transcendent reality he sought in music; their Jewishness ruled this out completely. Nickson's low regard for musicians whose appeal was in flashy technique can be related to the two schools of organ playing that he encountered during his studies at the RCM. Where Best was known for his virtuosic playing of complex transcriptions of orchestral works played from full orchestral scores, Parratt was concerned for the communication of a kind of truth in his playing, emphasising music actually written for the organ, and eschewing flamboyant displays of technique. Nevertheless, Nickson related the legend of Parratt playing Bach fugues while dictating the moves of a chess game.[67] Nickson's own habit of improvising fugues in counterpoint lectures could be seen as a kind of technical showing-off.

Nickson's worldview was expressed in a more practical application in his approach to teaching his organ students. He did not teach manual or pedal technique to his organ students; manual technique was generally left to piano teachers. John Mallinson recalled that his second-study piano teacher Mack Jost, a former Nickson student, taught him his manual technique, while his organ teacher at school, Claude

[66] Without accusing Nickson of anti-Semitism, however, it may be that he was unaware of the influence of Neoplatonism in Jewish philosophy, which could lead to a very similar worldview to his own.
[67] Nickson, *Overwhelmed*, p 8.

Montheath, had given him a sufficient grounding in pedal technique.[68] Nevertheless, Nickson himself possessed a very secure technique; despite the effects of Dupuytren's Contracture, Hollis records that he was able to play examples for his students with "enviable competence" in later life.[69] Nickson's approach to the repertoire his students studied was prescriptive.[70] Hollis records that there was an emphasis on learning major works, in the belief that mastery of these would put smaller works in the student's reach.[71] Mallinson recalled that Nickson recommended that he study Mendelssohn's C minor Prelude and Fugue in his first year, and that Nickson effectively 'ordered' him to learn the prelude of Bach's D major Prelude and Fugue [BWV 532].[72]

Nickson's overriding concern with his organ students was to develop a depth of interpretation. Nickson's own formation under Parratt was a strong influence in the approach he took to his own students. Although he was not himself a student of Parratt and doesn't divulge his source for saying so, Hollis states that Parratt encouraged a wide range of different interpretations among his students.[73] Nickson's ideals would have bound him to recognise that no two students would express the same apprehension of transcendent reality the same way, and that interpretation was therefore a highly individual process. Despite numerous student recollections of Nickson's improvisations, he never appears to have taught improvisation to his organ students, surely an indispensable tool for organists, whose main work would be as liturgical musicians.[74]

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[68] Personal recorded interview with John Mallinson, 25th November 2003.
[69] Cited in Fabrikant, ed., *Harmony of the Soul* p 15.
[70] Bazeley, ed., *Retrospections* p 21.
[71] Cited in Fabrikant, ed., *Harmony of the Soul* p 13.
[72] Personal recorded interview with John Mallinson, 25th November 2003
[73] Hollis, *Dr A. E. H. Nickson - the Man + Melbourne's Music*, p 5.
[74] Bazeley, ed., *Retrospections* pp 5, 8, 12, 14, 24, 38, 40.

Noël Nickson has commented that his father's teaching had the seriousness of intention that could be likened to a crusade.[75] Nickson's views on the revelatory and redemptive qualities of musical art were propagated in his lectures. Steele recorded Nickson's statement that "There is a spirit in Music…we must seek it, extend it. Only then can we come into the meaning of music."[76] Students were left in no doubt about Nickson's view of the human mind. His comments on musical form focussed on the process of refraction whereby transcendent reality was given expression in music. Appeal was made to Plato's doctrine of recollection to account for how humans were able to perceive the transcendent realities: "Feeling takes form through thoughts trying to find objects."[77] Students were introduced to Nickson's disposition of mind through books that he would press on them, which covered topics from Christian mysticism to Ruskin's art theories.[78] Nickson's teaching aimed to move students towards his way of viewing the world.

Nickson was well known for taking an interest in the spiritual lives of people in his circle, and many of his students. In 1911 he had been instrumental in the conversion to Christianity of Greta Bellmont, one of the translators of the Karg-Elert correspondence, when she was baptised at St Peter's during the Easter ceremonies.[79] Nickson's encouragement of his students in developing the disposition of mind described above went closely with the development of their spiritual lives. John Mallinson recalls

[75] Personal recorded interview with Noël Nickson, March 2nd, 2004.
[76] Steele, *Lecture Notes*, p 30.
[77] Steele, *Lecture Notes*, p 20.
[78] Bazeley, ed., *Retrospections* p 9.
[79] Personal recorded interview with Beryl Newland, 19th November 2003.

that Nickson's enquiries into his spiritual life were a catalyst for his confirmation as an Anglican.[80] Sheila Cantwell credits Nickson with introducing her to the writings of Teresa d'Avila; Nickson would ask "In which mansion are you living?", a reference to Teresa's spiritual manual, *The Interior Castle*.[81] Phyllis Todner recalls Nickson lending her books by Lady Julian of Norwich, St Francis of Assissi, Nicholas Farrar, Crashaw and C. S. Lewis.[82] Jean Lehman recalled Nickson saying that "all the world has missed the bus; the mystics have the answer."[83]

Some students were more susceptible to Nickson's way of thinking than others: to some, Nickson was a potent mentor, while to others he could be a distant instructor who represented the values they had to rebel against. Those students who were susceptible to Nickson's worldview were encouraged to attend special tutorials in Nickson's room at the Conservatorium.[84] This seriousness of purpose could make Nickson's lectures very hard for the majority of his students to follow, as the existence of a black market in his lecture notes at the Conservatorium suggests.[85] Other students could find Nickson to be the enforcer of conservative standards that militated against the developments taking place in music in the twentieth century. Peter Sculthorpe, for example, recalled Nickson as a potent mentor in shaping his philosophy, but he had to go elsewhere to broaden his musical education and discover contemporary composition methods.[86] Most students were simply too young to grasp the ideas Nickson was trying to convey; this could result

[80] Personal recorded interview with John Mallinson, 25th November 2003.
[81] Bazeley, ed., *Retrospections* p 9.
[82] Bazeley, ed., *Retrospections* pp 41-2.
[83] Bazeley, ed., *Retrospections* p 26.
[84] Bazeley, ed., *Retrospections* p 16.
[85] Bazeley, ed., *Retrospections* p 35.
[86] Bazeley, ed., *Retrospections* p 39.

in frustration on the students' part, particularly when they fell in the way of Nickson's sarcasm in lectures.[87] Following the Second World War, Nickson's classes were attended by numerous mature-age students who were resuming study after war service; Ivan Holmes recalled that "apparently my requisite five-year army probation…obviously had developed something within me to which he thoroughly warmed."[88] These students could appreciate some of the ideas Nickson was attempting to convey, although Ven Houston, another returned serviceman, recalled a contrasting experience of Nickson, regarding him as "ascetic, remote, and even somewhat forbidding."[89]

Nickson's exhortation to his students to visit England had strong religious overtones. While he regarded travel to England and Europe as an essential in the broadening of the student's education, there was also a strong element of encouraging a sense of pilgrimage. Writing to Bruce Naylor in 1957, Nickson encouraged him to approach "the Home Land trembling + with thankfulness" and to see that "Divinity is at work all around here to make things new."[90]

Nickson's worldview represented a distinctive synthesis of ideas. His central claims were that all life emanates from the Godhead, and that art is a sacrament. Nickson's view of artistic creation posited that the artist provides the material shape for the revelation of Goodness, Beauty and Truth; the transcendent attributes of God. This necessitated the cultivation of a particular disposition of mind in which Christianity was

[87] Personal recorded interviews with Beryl Newland, 19th November 2003 & John Mallinson, 25th November 2003.
[88] Bazeley, ed., *Retrospections* p 21.
[89] Bazeley, ed., *Retrospections* p 21.
[90] Nickson, Letter to Bruce Naylor, January 1957.

an important element that enabled artists to see beyond the symbolic nature of the created order to the attributes of God expressed through it. The major challenge to Nickson's emanation-based worldview was an underlying tension between the metaphysical workings of emanation and creation found in his account of the human condition as fallen. This worldview was presented through his academic and practical teaching, where he made use of explicitly religious language to present these ideas to his students, and was reinforced by his interest in his students' spiritual lives. In his discussions of music and performers in lectures and program notes, Nickson failed to address the serious challenges to his worldview, as his reinterpretation of Karg-Elert's Op. 96 *Pastels* and his attitude to performers and composers of Jewish origin demonstrates. This is the major stumbling block in Nickson's musical aesthetics, which depended on the cultivation of an instinct that he sought to awaken in his students, but ultimately failed to take effective account of possible objections based on differing religious or artistic viewpoints.

Conclusion

In examining Nickson's life three distinct periods can be discerned. His early life, and studies in England from 1895 were deeply influential, and the sensibility that he developed as a result of this experience can be seen as the working out of developments that began in Australia, such as his embrace of Anglo-Catholicism. Combined with Neoplatonism, Anglo-Catholicism gave Nickson the philosophical and theological grammar to articulate a view of creation and redemption in his musical aesthetics that drew on key aspects of both of these central influences. Nickson's conviction that the devotional patterns of Anglo-Catholicism that he adopted during this period gave access to the divine life can be seen in his interest in his students' spiritual lives throughout his career. His time in England made such a deep impression that he continued to encourage students to travel there to continue their education right through to the end of his career.

The second period of Nickson's career, following his return to Australia in 1901, was focussed on establishing his reputation as a church musician, based on his work at St Peter's Eastern Hill, and as a teacher, following his appointment to the University of Melbourne Conservatorium in 1904. The acquisition of the organ for St Peter's Eastern Hill in 1912 provided the catalyst for Nickson to develop his reputation as an organ recitalist. This was given impetus through his advocacy of the music of Karg-Elert, which was enhanced through his personal links to the composer. These recitals continued until 1933, when Nickson's development of Dupuytren's Contracture brought about his retirement from recital-giving.

In his many essays as well as in his academic lectures at the University, Nickson developed a position on musical aesthetics that he had articulated publicly as early as 1905, which was that the moral basis of music rested on three purposes; that it should glorify God, edify the audience, and further the study of beauty as one of God's attributes. Related to this general view of music was Nickson's view of church music, which be believed should express the nature of the Church as stated in the Nicene Creed, which stated that it was "one, [holy,] Catholick, and Apostolick". Nickson's view of artistic creation was explored through *Christ in Art* (1925) and *The Mind Beautiful* (1927).

Nickson's ideas were disseminated to a wider audience through his work as music critic for the *Age* from 1927 to 1948. Regrettably, there was not space in this study to examine this important body of writings, particularly given that Nickson's work at the *Age* coincided with the establishment of the Melbourne Symphony Orchestra under Bernard Heinze.

Nickson's aesthetics present a distinctive synthesis of ideas, based on his philosophical interests and religious convictions. His worldview was clearly based on emanation; however, this was in tension with aspects of the Genesis creation narrative that he had rejected. Nickson's central claim was that art was instituted as a sacrament, and that it had the same redemptive function as the Church's sacraments by achieving union with God.

The importance of Nickson's worldview is that the influences that led to its development enabled him to discuss human creative processes, such as the creation of art objects, in terms of their redemptive potential, which led to his central claim, that art is a sacrament. A significant drawback to this central claim about the nature of art was the nature of artistic originality, which he repudiated through a view of human creation as a shaping of matter to reflect the revelation of a transcendent reality revealed to the artist. For this reason it was vital that the artist cultivate a particular disposition of mind that was based on faith, for the "powers of the Artist reach their fullest extension only in the Christian Faith."

The final period of Nickson's career was focussed on academic and practical teaching at the University of Melbourne. Noël Nickson has commented that his father's teaching had the seriousness of intention of a crusade. Nickson's religious views were clearly an important factor in his lectures on the history, literature and aesthetics of music, where he stated that questions in aesthetics began in Greek philosophy, but "Christian era gives greater certitude" to the earlier questioning.[1] Many of Nickson's students were encouraged to read mystical literature, and were encouraged to adopt the churchmanship he had embraced in his early life and continued to practice throughout. Clearly some students were more receptive than others to these views.

It is clear that Nickson's views were an important influence on the development of several generations of music students at the University of Melbourne. Student reminiscences show that his influence was important in enabling them to think of music

[1] Steele, Lecture Notes, p 28.

in the broader context of the fine arts. These positive responses have to be balanced against the less positive aspects of Nickson's influence, such as the complete absence of any positive discussion of twentieth century developments in music in his lectures. Due to Heinze's frequent absences on conducting tours, Nickson's influence was increased by his taking Heinze's lectures. Hollis credits Nickson with exercising a "salutary influence", and while he remained on the Faculty board "no concessions got by, no reduction of standards no admission of anything trivial".[2] Peter Sculthorpe recalls that while Nickson was a potent mentor in shaping his worldview, the course at the Conservatorium was irrelevant to the direction he wanted to take in his composition.[3]

The important formative influence of Nickson's studies in England can be seen in his exhortation to his students that they should visit England. As his letter to Bruce Naylor in 1957 shows, this exhortation could be seen as an encouragement to a religious pilgrimage as much as the broadening of the student's education. It is fitting that a group of former students following his death in 1964, established the A. E. H. Nickson Travelling Scholarship to enable music graduates from any Australian university to travel overseas to continue their education.[4]

Memorial plaques to Nickson were unveiled at St Peter's Eastern Hill in 1980 and at the Conservatorium in 1984.[5] Both of these contain a medallion profile of Nickson modelled on a photograph taken in 1953 (see Fig. 8). The catalyst for the erection of the

[2] Hollis, *Dr A. E. H. Nickson - the Man + Melbourne's Music*, p 18.
[3] Bazeley, ed., *Retrospections* p 39.
[4] A E H Nickson Travelling Scholarship, Brochure, Nickson Collection, PVgm, Box 3.
[5] Naylor, Letter to Kieran Crichton, 13/6/2003, Tregear, *Conservatorium of Music* p 119.

memorials was a donation given by a Miss Lillian Rofe, presumably a former student, to the Society of Organists, Victoria, in 1979 to recognise Nickson's long influence on organ music in Melbourne.[6] Nickson's influence lingered in the Melbourne organ scene until 2000, when John Mallinson, the last of his students to occupy a cathedral organistship, retired from St Patrick's Cathedral.

Nickson's musical aesthetics represent a distinctive synthesis of ideas based on Neoplatonism and Anglo-Catholic theology that were an important influence on several generations of students at the Conservatorium, and his essays present a body of thought that is probably unique in Australia. However, he did not respond to some of the serious challenges his worldview raised, notably the paradox that underlay his account of the human condition, and the problems of artistic originality brought about by his claim that fine art is a sacrament. For these aesthetic views, which informed his influential work as a church musician, teacher and music critic, Nickson remains one of the most interesting figures in the history of music in Melbourne in the first half of the twentieth century.

[6] Bazeley, ed., *Retrospections* p 2.

APPENDIX 1

NICKSON'S CONCERTS AT FARNHAM PARISH CHURCH

Composers	Opus	Works	Soloist	Notes	Date
---		Vocal Solo	Mr. G. Evans (RCM)		25-Mar-1900
Bach		Prelude and Fugue in C		BWV 531 or 547	29-Jan-1899
Bach		Berceuse	Master C. Pierce, violin		02-Dec-1898
Bach		Fuga in G		BWV 576 or 577	19-Feb-1898
Bach		Meditation	Master C. Pierce, violin	arrangement of unidentified work.	13-Nov-1898
Bach		Choral-Prelude "Allein Gott in der Höh sei Her"		BWV 662-662 or 675-677	23-Sep-1900
Bach		Prelude and Fugue in C		BWV 531 or 547	24-Apr-1899
Bach		Fugue in C Minor		BWV 574 or 575	19-Mar-1899
Bach		Prelude and Fugue in C		BWV 531 or 547	03-May-1898
Bach		Prelude		not identified	26-Mar-1899
Bach		Chorale		not identified	26-Mar-1899
Bach		Fugue in C Minor		BWV 574 or 575	26-Mar-1899
Bach	BWV 1068	Air in D		transcription from orchestral work.	09-Sep-1900
Bach	BWV 525	[Trio] Sonata No. 1			01-Oct-1899
Bach	BWV 526	[Trio] Sonata No. 2			08-Oct-1899
Bach	BWV 527	[Trio] Sonata No. 3			15-Oct-1899
Bach	BWV 528	[Trio] Sonata No. 4			22-Oct-1899
Bach	BWV 529	[Trio] Sonata No. 5			29-Oct-1899
Bach	BWV 532	Prelude and Fugue in D			10-Apr-1898
Bach	BWV 534	Prelude and Fugue in F minor			05-Jan-1899
Bach	BWV 535	Prelude and Fugue in G minor			20-Nov-1898
Bach	BWV 536	Prelude and Fugue in D Minor			17-Mar-1900
Bach	BWV 536	Prelude and Fugue in A			02-May-1898
Bach	BWV 538	Toccata and Fugue (Doric) [sic]			27-Nov-1898
Bach	BWV 539	Prelude and Fugue in D minor			15-May-1899
Bach	BWV 540	Toccata and Fugue in F			05-Aug-1899
Bach	BWV 540	Toccata and Fugue in F			16-Sep-1900
Bach	BWV 541	Prelude and Fugue in G			11-Jun-1898
Bach	BWV 543	Prelude and Fugue in A minor			22-May-1898
Bach	BWV 544	Prelude and Fugue in B minor			17-Apr-1898
Bach	BWV 546	Prelude and Fugue in C minor			19-Jun-1898
Bach	BWV 546	Prelude and Fugue			02-Dec-1898

		in C Minor			
Bach	BWV 548	Prelude and Fugue in E minor			29-May-1898
Bach	BWV 548	Prelude and Fugue in E minor			26-Jun-1898
Bach	BWV 551	Fantasie and Fuga in A Minor			13-Nov-1898
Bach	BWV 562	Fantasia and Fugue in C Minor			12-Mar-1899
Bach	BWV 564	Toccata and Fugue in C			30-Oct-1898
Bach	BWV 566	Toccata and Fugue in E			06-Dec-1898
Bach	BWV 578	Fugue in G minor			06-May-1898
Bach	BWV 579	Fugue in B Minor			26-Mar-1899
Bach	BWV 582	Passacaglia			02-Sep-1900
Bach	BWV 582	Passacaglia			03-Apr-1898
Bach	BWV 590	Pastorale in F			25-Mar-1900
Bach	BWV 650	Chorale "Kommst du nun, Jesu, vom Himmel herunter'			03-Apr-1900
Bach	BWV 653	Chorale "An wasserflussen Babylon"		Date Crossed out: "bad weather, Apr. 1st"	18-Mar-1900
Bach	BWV 68	'My heart ever faithful'	The Choristers		17-Apr-1898
Bach	BWV 68	'My heart ever faithful'	The Choristers		20-Mar-1898
Bach	BWV 736	Choral Prelude "Valet will ich dir geben"			10-Mar-1900
Bach	BWV 736	Fantasia "Valet will ich dir geben"			03-Mar-1900
Beethoven	Op. 2, No. 1	Adagio in F			09-Sep-1900
Bennett	WOO 32/Op. 19	Barcarolle			02-Sep-1900
Brahms	Op. 117	Intermezzo			19-Jun-1898
Brahms	WOO 7	Choralvorspiel and Fugue			23-Sep-1900
Buck, D.	Op. 52	At Evening			26-Jun-1898
Buxtehude	BuxWV 160	Ciacona in E minor			03-Nov-1900
Calkin	Op. 81	Hommage a Mendelssohn			15-May-1899
Chaminade	Op. 78	Prelude			29-Oct-1899
Chauvet	1862	Romanza			06-Dec-1898
Chauvet	1862	Andantino in D flat "Les Cloches du Soir"			04-Oct-1898
Chopin		Two Preludes		not identified	24-Mar-1900
Dvořàk	Op. 95	Largo aus der Symphony "Aus der neuen Welt"		transcription from 9th Symphony.	29-Jan-1899
Fink	Op. 6	Sonata in E flat			03-Nov-1900
Franck	M 25	Andantino in G Minor			19-Feb-1898
Gade	Op. 22	Moderato in F			24-Mar-1900
Gigout	1881	Grand Chouer Dialogue			22-Oct-1899
Goddard		Solitude			13-Nov-1898
Gounod	1871	'There is a green hill'	Mr Frank Oliver		04-Oct-1898
Gounod	1884	'The King of Love'	Mr W. T. Locke		05-Jan-1899

Gounod	1884	'The King of Love'	Mr. W. T. Locke	Crossed out: instead, 'Glory to Thee' - Gounod, sung by Mr MacConnochie	24-Apr-1899
Gounod	1884	'The Cross of Calvary'	Mr E. G. McConnochie		03-Nov-1900
Grison		Cantilena			30-Oct-1898
Guilmant	Op. 15, No. 2	March on a theme of Handel			15-Oct-1899
Guilmant	Op. 19, No. 1	Allegretto in B minor			05-Aug-1899
Guilmant	Op. 20, No. 2	Meditation, No. 2			03-May-1898
Guilmant	Op. 25, No. 3	Fugue in D			04-Mar-1898
Guilmant	Op. 40, No 4	Finale in E flat			30-Oct-1898
Guilmant	Op. 40, No. 2	Canzona			24-Apr-1899
Handel	HWV 163	Fugue in E minor			25-Mar-1900
Handel	HWV 40	Largo	Master C. Pierce, violin	transcription from orchestral work	04-Mar-1898
Handel	HWV 40	Largo in G	Master C. Pierce, violin		05-Aug-1899
Handel	HWV 52	Overture from "Athalia"			20-Mar-1898
Handel	HWV 56	But who may abide	Mr. E. G. McConnochie		04-Feb-1899
Handel	HWV 56	Thou art gone up on high	Mr E. G. McConnochie		22-May-1898
Handel	HWV 56	But who may abide	Mr. E. G. McConnochie	Crossed out, replaced with: "Abide with me" - Liddle, Mr. W. H. Bullock	19-Mar-1899
Handel	HWV 57	Overture from "Samson"			22-Oct-1899
Harwood	Op. 5	Sonata in C sharp minor			26-Jun-1898
Harwood	Op. 7	Dithyramb			23-Sep-1900
Haydn	H III: 77	Variationen aus dem Kaiserquartett		transcription from string quartet	03-Mar-1900
Henselt	Op. 5, No. 4	Ave Maria			05-Jan-1899
Hesse	Op. 47	Toccata in A Flat			08-Oct-1899
Hesse	Op. 85	Introduction and Variations in A			05-Jan-1899
Kullack	Op. 57	Pastorale			03-Apr-1900
Lemmens	1862	Ite, Missa Est			01-Oct-1899
Lemmens	1862	Hosannah			12-Mar-1899
Lemmens	1874	Sonata, No. 2			06-May-1898
Lemmens	1874	Sonata "O Filii"			17-Mar-1900
Lemmens	1874	Sonata Pontificale			24-Mar-1900
Liszt	LW E14	Ave Maria d'Arcadelt			20-Nov-1898
Liszt	LW E3	Prelude and Fugue on B.A.C.H.			01-Oct-1899
Locknane		Light	Mr A. R. Patrick		29-Jan-1899
Lux	Op. 29	Fantaisia "O Sanctissima"			04-Oct-1898
Lux	Op. 29	Fantasia "O Sanctissima"			17-Mar-1900
Mackenzie	Op. 37, No. 3	Benedictus	Master C. Pierce, violin		03-May-1898
Mendelssohn	Op. 36	Jerusalem, thou that killest the	Mr A. Dean		02-May-1898

		Prophet			
Mendelssohn	Op. 65	Sonata No 2			29-May-1898
Mendelssohn	Op. 65	Sonata in A			19-Jun-1898
Mendelssohn	Op. 65	Sonata, No. 1			06-Dec-1898
Mendelssohn	Op. 65	Sonata in B flat			22-May-1898
Mendelssohn	Op. 65	Sonata No. 6, in D Minor			05-Aug-1899
Mendelssohn	Op. 65	Sonata No. 5			24-Apr-1899
Mendelssohn	Op. 70	It is enough	E. G. MacConnochie		30-Oct-1898
Mendelssohn	Op. 90	Pilgrim's March		transcription from 7th Symphony	16-Sep-1900
Mendelssohn	Op. 95	Overture			16-Sep-1900
Mendelssohn	Op. 95	Overture			02-May-1898
Merkel	Op. 134	Shepherd's Song			27-Nov-1898
Merkel	Op. 137	Sonata in E Minor			03-Apr-1900
Meyerbeer	1859	Schiller March			27-Nov-1898
Mozart		Overture in E Flat			04-Feb-1899
Mozart		Overture in E Flat			09-Sep-1900
Mozart	KV 546	Grand Introduction and Fugue in C Minor			04-Feb-1899
Mozart	KV 581	Andante from 5th Quintett			04-Feb-1899
Mozart	KV 581	Larghetto from the Clarinet Quintett			02-Dec-1898
Mozart	KV 594	Grand Fantasia in F Minor			02-Sep-1900
Mozart	KV 594	Fantasia in F			23-Sep-1900
Mozart	KV 594	Fantasie in F			20-Mar-1898
Mozart	KV 59a	Adagio in D			29-May-1898
Nickson		Improvisation			16-Sep-1900
Nickson		Improvisation		Date Crossed out: "bad weather, Apr. 1st"	18-Mar-1900
Paladilhe		Andante Cantabile			22-May-1898
Purcell	Z 570	Chaconne		transcription	19-Mar-1899
Rachmaninov	Op. 3, No. 2	Prelude		transcription of piano work	15-Oct-1899
Raff	1866	Introduction and Fugue			29-Oct-1899
Rheinberger	Op. 132	Sonata in E Minor			09-Sep-1900
Rheinberger	Op. 98	Sonata in A Minor			03-Mar-1900
Rheinberger	Op. 111	Sonata in F sharp			15-May-1899
Rheinberger	Op. 127	Sonata in F Minor		Date Crossed out: "bad weather, Apr. 1st"	18-Mar-1900
Rheinberger	Op. 165	Sonata in C			25-Mar-1900
Rheinberger	Op. 188	Duetto			19-Feb-1898
Rheinberger	Op. 188	Sonata in A			03-May-1898
Rheinberger	Op. 88	Sonata Pastorale			20-Nov-1898
Russell		Introduction and Fugue in E Flat		published 1804 or 1812	10-Mar-1900
Saint-Saëns	Op. 99	Prelude and Fugue in E			08-Oct-1899
Saint-Saëns	1857	Fantasie in E Flat			10-Mar-1900
Saint-Saëns	Op. 13	Elevation			04-Mar-1898

Saint-Saëns	Op. 13	Elevation		crossed out	20-Mar-1898
Saint-Saëns	Op. 7	Rhapsodie No. 1			27-Nov-1898
Saint-Saëns	Op. 7	Rhapsodie, No. 2			02-Dec-1898
Saint-Saëns	Op. 99	Prelude and Fugue in B			03-Mar-1900
Schubert	D 852	"Great is Jehovah	Mr. Guilym Evans		26-Mar-1899
Schubert	D 944	March Solonelle		transcription from 9th Symphony	19-Feb-1898
Schumann		Romanze and Scherzo			12-Mar-1899
Schumann	Op. 38	Larghetto from Symphony in B flat		transcription from 2nd Symphony	20-Nov-1898
Schumann	Op. 58	Sketch No. 3			11-Jun-1898
Schumann	Op. 58	Sketch in D flat			17-Apr-1898
Schumann	Op. 60	Fugue No. 6			03-Apr-1900
Schumann	Op. 60	Fugue No. 5			02-Sep-1900
Schumann	Op. 60	Fugue No. 1			15-Oct-1899
Smart	1863	Andante in F			06-May-1898
Smart	1870	Air with variations, and Finale Fugato			13-Nov-1898
Smart	1870	Andante in G			02-May-1898
Spohr	Op. 98	Duet - "Children, pray this love to cherish"	Mr. W Young & Mr. A. Dean		12-Mar-1899
Theile	1865	Theme and variations in A flat		Date Crossed out: "bad weather, Apr. 1st"	18-Mar-1900
Thiele	1865	Theme and variations in A flat			29-Jan-1899
Tschaikovsky	Op. 74	Finale from 'Symphonie Pathetique'			11-Jun-1898
Wesley, S.	Op. 6	Fugue in G			03-Nov-1900
Wesley, S. S.	1835	Larghetto in F sharp minor			11-Jun-1898
Wesley, S. S.	1877	Andante in E Flat			24-Mar-1900
Widor	Op. 13, No. 4	Symphony No. 4, in F			30-Sep-1900
Widor	Op. 42, No. 1	Symphony No. 5, in F		Complete	12-Apr-1898
Widor	Op. 42, No. 2	Symphony No. 6		Complete	24-Sep-1899
Widor	Op. 42, No. 2	Allegro (6th Symphony)			17-Apr-1898
Wood		Toccata in D Minor			19-Mar-1899

APPENDIX 2

NICKSON'S CONCERT PROGRAMS AFTER 1911.

Composer	Opus ID	Work	Soloist	Notes	Date	Place
"Early Italian"		Aria da chiesa			17-May-1915	St Peter's Eastern Hill
"Early Italian"		Aria da chiesa			03-Jun-1914	Melbourne Grammar School
"Early Italian"		Aria da chiesa			16-Aug-19??	All Saints', East St Kilda
Arensky	Op. 34	Berceuse		transcription of piano work	20-Aug-1918	St John's, Toorak
Bach		Toccata and Fugue		work not identified	25-Nov-1911	venue not identified
Bach		Toccata and Fugue		not identified	25-Nov-1911	St Andrew's Parish Church, Farnham
Bach		"Chorale"		not identified	25-Nov-1911	St Andrew's Parish Church, Farnham
Bach		"Chorale"		work not identified	25-Nov-1911	venue not identified
Bach	BWV 1068	Air		transcription from orchestral work	16-Aug-19??	All Saints', East St Kilda
Bach	BWV 153	Cantata "The Stilling of the Tempest"	Mrs A. E. H. Nickson, Mrs Harrison, Mr. P. Blundell, Mr. H. London,		05-Jul-1918	St John's, Toorak
Bach	BWV 198	Funeral Ode			12-Dec-1916	St John's, Toorak
Bach	BWV 248	Pastorale		transcription	03-Jun-1914	Melbourne Grammar School
Bach	BWV 525	Sonata in E flat			03-Feb-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Bach	BWV 526	Sonata in C minor			16-Mar-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Bach	BWV 527	[Trio] Sonata 3			20-Apr-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Bach	BWV 528	[Trio] Sonata 4			05-Apr-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Bach	BWV 529	[Trio] Sonata 5			18-May-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Bach	BWV 530	[Trio] Sonata 6			15-Jun-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Bach	BWV 532	Prelude and Fugue in D			31-May-1917	St John's, Toorak
Bach	BWV 532	Prelude and Fugue in D			22-Feb-1916	Malvern Congregational Church
Bach	BWV 532	Prelude and Fugue in D			05-Aug-1914	Melbourne Grammar School
Bach	BWV 535	Prelude and Fugue in G Minor			28-May-1914	St Paul's, Geelong
Bach	BWV 539	Prelude and Fugue in D Minor			23-Mar-1924	St Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne

Bach	BWV 539	Prelude & Fugue in D minor			25-May-1924	St Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne
Bach	BWV 539	Prelude and Fugue in D Minor			28-Nov-1913	Melbourne Grammar School
Bach	BWV 539	Prelude & Fugue in D minor			23-Mar-1924	St Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne
Bach	BWV 550	Prelude and Fugue in G			16-Feb-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Bach	BWV 552	Prelude and "St Anne" Fugue in E Flat			25-Nov-1911	venue not identified
Bach	BWV 552	Prelude and "St Anne" Fugue in E Flat			17-Jun-1919	St Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne
Bach	BWV 552	Prelude and "St Anne" Fugue in E Flat			21-Jul-19??	St Peter's, Ballarat
Bach	BWV 552	Prelude and "St Anne" Fugue in E Flat			25-Nov-1911	St Andrew's Parish Church, Farnham
Bach	BWV 578	Fugue in G minor			06-Jan-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Bach	BWV 582	Passacaglia			17-May-1915	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Bach	BWV 590	Pastorale in F			19-Jul-1915	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Bach	BWV 590	Pastorale			17-May-1915	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Bach	BWV 654	Schmucke Dich			16-Aug-19??	All Saints', East St Kilda
Beethoven	Op. 10, No. 3	Largo appasionata			25-Nov-1911	St Andrew's Parish Church, Farnham
Beethoven	Op. 10, No. 3	Largo appasionata		transcription from piano sonata	25-Nov-1911	venue not identified
Beethoven	Op. 13	Adagio Cantabile		transcription from piano sonata	05-Aug-1914	Melbourne Grammar School
Beethoven	Op. 13	Adagio in A Flat		transcription from piano sonata	25-Jul-1916	Melbourne Grammar School
Beethoven	Op. 2, No. 2	Largo Appasionata		transcription from piano sonata	28-Nov-1913	Melbourne Grammar School
Beethoven	Op. 2, No. 2	Largo Appasionata		transcription from piano sonata	03-Feb-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Beethoven	Op. 2, No. 2	Adagio		transcription from piano sonata	25-Aug-1914	Melbourne Grammar School
Beethoven	Op. 26	Marche Funebre (Sulla morte d'un Eroe)		transcription from piano sonata	03-Jun-1914	Melbourne Grammar School
Beethoven	Op. 26	Marcia Funebre (on the death of a hero)		transcription from piano sonata	19-Apr-1915	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Beethoven	Op. 30	Adagio	Mr. W. Bennett, violin		16-Aug-19??	All Saints', East St Kilda
Beethoven	Op. 30	Adagio	Master Manus O'Donnell, violin	O'Donnell was Clarke Scholar in 1916	22-Feb-1916	Malvern Congregational Church
Bennett	Op. 44	Lord, thou hast searched me out	Agnes Janson		17-May-1915	St Peter's Eastern Hill

Bizet	1855	Agnus Dei		transcription of piano work	15-Jun-1924	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Bossi		Coprifuoco			20-Apr-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Bossi		Idylle	Mr. E. H. Hames, Violin		14-Aug-1921	Christ Church, St Kilda
Bossi	1909	Preghiera - Fatemi la grazia			05-Jul-1918	St John's, Toorak
Bossi	Op. 113	Canzoncina a Maria Vergine			06-May-1927	Our Lady of Victories, Camberwell
Bossi	Op. 113	Canzoncina a Maria Vergine & Allegretto			15-Jun-1924	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Bossi	Op. 113	Canzoncina a Maria Vergine			28-Nov-1913	Melbourne Grammar School
Bossi	Op. 113	Canzoncina a Maria Vergine			28-May-1914	St Paul's, Geelong
Bossi	Op. 92	Idylle			25-Aug-1914	Melbourne Grammar School
Bossi	Op. 92	Chant du Soir			19-May-1920	St Paul's, Geelong
Bossi	Op. 92	Allegretto in A flat			21-Jul-19??	St Peter's, Ballarat
Bossi	Op. 92	Allegretto in A Flat			31-May-1917	St John's, Toorak
Brahms	Op. 117	Intermezzo			28-Nov-1913	Melbourne Grammar School
Chauvet	1862	Andantino [Les Cloches du Soir]		transcription of piano work	03-Jun-1914	Melbourne Grammar School
Chauvet	1862	[Andantino] Les Cloches du Soir		transcription of piano work	22-Feb-1916	Malvern Congregational Church
Costa	1855/56	Evening Prayer (Eli)	Agnes Janson		20-Apr-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Debussy		Petite piece pour Clarinette		transcription	20-Apr-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Debussy		Air de lia	Mrs A. E. H. Nickson		29-Apr-1920	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Debussy	1886-89	En Bateau		transcription of piano work	05-Jul-1918	St John's, Toorak
Debussy	1886-89	En Bateau		transcription of piano work	03-Jun-1914	Melbourne Grammar School
Debussy	1890/91	Arabesque		transcription of piano work	19-Jul-1915	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Debussy	1890/91	Arabesque		transcription of piano work	25-Jul-1916	Melbourne Grammar School
Debussy	1890/91	Arabesque		transcription of piano work	28-Nov-1913	Melbourne Grammar School
Debussy	1906-08	The Little Shepherd		transcription of piano work	31-May-1917	St John's, Toorak
Debussy	1906-08	The Little Shepherd		transcription of piano work	28-May-1914	St Paul's, Geelong
Debussy	1906-08	The Little Shepherd		transcription of piano work	29-Apr-1920	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Debussy	1906-08	The Little Shepherd		transcription of piano work	17-May-1915	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Debussy	1906-08	The Little Shepherd		transcription of piano work	22-Feb-1916	Malvern Congregational Church
Debussy	1906-08	The Little Shepherd		transcription of piano work	28-Nov-1913	Melbourne Grammar School

Debussy	1906-08	Snow is dancing		transcription of piano work	05-Aug-1914	Melbourne Grammar School
Debussy	1914/15	Berceuse Heroique		transcription of piano work	17-May-1915	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Dvorak	Op. 185	Three Biblical Songs	Mrs. Harrison	songs not identified	20-Aug-1918	St John's, Toorak
Dvorak	Op. 31, No. 4	All ye that labour	Mrs A. E. H. Nickson		05-Jul-1918	St John's, Toorak
Dvorak	Op. 31, No. 4	All ye that labour	Beryl Bennie		06-Jan-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Dvorak	Op. 31, No. 4	All ye that labour	Beryl Bennie		15-Jun-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Dvorak	Op. 31, No. 4	All ye that labour	Miss Beryl Bennie		25-Aug-1914	Melbourne Grammar School
Dvorak	Op. 95	Largo - "From the New World" Symphony [No 9]		transcription	06-Jan-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Elgar	Op. 28	Sonata			31-May-1917	St John's, Toorak
Elgar	Op. 32	Imperial March			17-May-1915	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Elgar	Op. 32	Imperial March			21-Jul-19??	St Peter's, Ballarat
Elgar	Op. 32	Imperial March				St Peter's Eastern Hill
Elgar	Op. 32	Imperial March			28-Nov-1913	Melbourne Grammar School
Elgar	Op. 75	Carillon (Chantons, Belges, Chantons!)			19-Jul-1915	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Elgar	Op. 75	Carillon (Chantons, Belges, Chantons)			17-May-1915	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Fink	Op. 6	Sonata in E flat			19-May-1920	St Paul's, Geelong
Floyd		Jesu, grant me this I pray			12-May-1923	St Mary's Mission, Fitzroy
Floyd		Jesu, grant me this, I pray			23-Mar-1924	St Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne
Floyd		Jesu, grant me this I pray			16-Aug-19??	All Saints', East St Kilda
Gade	Op. 22	Allegro Moderato in F			03-Jun-1914	Melbourne Grammar School
Goodhart	1912	Fantasia in C sharp minor			03-Feb-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Gounod	1871	There is a Green Hill	Prince Alexis Oblenski			St Peter's Eastern Hill
Gounod	1894	O Divine Redeemer	Agnes Janson	original title: "Repentir"	17-May-1915	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Guilmant	Op. 15, No. 2	March on a Theme of Handel			06-May-1927	Our Lady of Victories, Camberwell
Guilmant	Op. 18, No. 1	Grand Choeur in D			05-Aug-1914	Melbourne Grammar School
Guilmant	Op. 19, No. 1	Allegretto in B minor			20-Aug-1918	St John's, Toorak
Guilmant	Op. 40, No. 4	Finale in E Flat			29-Apr-1920	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Guilmant	Op. 40, No. 4	Finale in E Flat			19-May-1920	St Paul's, Geelong
Guilmant	Op. 42	Sonata in D Minor			22-Feb-1916	Malvern Congregational Church
Handel	HWV 290	Concerto in B Flat			21-Jul-19??	St Peter's, Ballarat

Handel	HWV 290	Second Concerto in B flat			29-Apr-1920	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Handel	HWV 52	Overture "Athalia"			22-Feb-1916	Malvern Congregational Church
Handel	HWV 52	Overture "Athalia"			03-Jun-1914	Melbourne Grammar School
Handel	HWV 56	"He shall feed his flock"	Miss A. Hillier		19-May-1920	St Paul's, Geelong
Handel	HWV 56	Recit "Comfort ye" & Aria "Ev'ry Valley"	Mr R. E. Warwick Short		19-May-1920	St Paul's, Geelong
Handel	HWV 57	"How willing my paternal love" (Samson)	Mr. F. R. Collier		03-Jun-1914	Melbourne Grammar School
Handel	HWV 57	Overture from "Samson"			14-Aug-1921	Christ Church, St Kilda
Handel	HWV 57	Overture "Samson"			25-Aug-1914	Melbourne Grammar School
Handel	HWV 68	Recit and Aria - "Angels ever bright and fair"	Beryl Bennie		05-Apr-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Hart		Two Arias from "Ruth" (m.s.): "Entreat me not to leave thee", "Ruth's Song of Praise"	Miss Anne Williams		31-May-1917	St John's, Toorak
Hart		Three Sketches			15-Jun-1924	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Hart		Contemplation			18-May-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Hart		Three Pieces: Melody, Allegretto, Processional			14-Aug-1921	Christ Church, St Kilda
Hart		Sketch			18-May-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Harwood	Op. 5	Sonata in C sharp Minor			17-Jun-1919	St Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne
Harwood	Op. 5	Sonata in C sharp			19-Jul-1915	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Haydn	H XXI: 2	Recit "And God said" & Aria "With Verdure Clad" (Creation)	Mrs A. E. H. Nickson		22-Feb-1916	Malvern Congregational Church
Haydn	H XXI: 2	"Roaming in the foaming billows" (Creation)	Mr. F. R. Collier		05-Aug-1914	Melbourne Grammar School
Haydn	H XXI: 2	"With Verdure Clad" (Creation)	Miss Beryl Bennie		25-Aug-1914	Melbourne Grammar School
Haydn	H XXI: 2	"In Native Worth" (Creation)	Mr. W. P. Dight		28-May-1914	St Paul's, Geelong
Henselt	Op. 5, No. 4	Ave Maria		transcription of piano work	03-Jun-1914	Melbourne Grammar School
Humperdinck	EHWV 93.3	Prelude & Angel-Scene (Hansel & Gretel)			16-Feb-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Jongen	Op. 37	Priere			29-Apr-1920	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Karg-Elert		Chorale Prelude		not identified	16-Aug-19??	All Saints', East St Kilda
Karg-Elert	Op 27	Angelus			28-Oct-1923	St Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne
Karg-Elert	Op 85, No 2	Fantasie, Kanzone, Passacaglia and Fuge			20-Apr-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill

Karg-Elert	Op 86, No. 5	Pax Vobiscum	07-Jun-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Karg-Elert	Op 96	Seven Pastels from the Lake of Constance	23-Mar-1924	St Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne
Karg-Elert	Op. 25	Passacaglia in E flat Minor (Variations on a Basso-ostinato)	16-Feb-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Karg-Elert	Op. 27	Angelus	28-May-1914	St Paul's, Geelong
Karg-Elert	Op. 27	Angelus	07-Jun-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Karg-Elert	Op. 27	Angelus	05-Aug-1914	Melbourne Grammar School
Karg-Elert	Op. 27	Angelus	28-Oct-1923	St Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne
Karg-Elert	Op. 33	Benediction	20-Jul-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Karg-Elert	Op. 34	Improvisation on E (Ostinato e Fughetta)	20-Jul-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Karg-Elert	Op. 35	Passacaglia	20-Jul-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Karg-Elert	Op. 36, II B	Interludium ("et vitam venturi saeculi. Amen")	08-Mar-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Karg-Elert	Op. 36, II B	Interludium in F #	06-May-1927	Our Lady of Victories, Camberwell
Karg-Elert	Op. 36, II B	Interludium in F #	19-May-1920	St Paul's, Geelong
Karg-Elert	Op. 36, II B	Interludium in F #	12-May-1923	St Mary's Mission, Fitzroy
Karg-Elert	Op. 36, II B	Interludium in F #	23-Mar-1924	St Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne
Karg-Elert	Op. 36, IIB	Interludium in F #	28-Oct-1923	St Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne
Karg-Elert	Op. 37	Sarabande	28-Oct-1923	St Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne
Karg-Elert	Op. 37	Sarabande	07-Jun-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Karg-Elert	Op. 37	Sarabande	22-Feb-1916	Malvern Congregational Church
Karg-Elert	Op. 37	Sarabande	03-Jun-1914	Melbourne Grammar School
Karg-Elert	Op. 37	Entrata	18-May-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Karg-Elert	Op. 37	Sarabande	28-Oct-1923	St Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne
Karg-Elert	Op. 37, No. 1 & Op. 64, No. 4b	Entrata & Festival Prelude	25-Aug-1914	Melbourne Grammar School
Karg-Elert	Op. 37, No. 4	Bouree et Musette	08-Mar-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Karg-Elert	Op. 39	Phantasia and Fuga in D	03-Feb-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Karg-Elert	Op. 39	Phantasie and Fugue in D	07-Jun-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill

Karg-Elert	Op. 46	Canzone		08-Mar-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Karg-Elert	Op. 46 & Op. 86, No. 3	Choral Prelude, Canzone, Cantilena, Sempre Semplice		21-Jul-19??	St Peter's, Ballarat
Karg-Elert	Op. 48	Sanctus, Pastorale	Mr. W. Bennett	16-Aug-19??	All Saints', East St Kilda
Karg-Elert	Op. 48, No. 1	Sanctus, Benedictus	Mr. E. H. Hames, violin	14-Aug-1921	Christ Church, St Kilda
Karg-Elert	Op. 48, No. 1, 2	Sanctus, Pastorale	Felix Gade, Violin	28-Nov-1913	Melbourne Grammar School
Karg-Elert	Op. 64	Praeambulum Festivum		18-May-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Karg-Elert	Op. 66, No. 1	Vollige Hingabe	Beryl Bennie	05-Apr-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Karg-Elert	Op. 72	La Nuit		29-Apr-1920	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Karg-Elert	Op. 72	La Nuit		19-Jul-1915	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Karg-Elert	Op. 72	La Nuit		20-Jul-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Karg-Elert	Op. 73	Chaconne and Fugue Trilogy with Choral		15-Jun-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Karg-Elert	Op. 73	Chaconne and Fugue Trilogy with Choral		06-Jan-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Karg-Elert	Op. 74	First Sonatina in A minor		20-Jul-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Karg-Elert	Op. 74	Sonatina in A Minor		28-Oct-1923	St Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne
Karg-Elert	Op. 74	Sonatina in A minor		28-Oct-1923	St Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne
Karg-Elert	Op. 75	Funerale (In memory Alex. Guilmant)		20-Jul-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Karg-Elert	Op. 75	Funerale		28-Oct-1923	St Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne
Karg-Elert	Op. 75	Funerale		28-Oct-1923	St Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne
Karg-Elert	Op. 75	Funerale		25-May-1924	St Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne
Karg-Elert	Op. 85, No. 1	Kanzone and Tokkata in E flat minor		05-Apr-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Karg-Elert	Op. 85, No. 2	Fantasie, Kanzone, Passacaglia and Fugue in C min.		08-Mar-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Karg-Elert	Op. 86	Interlude in F#		28-Oct-1923	St Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne
Karg-Elert	Op. 86	Interlude in F#		23-Mar-1924	St Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne
Karg-Elert	Op. 86	Canzona, Sempre Semplice, Aria Seriosa, Cantilena		28-Oct-1923	St Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne
Karg-Elert	Op. 86	Canzona		28-Oct-1923	St Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne
Karg-Elert	Op. 86	Cantilena		28-Oct-1923	St Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne
Karg-Elert	Op. 86	Aria Seriosa		28-Oct-1923	St Paul's Cathedral,

				Melbourne
Karg-Elert	Op. 86	Cantilena	31-May-1917	St John's, Toorak
Karg-Elert	Op. 86, No. 1	Prologus Tragicus	08-Mar-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Karg-Elert	Op. 86, No. 2	Canzona	07-Jun-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Karg-Elert	Op. 86, No. 3	Cantilena	07-Jun-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Karg-Elert	Op. 86, No. 4	Quasi Marcia	08-Mar-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Karg-Elert	Op. 86, No. 6	Aria Seriosa	07-Jun-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Karg-Elert	Op. 86, No. 7	Sempre Semplice	07-Jun-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Karg-Elert	Op. 86, No. 7	Sempre Semplice	28-Oct-1923	St Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne
Karg-Elert	Op. 87, No. 1	Symphonic Choral	08-Mar-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Karg-Elert	Op. 87, No. 2	Symphonic Chorale	16-Mar-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Karg-Elert	Op. 87, No. 2	Symphonic Chorale	20-Jul-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Karg-Elert	Op. 92	Three Pastels	17-May-1915	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Karg-Elert	Op. 92	Three Pastels	07-Jun-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Karg-Elert	Op. 92	Three Pastels	17-May-1915	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Karg-Elert	Op. 96	Seven Pastels from the Lake of Constance	23-Mar-1924	St Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne
Karg-Elert	Op. 96	Pastels from the Lake of Constance: "The Reed-grown Waters", "The Sun's Night Song", "Hymn to the Stars"	15-Jun-1924	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Karg-Elert	Op. 96	Seven Pastels from the Lake of Constance	25-May-1924	St Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne
Karg-Elert	WOO 12	Sequence in C minor	28-Oct-1923	St Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne
Karg-Elert	WOO 12	Sequence in C Minor	28-Oct-1923	St Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne
Karg-Elert	WOO 12	Sequence in C minor	07-Jun-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Lemmens	1874	Sonata Pontificale	20-Aug-1918	St John's, Toorak
Lemmens	1874	Sonata in E Minor "O Filii"	05-Jul-1918	St John's, Toorak
Lemmens	1874	Sonata Pontificale	29-Apr-1920	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Lemmens	1874	Sonata in D Minor	25-Jul-1916	Melbourne Grammar School
Liszt	LW A219/1	St. Francis Preaching to the Birds	22-Feb-1916	Malvern Congregational Church
Liszt	LW A219/1	S. Francis Preaching to the Birds	03-Feb-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Liszt	LW A219/1	S. Francis Preaching to the Birds	05-Aug-1914	Melbourne Grammar School

Liszt	LW A219/1	St. Francis Preaching to the Birds			25-Jul-1916	Melbourne Grammar School
Liszt	LW A219/1	S. Francis Preaching to the Birds			03-Jun-1914	Melbourne Grammar School
Liszt	LW A219/1	St. Francis Preaching to the Birds			21-Jul-19??	St Peter's, Ballarat
Liszt	LW A55	Spozalizio			16-Mar-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Lully	LWV 63	Old French Air: "Bois Epais"		transcription from "Amadis"		St Peter's Eastern Hill
Luzzi	1863	Ave Maria	Agnes Janson		20-Apr-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
MacDowell	Op. 48	Liebeslied	Mr. E. H. Hames, violin		14-Aug-1921	Christ Church, St Kilda
MacDowell	Op. 48	Liebesleid		no soloist identified	31-May-1917	St John's, Toorak
Macpherson	1889	Fantasy Prelude			05-Jul-1918	St John's, Toorak
Macpherson	1889	Fantasy Prelude			16-Mar-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Malling	Op. 48	Herod	Mr. E. H. Hames, Violin		14-Aug-1921	Christ Church, St Kilda
Malling	Op. 54	Three Easter Pieces			29-Apr-1920	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Malling	Op. 54	Three Easter Pieces: Gethsemene, Golgotha, Easter Morning			25-Jul-1916	Melbourne Grammar School
Malling	Op. 65	The Life of Christ			16-Mar-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Malling	Op. 66	Two Tone Poems: "The Annunciation" & "Mary Visits Elizabeth"			19-May-1920	St Paul's, Geelong
Malling	Op. 75	Requiem			12-May-1923	St Mary's Mission, Fitzroy
Malling	Op. 75	Requiem			19-Apr-1915	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Malling	Op. 75	Requiem			17-Jun-1919	St Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne
Malling	Op. 81	The Seven Words of the Redeemer from the Cross			22-Mar-1915	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Malling	Op. 81	The Seven Words of the Redeemer from the Cross			28-Mar-1917	St John's, Toorak
Malling	Op. 81	The Seven Words of the Redeemer from the Cross			30-Mar-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Malling	Op. 84	The Three Kings (Pt. 2)			03-Feb-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Mendelssohn	Op. 65	Sonata			25-Nov-1911	St Andrew's Parish Church, Farnham
Mendelssohn	Op. 65	Sonata			25-Nov-1911	venue not identified
Mendelssohn	Op. 70	It is enough	Mr. H. Bayley		28-May-1914	St Paul's, Geelong
Mendelssohn	Op. 70	It is enough	Mr. F. R. Collier		03-Jun-1914	Melbourne Grammar School
Mendelssohn	Op. 70	"Lord God of Abraham"	Mr Harold Bayley		19-May-1920	St Paul's, Geelong

Mendelssohn	Op. 70	It is enough	Mr. F. R. Collier		22-Feb-1916	Malvern Congregational Church
Merkel	Op. 134	Shepherd's Song			22-Feb-1916	Malvern Congregational Church
Merkel	Op. 134	Shepherd's Song			05-Aug-1914	Melbourne Grammar School
Merkel	Op. 30	Sonata in D minor			16-Aug-19??	All Saints', East St Kilda
Meyerbeer	1859	Schiller March			19-May-1920	St Paul's, Geelong
Mozart	KV 581	Andante (5th Quintett)			25-Aug-1914	Melbourne Grammar School
Mozart	KV 581	Andante from Quintett			21-Jul-19??	St Peter's, Ballarat
Mozart	KV 594	Grand Fantasia in F minor			28-Nov-1913	Melbourne Grammar School
Mozart	KV 620	Aria "Qui sdegno non s'accende" (Magic Flute)	Miss Phyllis Archibald	Soloist from the Melba Opera Company	15-Jun-1924	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Mozart	KV 620	"Within these Holy Portals"	Mr. F. R. Collier		22-Feb-1916	Malvern Congregational Church
Mozart	KV 620	"Within these portals"	Mr. F. R. Collier		05-Aug-1914	Melbourne Grammar School
Nickson		Improvisation			25-Nov-1911	venue not identified
Nickson		Improvisation			25-Nov-1911	St Andrew's Parish Church, Farnham
Parry		Peace (A Song of Darkness and Light)	Beryl Bennie		15-Jun-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Parry		Art	Beryl Bennie		15-Jun-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Parry, H H	Op. 186	Jesu dulcis memoria			23-Mar-1924	St Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne
Parry, H H	Op. 186	Jesu dulcis memoria			23-Mar-1924	St Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne
Parry, H H	Op. 186	Jesu, the very thought is sweet			12-May-1923	St Mary's Mission, Fitzroy
Parry, H H	Op. 186	Jesu dulcis memoria			21-Jul-19??	St Peter's, Ballarat
Parry, H H	1913	Fantasia & Fugue in G			15-Jun-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Raff	1866	Introduction and Fugue in E Minor			18-May-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Rheinberger	Op 111	Sonata in F sharp			17-May-1915	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Rheinberger	Op 111	Sonata in F sharp			28-May-1914	St Paul's, Geelong
Rheinberger	Op 132	Sonata in E minor			21-Jul-19??	St Peter's, Ballarat
Rheinberger	Op. 150	Abendleid, Pastorale	Felix Gade, Violin		28-Nov-1913	Melbourne Grammar School
Rheinberger	Op. 174	Evening Rest			16-Feb-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Saint-Saëns	Op 109, No 3	Prelude and Fugue in C			20-Aug-1918	St John's, Toorak

Saint-Saëns	Op 117	Coronation March			31-May-1917	St John's, Toorak
Saint-Saëns	Op 117	Coronation March			25-Jul-1916	Melbourne Grammar School
Saint-Saëns	Op 99, No 1	Prelude and Fugue in E			05-Jul-1918	St John's, Toorak
Saint-Saëns	Op. 117	Coronation March			17-Jun-1919	St Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne
Saint-Saëns	Op. 7	Three Rhapsodies (on melodies of ancient Brittany)			19-Jul-1915	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Salomé	1875	Grand Choeur			15-Jun-19	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Schubert	D 828	Die Junge Nonne	Beryl Bennie		18-May-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Schubert	D 839	Ave Maria	Beryl Bennie		05-Apr-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Schubert	D 944	March Solonelle		transcription from 9th Symphony	25-Nov-1911	venue not identified
Schubert	D 944	March Solonelle		transcription from 9th Symphony	25-Nov-1911	St Andrew's Parish Church, Farnham
Schumann	Op. 56	Canon			21-Jul-19??	St Peter's, Ballarat
Schumann	Op. 56	Canon in B minor			17-May-1915	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Schumann	Op. 58	Four Sketches			05-Apr-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Schumann	Op. 58	Four Sketches			16-Aug-19??	All Saints', East St Kilda
Schumann	Op. 58	Sketch			19-May-1920	St Paul's, Geelong
Schumann	Op. 58	Four sketches			28-May-1914	St Paul's, Geelong
Schumann	Op. 60	Fugue on B.A.C.H. No 6			20-Apr-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Schumann	Op. 60	Fugue on B.A.C.H. No 5			20-Apr-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Schumann	Op. 97	Larghetto in E flat		transcription from 3rd Symph.	14-Aug-1921	Christ Church, St Kilda
Sibelius	Op. 26	Finlandia			28-May-1914	St Paul's, Geelong
Sibelius	Op. 26	Finlandia			03-Jun-1914	Melbourne Grammar School
Sibelius	Op. 26	Finlandia			22-Feb-1916	Malvern Congregational Church
Sibelius	Op. 26	Tone Poem - Finlandia			20-Aug-1918	St John's, Toorak
Stradella		Aria da Chiesa (Vocal), "Pieta Signor"	Agnes Janson		20-Apr-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Strauss	TrV 127	Reverie			05-Aug-1914	Melbourne Grammar School
Strauss	TrV 127	Reverie			25-Aug-1914	Melbourne Grammar School
Strauss	TrV 127	Reverie			28-May-1914	St Paul's, Geelong
Strauss	TrV 127	Traumerei			20-Apr-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Szendy		Air			20-Aug-1918	St John's, Toorak

Tschaikowski [sic]	Op. 21	Funeral March "In memory of the fallen in the War"		22-Feb-1916	Malvern Congregational Church
Tschaikowsky [sic]	1883	Coronation March		14-Aug-1921	Christ Church, St Kilda
Tschaikowsky [sic]	1883	Coronation March		25-Aug-1914	Melbourne Grammar School
Verdi	1887	Ave Maria (Othello)	Mrs A. E. H. Nickson	29-Apr-1920	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Verdi	1887	Ave Maria	Miss Beryl Bennie	25-Aug-1914	Melbourne Grammar School
Verdi	1887	Ave Maria	Miss Muriel Reynolds	12-May-1923	St Mary's Mission, Fitzroy
Verdi	1887	Ave Maria	Beryl Bennie	18-May-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Wagner	WWV 111	Good Friday Music (Parsifal)		22-Mar-1915	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Wagner	WWV 111	Good Friday Music (Parsifal)		30-Mar-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Wagner	WWV 63	Overture "Der Fliegende Hollander"		16-Feb-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Wagner	WWV 70	Elizabeth's Prayer (Tannhauser)	Beryl Bennie	06-Jan-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Wagner	WWV 70	Elizabeth's Prayer (Tannhauser)	Miss Beryl Bennie	25-Aug-1914	Melbourne Grammar School
Wagner	WWV 70	Elizabeth's Prayer (Tannhauser)	Mrs A. E. H. Nickson	22-Feb-1916	Malvern Congregational Church
Wagner	WWV 75	Bridal Procession (Lohengrin)		28-Nov-1913	Melbourne Grammar School
Wagner	WWV 96	Overture - Die Meistersinger		18-May-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Wesley, S	Op. 6	Fugue in G		05-Apr-1914	St Peter's Eastern Hill
Wesley, S S	1842	Choral Song and Fugue		16-Aug-19??	All Saints', East St Kilda
Widor	Op. 13, No. 4	Andante Cantabile		25-Jul-1916	Melbourne Grammar School
Widor	Op. 42, No. 2	Cantabile from 6th Symphony		19-May-1920	St Paul's, Geelong

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John Mallinson	Personal Interview: November 25th 2003
Bruce Naylor	Personal Communication (letter): June 13th 2003
Beryl Newland	Personal Communication (letter): August 13th 2003
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	Personal Recorded Interview: November 19th 2003
	Personal Communication (letter): November 20th 2003
Noël Nickson	Personal Communication (letter): 7th May 2003
	Personal Communication (letter): 9th May 2003
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	Personal Communication (letter): 31st May 2003
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Bruce Steele:	Personal Conversation: 7th October 2003

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