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## Circus Music: the eye of the ear

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*Circus is a global entertainment form, which, as it is not reliant on the spoken word, has easily incorporated performers of different nationalities. Yet its institutional roots are within a dominant Euro-American form and as a spectacle it is heavily reliant on music. This article discusses the historical role of music within the dominant Euro-American circus tradition and argues that this role has remained remarkably constant. Historically, circus music has been both reflective of what is popular and also, through the use of the wind band, constitutive of the popular. Its characteristic musical structures and instrumentation shape the nature of the circus spectacle. Circus music performs both emotional and cultural reassurance, and, it is argued, has an important role in the construction of a cultural 'Other', through its musical assimilation of Chinese and Japanese acrobats. Kim Baston lectures in circus history and culture at The National Institute of Circus Arts (NICA) in Melbourne, Australia, where she also leads the clown band. She is a member of Windjammers, an American organisation dedicated to the performance of traditional circus music and works professionally within circus, theatre and film as director, musical director, and composer.*

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Since the mid-19th century, circus has incorporated a style of presenting music in which the music is prominent, yet remains subordinate to the physical performance. Thomas Draxe, an early 17<sup>th</sup> century theologian, stated that "musicke is the eye of the ear"<sup>1</sup> and this article considers how what the ear hears might influence how the eye sees and reads the circus spectacle. Examples are drawn from British, American and Australian circus to illustrate commonalities of a

performance form that, with its focus on physical action rather than on the spoken word, has been successfully transplanted from its beginnings with Philip Astley's equestrian performances in London in 1768 to become a global entertainment form. It also considers how the dominant Euro-American tradition (a tradition that also prevails in Australia) has incorporated Chinese and Japanese acrobatic performers (who come from a long established tradition of their own), and argues that the cultural assimilation of these performers has also been achieved through musical means. I argue that circus music is both reflective of changes in popular music and also constitutive of what is popular. While situated within a historical context and adapting to changes in popular sensibility, music also performs a role in shaping spectatorial reception. Although circus music has changed over time, the role it performs within this entertainment form has remained remarkably constant.

The 'blaring', 'brassy' sound of the wind band is the sound most identified with circus music (a one bar quotation of Julius Fucík's "Entry of the Gladiators," for example, is usually enough to signify 'circus'). The sudden stops, the *ta-da* of the surprise major chord, the suspense-laden drum rolls are musical practices that underpin the ritual nature of the circus act and, like the recurring physical skills of circus performers, "produce standards through repetition that become continuous with the past."<sup>2</sup> The 'sound' of circus music consists of the combination of a predominant instrumentation, a particular repertoire, and a distinct set of performance practices and it is this combination that distinguishes it from any other performing art that involves such a prominent use of music.

Research for this article involved an extensive search of circus commentaries, with the reward often only a handful of vague references, as there is no specialist body of research on circus music. Most references to historical circus music and musicians within general histories of circus consist of brief indications of repertoire, or, of the nature of the circus band.<sup>3</sup> The semiotician, Paul Bouissac, provides some useful analytical material about music as one element of his discussion of circus, but does not deal with it at length, citing the complexity of the subject.<sup>4</sup> There are also fleeting references in a number of circus biographies, of which Mervyn King's is the most extensive.<sup>5</sup> Writings by circus musicians, who should logically provide the most useful record of actual practices, are anecdotal and scarce.<sup>6</sup>

While a considerable amount of music from the American circus has been published, there appears to be very little original music that survives, or has yet come to light, from the Australian circus.<sup>7</sup> John Whiteoak has produced some pioneering work on Australian traditional circus music to which this study is indebted.<sup>8</sup> This article, therefore, provides an overview of the development of circus music from 1780-1950. To do so, it draws on primary sources from Britain, America

and Australia – countries with continuous and mutually influential circus traditions – and builds on the existing scholarly work. It can, however, only be an overview of a rich field of performance that is still waiting to be fully explored by scholars.

### *Music in the early modern circus<sup>9</sup>*

In the early modern circus, before the establishment of the wind band as the preferred accompaniment, the choice of instrumentation was opportunistic, reflecting the “diverse and often jumbled network of performing practices and organizations which incorporated entertainments taken from fairground and theatre,”<sup>10</sup> that comprised the earliest circuses. Limited information exists for the earliest equestrian performances by Astley although they were apparently accompanied by “rudimentary music played on French horns and a drum.”<sup>11</sup> Engravings of the various incarnations of Astley’s Amphitheatre<sup>12</sup> reveal diverse musical ensembles that included string and keyboard instruments. Similarly, as James S. Moy notes, no detailed information exists concerning the “grand Band, under the direction of Mr. Young,” used at John B. Ricketts’ circus in Philadelphia in 1794, though it appears likely to have included piano, clarinet and violin by 1796.<sup>13</sup> As by 1790 the early circus regularly included pantomimes, ballets, and burlettas, it appears that the flexibility of boundaries between the early circus and other genres of theatrical performance extends to the nature of the musical ensemble used.

Ricketts, founder of the circus in America, used music as a prominent draw card in his advertising after 1795, emphasising the use of new compositions, although it is impossible to gauge the extent of composed material. John Durang, a clown in Ricketts circus, gave “music compiler” as one of his roles and it is reasonable to assume that early circus music contained a mix of popular tunes and songs drawn from both folk and art music traditions. Durang’s memoirs contain a notated hornpipe, which was composed for him by “Mr Hoffmaster, a German Dwarf, in New York, 1785,”<sup>14</sup> a tune now more commonly known as the “Manchester Hornpipe.” Ricketts and Astley similarly had tunes named after them and these still form part of the folk repertoire.<sup>15</sup>

Before Ricketts arrived in America his last performances were for the newly established Equestrian Circus in Edinburgh, and in 1791 a collection of music from that year’s circus season was published. The collection contains a predominance of short dances in duple or triple time such as hornpipes, marches and jigs.<sup>16</sup> Included with the musical items clearly identified with the circus performance are other items of similar dance music composed by the author of the manuscript, John Watlen, and by other subscribers to the publication. The circus-identified music is

both similar to, and situated within, the repertoire of music for social dancing. The link between the dance and the circus is a significant one, both in the development of the circus form and in the accompanying repertoire.

The influence of both formal and popular dances in the early modern circus is seen in references to rope-dancers such as “la belle Espagniola” who “danced a hornpipe and a Spanish fandango, clicking castanets, without a pole,”<sup>17</sup> or to the success of Alexandre Placide, a ballet dancer who was, according to Durang, “the best tightrope dancer that ever was in America.”<sup>18</sup> Social dances would also be performed on horseback, or presented ‘as themselves’ as part of the entertainment programme, a practice which Ricketts transported to America in 1792. Ricketts, for a performance in 1795, advertised that he would “ride a single horse in full speed, [and] dance to the tune of THE FLOWERS OF EDINBURGH in the character of a Highland Laddie...”<sup>19</sup> and Durang listed dancing and singing as part of his “business.”<sup>20</sup>

The inclusion of social dancing within circus performance continued through later developments. For example, the success of the 20th century wire walker, Con Colleano, resulted not only from his extraordinary acrobatic prowess as the first performer to achieve a forward somersault on the wire, but also from his skill as a dancer, performing “his tangos, jotas and fandangos with the unsurpassed grace of a prima ballerina.”<sup>21</sup>

### ***Development of the wind band***

The wind or brass band that became established during the 1870s and 1880s as the circus accompaniment of choice similarly situated the circus band in the midst of the dominant musical ensembles of the time.<sup>22</sup> Both the American wind band, and the brass bands of Britain and Australia have their roots in military bands.<sup>23</sup> Military bands played both on ritual and processional occasions, and also provided entertainment, which would include accompanying social dancing.<sup>24</sup> For processional and outdoor playing, brass instruments have the benefit of being both loud and relatively easy to play on the move. At the circus, prior to the development of amplification, *loud* was an important quality for drawing maximum attention during parades and also for coping with the expanding scale of the circus spectacle, particularly the three-ring circus that emerged at the end of the 19th century in America.

The repertoire of the traditional circus band in America, developing during the late-19th century,<sup>25</sup> ranged from military style marches to selections of both classical and popular tunes. The publishing company, Barnhouse, based in

Oscaloosa, Iowa, became particularly associated with the publication of original circus music by Fred Jewell, Karl L. King, and others, and this repertoire was imported to both the British and Australian circus.<sup>26</sup> But, as in the British circus, while there was a significant presence of specifically composed circus music, much of the repertoire was arranged from other sources with little apparent distinction between the 'high' and the 'low-brow'. E. H. Bostock's description of the 'high-class fare' the band provided for the Bostock and Wombwell travelling menagerie in England in the 1870s includes Handel's "Hallelujah Chorus" alongside the decidedly non-classical "Life's a Bumper."<sup>27</sup>

The mixture of classical and popular music, arranged for the brass or wind ensemble, positions the circus band within the practices of the developing wind band movement in America and the brass band movements of Great Britain and Australia.<sup>28</sup> The itinerant nature of the circus, and its ability to offer employment to proficient musicians, put it in a unique position of cultural exchange with the town bands. Dave Russell considers that the travelling circus and menagerie bands in England influenced both the training of local bands and the popularisation of 'art' music, particularly arrangements of operatic airs.<sup>29</sup> Arthur Taylor considers that "Wombwell's was reputed to be the most influential band of them all"<sup>30</sup> and notes that this band was drawn for many years from brass band musicians, the most prominent being George Ellis (who led the Accrington Brass Band in the 1840s and who toured with Wombwell for several years),<sup>31</sup> and Adam Westall, a virtuoso ophicleide player from the same band.<sup>32</sup> That some musicians continued to perform in both community-based bands and the circus is indicated by Taylor's observation that Bertram Mill's Circus employed the St Hilda Colliery Band for its seasons at Olympia during the 1920s.<sup>33</sup>

The circus in Australia, as it developed from both the British and American models, also shows a crossover between a brass band tradition and the circus. The circuses of the Wirths, Fitzgeralds, and St Leons in the late-19th and early-20th centuries were all praised for possessing particularly fine bands.<sup>34</sup> The circus band, on occasion, provided a bridge between the travelling circus and the town. Mervyn King, who joined St Leon's circus as a child in 1915, stated:

Every town had its own band. Bands were a popular thing then. On the odd occasion a local musician came down and asked to have a blow with the band. The St Leons used to say, "Yes, certainly." I don't think they ever knocked them back.<sup>35</sup>

The circus band was thus able to both reflect and influence the musical culture of the towns it travelled through. When Fitzgeralds' Circus toured through regional New South Wales in the late-19th century, the bandleader, Carl Von Der Mehden

was reported on at least one occasion to have conducted the town brass band at the remote mining community of Broken Hill, and apparently taught them some of his own compositions.<sup>36</sup> His reputation as bandleader was such that on a tour to New Zealand in 1894-5, a local band welcomed the circus by playing one of his compositions.<sup>37</sup>

It appears that the band for St Leon's Circus might have been influential in introducing some of the published band repertoire from America. Mick Perry, of Perry's Circus stated:

They were all good musicians, all the St Leon boys. They used to get all their music from America. They used to leave all the other bands here for dead when they had the latest stuff from America – foxtrots, marches, rags... As soon as anything new come out in the way of marches, any new stuff at all, over it would come. Any they didn't like they'd throw into the fire and burn it, but there was very little that they used to burn because it was all such good stuff...<sup>38</sup>

The circus band existed, therefore, in a continuum of both musical and social practice, and while, as an entertainment form, circus has often been considered to have a transient, outsider status, the music used is the music of the settled population. In Australia, despite the decline in the use of a full circus band during the second half of the 20th century, the link with tradition remained. On December 3<sup>rd</sup> 1965, for example, Ashton's Circus employed, for the princely sum of £1 and the inducement of free tickets, the entire Woorayl Municipal Band (an apparently undistinguished though long-established small town band) to play for the traditional pre-show concert.<sup>39</sup>

The brass or wind band has performed a long-standing and remarkably consistent role in circus performance, and its heyday coincides with the efflorescence of the travelling circus. Its decline is associated with the use of recorded music, the introduction of more economically viable small ensembles (such as the Hammond organ, drum kit and trumpet trios that became common in smaller circuses during the 1960s), and the growing influence of the rock counterculture that became associated with the 'new circus' movement that began in the 1970s.<sup>40</sup>

### ***Circus and rhythm***

Regardless of the instrumentation or repertoire of the circus band, the element that continues to underpin the function of circus music is rhythm matched to the style of act, rather than distinctive harmonic or melodic features. For example, a

street tightrope walker and stilt dancer interviewed by Henry Mayhew in the mid-19th century stated:

My wife and the girls all have their turns at the rope, following each other in their performances. The band generally plays quadrilles, or a waltz, or anything; it don't matter what it is, so long as it is the proper time.<sup>41</sup>

Traditional circus maintained a correlation between certain rhythms and certain acts. Mervyn King mentioned the need for a “good strong heavy march for a lion act,” while a 6/8 march would be used for an equestrian act and a waltz for flying acts.<sup>42</sup> George Speaight similarly noted the use of waltz for flying trapeze, Risley (foot juggling) and balancing acts, military marches for weight lifting and strong man acts, galops for fixed bars, springboard and ground acrobatics and the quadrille for horse acts.<sup>43</sup>

The music of the 18th and 19th century circus was predicated on two particular rhythmic elements: the rhythm of the dance and the rhythm of the horse. The equestrian acts that formed the basis of the early modern circus, and continued as a staple throughout the 19th and early-20th centuries, demonstrated aspects of both the natural rhythmic movement of the horse (cantering and galloping); and of the training of horses to undertake dance-like movements and patterns in both liberty and *haute-école* acts.<sup>44</sup> In jockey acts (those involving balancing or acrobatics on the bare back of a moving horse) the regularity of the animal's rhythm, its “even pace” and “smooth gait,” was paramount in ensuring the success of the act and the safety of the performers who would have been in danger of falling from a horse which suddenly varied its speed or step.<sup>45</sup> The regularity of rhythm took precedence over a fast tempo, even if the latter was to be desired. Given this precedence, and an obvious natural similarity of rhythm between different horses, it is understandable that particular meters (6/8 for a canter, a fast 2/4 for a gallop) predominated in these acts. Music was therefore primarily selected for the presence of suitable rhythm; the tempo of that rhythm was then determined by the speed of the particular horse act.

Rhythm is also the core element in music for social dancing, with melody and harmony as secondary elements. As Mayhew's anonymous street performer indicates, tunes are seemingly interchangeable, provided the rhythm and tempo are appropriate to support the dance steps. Dance music not only provides the rhythmic underpinning to the steps of the dance, but also cues for different sections, or changes in movement during the course of the dance, through characteristic phrase structures. Rhythm also appears to have been the predominant factor in the choice of music to accompany other circus routines, even as the circus developed to

incorporate acts that were less obviously tied to equine or dance rhythms. However, if the choice of music for an act is predominantly determined by its support for the act's physical rhythm, it is also possible that this rhythm has an effect upon the viewing of the act and this extends its function beyond that of simple accompaniment.

It is possible that the presence of a dominant and regular auditory rhythm might impose an impression of a regular visual rhythm. This could be because the ear "analyses, processes and synthesizes faster than the eye."<sup>46</sup> While this appears to be a largely unexplored area in studies of musical perception, there are indications of this possibility within scholarship on film music. For example, Nicholas Cook, in a discussion of a sequence of exploding volcanoes in Disney's *Fantasia*, notes that the impression of metric regularity perceived in the combination of image and score, disappears when the image is watched without sound. He argues that the images are "appropriated by the audible rhythms of the score."<sup>47</sup> In an influential study involving the use of commutation tests (in which different soundtracks are applied to the same film sequence to gauge their effect on spectatorial perception), Annabel J. Cohen has shown that perception of abstract physical shapes is influenced by musical rhythm. Her study involved the perception of a video animation involving three geometric objects and the way in which music influenced the perception of those objects. Noting that one object, a small triangle, seemed (according to her test subjects) to be "more active with one of the musical scores," she considers it likely that the congruence between the temporal patterns (in effect the rhythm) of the music and the videoed motion of the triangle led to a focussing of attention on that figure rather than on the other figures present.<sup>48</sup>

Spectators of *haute école* and liberty equestrian routines (which are usually symmetrically patterned like military drills or the ensemble movements of the corps de ballet)<sup>49</sup> have frequently commented on the fact that the horses appear to dance to the music. For example, a review of Chiarini's Royal Circus from the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1873, describing the Arab steed ridden by a Miss Holloway, stated that the horse "danced to the music in a very intelligent and even graceful manner."<sup>50</sup> But horses do not dance or keep time to the music.<sup>51</sup> Bouissac considers that:

The musical accompaniment iconicizes[sic] the horses' movements by reducing them to a rhythm, either to achieve complete harmony, as is the case in liberty horse acts, or to achieve individual regularity, as in "haute école" acts (dancing horses).<sup>52</sup>

The music appears to stimulate the visual perception of synchronisation, and this will be aided by the presence not only of well-trained horses, but also, logically, of a trainer who is musically aware enough to cue them to regular phrase lengths, and a

bandleader who is able to match the musical tempo to the act.<sup>53</sup>

### ***Circus music and emotional reassurance***

While the core musical elements of rhythm and tempo support the physical requirements of circus acts and arguably effect the visual perception of synchronisation, the instrumentation and musical *smorgasbord* comprising the repertoire do not only conform to cultural norms but also fulfil an important emotional function. One recent study considering the recognisability of emotion characteristics of music in a cross-cultural context lists the characteristics of ‘joyful’ music as being “fast in tempo, major in mode, wide in pitch, high in loudness, regular in rhythm and low in complexity.”<sup>54</sup> The majority of the repertoire played by the circus wind band exhibits all these characteristics.<sup>55</sup> Measured against other comparable repertoires, circus music could even be considered as demonstrating ‘über-joyfulness.’ In comparison with marches played by military bands, for example, circus marches consistently demonstrate wider pitch relationships in melodies, are taken at a faster pace, and played louder.<sup>56</sup> They are also predominantly in the major mode. Regularity of rhythm, as noted above, underpins the circus act, and the structural simplicity and regularity of the musical forms most often employed in the circus band repertoire fulfils the requirement of ‘low complexity.’

As William E. Studwell, Charles Conrad and Bruce R. Schueneman note, the common form of the circus march consists of two sections: the march proper (the first section), followed by what might be considered a ‘trio’ section.<sup>57</sup> Similar to other music of this period, the trio modulates to a related key (in the circus repertoire this is often to the subdominant) and is often “of a more sedate and stately character” than the opening march.<sup>58</sup> Often the end of a trio section features a “breakstrain,” or in circus parlance, a “dogfight,” which returns to the more exciting atmosphere of the opening.<sup>59</sup> As the tonality and characteristic harmonic progressions form part of the Euro-American classical and related traditions, so the consistent use of a binary/ternary structure is similarly an expression of that tradition; these structures are the most common forms of music as in the *da capo* aria or the standard 32-bar Tin Pan Alley song.

If the circus act includes both exhilaration and risk, the predominantly ‘joyful’ emotional quality expressed by traditional circus music confirms the function of the music to provide both excitement and simultaneous reassurance. While the thrill of the circus spectacle includes the “demonstration and taunting of danger,”<sup>60</sup> the crucial element is that the performer ultimately demonstrates mastery of that danger. As Helen Stoddart notes, in the case of mishap “it is the unspoken law of the

circus that the performer always gets up again and leaves the ring a conqueror of animal, machinery or gravity.”<sup>61</sup> Loss of control and the attendant risk of real physical injury are, for obvious reasons, undesirable.

The acknowledgement of danger can be seen in the culmination of the circus act, the ‘glory’ trick, which is frequently underlined by a cessation of the music into a tension-inducing drum roll, marking the climax of the act. Following the marking of the most difficult or dangerous trick, for which the drum roll functions as a ritual framing (and as ritual framing is, in itself, reassuring), the music will typically resume in a ‘joyful’ coda. The difficult tricks will often be performed in silence, which, in the extraordinarily noisy environment that characterises the bigger circuses, provides the aural equivalent of the bodily sensation of “holding of breath.”<sup>62</sup> But this is only momentary, the resumption of the music instantly relaxes the tension.

The predominant emotional role of the music is to affirm the demonstration of control and this provides, in effect, a meta-discourse. This meta-discourse also underlies the musical practice of ‘marking the tricks,’ such as the crash of the cymbal to underline particular moments of physical action. This marking always occurs at the point of successful completion of the action, at the moment when mastery has been demonstrated; it is also there to stimulate audience participation, via applause, in the recognition of that mastery.

While the predominant mode in circus music is the joyfully reassuring major, the more chromatically unstable and less ‘reassuring’ minor mode appears most commonly as the accompaniment for animal acts, particularly wild animal acts. The “good strong heavy march for a lion act,” noted above by Mervyn King, is likely to be in the minor key. As the big cat acts also enunciate the meta-discourse of control, often framing the trainer as a heroic figure triumphing over the odds, the use of the minor mode could appear to undermine this discourse. But is this the case?

The two predominant approaches to the presentation of the lion in traditional circus are either as a savage beast to be mastered by the trainer (*en férocité*) or in a quieter mode demonstrating ease and familiarity with the animal (*en douceur* or *en pelotage*),<sup>63</sup> and both these approaches suggest different musical choices. In a discussion of lion acts, Bouissac notes various musical choices that could be made, choices that he considers act as a “supplementary modifier” to the act. He lists as examples “a tragic Wagnerian-type overture, an exotic tune, a typical ethnic tune, a national anthem, or popular contemporary music.”<sup>64</sup> The self-presentation of the trainer, including costume and choice of props used will further determine, and be determined by, the choice of music. The “glam-rock” appearance of Gunther Gebel-

Williams in the 1970s or the “Indian rajah” costume worn by Rudolf Matthies thirty years earlier<sup>65</sup> both suggest obvious directions for the accompanying music, whether by supporting the narrative of contemporary relevance in the first example or the narrative of exoticism suggested by the second. The potentially destabilising minor mode is more commonly associated with acts presented as ‘exotic’, and with big cat acts, particularly those presented *en férocité*.

The minor key circus marches, like the more common major mode marches, also generally contain a trio section, but the customary modulation for the trio section is not to the subdominant, but to a major key, thus often confining the more unsettling qualities of the minor to a relatively brief section. In an act in which the lions are framed (often in the publicity) as savage brutes direct from the jungle, but often revealed (in the more usual eventuality of a non-attack) as rather well-behaved, the use of the minor key can therefore be considered as another manifestation of the “hyperbole related to the glorification of danger” which Mullett considers to be the function of the drum roll. Mullett considers this “hyperbole” to be a specific direction of attention for the audience, both to highlight a genuine physical risk for the performer and to stimulate a perception of risk where little exists.<sup>66</sup>

While less emotionally reassuring than major mode compositions, the minor key marches are, more importantly and with few exceptions, laden with varieties of musical “orientalism.” For big cat acts, the standard musical tropes that signify this imagined exotic include ‘primitive,’ highly regular drum rhythms and the use of the augmented second interval. Although this is a characteristic interval in some non-European scales such as the Arabic *hijaz* mode,<sup>67</sup> the use of this exoticism, like similar musical exoticism in films, is geographically vague, inhabiting an area that includes north Africa (e.g. “In The Soudan”), travelling through various ‘middle eastern’ locations (“Vision Of Salome” and “Cyrus The Great”) to India (“Hindustan” and “Star of India”).<sup>68</sup> Importantly, however, these ‘exotic’ features are still couched within the formal musical structures and rhythmic organisation of the classical Western harmonic tradition, appearing largely as decorative features to the usual march/trio format. In the context of the big cat act, this reinforces not just the exotic, but also the ‘primitive’, the ‘savage’, the ‘jungle’. But while the initial presentation of the minor in the musical accompaniment may serve to reinforce the sense of danger, the return of the major mode, and the use of other ‘joyful’ circus marches for the ‘cage-clearer’ (the galop to accompany the usually swift exit of the animals from the circus ring at the end of the act) affirms not just a demonstration of control but a demonstration of imperial control, over savage beast and savage music alike.

### *Circus music and cultural reassurance*

'Exotic' circus music, unsurprisingly, has been often used to accompany 'exotic' performers, although there is a geographical shift towards the decorative features that signify 'Far East' in the case of music accompanying Chinese and Japanese performers. Chinese and Japanese performers have a long cultural heritage of acrobatic performance which includes musical traditions that are very different from their Western counterparts. Nevertheless, Chinese and Japanese acrobatics have transferred easily to the Euro-American circus form.

In Rosemary Farrell's account of Chinese acrobatics in Australia during the second half of the 19th century, she notes that the highly skilled Chinese acrobats were praised in reviews and considers that, as "cultural envoys," these performers helped to temporarily destabilise the negative social attitudes towards Chinese migrants current in Australia during that period. In contrast, performances by Chinese singers and musicians were "decried as discordant."<sup>69</sup> This suggests that while the skilled acrobatic body could be understood within an Australian cultural framework of circus performance, the presumably equally skilled musicians could not cross the cultural barrier. While the acrobat performing within Chinese cultural performance would naturally use Chinese music, it appears unlikely that this would be the case within the Australian circus context.

In Australia, the beginning of a process of assimilation of the 'cultural other' can be tentatively identified in the case of Japanese performers, as the historical circumstances surrounding the presence of these performers has a clear beginning with the Meiji period and Japan's reconnection with the West. David Sissons has identified 1867 as the date that the first Japanese acrobats arrived in Australia.<sup>70</sup> The performances of Lenton and Smith's Great Dragon Troupe, a troupe of Japanese acrobats who toured Australia between 1867-9, were praised, according to Sissons, apart from their "hideous" music. The efforts of the two female shamisen accompanists (the wife and daughter of two of the acrobats) were described as:

...a constant scrape on a pair of fiddles, extracting a sort of music, which to an uneducated ear, bore a close resemblance to discord, but which in process of time might become tolerable.<sup>71</sup>

As Sisson's research reveals, the troupe appeared in lecture halls, Mechanics' Institutes and theatres, performing their acrobatic skills alongside demonstrations of Japanese life and customs, and examples of Japanese theatre. The presentation of this troupe to Australian colonial audiences occurred within a framework of ethnographic performance in which the cultural difference of these performers was the main attraction. The lofty purpose of these performances was described by the

*Ballarat Courier* as being able to “afford an insight to Japanese Manners and Customs, and to exhibit the general character of Japanese Theatrical Representations.”<sup>72</sup> The shamisen players participated, therefore, within a framework of cultural ‘otherness’, to be wondered at, if not necessarily enjoyed.

In 1876, Ridge’s Royal Tycoon Circus, a circus containing a number of Japanese performers, engaged the Wirth’s family band to accompany the performances.<sup>73</sup> St Leon notes a report of a performance by this circus at Cowra, New South Wales, in March 1880, which praised the band as “well worth listening to, several operatic selections being rendered with exquisite taste.”<sup>74</sup> While there is no indication of exactly what music accompanied the acts of the Japanese performers, it appears unlikely from this that Japanese music was used. Within the relentlessly commercial world of circus enterprise, it was obviously pragmatic, if the aim was to entertain the general public, to use the popular music of the predominantly white Anglo-Saxon audience.

While it is difficult to ascertain the exact music used for Chinese or Japanese performances within Australian circus, by the beginning of the 20th century the ‘Chinese orientalist’ repertoire of the American circus would have been available to the Australian market. Karl King’s composition “Ung-Kung-Foy-Ya: A Chinese Intermezzo,”<sup>75</sup> which was apparently written for Chinese acrobats, is a representative example of this repertoire and employs a number of standard “Chinese-icities.”<sup>76</sup> As Derek Scott notes, “pentatonicism and parallel fourths are the basic signifiers for chinoiserie,”<sup>77</sup> and these recur within the Western classical repertoire, within the domestic piano market and the Broadway song, and as signifiers of the ‘Far East’ in film music.<sup>78</sup> As is common within the exotic circus repertoire, this composition uses the minor mode, and, as with many other pieces in this category, the trio section of the march reverts to the major and the “Chinese-icities” give way to a westernised melody that is practically indistinguishable from non-exotic marches. The exotic is again reduced to a selection of decorative timbres contained within a popular Occidental musical form and harmonic language, and thus, while acknowledging other cultural identities, simultaneously erases them.

A rare indication of the attitudes of the performers themselves to the music used as accompaniment for their acts is given in Merle Evans’ biography:

Once a group of Chinese tumblers insisted on Western music for their act. They just liked the tune. Merle obliged but the act lost all its zip and appeal. He quickly pointed this out. The tumblers asked what he’d suggest. He resurrected two ancient tunes called “Fantan” and “In Old Peking.” The acrobats liked his choice and their act improved so much

they turned completely against Western Music.<sup>79</sup>

While the year is not indicated in this example, “Fantan” was used during the 1954 Ringling Brothers and Barnum & Bailey Circus season to accompany The Yong Sister and Brothers, Chinese contortionists. Chinese and Japanese performers appear to have been treated interchangeably as both “In Old Pekin” and “Ung-Kung-Foy-Ya” were used the following year to accompany the Japanese wire-walker, Takeo Usui.<sup>80</sup>

Farrell argues that “the circus ring became a safe place for Chinese acrobats, and ... their acts seem to have offered opportunities for neutralising preconceived socially constructed bias, discrimination and anxiety.”<sup>81</sup> I suggest, though, that if these performances were framed by the accompaniment of ‘orientalist’ circus music, which both sanitises and renders safe the exotic ‘other’, yet simultaneously emphasises ethnic difference, the ‘seen identity’ of the Chinese or Japanese performer is ‘heard’ through the complicating haze of a musical language that signifies an East appropriated and assimilated by the West. The skilled acrobatic body of the Chinese and Japanese performer might inspire awe, but within the context of the dominant Euro-American circus tradition this is always racially marked. Through the eye in the ear provided by ‘Orientalist’ circus music, the circus ring also becomes a place where Chinese and Japanese acrobats can be ‘safely’ viewed.

The apparent interchangeability of circus tunes masks how circus music functions, not only to accompany acts in the ring, but also to produce that action. The core elements of tempo and rhythm, while possibly the main determinant in the selection of suitable music, also are able to produce a visual reading of synchronisation. The ‘joyfulness’ produced by the tonal harmonic and melodic musical elements provides the emotional reassurance that ensures that the presentation of risk is exhilarating rather than heart-stopping, and affirms the demonstration of control by the skilled acrobatic body. Because circus music was firmly situated as popular music, and was performed by the popular musical ensembles of the day, it also performed social and cultural reassurance. Yet it is in the construction of the cultural ‘other’ that the ideological underpinning of this seemingly uncomplicated genre of music is revealed.

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas Draxe, *Bibliotheca Scholastica Instructissima, or, a Treasury of Ancient Adagies and Sententious Proverbs* (Londini: Excudebat S.G., impensis Jos. Kirten, 1654), 134.

<sup>2</sup> Peta Tait, *Circus Bodies: Cultural Identity in Aerial Performance* (London: Routledge, 2000), 5.

<sup>3</sup> For example see George Speaight, *A History of the Circus* (London: Tantivy, 1980); Antony Hippisley Coxe, *A Seat at the Circus* (London: Evans Brothers, 1952); John Culhane, *The American Circus* (New York: Henry Holt, 1990); Mark St Leon, *Spangles and Sawdust: The Circus in Australia* (Melbourne: Greenhouse, 1983). These are comprehensive histories of, respectively, the British, American and Australian circus.

<sup>4</sup> Paul Bouissac, *Circus and Culture: A Semiotic Approach* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1976), 195.

<sup>5</sup> St Leon, *The Silver Road: The Life of Mervyn King, Circus Man* (Springwood, NSW: Butterfly, 1990).

<sup>6</sup> There are only two published biographies of circus musicians: Gene Plowden, *Merle Evans: Maestro of the Circus* (Miami: E.A. Seamann, 1971), which deals with the legendary bandmaster of Ringling Bros. and Barnum & Bailey Circus (RBBBC) and Clifford Edward Watkins *Showman: the Life and Music of Perry George Lowery* (Jackson: UP of Mississippi, 2003). Lowery was a pioneering African American bandleader who ran the sideshow band at RBBBC for a number of years.

<sup>7</sup> A comprehensive selection of American circus music is published (in skeletal form) in William E. Studwell, Charles P. Conrad, and Bruce R. Schueneman, *Circus Songs: An Annotated Anthology* (New York: Haworth, 1999). This book also provides a short historical overview of American circus music. There appears to be no comparable account of British circus music.

<sup>8</sup> John Whiteoak, "The Development of Australian Circus Music," *Australasian Drama Studies*, 35 (1999): 59-72; *Playing Ad Lib: Improvisatory Music in Australia 1836-1970* (Sydney: Currency, 1999). There is an extended section on Australian circus music in St Leon, *Circus and Nation: A Critical Enquiry into Circus in its Australian Setting 1847-2006* (PhD diss., University of Sydney, 2007): 325-328.

<sup>9</sup> The terminology used in this research to designate specific historical periods within the development of circus is derived from a number of sources. What is termed the 'modern' circus is generally dated from 1768 and attributed to Astley's displays of equestrian skills within what became the standard 42-foot ring (see for example Coxe, *Seat at the Circus*, 22-23; Tait, *Circus Bodies*, 5). I will designate the period up to the 1850s as 'early modern circus.' I will use the term 'traditional circus' to refer to the modern circus after the mid-19th century, reflecting what Tait calls the "institutional form of circus" (*Circus Bodies*, 5), a term which includes contemporary companies still working within that framework. 'Traditional circus' as a term is used in this way by a number of scholars (e.g. Whiteoak, *Australian Circus Music*; Tait, *Circus Bodies*). 'New circus' is the term used to refer to the range of circus companies departing from traditional practices, the beginning of which is usually dated to the 1970s (Jane Mullett, *Circus Alternatives: The Rise of New Circus in Australia, the United States, Canada and France* (PhD diss., La Trobe University, 2006)). It is beyond the scope of this article to consider the increasingly diverse spectacles of what is now commonly termed 'new circus,' though many of the functions of music outlined here remain applicable. See, for example, my article on the work of contemporary Brisbane company, Circa (Kim Baston, "Jacques Brel and Circus Performance: The compiled score as discourse in *The Space Between* by Circa," *Australasian Drama Studies*, 56 (2010): 154-169.

<sup>10</sup> Helen Stoddart, *Rings of Desire: Circus History and Representation* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2000), 3.

<sup>11</sup> Marius Kwint, "The Legitimization of the Circus in Late Georgian England," *Past and Present*, 174.1 (2002): 76. These would not have been modern valve horns but earlier versions using crooks. At this period it is not clear whether the method of hand-stopping, devised by Hampel in Dresden between 1750 and 1760, and which gave a full chromatic range to the horn, was being used in England. It is possible the first mention of hand-stopping in England dates to 1772 (W.F.H. Blandford, "Studies on the Horn. No.1: The French Horn in England," *The Musical Times*, 63.954 (1922): 545). Thus the complexity or otherwise of the music used would of necessity depend on the type of horn used.

<sup>12</sup> For example, see Speaight, *History of the Circus*, 37.

- <sup>13</sup> James S. Moy, "Entertainments at John B. Ricketts's Circus, 1793-1800," *Educational Theatre Journal*, 30.2 (1978): 192-3.
- <sup>14</sup> Alan S. Downer, ed., *The Memoir of John Durang: American Actor 1785-1816* (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh UP, 1966), 22.
- <sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 69. According to The Fiddler's Companion, a comprehensive website for traditional music, "Ricketts Hornpipe" remains a popular hornpipe tune in American traditional music, with a version recorded on 78rpm by Dan Sullivan's Shamrock Band. It was imported back to England and appears under various names, including "Pigeon On The Gate" (Kuntz, Fiddler's Companion <http://ibiblio.org/fiddlers/circus.htm>, accessed 8/01/2008). Kuntz also lists as current tunes "Leslie's Hornpipe," a corruption of the original title "Astley's Hornpipe" or "Astley's Ride." The title of "Pigeon on the Gate," in this context, refers to a dance step, the pigeon wing, in which the dancer leaps into the air, bringing the legs together (Douglas S Harvey, "Strolling Players in Albany, Montreal, and Quebec City, 1797 and 1810: Performance, Class, and Empire," *Studies in Eighteenth Century Culture*, 38 (2009): 239). As both Durang and Placide were known to have performed this step on the rope, it is also possible that 'gate' refers to the rope.
- <sup>16</sup> John Watlen, *The Celebrated Circus Tunes Perform'd at Edinburgh This Season, with the Addition of Some New Reels and Strathspeys Set for the Piano Forte or Violin and Bass by John Watlen* (Edinburgh: self-published, 1791). Four of these tunes (three duple time country dances and one jig) bear the dedication "Perform'd by M<sup>r</sup> Ricketts."
- <sup>17</sup> Speaight, *History of the Circus*, 17.
- <sup>18</sup> Downer, *John Durang*, 68.
- <sup>19</sup> Moy, *Entertainments*, 192.
- <sup>20</sup> Downer, *John Durang*, 68.
- <sup>21</sup> Mark St Leon, "The Great Con Colleano," *This Australia*, 6.1 (1986): 16.
- <sup>22</sup> William E. Studwell, Charles P. Conrad, and Bruce R. Schueneman, *Circus Songs: An Annotated Anthology* (New York: Haworth, 1999), xii.
- <sup>23</sup> Richard K. Hansen, *The American Wind Band: A Cultural History* (GIA: Chicago, 2005), 45; see also Raoul F. Camus, *Military Music of the American Revolution* (U of North Carolina Press: Chapel Hill, 1976); Trevor Herbert, "Nineteenth Century Bands; Making a Movement," in *The British Brass Band: A Musical and Social History*, ed. Trevor Herbert (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2000), 10-60.
- <sup>24</sup> See, for example, Richard Franko Goldman, *The Wind Band: Its Literature and Technique* (Greenwood: Westport CT, 1961), 38; Lewis Winstock, *Songs & Music of the Redcoats: A History of the War Music of the British Army 1642-1902* (London: Leo Cooper, 1970), 158-9.
- <sup>25</sup> Studwell et al. date the 'golden age' of circus music from 1900-1930 and consider the preference for the wind band developed from the 1870s onwards (*Circus Songs*, xii- xiii). It is possible that this preference was established even earlier in Australia, with the influential Hore's Saxe Horn Band, which played for Rowe's American Circus in 1852 (Whiteoak, *Playing Adlib*, 33).
- <sup>26</sup> Whiteoak, *Australian Circus Music*, 60. The Barnhouse publishing company was founded in 1886 (Diane Parr Walker, "From "Hawk-Eye March and Quick Step" to "Caprice Hongrois": Music Publishing in Iowa," *American Music*, 1:4 (1983): 42-62. It maintains an extensive catalogue of band and circus music to the present day.
- <sup>27</sup> E. H. Bostock, *Menageries, Circuses and Theatres* (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1972 (1927)), 33.
- <sup>28</sup> Dave Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840-1914: A Social History* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1987), 185; Whiteoak, *Playing Adlib*, 69-71.
- <sup>29</sup> Russell, 186. Russell considers this practice was current in Great Britain from the 1830s until the 1920s.
- <sup>30</sup> Arthur R. Taylor, *Brass Bands* (Granada: London, 1979), 28.
- <sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 25. Taylor also notes that members of the Bolton Old Band toured during the summer with

Cooke's Circus (28). Taylor unfortunately gives no dates so this would have been sometime between 1850 and 1884 when the band disbanded. Wombwell's band appears to have been influential for much of the nineteenth century. Trevor Herbert also notes the influence of circus bands in his study of the Cyfarthfa Band from Merthyr Tydfil, including a visit by Wombwell's Circus in the early 1840s ("The repertory of a Victorian provincial brass band," *Popular Music*, 9:1 (1990): 118 and note 6, 131).

<sup>32</sup> Taylor, *Brass Bands*, 28. The ophicleide is a keyed bass brass instrument which replaced the serpent ('ophicleide' means 'keyed serpent') in the early nineteenth century and was, in its turn, superseded by the bass tuba.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 129.

<sup>34</sup> St Leon, *Circus and Nation*, 325-328. Wirth's Circus was founded by four brothers, all German musicians, who initially learned circus performance skills while playing in the band for Ashton's Circus (George Wirth, *Round the World with a Circus* (Melbourne: Troedel and Cooper, 1925), 141. Hugh McMahon, a virtuoso cornet player and a prominent figure in the Australian brass band movement, toured with Wirth's Circus in the late 1920s (Jack Greaves and Chris Earl, *Legends in Brass: Australian Brass Band Achievers of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century* (Kangaroos Flat, Australia: Muso's Media, 2001), 39. Bert Houten, a bass (tuba) player with St Leon's Circus, had previously played with a brass band in St Kilda, Melbourne, and Harold Barlow, a cornet player with the same circus, apparently went on to perform in the Sydney Symphony Orchestra (Sadie St Leon, in Mark St Leon, *Australian Circus Reminiscences* (New South Wales: Jones St Ultimo, 1984), 123, (copy 11 of limited edition of 50). See also Whiteoak, *Australian Circus Music*, 63 and *Playing Adlib*, 69-82 for the links between brass bands and the circus.

<sup>35</sup> St Leon, *The Silver Road*, 56. Mervyn King founded Silver's Circus, a significant post- WWII circus in Australia.

<sup>36</sup> I am indebted to local historian, Craig Wood, for sharing the information that in 1897 a local brass band played a duet piece written by Von der Mehden, titled "The Two Horns." This might have been a handwritten piece, as little information exists on whether his music was published before 1900 (Craig Wood, email messages to author July 20 2009 and July 31 2009).

<sup>37</sup> I am also indebted to Dr Gillian Arrighi for this information (email message to author August 20 2009).

<sup>38</sup> Mick Perry, in St Leon, *Australian Circus Reminiscences*, 200. Perry's reminiscences cover the early twentieth century.

<sup>39</sup> Ed Hattam, *A History of the Woorayl Municipal Band 1892-1992* (Hues Graphics: Leongatha, 1992), 14. This was a band based in Leongatha, a small farming town in regional Victoria.

<sup>40</sup> See Mullet, *Circus Alternatives*, 181.

<sup>41</sup> Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor* (1851) (London: Frank Cass, 1967), Vol. 3, 150.

<sup>42</sup> St Leon, *The Silver Road*, 55.

<sup>43</sup> Speaight considers these practices were established by the end of the nineteenth century, *History of the Circus*, 99. The sections of the quadrille are danced to either 2/4 or 6/8 rhythms.

<sup>44</sup> Both liberty acts (in which the horses have no rider but are directed to perform synchronised routines), and haute-école acts (where a complex series of steps are engaged in by horse and rider, similar to the art of dressage) are described fully by Coxe, *A Seat at the Circus*, 91-103, 169-179.

<sup>45</sup> St Leon, "May Wirth: An Unbelievable Lady Bareback Rider," *Bandwagon*, May-June (1990): 6; Coxe, *A Seat at the Circus*, 53.

<sup>46</sup> Michel Chion, *Audio-Vision: Sound on Screen* translated by Claudia Gorbman (New York: Columbia UP, 1994), 10.

<sup>47</sup> Nicholas Cook, *Analysing Musical Multimedia* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1998), 208.

<sup>48</sup> Annabel J. Cohen, "Film Music: Perspectives from Cognitive Psychology," in *Music and Cinema*, eds. James Buhler, Carol Flinn and David Neumeyer (Hanover: Wesleyan UP, 2000), 363.

<sup>49</sup> Bouissac, *Circus and Culture*, 134.

<sup>50</sup> St Leon, *Spangles and Sawdust*, 75.

<sup>51</sup> Speaight, *History of the Circus*, 59; Coxe, *A Seat at the Circus*, 169; Moy, *Entertainments*, 192. See also Sverre O. Braathen, *Circus Bands: Their Rise and Fall* (Evanston, IL: The Instrumentalist, 1958), 8. John Durang also noted that as the first equestrian performers to appear in Canada, their dancing horses were considered "supernatural." He goes on to note that the Canadians, while "ignorant [sic] of the science" were actually right and "a horse can not keep time to music – we always [sic] adapted our music to keep time with the horses," (Downer, *Memoir of John Durang*, 69).

<sup>52</sup> Bouissac, *Circus and Culture*, 131.

<sup>53</sup> A rare and interesting insight into the musical awareness of the trainer exists in one account of the mixed reactions to the Stravinsky score, *Circus Polka for a Young Elephant*, an elephant ballet written for the Ringling Brothers' 1942 season, choreographed by Balanchine. While the band, led by Merle Evans, apparently struggled with the modernist difficulties of the score, more of a problem was that "the elephant boys could never pick out the changing rhythms of the piece so that they could "cue" the pachyderms with their hooks when it was time for the bulls to pick up their feet and "dance,"" (Ernest. J. Albrecht, *A Ringling by Any Other Name: The Story of John Ringling North and His Circus* (Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, 1989), 129). However there appear to be so many apocryphal stories surrounding the history of this particularly famous piece, including that the elephants reacted very badly to the music, that it is hard to separate fact from fiction. Culhane, for example, notes that 425 performances of the ballet took place without any reports of bad behaviour by the elephants, (*The American Circus*, 243). Although elephants presumably have the same limitations when it comes to music as horses at least one critic was fooled, noting that "...Modoc, the elephant, danced with amazing grace and in time to the tune..." (Albrecht, *A Ringling*, 129). The roots of this opinion are buried deep in history. Aelian also considered that elephants could dance to music (*On the Characteristics of Animals Vol II (11)* translated by A. F Scholfield (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1958), 102-103).

<sup>54</sup> Laura-Lee, Balkwill, William Forde Thompson, and Rie Matsunaga, "Recognition of Emotion in Japanese, Western, and Hindustani Music by Japanese Listeners," *Japanese Psychological Research*, 46.4 (2004): 337.

<sup>55</sup> As in the collection of music provided in Studwell, *Circus Songs*.

<sup>56</sup> Dr Charles Conrad, personal communication, 25 Jan 2009.

<sup>57</sup> As, for example, in a minuet and trio.

<sup>58</sup> Studwell, *Circus Songs*, xiv.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Stoddart, *Rings of Desire*, 4.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid, 95.

<sup>62</sup> Tait, *Circus Bodies*, 142. St Leon describes the band playing during Colleano's performances as introducing a trick with a drum roll but thereafter remaining silent during the attempt at the trick, though he interprets this as being for the purposes of not disturbing his concentration (*The Wizard of the Wire: The Story of Con Colleano* (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies, 1993), 131).

<sup>63</sup> John Stokes, "'Lion Grieffs': The Wild Animal Act as Theatre" *New Theatre Quarterly*, 20:2 (2004): 140.

<sup>64</sup> Bouissac, *Circus and Culture*, 95.

<sup>65</sup> These descriptions are provided by Stokes, 145-6.

<sup>66</sup> Mullett, *Circus Alternatives*, 166. Mullett is specifically discussing the use of the drum roll as "hyperbole," but her observations are also applicable to the presentation of wild animal acts.

<sup>67</sup> For a discussion of musical Orientalism, including its relation to the *hijaz* scale, see Derek B. Scott, "Orientalism and Musical Style," *The Musical Quarterly*, 82:2 (1998): 309-35.

<sup>68</sup> These titles are examples of 'oriental' pieces written in the first two decades of the twentieth century and which continued to recirculate in American circus companies at least until the 1970s. "In The Soudan" (Gabriel Sebek, 1906) was used for Trevor Bale's tigers in 1963 at Ringling Bros. And Barnum & Bailey Circus (RBBBC). "Cyrus The Great" (Karl L. King, 1921) was used by Pablo Noel in his lion act during the 1970s (RBBBC). "Vision Of Salome" (J. Bodewalt Lampe, 1908) was used for the simultaneously presented Damoo Dhotre's mixed cat act and Rudolph Mathies' tiger act in 1948 (the third act was, incongruously, polar bears) (RBBBC). "Hindustan" (Oliver Wallace/ Harold Weeks, 1918) was used for Joe Horwath's cat act in 1950 (Roger Bros. Circus), and also for Tajana's tiger act in 1976 (Hanneford Circus). Even Gebel-Williams, who generally used more contemporary music, often from film and television, would sometimes enter to music from this 'oriental' repertoire. "Star Of India" (John W. Bratton, 1908), for example, was used for his tiger act in 1970 (RBBBC) (Sounds of the Circus, "How the Music was Used," <http://www.euchronia.net/sotc/songs4.html>, accessed 12/3/2009).

<sup>69</sup> Rosemary Farrell, "Chinese Acrobatics Unmasked," *Australasian Drama Studies*, 50 (2007): 43.

<sup>70</sup> David C. S. Sissons, "Japanese Acrobatic Troupes Touring Australasia 1867-1900," *Australasian Drama Studies*, 35 (1999): 74.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid*, 84.

<sup>72</sup> *Ballarat Courier*, 14 February 1868 (cited in Sissons, *Japanese Acrobatic Troupes*, 78).

<sup>73</sup> This was before the Wirths established their own, very successful circus.

<sup>74</sup> St Leon, *Circus and Nation*, 327.

<sup>75</sup> Published by Barnhouse, 1919.

<sup>76</sup> The term is taken from Roland Barthes, *Image/Music/Text* translated by Stephen Heath (London: Fontana, 1977), 48-49.

<sup>77</sup> Scott, *Orientalism*, 323. Scott also notes that it was not until the end of the nineteenth century that the musical signifiers appeared that became characteristic of 'orientalism' (321). However, in Australia, a "Chinese Song and Dance" by Charles Schultz that was used in a pantomime by J. C. Williamson, c1879, does contain some of the decorative grace notes that become a feature of later 'oriental' music.

<sup>78</sup> There is a substantial quantity of 'exotic' songs and piano music published in England and much of this repertoire was also distributed in Australia, for example by Allen & Co. Pty Ltd of Melbourne. Allen & Co. also published a similar repertoire by Australian composers that exhibits a similar geographical spread of favoured 'exotic' locations. Examples of 'Far-Eastern-icity' include "A Japanese Love Song," by May H. Brahe (1910), "Chinese Lantern Dance" and "Japanese Dance" by Eugene Blore (c1920), "Japonette" by Frederick Hall (1929). Examples can also be found from other Australian publishers. In Sydney, W. H. Paling published "Japanese Lullaby" by Clement Scott (1914) and Alberts & Son "Japloo Baby" (1907), from an opera, *The Grey Kimono*. The sheet music published from pantomimes with exotic settings might also have encouraged the popularity of this music, for example, "Somewhere South of Shanghai" by Jack Lumsdaine was featured in J.C. Williamson's production of *Aladdin* (1925). All of these feature the typical devices of musical *chinoiserie/japonisme*. Erno Rapée's 1924 cue compendium for silent film accompanists, *Motion Picture Moods for Pianists and Organists* (North Stratford, NH: Ayer Company, 2002) also contains examples, including one entitled *Chinese-Japanese* by Otto Langey, indicating the interchangeability of these two ethnicities to the Occidental eye.

<sup>79</sup> Plowden, *Merle Evans*, 71-72. "In Old Peking" was written by Karl L. King (and published by Barnhouse) in 1923. According to Studwell et al., "Fantan," a "Chinese marche caractéristique" composed by Bert R. Anthony, "was most likely written around the turn of the century" (*Circus Songs*,

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12). In context, this is 'Western' music as in 'country and western', or, as called at the time, 'Western swing.'

<sup>80</sup> Sounds of the Circus, "How the Music was Used."

<sup>81</sup> Farrell, *Chinese Acrobatics Unmasked*, 43.