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LOUIS ANDRIESSEN AND HIS MUSIC FOR CHAMBER WINDS: AN ANALYSIS OF SELECTED WORKS FOR ORKEST DE VOLHARDING

Paul De Cinque

In the search for mainstream composers who write for wind ensembles, conductors should consider performing the music of Louis Andriessen. The orchestral and contemporary music communities recognize Andriessen, and major international orchestras perform and record his works. During the 2018-2019 concert season, the New York Philharmonic, Los Angeles Philharmonic, London Philharmonic Orchestra, BBC Symphony Orchestra, and the Royal Concertgebouw Orchestra among others performed Andriessen s music, including several premieres.

Andriessen has composed three works for large wind ensemble[1]. The first two were composed in the 1970s: *Symfonieen der Nederlanden* (1974) and *Monuments of the Netherlands* (1975). The third is from 2016, *Signs and Symbols*. His catalogue for chamber wind ensembles is more substantial, with works ranging from duets through to ensembles of approximately 20 musicians. He has written many of these chamber wind pieces for Orkest de Volharding, a group he formed in 1971.

Andriessen intended this ensemble to be a synthesis of three musical languages, classical, jazz, and contemporary. From his first work for Orkest de Volharding, the eponymous *De Volharding* (1972) through to his most recent, *RUTTMANN Opus II, III, IV* (2003), the collection of pieces demonstrate the flexibility of this quasi-big band in a range of musical genres.

This article provides a brief summary of Andriessen's life, and outlines key factors and events that led to the formation of Orkest de Volharding. Following this summary is an analysis of four of Andriessen's major compositions for the ensemble. Each analysis will provide examples of a range of Andriessen's compositional influences: minimalism, jazz, quotation, Igor Stravinsky, and Johann Sebastian Bach.

While his work *De Staat* (1972–6) is respected in musicological circles, many of his wind chamber works have had limited performances in North America and Europe. Given this, it is unsurprising that major resources in our field—the Towner/Gilbert/Osterling dissertations, the Winther *Annotated Guide* and the Honas dissertation—make little mention of Andriessen. The author hopes this article leads to further interest and increased performances of these pieces, as the repertoire is of significant artistic merit.

Andriessen's formative years and the founding of Orkest de Volharding

Louis Andriessen was born June 6, 1939 in Utrecht, Netherlands to parents Hendrik and Johanna. His father Hendrik, brother Jurriaan, and uncle Willem were composers, and his mother was a professional pianist.[2] In his childhood years, his father imparted a strong affinity for

French music and a lasting appreciation for Stravinsky on Louis. On this, Louis stated, "There was not one song by Fauré that I did not know already by the time I was twelve. I also knew the music of Chausson, Ravel, and so forth."[3] When asked to name composers he was familiar with as a child, Louis also specified Johann Sebastian Bach as important in the Andriessen household.[4]

Jurriaan's interest in jazz music was influential on Louis' musical development. According to Louis, his brother introduced him to jazz when Jurriaan returned from his study in the United States. Louis stated, "When he came back from America he brought a lot of jazz records too. Also experimental jazz, the big band of Stan Kenton, which has been very important for me too. Especially the sound of the big bands at the time. I was then twelve years old. So since then jazz has been as important certainly as classical music in general."[5]

Louis studied composition with his father and Jurriaan before his formal studies at the Royal Conservatoire in The Hague in 1956. His composition teacher was Kees van Baaren. Andriessen enjoyed his time studying with van Baaren, commenting that he and his classmates loved the teacher, while acknowledging van Baaren's limitations as a composer.[6] During Andriessen's studies, he started his long-term friendships and artistic relationships with Misha Mengelberg, Peter Schat, and Jan van Vlijmen. He referred to his group of friends as, "not the typical music students, pretty girls who play Mozart—I was totally uninterested in that."[7]

After completing his studies, Andriessen moved to Italy to undertake further study with Luciano Berio. Berio and Andriessen's relationship was friendly, going beyond the realm of the usual teacher-student exchange. Andriessen recalled the following about his time in Milan: "I really had to make him teach me because he did not have too much experience yet…. What I learned most of the time was not musical—for example, how he cooked. We spent a lot of time in the kitchen… I talked to Berio about all sorts of strange notions without realizing that he was teaching me."[8]

Andriessen returned to The Netherlands in the mid 1960s, settling in Amsterdam. Musicologists refer to his compositions from the 1960s as his modernist works. An early work for winds is *Anachronie I* (1966-1967). Influenced by Berio, Andriessen subtitled *Anachronie I* "a collage of style quotations for orchestra." Most of the quotations are from twentieth century composers—Messiaen, Penderecki, Stravinsky, Webern, Ives, Stockhausen, and more—but also include earlier figures such as Bach and Brahms. Andriessen also quotes from Hendrik and Jurriaan's compositions in *Anachronie I*.[9] *Contra Tempus* (1968–1969) is a second work from this period. Temporal notation—a technique undoubtedly learned from Berio—is important in *Contra Tempus*. Andriessen uses symmetry and the temporal ratios of 6:4:5:8:7 to determine the length of each movement in this piece.[10]

Back in Amsterdam, Andriessen struggled with the bureaucracy within the classical music community. In 1963, he wrote a series of articles in subversive newsletters about the acceptance of contemporary music.[11] Andriessen—along with colleagues Peter Schat, Reinbert

de Leeuw, Misha Mengelberg, and Jan van Vlijmen—was very vocal about the conservatism of the Dutch artistic community. Commentators refer to the composers as the "Group of Five," and they became spokespersons for "Notenkrakers," a group promoting progressive approaches to music.

The Notenkrakers are infamous for a demonstration at a 1969 concert in the Concertgebouw.[12] Immediately after Haitink began conducting the opening piece, the demonstrators blew whistles and shook rattles, threw leaflets decrying the bourgeois nature of the orchestra from the balcony, and unfurled a banner. Haitink left the podium, abandoning the concert, and security members escorted him offstage. After this, the demonstration nearly reached riot levels before the police arrived to intervene.[13]

Andriessen's strong political ideology continued developing with elements of his liberal attitude evident in his 1970 composition, *The Nine Symphonies of Beethoven*. To celebrate Beethoven's bicentenary, Andriessen and other composers, including Stockhausen, were commissioned to write works in his honor.[14] Andriessen used collage techniques and quotations in his piece to comment on the nature of classical music performances, the concertgoer, and the orchestral medium. His quotations came from an array of sources; each of Beethoven's symphonies in chronological order, *Für Elise*, *Piano Sonatas Op. 13* and *Op. 27 no.2*, Rossini's *The Barber of Seville Overture*, *L'Internationale* (a popular socialist anthem), and the Dutch National Anthem.[15] The standing ovation at the premiere horrified Andriessen, and he vowed never again to write for a traditional symphony orchestra.[16] In an interview with Schouten, Andriessen recalled his feelings of horror:

> It was a truly disgusting, commercialized, weird mess with all sorts of gags and jokes. *Für Elise*, the Moonlight Sonata—nothing was beyond my reach in that piece. When I stood there on the podium and [the conductor] Gijsbert Nieuwland shook hands with me, I thought: there is something utterly wrong with me, and if I'm not careful things are going to end up very badly. I think that was one of the moments when I was totally chastened.[17]

During this period, minimalism became an influence on Andriessen's compositional style. He met Terry Riley at Darmstadt in 1962, referring to him as "a crazy jazz musician who played very nice soprano saxophone solos."[18] After composer Frederic Rzewski introduced Andriessen to Riley's *In C* (1964) in the late 1960s, he became fascinated with American minimalism.[19]

The Vietnam War was the impetus for the formation of Orkest de Volharding. Andriessen reflected on his opposition to the Vietnam War, commenting, "Everyone, not just us, but everyone who had some brain, was against the Vietnam War."[20] In 1971, Andriessen created an ensemble to perform for the 'Musicians for Vietnam' movement.[21] Later that year, he contacted his friend Willem Breuker, suggesting they should create a group to play at protest rallies. Breuker agreed to help form the ensemble, mostly featuring jazz musicians, with the stipulation

of not including percussion.[22] Andriessen began composing music for the ensemble, a quasi-big band named de Volharding (or: Persistence, in English). His initial efforts include more than ten newly composed works and a number of arrangements, including Milhaud's *La Création du monde* (1922).[23]

De Volharding (1972) was Andriessen's first major piece for the ensemble.[24] This piece is pivotal, one of the first to demonstrate the minimalistic influences. The excerpt below, taken from Andriessen's program note for *De Volharding*, explains how his political views on democratization affects the piece's musical structure:

> With the piece 'de Volharding' I set out to break down a few musical barriers. That was also the intention of the so-called Inclusive Concerts that were organized in Amsterdam in the early 1970s. These were free concerts lasting 8 or 9 hours in which all sorts of music were performed: avant garde, medieval music, pop, jazz, electronic music, and so forth. With this formula we hoped to break through the exclusivity of the various concert genres and their audiences. While working on 'de Volharding' I was already aware that the 'democratizing' of music was not just about organizing concerts, but also about the music itself. The work 'de Volharding' thus has just as much to do with avant garde music as with folk music elements, like persistent rhythms and a freer interpretation by the performer. That comes from the fact that the work's content, as well as the way in which the piece is performed, is ultimately influenced by the players themselves.[25]

Democratization requires some definition. Andriessen uses several techniques to achieve democratization in *De Volharding*. Andriessen shifted the performance out of the concert hall and onto the street in protest rallies, and incorporated popular and jazz music idioms, making the music accessible for a wider audience. In addition, allowing performers to choose the number of iterations of each musical pattern in *De Volharding*, creates a player-centric performance, rather than an autocratic conductor-based model.

Listeners can identify similarities between *De Volharding* and *In C*, even from the opening sixteenth-note alternation between E4 and F4.[26] Similar to *In C*, each player chooses his or her own number of iterations for each pattern in *De Volharding*, creating a teleological impetus to the unison conclusion. However, there are also differences between the pieces. The pianist functions as a metronome and harmonic anchor in Riley's *In C*, whereas for *De Volharding*, the pianist plays highly virtuosic and solo material. Van Manen, a founding member of Orkest de Volharding, summarized the piece as a "struggle, but you feel a lot of solidarity with each other."[27] Whitehead's summary compares Andriessen and Riley's pieces, commenting:

> In many ways Andriessen's composition is *In C* remade: racing eighth and 16th notes, shifting patterns over a driving pulse, harmonic drift into related keys from a C major start. In one way it was a decisive departure: like so many minimal works *In C* is harmonically tame, all pretty notes. Andriessen roughed it up. The musicians made it rougher yet.[28]

The 1970s: *On Jimmy Yancey* (1973)

Andriessen composed On Jimmy Yancey for Orkest de Volharding in 1973.[29] The piece is approximately fourteen minutes long and is set in two movements. The first movement, Allegro, features several quotations from Jimmy Yancey's original compositions. The second movement, Adagio, predominantly features original material. Initially, Andriessen considered On Jimmy Yancey to be a sequel to De Volharding.[30] Information on the piece's first performance is not readily available, however Andriessen's program note indicates the premiere likely occurred during a rally in 1973. On Jimmy Yancey's scoring resembles a traditional jazz ensemble. Andriessen scored the piece for flute, three saxophones, horn, trumpet, three trombones, piano, and double bass.

On Jimmy Yancey pays homage to Yancey (1898–1951), a boogie-woogie pianist from the early twentieth century. Andriessen refers to Jimmy Yancey as "one of the pioneers of the boogie-woogie piano style in the early 1920s."[31] Yancey began piano at a young age and started touring the United States and Europe at age six. Musicologists credit Yancey with establishing boogie-woogie. Yancey strengthened his pioneering status by releasing a series of his own recordings between 1939 and 1940.[32]

Boogie-woogie music fascinated Andriessen. His first interest in this style began at the age of fourteen, after listening to a recording of Pete Johnson and Albert Ammons.[33] Andriessen tried to emulate their style with his cousin, playing four-hand piano duets together.[34] To this day, he continues to respect Yancey as a performer, praising his musicianship in this quote: "Another inventor of the genre—you could call him the Anton Webern of boogie-woogie—is Jimmy Yancey. He played around 1930 in the bars of Chicago, but the recordings only became known much later on. Yancey made approximately thirty recordings and I have them all."[35]

The frst movement of On Jimmy Yancey is in four separate sections. Andriessen creates a coherent structure through linking several melodies from Jimmy Yancey pieces, rather than using returning melodic material. Table 1 outlines these four sections. The second movement is monothematic, similar to form of Ravel's Bolero. Table 2 summarizes the second movement form.

De Cinque

Table 1: Formal outline of the first movement of *On Jimmy Yancey*

Section	**mm.**	**Yancey Melodic material**
A	1 45	Rolling the Stone
B	46 78	Yancey s Bugle Call
C	79 99	Two O Clock Blues or I Love to Hear my Baby Call my Name
D	100 38	Original material
Coda	139 44	Jimmy Yancey closing tag

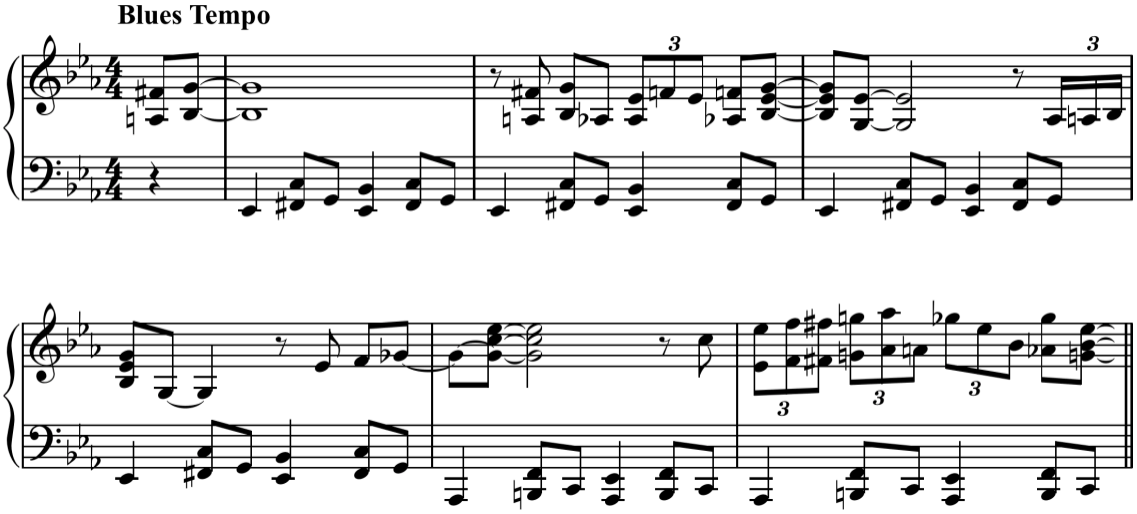
Table 2: Formal outline of the second movement of *On Jimmy Yancey*

Section	**Measures**	**Thematic Organization**
Introduction	1 9	
A	10 51	Theme 1a: 10 25 Theme 1b: 26 34 Theme 1a transposed: 35 42 Codetta: 43 51
A′	52 93	Theme 1a: 52 67 Theme 1b: 68 76 Theme 1a transposed: 77 84 Codetta: 85 93
Coda	94 113	Theme 1a transposed: 94 101 Descending scale: 102 109 Jimmy Yancey closing tag: 110 13

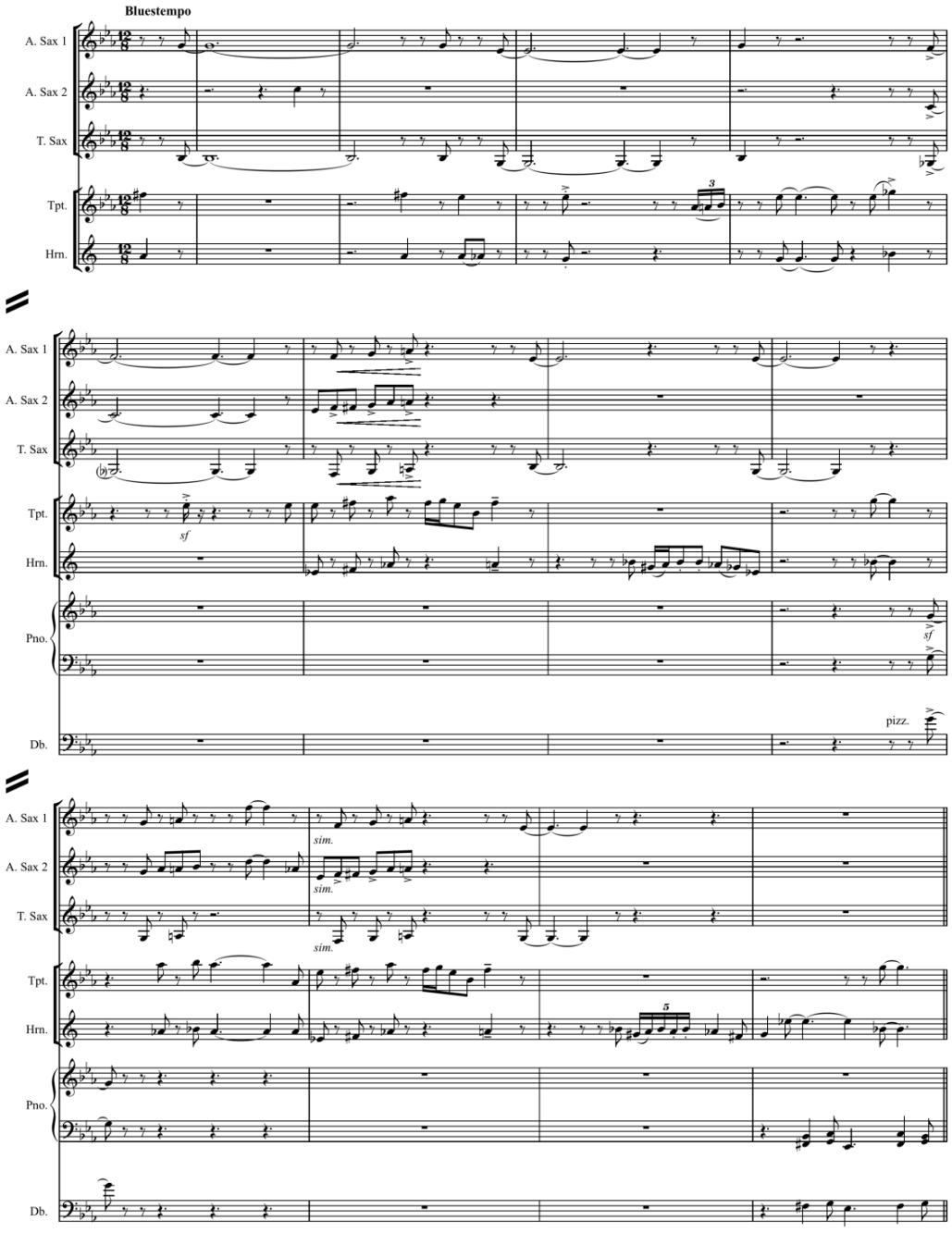
Similar to Stravinsky, Andriessen quickly shifts between musical ideas in the A section of the first movement of *On Jimmy Yancey*. This technique, referred to as discontinuity, was a favorite of Stravinsky. In the opening measures of *On Jimmy Yancey*, it is difficult to aurally identify a consistent meter or melody. The first eleven measures present fragmentary motives before a stable boogie-woogie bass line begins. These fragments come from the Yancey tune *Rolling the Stone*.

Examples 1 and 2 compare the opening sections of *Rolling the Stone* and *On Jimmy Yancey*. Even though the opening measures of *On Jimmy Yancey* follows the structure of Rolling the Stone, Andriessen interrupts the flow of the opening through the lack of a bass line, time extended chords, and discontinuity of line and orchestration. The A section continues, alternating between discontinuity and structured quotation. Boogie-woogie bass lines appear sporadically and sections without a bass line create further aural disorientation. The section finishes with three interruption chords in the brass, highlighting the discontinuity.

Example 1 Jimmy Yancey, *Rolling the Stone,* mm. 1–6.



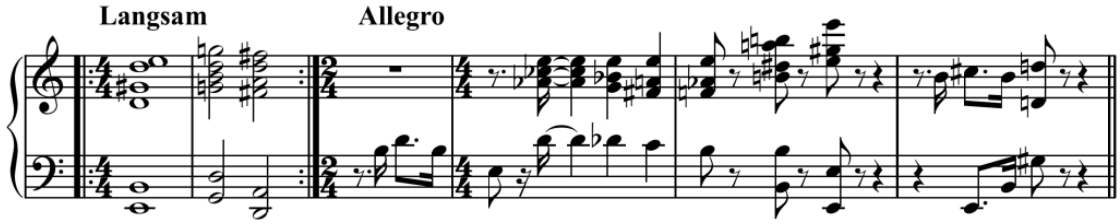
Example 2 Louis Andriessen, On Jimmy Yancey, I, mm. 1–12.



Sections B, C, and D of the first movement feature a more consistent flow. The B section begins with a quotation from *Yancey's Bugle Call.* While Andriessen slightly alters the melody, he remains mostly true to the source material. Rather than the melody shifting between different instruments, as was the case in the A section, the B section melody remains in the alto saxophone part. The C section is immediately slower and does not quote a specific Yancey melody. While harmonic and rhythmic elements of *Two O'Clock Blues* and *I Love to Hear my Baby Call my Name* are present, Andriessen quotes neither melody.

The first movement coda is quite curious. Given the simplistic nature of most boogie-woogie harmonic progressions, Example 3 demonstrates an interesting harmonic deviation in this Coda passage. Secondly, Andriessen interrupts the flow of the section, abruptly presenting tag material taken directly from Yancey's recordings. This tag avoids harmonic resolution, suggesting an E dominant seventh through the tritone G♯ - D.

Example 3 Louis Andriessen, *On Jimmy Yancey*, I, mm. 139–44.



The second movement is more simplistic in its form. Using the single theme to build tension, Andriessen again ends the movement with the same tag material. While the tag in the first movement is somewhat jarring, its reappearance in the slow and somber second movement is completely out of context. The tag provides unity between the two movements and pays homage to Yancey, while also providing a quirky and whimsical end to the work.

In his program notes for the piece, Andriessen made the following comment about the tag: "Both movements end with a typical boogie-woogie lick, with which Yancey unexpectedly ends all his recordings. He probably did this at a sign from the producer when the three minutes which a 78 side could hold were up, because boogie-woogie pianists habitually played for hours on end in the bars to entertain the white bourgeoisie."[36] Given this comment about Yancey using this tag unexpectedly, Andriessen's use of the material can serve three simultaneous functions: as a quotation, as discontinuity, and as an homage to Yancey and the boogie-woogie style.

Featuring clear tonality and numerous jazz influences, audiences generally responded positively to performances of *On Jimmy Yancey*. In his 2002 review, Hewitt referred to the piece

as "intriguing," commenting that it "deconstructs the melodic and harmonic basis of blues."[37] Hempel, one of the principal conductors of Orkest de Volharding, recalled positive responses to *On Jimmy Yancey* during performances in 2003. [38]

The 1980s: *De Stijl* (1984–1085)

De Stijl is the third part of *De Materie* (The Matter), one of Andriessen's major works of the 1980s. Andriessen composed the tetralogy between 1984 and 1988. *De Stijl* is a one-movement work of approximately twenty-six minutes, and the entire cycle lasts approximately 108 minutes.[39] Andriessen originally thought of *De Stijl* as a concert work, however, he conceived of the *De Materie* cycle as an opera. *De Stijl* is one of Andriessen's most performed works, with several professional recordings available.[40]

Andriessen orchestrated each movement of *De Materie* for a different ensemble. Andriessen did not specifically compose *De Stijl* for Orkest de Volharding. He wrote *De Stijl* for Kaalslag (Demolition), an ad-hoc ensemble created from combining Orkest de Volharding and Hoketus.[41] Table 3 is a comparison of Kaalslag, Orkest de Volharding, and Hoketus's instrumentations.

Table 3. Comparison of the instrumentations of Orkest de Volharding, Hoketus, and Kaalslag (*De Stijl)*.

Orkest de Volharding	**Hoketus**	**Kaalslag *(De Stijl)***
Flute	2 Pan ṭutes	3 Flutes
3 Saxophones	2 Saxophones (ad lib.)	5 Saxophones (2 Altos, 2 Tenors, Baritone)
Horn		
3 Trumpets		4 Trumpets
3 Trombones		4 Trombones
Pianoforte	2 Pianofortes	2 Pianofortes, Synthesizer, Upright Piano
	2 Percussionists	2 Percussionists
		2 Electric Guitars
Double Bass	2 Bass Guitars	Bass Guitar
		4 Women s Voices
		Female Speaker

Arts and mathematics feature as extra-musical influences in *De Stijl*. Andriessen combined his interest in Piet Mondrian's visual arts, Mathieu Schoenmaekers's mathematical principles, and his own love of boogie-woogie in *De Stijl*. Several discussions with Andriessen regarding *De Stijl* are in print, focusing on these influences.[42] The influence of boogie-woogie in both *On Jimmy Yancey* and *De Stijl* provide a link between these two works.

"De Stijl," or "The Style," refers to an early twentieth century Dutch visual arts movement. Piet Mondrian, one of the main exponents of the style, described the primary traits of the movement in his 1917–1918 essay as "finding its expression in the abstraction of form and colour, that is to say, in the straight line and the clearly defined primary colour."[43] Mondrian's painting, *Composition with Red, Yellow, and Blue* from 1927 uses five colors: white, black, red, yellow, and blue. As seen in Figure 1, the painting consists of eight rectangles of different sizes separated by black lines. Andriessen used this painting to create a formal structure for *De Stijl*.

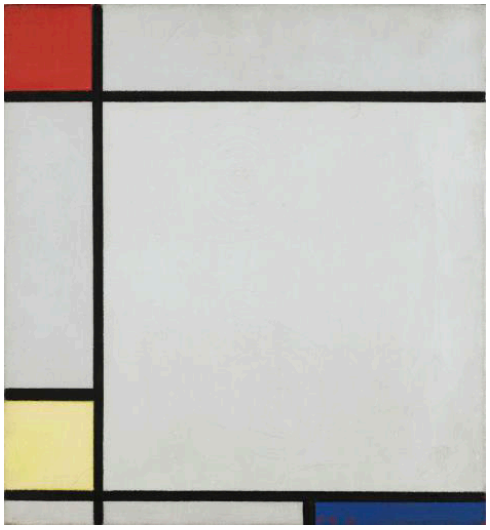


Figure 1 Piet Mondrian, *Composition with Red, Yellow, and Blue* (1927).

Mondrian also loved boogie-woogie, seen through his 1942 painting *Broadway Boogie-Woogie*. In discussion with Trochimczyk, Andriessen talked about Mondrian and how he inspired *De Stijl*:

> I was looking for examples of people, writings, and art, which would illustrate the various aspects of the "spirit-matter" relationships. In the case of Mondrian, I found it fascinating that he would paint these extremely rigid and abstract images, be so extremely austere in his aesthetic views, and simultaneously love dancing! This contrast—of frivolous dancing and serious painting—was one of the things that attracted me to Mondrian.[44]

Andriessen used the mathematical proportions *Composition in Red, Black, and Blue* to plan the duration of *De Stijl.* Andriessen stated, "I measured the circumference of the painting—2400

millimeters—and decided to use the same number of quarter-notes in my piece."[45] Furthermore, he determined the durations of each segment of the work through the proportions of each color within the painting. Originally published in Trochimczyk's text, Table 4 enumerates the painting proportions and musical durations.

Table 4. Andriessen's calculation of the durations in *De Stijl*[46].

Number	**Color**	**Area in cm²**	**Duration in min./sec.**
1	Red		
2	Light grey 1	400	4 22
3	Light grey 2	210	2 17
4	Light grey 3	1240	13 30
5	Yellow	80	0 48
6	Blue-gray 1	30	0 20
7	Blue-gray 2	110	1 13
8	Blue	20	13

Mondrian's writings led Andriessen to Mathieu Schoenmaekers. Schoenmaekers (1875–1944) was a mathematician and theosophist known for his writings on philosophy and religion. His 1915 writings on the importance of horizontal and vertical lines and primary colors became important to the De Stijl artistic movement.[47] Andriessen used Schoenmaekers's discussion of "the perfect line" from his text *Principles of Visual Mathematics* as the libretto for *De Stijl*. The libretto features Schoenmaekers's description that a straight line is perfect of the first order and pairing a straight line with another line at its right angle creates a cross relationship and a figure that is essentially "open." While the concepts themselves are unimportant—indeed even Andriessen seems to have little care for them—the convoluted discussion creates an interesting libretto.[48]

Included in Everett's monograph, Figure 2 shows Andriessen's formal sketch for *De Stijl*. Table 5 synthesizes Andriessen's sketch and other details into a formal outline. Given there are published analyses of *De Stijl*, readers may find further information on the form of *De Stijl* in Andriessen and Everett's books.[49]

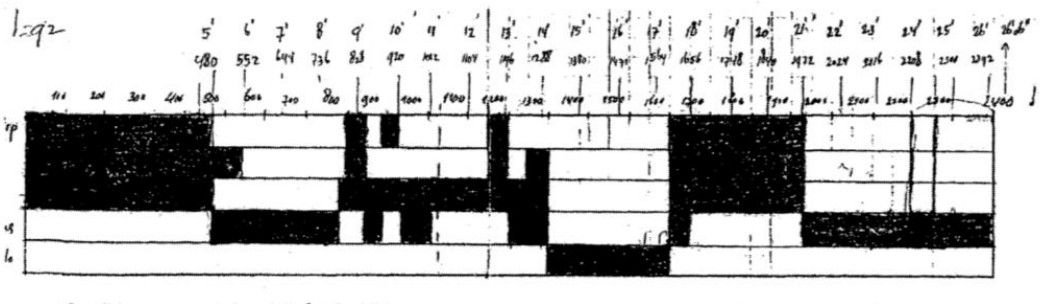


Figure 2 Andriessen's sketches for the formal plan of *De Stijl*[50].

Table 5 Formal outline of *De Stijl*.

Section	**Rehearsal Figures**	**Dominant Idea(s)**
1	Opening 20	Funk Bass, Canonic Presentation of Funk Theme, Vocal Chorale
2	20 24	B-A-C-H Chorale, Canonic Presentation of Chorale, Percussion Rhythmic Canon
3	24 40	Funk Bass, Rhythmic Canon, Vocal Chorale
4	40 44	Boogie-Woogie Piano, Recitation of Mondrian story
5	44 56	Apotheosis Chords, Shout Chorus, Reprise of Vocal Chorale, Funk Bass
6	56 End	B-A-C-H Chorale

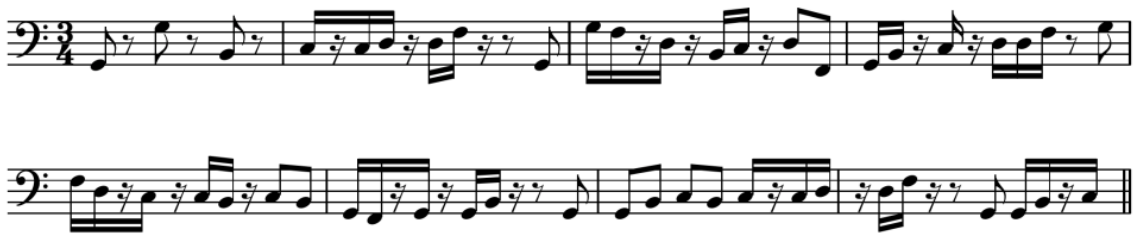
Bach's influence has always been present in *De Stijl*. Firstly, Andriessen used a passacaglia as a formal construct. While one might argue this is simply a general baroque inspiration, Andriessen has named Bach as an inspiration for the work, commenting, "The true spirit of the piece is, of course, Bach."[51] Furthermore, he referenced Bach when discussing the static harmonic nature of boogie-woogie bass lines in *De Stijl*:

> The form is a-a-a-a; the best word for it is variation form. The right hand plays variations over this simple sequence, whilst the bass (the left hand), always remains the same. A form like this has existed in classical music for a long time and is called the passacaglia, a mysterious Italian word. From approximately 1600 onwards, this form was widely used

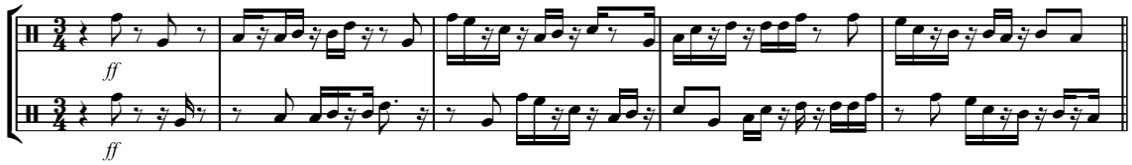
> and there are famous examples of it… Bach wrote one for organ, with a theme which has become famous.[52]

Bach's influence extends to the canonic section in the middle part of *De Stijl*. Andriessen orchestrates this canon, shown in Example 5, for non-pitched percussion, but borrows from the opening passacaglia referred to above as the funk bass. The canon is almost proportional, although the proportional relationship ceases when the second voice reaches a full one quarter note delay in m. 206. Example 4 shows the opening funk bass, provided for readers to compare the pitched and non-pitched versions.

Example 4 Louis Andriessen, *De Stijl*, mm. 4–11.



Example 5 Louis Andriessen, *De Stijl*, mm. 204–208.



Like many composers before him, Andriessen used the chromatically adjacent pitches B-flat, A, C, B natural melodically to pay homage to Bach. Andriessen takes this motif further, harmonizing the pitch sequence in mm. 272–275. This setting of B-A-C-H becomes the basis for the final section of *De Stijl*.

Discontinuity appears in different manners in Andriessen's compositions. In *On Jimmy Yancey*, Andriessen presents disjunct melodic fragments in the opening section. In *De Stijl,* he juxtaposes two unrelated libretti. The first libretto, discussed previously, is the transcription of Schoenmaekers's writings regarding the perfect line. The female vocal quartet sings this libretto. The second libretto appears in the middle section of the work, intoned by the female narrator. This libretto describes the last meeting of Jakob van Domselaer's widow and Mondrian. There is no relationship between these libretti. The narrator's final words, "I saw him slowly walking to the exit, his head slightly to one side, lost in himself, solitary and alone. That was our last meeting," are rudely interrupted by the chorus returning mid sentence to discuss the properties

of the perfect line. This is not the only time Andriessen uses textual discontinuity in his compositions; Whittall outlines a similar technique used in the final movement of *De Materie*:

> *De Materie* ends with the recitation of a text suggested by Robert Wilson, a monologue in which the scientist Marie Curie speaks to her dead husband, and also refers to the speech she made on receiving the Nobel Prize for chemistry in 1911. So, intensely personal comments—'Your coffin is closed and I will never see you again. I forbid them to cover it with the terrible black drapes. I cover it with flowers and sit near it'—are followed by 'the importance of radium from the point of view of theories in general has been decisive.'[53]

Given the positive critical reception *De Stijl* received in the press, the popularity of the work is unsurprising. The *Los Angeles Times* refers to it as "an Andriessen hit," and Canada's *Globe and Mail* refers to it as "a snarling, clotted, brilliant piece of work."[54] Tom Service, writing a feature article about Andriessen in *The Guardian*, tells readers that *De Materie* is "the one piece of Andriessen's I want the world to hear," and that he was "blown away" by the energy on his first hearing of *De Stijl*.[55] While the resources required to perform *De Stijl* are extensive, it is well within the reach of larger university programs and a worthy addition to our repertoire.

The 1990s: *M is for Man, Music, Mozart* (1991) and *Passeggiata in Tram in America e Ritorno* (1998)

While these two works are dissimilar, they feature unmistakable elements of Andriessen's compositional style. Andriessen wrote *M is for Man, Music, Mozart (M is for Man)* to accompany a 1991 film by Peter Greenaway, celebrating Mozart's bicentenary. Ensembles may perform this thirty-minute work with or without the Greenaway film. Andriessen scored *M is for Man* for the full Orkest de Volharding and a female jazz vocalist. *Passeggiata in Tram in America e Ritorno (Passeggiata)* is a short ten-minute work set to poetry by Dino Campana from his "Canti Orfici." Translating as "A Trolley Ride to America and Back," Andriessen scored *Passeggiata* for violin soloist, female vocalist, and Orkest de Volharding senza saxophones.

M is for Man is lighter in style than *De Stijl*, however, Andriessen advocates for the work, commenting, "I regard *M is for Man, Music, Mozart* as my 'vulgar' side (sometimes we have to occupy ourselves with such things)."[56] Mozart, the subject of Greenaway's film, is one of the inspirations for *M is for Man*. Andriessen quotes from two Mozart piano sonatas in the second movement, Sonata No. 8 in A-minor and Sonata No. 16 in C Major. In addition to these quotations, the lighthearted spirit of Mozart imbues most of the work.

M is for Man consists of alternating vocal and instrumental movements. Andriessen names three of the four vocal movements after important European figures. The three figures include Sergei Eisenstein, an early twentieth century Russian film director, Bruno Schultz, a Polish avant-garde writer, and Andreas Vesalius, a sixteenth century Belgian anatomist and physicist. In previous pieces, Andriessen had shared how the subjects inspired his music.

However, in *M is for Man*, the narrative is less noteworthy. When the author asked Andriessen why he selected the three figures, he stated that Greenaway selected them.[57]

Two of the four vocal movements have simple formal structures. "The Vesalius Song" is in ABAB form and "The Eisenstein Song" is in AA′ form. "The Alphabet Song" is through composed, quickly moving through a series of tonal clichés in a variety of tonal centers. These tonal centers do not follow traditional harmonic motions; the phrases cadence in D Major, C♯ Major, A Minor, B-flat Major, and C Major. The last of the vocal movements, "The Vesalius Song," features several unifying elements. These include the flute solo, functioning as a call throughout the movement, and a recurring bass line motif that ascends from dominant to tonic via different jazz inflections. In "The Vesalius Song," Andriessen continues with his penchant for shifting tonal centers, moving from D Major to the unlikely destination of A-flat Major at rehearsal figure 4.

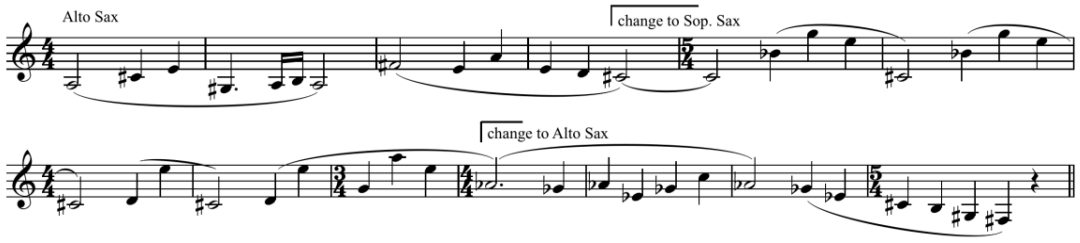
Before considering the instrumental movements, the author would like to discuss the tempo of the final movement, "The Eisenstein Song." Readers listening to the excellent recording by Jurjen Hempel—listed in the resources section—will note a performance speed of approximately sixty quarter notes per minute, far slower than Andriessen's stated sixty-six half notes per minute. Hempel made the following remark about this discrepancy: "The tempo on Eisenstein Song was the result of my humble conviction that the prescribed tempo was too fast and that a slower pulse would enhance the dramatic and procession-like quality of the song. I took it upon myself to present it in the slow tempo to Louis Andriessen. He was, after listening, also very happy with the slower tempo."[58]

Andriessen's formal structures in the instrumental movements of *M is for Man* are more complex. Table 6 outlines the form of "Instrumental I." This is the only movement to use direct quotations. Example 6 demonstrates Andriessen's transitioning seamlessly from the Mozart C-Major Sonata quotation into original material.

Table 6. Formal outline of "Instrumental I" from *M is for Man, Music, Mozart*.

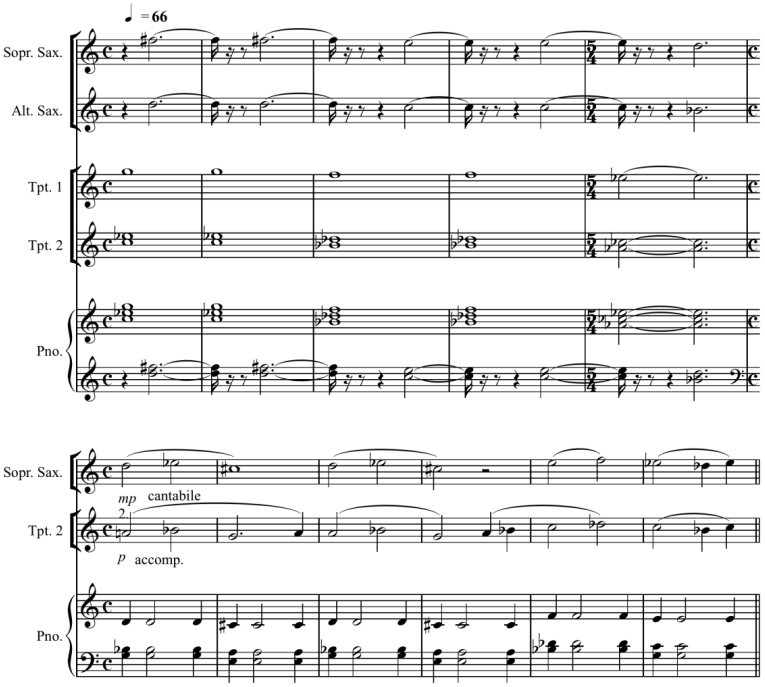
Section	**mm.**	**Melodic material**
Introduction	Opening Fig. 1	Chromatic expanding eighth notes
A	Fig. 1 2	Mozart Piano Sonata No. 8 quote
Interlude	Fig. 2 4	Interlude
B	Fig. 4 10	Mozart Piano Sonata No. 15 quote and extension material
Introduction	Fig. 10 11	Chromatic expanding eighth notes
Interlude′	Fig. 11 13	Interlude
B′	Fig. 13 End	Extension material only

Example 6 Louis Andriessen, *M is for Man, Music, Mozart*, II "Instrumental I," mm. 45–57.



"Instrumental II" is the apotheosis of the work, providing a sombre response to "The Vesalius Song." The movement is not in a strict form, instead presenting as a slow unfolding of the harmonic and melodic material. Andriessen's use of polychords in "Instrumental II" warrants discussion. Example 7 shows the polychord that begins the movement, a C Major triad against a D Major dyad. Andriessen continues this dyad-triad polychord, descending using parallel harmony. In the sixth measure of example 7, the second important harmonic progression in this movement appears. This progression alternates between a minor chord and a second inversion major chord with a root one whole-tone higher (e.g. In measure 6 and 7, this pattern begins with G Minor followed by an A Major 6/4 chord). This minor-major pattern continues throughout the movement, transposed to various pitches, and then reappears in the final movement of the work.

Example 7 Louis Andriessen, *M is for Man, Music, Mozart*, IV "Instrumental II," mm. 1–11.



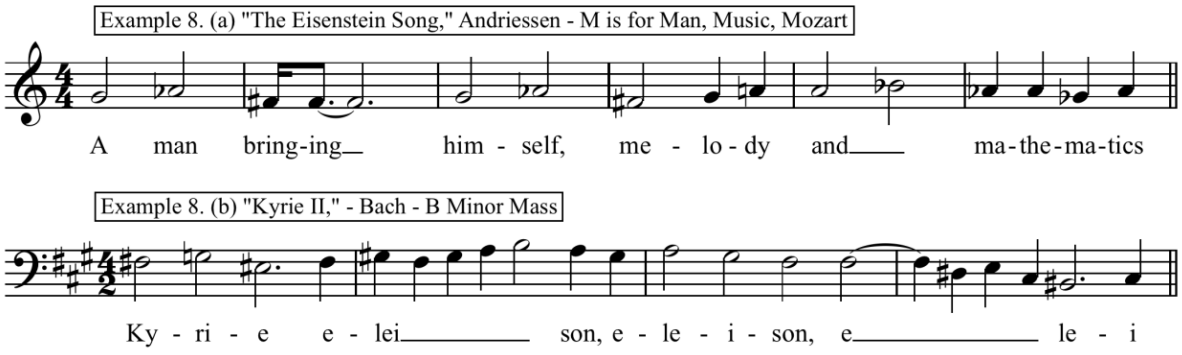
Finally, "Instrumental III" is in ternary form. Andriessen's reliance on chromaticism in *M is for Man* continues in this movement, reflected in both the bass line and the A section melody. The B section melody recalls the mood and melody from the second movement of *On Jimmy Yancey*. "Instrumental III" also includes several tonal and formal references to big band music. Of note is the biting dissonance at the beginning and end of the movement, where Andriessen alternates between full ensemble major and minor seconds, performed at fortissimo.

Table 7. Formal outline of "Instrumental III" from *M is for Man, Music, Mozart*.

Section	**mm.**	**Melodic material**
A	Opening Fig. 5	Slow chromatic rising melody
B1	Fig. 5 6	Slow melody over eighth notes
B2	Fig. 6 8	Interlude
B1′	Fig. 8 9	Return of the slow melody over eighth notes
B2′	Fig. 9 14	Interlude
B1′	Fig. 14 15	Final statement of slow melody
A′	Fig. 15 End	Augmented version of chromatic rising melody

Andriessen uses minimalist techniques more sparingly in his recent works. The characteristic repeated sections and slow moving harmonic patterns from *On Jimmy Yancey* do not appear in *M is for Man*. However, one noteworthy example of minimalism occurs in "The Eisenstein Song." The movement features a flute ostinato, often lacking harmonic direction, which seems to freeze time in this closing movement. While this is not strictly minimalism, the concept of minimalism pervades this final movement.[59]

As a brief reference to Bach, conversations with Jurjen Hempel pointed to a quasi-quotation in *M is for Man*. Hempel notes the similarity between the fugal subject in the second Kyrie of Bach's *B-minor Mass* and "The Eisenstein Song" vocal melody.[60] While not a direct quotation, the similarity is unlikely to be coincidental, especially given Andriessen's love for Bach. Example 8 provides a comparison of these two melodies.



Example 8. (a) Louis Andriessen, *M is for Man, Music, Mozart*, VII "The Eisenstein Song," mm. 23–28, and (b) Johann Sebastian Bach, *Mass in B-Minor*, "Kyrie II," mm. 1–4.

For those interested in performing *M is for Man*, a brief discussion regarding the film is required. The film includes clips of Astrid Seriese, the original vocalist, singing the libretto. This means ensembles must synchronize their performances exactly to the tempo of the original film. Michael Haithcock performed the work at the University of Michigan and noted the difficulty of working with the click track while conducting the live ensemble.[61] Hempel, who worked with Orkest de Volharding many times, suggested that allowing performing musicians to use the click track would help immensely.

In addition to the synchronizing issues, the film includes nudity and other adult themes. This may affect the response of more conservative audience members. Carstensen's review provided an argument for performing the piece without the film, commented that he enjoyed the music as absolute, and that "maybe it would have been better to ditch the film altogether and just play the music. Andriessen's music can and often does stand on its own."[62] However, if ensembles can resolve these challenges, the symbiosis of music and visual imagery is a worthwhile outcome, and an archetype for future works in our genre.

Andriessen did not create *Passeggiata* as a work with a film, even though a film has since been created to accompany the piece. He wrote *Passeggiata* for singer Cristina Zavalloni and violinist Monica Germino. Andriessen first met Zavalloni in the early 1990s; he has since composed several pieces for her, including the song cycle *La Passione* in 2002. He made the following comment about Zavalloni in the late 1990s: "Then showed up an amazing sort of performer, I would call her, which was Cristina Zavalloni and she moved in a way that had a theatrical presence, which was amazing. So immediately after that I went to her and said 'Christina, I'm a composer and I want to write for you.'"[63]

De Cinque

There is an interesting symbiosis between *Passeggiata* and the toccata movement from Andriessen's collection of solo piano pieces, *Image de Moreau* (1999). The *Image de Moreau* toccata originally developed from an early harpsichord piece by Andriessen, titled *Dirk Sweelinck missed the Prince*.[64] Andriessen reimagines the *Image de Moreau* toccata as the introduction to *Passeggiata*, adding wind instruments to provide harmonic support to the solo piano line. Minimalism features strongly in this introduction, given the slowly unfolding harmonic profile in the piano material. However, Andriessen's writing also resembles baroque figuration, synthesizing his love of minimalism and Bach.

Andriessen uses a non-traditional formal structure in *Passeggiata*. The piece is in three sections, and while several motives return, he does not return to them with any regularity. Table 8 summarizes the formal structure of *Passeggiata*. The "chords" section at measure 82 features a chromatic bell tone cluster. This cluster develops into a motif, a descending (0156) tetrachord built upon G5. This tetrachord is also the opening harmony in *De Staat,* and is likely an extension of the Viennese trichord.[65] Andriessen expands the tetrachord, firstly into a descending fifth, and then a full octave, using a mixed half step/whole step scale with F as a symmetrical axis. Andriessen uses this scale as the basis for the melody in Section 2. Examples 9 and 10 demonstrate the development of the initial tetrachord to the associated melody.

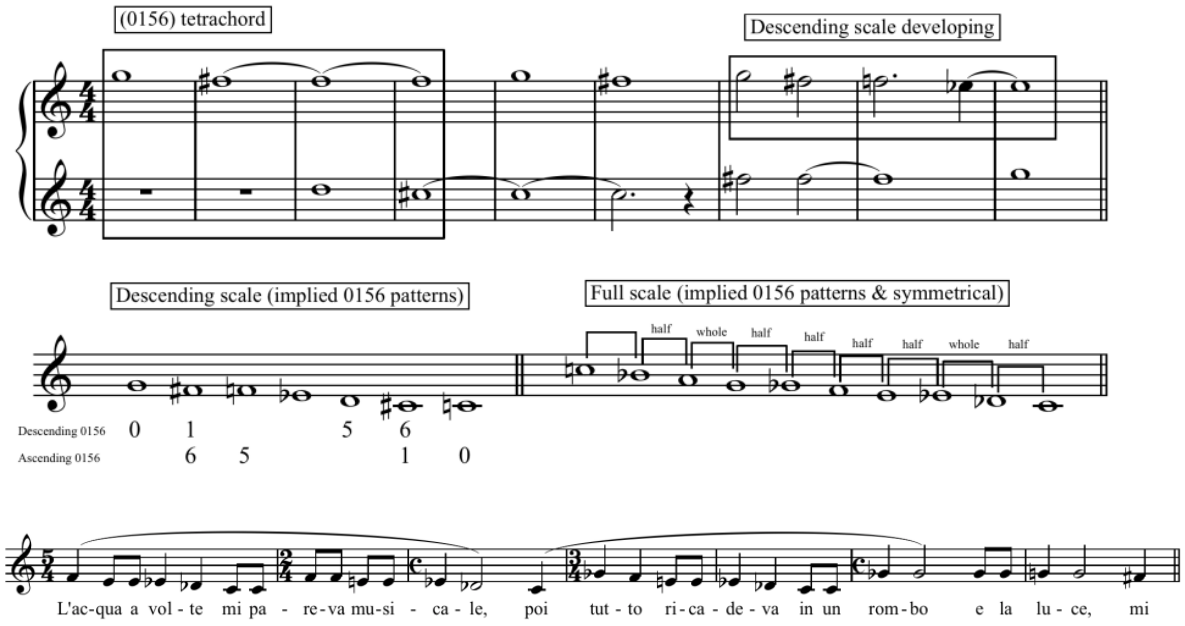


Table 8 Formal outline of *Passeggiata in Tram in America e Ritorno*.

Section	Sub-section	Measure	Section	Sub-section	Measure
Introduction	a	mm. 1–35	Section 2	a	mm. 169 (fig. 11) – 188
	b	mm. 36 (fig.1) – 81			
Chords		mm. 82–116		b	mm. 189 (fig. 13) – 195
Section 1	a	mm. 117 (fig. 4) – 126	Section 1′	a	mm. 196 (fig. 14) – 216
	b	mm. 127 (fig. 5) – 132		b	mm. 217 (fig. 17) – 241
	c	mm. 133–149 (fig. 8)	Coda		mm. 242 (fig. 20) – End
	d	mm. 150–159			
Chords′		mm. 160 (fig. 10) – 168			

There are clear Stravinskian influences in *Passeggiata*. The constantly shifting meter in the introduction, and the use of folk-like material are reminiscent of his works. Interestingly, the violin obbligato line during Section 1 is both an influence of Stravinsky and Bach. Considering the sweeping melodic lines of *Passeggiata* sound romantic, Andriessen tempers this with a pulsating sixteenth note violin accompaniment. As a result, the listener finds it difficult to sentimentalize *Passeggiata*; instead, they are drawn to the nervous energy Andriessen generates. Listeners can link this love of classicism and anti-romantic gestures to Stravinsky's musical tastes.

There have been few performances of *Passeggiata*. Given the limited instrumental forces required, the relative ease of the parts, and the opportunity to provide solo exposure to vocal and violin faculty members, *Passeggiata* is accessible to many university wind programs. Eichler's glowing review in *The Boston Globe* summarizes the work well, commenting that *Passeggiata* is one of two "knockout settings of Dino Campana's darkly surrealist poetry."[66]

De Cinque

Conclusion

These four works demonstrate a consistency of Andriessen's compositional techniques and artistic inspirations over a thirty-year time span. There is a sense of continuity in Andriessen's approach to form, reverence of Bach and Stravinsky, a love for classicism and jazz, and the rejection of overt romanticism and operatic singing. Since performances of some of these works are rare, a renewed effort is required to bring them to the attention of the contemporary music community. The accessibility and high artistic quality of Andriessen's are rewarding for listeners and musicians alike; therefore, the author believes wind ensemble directors should consider programming Andriessen's works.

ENDNOTES

1. The author defines large wind ensemble as a fully instrumented ensemble (whether one per part or multiple players per part). For example, works such as the Hindemith's *Symphony for Band* and Schwantner's *Luminosity: Concerto for Wind Orchestra* would qualify as works for wind ensemble. Several online sources list a number of Andriessen's works as written for wind ensemble, even though they are smaller chamber works for up to fifteen players.

2. Yayoi Uno Everett, *The Music of Louis Andriessen* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 30.

3. Louis Andriessen, *The Music of Louis Andriessen*, ed. Maja Trochimczyk (New York: Routledge, 2002), 9.

4. Ibid., 10.

5. Louis Andriessen, "Andriessen on Andriessen" (video documentary), directed by Tommy Pearson, accessed February 7, 2016, http://www.boosey.com/podcast/Andriessen-on-Andriessen/12868/

6. Trochimczyk, *The Music of Louis Andriessen*, 12. This passage includes Andriessen's comment about van Baaren: "His own music was also quite interesting, though a little bit stiff."

7. Trochimczyk, *The Music of Louis Andriessen*, 15.

8. Ibid., 16.

9. Everett, *The Music of Louis Andriessen*, 47.

10. Ibid., 50–51.

11. Andriessen wrote several articles for De Volksrant in 1963.

12. This was not their first foray into disrupting the establishment. According to Trochimczyk, the group protested against the artistic direction of the Concertgebouw Orchestra in 1966 (*The Music of Louis Andriessen*, 35).

13. Robert Adlington, *Louis Andriessen, De Staat* (Aldershot, Hants, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), 16–17.

14. Stephen Loy, "Music, Activism and Tradition: Louis Andriessen's *Nine Symphonies of Beethoven*," *Context: A Journal of Music Research* 34 (2009): 17.

15. Ibid., 34

16. Everett, *The Music of Louis Andriessen*, 66.

17. Martin Schouten, "Louis Andriessen en zijn rode kapel," *Haagse Post*, 27 July, 1974, 27–28.

18. Ibid., 5.

19. Whitehead, "De Volharding at 25," 5.

20. Louis Andriessen, *The Art of Stealing Time*, ed. Mirjam Zegers, trans. Clare Yates (Todmorden, Lancs, England: Arc Music, 2002), 37.

21. Gijs Tra, "De Volharding, 'An Offbeat Jazz Group or a Crazy Band of Wind Players'," *Key Notes: Musical Life in the Netherlands* 7 (June 1978): 10.

22. Kevin Whitehead, "De Volharding at 25; 'Once You Start, You Keep Playing Till the End'," *Key Notes: Musical Life in the Netherlands* 31, no. 3 (September 1997): 6.

23. Everett, *The Music of Louis Andriessen*, 67.

24. Orkest de Volharding first performed De Volharding on 30 April 1972 at the Young People for Vietnam demonstration in Amsterdam Woods. De Volharding is scored for piano (acoustic amplified or electric), three saxophones, three trumpets, and three trombones. Commissioned by Stichting Cultuurfonds Buma, Andriessen dedicated the piece to the performers at the first performance.

25. Boosey & Hawkes. "Louis Andriessen – De Volharding." Accessed February 7, 2016. http://www.boosey.com/cr/music/Louis-Andriessen-De-Volharding/1358.

26. For all pitch references in this document, middle C is C4.

27. Whitehead, "De Volharding at 25," 7.

28. Ibid., 6.

29. Interested parties can obtain On Jimmy Yancey from the rental library of Boosey & Hawkes.

30. Zegers, *The Art of Stealing Time*, 135.

31. Boosey & Hawkes. "Louis Andriessen – On Jimmy Yancey." Accessed January 17, 2016. http://www.boosey.com/cr/music/Louis-Andriessen-On-Jimmy-Yancey/2893.

32. J. Bradford Robinson. "Yancey, Jimmy." Grove Music Online, accessed October 9, 2015, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/30674.

33. Musicologists refer to Pete Johnson (March 25, 1904 – March 23, 1967) and Albert Ammons (September 23, 1907 – December 2, 1949), along with Meade Lux Lewis, as the 'Boogie-Woogie Trio.' They were some of the earliest popular boogie-woogie performers in the United States.

34. Zegers, *The Art of Stealing Time*, 218.

35. Ibid., 218.

36. Boosey & Hawkes. "Louis Andriessen – On Jimmy Yancey." Accessed January 17, 2016. http://www.boosey.com/cr/music/Louis-Andriessen-On-Jimmy-Yancey/2893.

37. Ivan Hewett. 2002. "All-consuming, chest-beating minimalism." The Telegraph, October 8. Accessed January 16, 2016. http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/music/classicalmusic/ 3583849/ All-consuming-chest-beating-minimalism.html.

38. Jurjen Hempel, e-mail message to author, January 13, 2016.

39. Interested parties can obtain De Stijl and the entire De Materie cycle from the rental library of Boosey & Hawkes.

40. A list of performances for De Stijl as an independent concert work and as part of the De Materie cycle from 2000–2015 is available through the performance record on the Boosey and Hawkes website.

41. Andriessen formed Hoketus with his students at the Royal Conservatory in The Hague in 1977. The group, comprising mostly popular music students, explored and performed American minimalist pieces. Further information on Hoketus appears in Everett's book.

42. Refer to Zegers, *The Art of Stealing Time*, and Trochimczyk, *The Music of Louis Andriessen* for further information on Andriessen's discussion of the work.

43. Piet Mondrian, "Natural Reality and Abstract Reality, 1919," in *Manifesto: A Century of isms*, ed. Mary Ann Caws (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001), 230.

44. Trochimczyk, *The Music of Louis Andriessen*, 70.

45. Ibid., 70.

46. Trochimczyk, *The Music of Louis Andriessen*, 283, includes copies of Andriessen's diagrams and allocation of different sound sources for each section of the piece.

47. Glaves-Smith, John, and Ian Chilvers. "Neo-Plasticism." In A Dictionary of Modern and Contemporary Art, Oxford University Press, http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780191792229.001.0001/acref-9780191792229-e-1916 (accessed February 7 2016).

48. Zegers, *The Art of Stealing Time*, 221–23, Andriessen states "The only thing that was important to me was what Schoenmaekers had meant to Mondrian." He also believes that Schoenmaekers's contribution to science was minimal.

49. Refer to Trochimczyk, *The Music of Louis Andriessen* and Everett, *The Music of Louis Andriessen* for specific analyses and lectures on *De Stijl*.

50. Ibid., 130.

51. Zegers, *The Art of Stealing Time*, 229.

52. Zegers, *The Art of Stealing Time*, 220. After this quote, the book includes a diagram of Bach's theme from his Passacaglia and Fugue in C Minor. Reading in the context of a lecture, it is fair to assume Andriessen projected this theme for the audience members in Nijmegen.

53. Whittall, "Three for All," 18.

54. Mark Swed. 2014. "Review: 'De Materie' a bold Minimalist outing for L.A. Philharmonic." *Los Angeles Times*. April 21. Accessed February 7, 2016. http://www.latimes.com/entertainment/arts/culture/la-et-cm-la-phil-louis-andriessen-review-story.html. See also Boosey & Hawkes. "Louis Andriessen – De Stijl (De Materie part III)." Accessed January 16, 2016. http://www.boosey.com/cr/music/Louis-Andriessen-De-Stijl-De-Materie-part-III/1027.

55. Tom Service. 2012. "A guide to Louis Andriessen's music." *The Guardian*, October 15. Accessed January 16, 2016. http://www.theguardian.com/music/tomserviceblog/2012/oct/ 15/louis-andriessen-classical-music-guide.

56. Zegers, *The Art of Stealing Time*, 185.

57. Andriessen, interview, January 29, 2016.

58. Jurjen Hempel, e-mail message to author, January 18, 2016.

59. Though this point is somewhat dismantled by the revelation that Andriessen originally wrote the movement at twice the speed Hempel selected for performance. The sense of timelessness that pervades Hempel's recording of "The Eisenstein Song" would be significantly diminished at double tempo.

60. Hempel, e-mail, January 13, 2016.

61. Haithcock stated "I do remember that I spent hours practicing with the film and the click track without the ensemble. It was an arduous task. The actual performance was made all the more difficult because the click track was two channeled… I could always hear the live group I was conducting, the clear beat of the click track, and the vague almost echo-like sound of that recording. One of the more difficult things I have ever had to do… I would not use the film again."

62. Carstensen, "Review: M is for Man, Music, Mozart."

63. Louis Andriessen and Cristina Zavalloni. "Hear and Now, Music We'd Like to Hear, Modern Muses 9: Louis Andriessen and Cristina Zavalloni" (interview), BBC Radio 3, August 10, 2015, accessed October 7, 2015, http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p02z7hc3.

64. Andriessen, interview, January 29, 2016.

65. Henry Martin, "Seven Steps to Heaven: A Species Approach to Twentieth-Century Analysis and Composition," *Perspectives of New Music* 38, no. 1 (Winter 2000): 149. Martin comments "Composers such as Webern … are partial to (016) trichords, given their 'more dissonant' inclusion of ics 1 and 6." The interval class vector of the Viennese trichord is <100011>. When Andriessen adds the fourth note to this tetrachord, the interval class vector of (0156) is <200121>. The strong influence of both ics 1 and 6 remain in this chord. This four-note set was also a favorite of Schoenberg.

66. Jeremy Eichler, *Spinning local – A batch of new CDs from the BSO and Boston artists*, http://www.bmop.org/news-press/spinning-local-batch-new-cds-bmop (accessed January 20, 2016).

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——— and Cristina Zavalloni, "Hear and Now, Music We'd Like to Hear, Modern Muses 9: Louis Andriessen and Cristina Zavalloni" (interview). BBC Radio 3, August 10 2015. Accessed October 7, 2015. http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p02z7hc3

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De Cinque

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De Stijl, M is for Man, Music, Mozart
Label: Elektra Nonesuch
Country: United States of America
Released: 1993
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Narrator: Gertrude Thoma

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Country: United States of America
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Performance Ensemble: Orkest de Volharding
Conductor: Cees van Zeeland
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SOUSA'S VACILLATING VIEWS ON RAGTIME AND JAZZ

Bryan Proksch

As a key figure in the development of popular music in the United States at the turn of the twentieth century, John Philip Sousa took a keen interest in the musical tastes of the American public. His success as a bandmaster—as he frequently noted in interviews—relied heavily upon his ability to tour at a profit. This he accomplished in large part by programming concerts that featured an eclectic mix of "high class" classical arrangements interspersed with marches, popular songs, medleys, and virtuosic solos, all packaged in a way designed to appeal to as wide a cross-section of the population as possible.[1] Despite successfully engaging with the ragtime craze at the turn of the century, when faced with diminishing profits and audience sizes after World War I, Sousa met with far less success in his dealings with jazz.[2] What follows will examine Sousa's attitudes towards ragtime in the pre-war era and towards jazz in the post-war era as the bandmaster navigated the increasingly treacherous line between maintaining his traditional repertoire and expanding into others in an effort to maintain currency and relevance. His changing public stances on jazz—both in the press and in his own compositions—indicate a remarkably static and limited view of the actual musical style even as he helped popularize it among his predominantly white working- and middle-class audiences during jazz's first flourishing in the mid-1920s.

Sousa and Ragtime before the War

Sousa's engagement with ragtime informed and influenced his opinions on jazz decades later in both positive and negative ways. One difference was his own status as a public figure: Sousa was at the outset of his career as a for-profit bandleader when the ragtime craze began, while he was at the tail end of a lengthy career when jazz overran the American populace. The World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 in Chicago could be viewed as a catalyst given that it saw Sousa's debut as a private citizen leading his own band and that a number of African American ragtime performers, perhaps including Scott Joplin's Texas Medley Quartette, were in the city (off the fairgrounds) performing at the time.[3] There is no documentation that Sousa heard those early ragtime performances, and likely he did not. By the late 1890s however, Sousa fully embraced ragtime in his concert programs, to the general approval of his audiences.[4]

An 1899 concert review from Louisville, Kentucky, signed only "The First Nighter" is enlightening in that it reveals the extent to which Sousa's diverse programming proved effective at broadening his popular appeal. The author enthusiastically embraces ragtime while praising Sousa for being cultured enough to play it:

> The Sousa march did very well, but the people were clamorous for something really high class to offset [the previous piece by

> Franz von] Suppe. Mr. Sousa, seeing that he had an audience that knew a thing or two about music, got up on the red platform again, and lo! The magnificent strains of 'The Georgia Camp Meeting' broke forth! The uncultured may talk about their Suppes and their Vogners [*sic*], but for us, give us Rag Time or our money back.[5]

The reviewer goes on to praise each section of the band in detail for their ragtime performance and to note how Wagner, Beethoven, and Handel would all have written ragtime had they lived at the present time. Condemning the "abominable" Suppé piece the whole way through, he mildly praised the Arthur Pryor's trombone solos that followed. Surprisingly, the reviewer openly admits to his ambivalence towards Sousa's marches, which of course were normally at the heart of the band's popularity. He saved his highest praise for the "perfectly grand" rendition of "A Hot Time in the Old Town To-night," a Sousa Band staple and one of the popular songs most often referenced by Sousa in his interviews. Noting that some corners of the audience disapproved of ragtime, the reviewer tells Sousa to ignore those "croakers" and to "discard the [Suppés] and Parsifals and get down to uninterrupted interpretation of the genuine Rag Time."

The positions that "First Nighter" takes here are unusual when compared to the average review, as most critics praised the tasteful mixture of styles at Sousa's concerts, all while preferring the encore marches to anything else played. Nevertheless the reviewer managed to pinpoint a key issue regarding Sousa's self-image both as a bandmaster and as a composer. That is, Sousa's inclusion of ragtime capitalized on the opportunity to partake in the latest fashionable music, thereby increasing his importance in the realm of popular music. The downside, also evident in the review, was that ragtime potentially hurt his stature as a conductor and composer of "high-class" art music. Sousa showed a consistent concern that his compositions be taken as seriously as those of Wagner and Suppé; he also felt that he could play popular music at a higher level than his peers, thereby elevating it to something of greater cultural value.[6] He spoke out on the issue of "high class" music and the cultural and educational value of his concerts as early as 1890, saying that music must be entertaining as well as of value. "First Nighter's" response—to forget classical music entirely and to instead label ragtime specifically as "something really high class"—served as a warning that Sousa's programming choices walked a very fine line that could impact his public image in significant and negative ways.[7]

While Sousa never would discard the classics, he did increase the amount of ragtime played by the band during its two lengthy and highly publicized stays at the Exposition Universelle in Paris in May and July of 1900. The Sousa Band officially represented the United States in the fair's musical matters, with large crowds noted at their daily concerts. By the end of May the American press widely reported that Sousa had begun a ragtime craze in Paris. The *New York Journal* was among the first to relate the events, publishing on May 20, 1900, just five days after the Sousa Band completed its first two-week stint at the fair:

> Word comes from Paris that the airy triflers of the boulevards, as well as the aristocratic and staid residents of the Faubourg are

> practicing the intricate steps of the cake walk. John Philip Sousa, with his band of lust-lunged instrumentalists, is charged with the responsibility of this decided innovation… Of all the new melodies with which the Sousa band has made the visitors to the Exposition familiar, the various numbers of 'rag time' music have made by far the greater impression. Chief among them all is 'Policy Sam.' This is not given the common designation of a 'cake walk.' No, indeed; it is termed a 'Marche Caracteristique.'… [and] it is hummed by the swells, whistled by the gamins, pounded on pianos by the young people and applauded wherever it is heard by people of all ages and classes.[8]

Note that the Sousa Band did not "rag" works in the same way that other ensembles did, rather they played ragtime compositions from notation as arranged for band. This practice presented an opening for American publishers. Within the year American editions of *Policy Sam* circulated with a header featuring Sousa's portrait capitalizing on the fad: "The American Hit at the Paris Exposition as Played by Sousa's Famous Band there & throughout Europe" (see figure 1). A similar edition of George M. Blandford's *Honey in the Cornfield* (1899) appeared at about the same time with a simple header "As played by Sousa's Band" printed on the top margin of the otherwise unchanged first edition.

The American publishers of *Policy Sam* and *Honey in the Cornfield*, who were undoubtedly not in contact with Sousa and in all likelihood used his name and image without permission, were unworried by distinctions of class or race in the same way as Sousa apparently was while playing the work in Paris. *Policy Sam* lost Sousa's dignified "Marche Caracteristique" designation and reverted to the original "cake-walk" reference. The imagery associated with minstrelsy, together with the overt depiction of the dandified Blackfaced Zip Coon on the cover of *Policy Sam* was an accepted and expected visual marker of the genre, despite the obvious racism. *Honey in the Cornfield*, which depicts a Sambo-like man in blackface sitting in front of his house playing a banjo to his more realistically-depicted "honey," is similar in tone.

Race served as a marker of the cakewalk and ragtime generally and was a selling point for white middle-class purchasers of this sheet music for piano. If Sousa even knew about either publication—which seems unlikely bearing in mind that copyright law and enforcement was radically different at that time—he would been concerned about having to defend himself from possible criticism for playing a mere cakewalk instead of the self-styled "Characteristic March," not with the degrading depiction of African Americans. Indeed as a white bandmaster playing for white audiences of the period, race was almost never an issue in his interviews and writings. The reasoning seems to have been that ragtime's connections with African Americans was irrelevant; it was the latest and most current form of popular music among white Americans available to Sousa, and would be for over a decade. His decision to play it initially seems to have been quite a superficial one to appeal to his audiences and to sell tickets. Playing it in Paris made perfect sense given his task to represent the latest American music at a World's Fair.

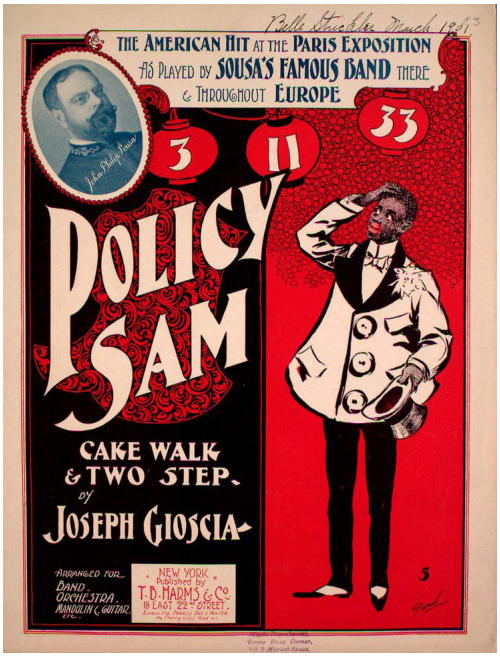

Figure 1: A 1901 edition of *Policy Sam* capitalizing on the Sousa ragtime craze in Paris.[9]

Numerous periodicals in both France and the United States mentioned the Sousa Band's popularization of "coon dances and cakewalks," often with specific reference to Abe Holzmann's *Bunch o'Blackberries*. While patriotic American newspapers might be forgiven for exaggerating Sousa's importance in bringing ragtime to Paris, there is corroborating evidence from the Parisian press that Sousa really did cause a stir by playing ragtime. In 1903—three years after the fact—*L'Illustration* credited Sousa with initiating the craze and also with bringing American marches and "gallops" to the city.[10]

For his part, the bandmaster encouraged American reporters to note the way in which his band was received in Paris. In spite of his ever-present sense of dignity, Sousa—always the showman—danced the cakewalk in Paris in front of the crowds and continued to do so in the United States after his return: "He does the cakewalk while his band is playing a 'ragtime' tune, and, though he does not bend over backward and tip a plug hat over his eye, his feet keep time with the air and describe several pronounced shuffles."[11] One especially enterprising photographer captured Sousa in a "rag time pose," a highly unusual candid photo that contrasts with the ever-present formal images provided to newspapers by his agent (see figure 2). Note Sousa's crossed legs, as if midway through a ragtime step, with his right arm outstretched to a hypothetical dance partner. The chosen pose somewhat resembles that of a Skaters Schottische, a well-known ragtime step at the turn-of-the-century. Sousa's ubiquitous full formal uniform contrasts starkly with his pose in a way that presents a striking visual parallel to the musical crossover his audiences were hearing on stage from his band.

Figure 2: A rare candid photograph of Sousa striking a "rag-time pose" in 1901. [12]

Despite all of his successes, Sousa turned against ragtime in the years after the 1900 Paris Exposition. That event might be seen as a crucial turning point insofar as Sousa was concerned. Whereas in the latter half of the decade most bandmasters would perform ragtime on a regular basis, Sousa shied away from it for at least a period of a few years. Even after that hiatus he would never again feature ragtime as prominently as he had in Paris. Already in 1901 bandmaster H. O. Wheeler noted that the ragtime craze had passed and that "it was all too low down, too vile for success. The coon song was killed by its own vulgarity… Good music is wanted more and more these days."[13] For Sousa, who consistently worked to balance the lighter, more popular styles of music on his concerts with the weightier "high class" music of the classics, the divide between works like his marches, operettas and fantasias and ragtime apparently became too wide to navigate. Fatigue with constantly playing ragtime clearly became a factor as well, especially as Sousa had options for popular selections beyond ragtime. As early as February 1901 a Denver reporter quoted Sousa as saying "'you have to play ragtime' if you want to get very close to folks these days, to judge from the reception it receives in all kinds of entertainments."[14] The reporter continued by clarifying Sousa's tone and purpose: "Sousa doesn't seem to take as much enjoyment in catering to this crude but honest sentiment as he used to do. There is a somewhat tired expression playing about his inspired beard, and his expressive back rails to twitch with the rhythmic delight which was noticeable before the last three figures were added to the bank

account." Even as critics continued to note how audiences preferred his ragtime selections to the classical arrangements, Sousa was reverting to his prior formula.[15]

It took less than a year for Sousa to go from the darling of Paris to an outspoken critic who was tired of pandering to his audience's whims by playing ragtime. Sousa authored a short essay on ragtime in April 1901, noting especially the syncopated accompaniment as a central feature of the style.[16] While still positive in overall view for the moment, hints of Sousa's growing distaste for the style are also present. The modern reader might see a racist underpinning for his growing ambivalence—in this interview he describes rags as "darky songs" for instance—but exoticism and the crossing over of a band to play ragtime were key features of the popularity he garnered while in France. Race was not the argument he used in any case, rather he took issue with the quality of the music. Confirming the Denver reporter's suspicions of two months earlier, Sousa wrote that rags were hardly compositions at all, insomuch as "they all 'compose,' that is, let their fingers fall in pleasant places on the piano keys, from which springs a more or less trite composition, following the popular style of the moment." He described the pieces as "youngsters vamping," while ragtime more generally was merely an accompanimental style, not the "tune." The broader implication is that Sousa was gradually admitting to himself that ragtime was a fad and that his band needed to move on in order to stay relevant.

The extent to which Sousa's responses to questions about ragtime in interviews contrast with his actual programming habits during this period can be at least partly explained by the presence and growing popularity of his solo trombonist and assistant conductor Arthur Pryor.[17] Pryor was quickly becoming a noted composer of rags for band, and he clearly liked the style at a very early point in time. It is impossible to tell the exact extent to which Pryor encouraged Sousa's adoption of ragtime, but he played a key role once Sousa made that decision. Pryor's importance to the Sousa Band was generally overlooked by newspaper reporters at the time—except insofar as his trombone virtuosity was concerned—and he himself did not tout his behind-the-scenes work for the ragtime craze that the Sousa Band created in Paris.[18] Beyond his oft-noted feats as a trombone soloist, Pryor's duties as an assistant conductor included arranging pieces for the band (ragtime selections and pieces in various other styles), conducting some portions of Sousa's concerts, and remarkably, helping the bandsmen get the proper "feel" for playing rags.[19] His birth and upbringing in St. Joseph, Missouri may have placed him in close enough proximity to early ragtime performers in a way that made him a more natural selection for acclimatizing the bandsmen to the style than anyone else on the roster.

Another of Pryor's key responsibilities was to lead the band's recording sessions (in which Sousa famously refused to participate).[20] It was Pryor, not Sousa, who directed the Sousa Band's 1901 recordings of Egbert van Alstyne's *Hu-la Hu-la Cake Walk* and Pryor's own *A Coon Band Contest*, for example. In total, Pryor wrote dozens of rags and cakewalks beginning in 1899, many of which found their way into Sousa Band programs as unlisted encores.[21] *A Coon Band Contest* (1899) served as an encore in for the Sousa Band 1901. Pryor also recorded many of them with his own band beginning in 1903 on the Victor label, including the 1899 *Southern*

Hospitality (Characteristic Rag-time Cake-walk), *The Passing Of Ragtime* (1902), *Razzazza Mazzazza* (1905), *The King of Rags (a Two-step Oddity)* (1907), the self-referencing *Artful Artie* (1908), and *Frozen Bill* (1909). These compositions, actively engaged with ragtime as they are, are perhaps the strongest indicator of the sway that Pryor held over Sousa's perception and performances of ragtime through at least 1903.

The Sousa Band continued to play ragtime after 1901 even as its director became increasingly ambivalent towards it in his interviews and published writings. So far as Sousa was concerned, at least for a time, ragtime finally died sometime in 1903 from complications involving his own fatigue at defending the genre and the departure of Arthur Pryor from the band. The publicity problems mounted ca. 1901–1903 as Sousa found it difficult if not impossible to reconcile his dignified self-image as a composer of serious music and as a spokesman for "high-class" music with the low esteem in which a significant segment of the public continued to hold ragtime—even if another segment of the public continued to applaud his ragtime selections.

What might today be called a branding conflict first emerged in December 1901, when Sousa received the Victorian Order from King Edward VII. The British press noted the King's enthusiasm for ragtime, but polite society took umbrage. An editorial in *The Musical Standard* defended Sousa's performances of ragtime for the King even as the editor noted receiving numerous angry letters along the lines of one which they reprinted in full:

> The King is making a strange use of his exalted position in acknowledging and patronizing a 'music-hall buffoon.' It is a degradation to Royalty and an insult to the members of the dramatic and musical professions. The frivolities of the music-hall are gradually and surely killing legitimate art amongst the rising generation. I hope you will use your powerful pen in protest.[22]

Sousa often touted the King's interest in ragtime through the latter half of 1903, however the negative British publicity must have bothered him given his career-long interest in promoting good musical taste and his own ambition to be as respected a composer in Europe as he was in the United States. Sousa probably only became aware of that specific newspaper article after leaving Britain, given that he was given to quickly penning his own letters to the editor when attacked, but apparently did not do so in this instance.[23]

One element in his change of heart in the summer of 1903 went unnoticed by the press: Arthur Pryor left the Sousa Band to start a band of his own immediately after the 1903 tour of Britain ended. Pryor's rags were enormously popular in their own right, but after Pryor's departure Sousa lost one key reason to keep playing rags in concert. In fact Sousa worked to redefine ragtime within months of Pryor's departure. Facing a group of women in a Chicago hotel lobby after a concert in September 1903 he struggled to convince them of ragtime's

merits.[24] One woman asked if ragtime was not just a fad, to which he frustratingly exclaimed "ragtime a fad? Ragtime will never die" while flicking dust from his coat. The *Chicago Chronicle* reporter noted that she murmured back "how lovely" and, after more argument from Sousa again responded with an underwhelmed "divine." At that point Sousa shifted tactics, both shifting his listeners' focus away from the musical traits itself and connecting his argument to the classical tradition:

> 'Poets write of father, mother and sweetheart,' he continued. 'Ragtime must have been invented to tell all that those words mean. Ragtime is not modern. Bach wrote ragtime.' Mr. Sousa's right hand dropped to his side. Then it was gently raised until it rested in his trousers pocket. 'Divinely graceful,' said the women.

Sousa's reference to Bach is noteworthy given his earlier definition of ragtime as primarily a rhythmic phenomenon in keyboard music that placed melodic ideas in the background. While Bach's music was relatively rare on Sousa's programs compared to composers of the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Bach was the classical master Sousa wished that the public would see himself as.

Sousa continued his appeal to the women in Chicago by noting how the King of England, the Kaiser, and the Czar "all liked it," but—apparently sensing that they remained unconvinced and in a rare admission of defeat—finally conceded that "there is a possibility of ragtime being overdone at present." One month later, in October 1903, a New York editorial responding to the Chicago report, recalled how the British press mocked America's infatuation with ragtime two years earlier: "Americans know nothing about music… they compose nothing but ragtime… [and] they are guilty of being the inventor of ragtime."[25] The editor of the *St. Paul Globe* responded in similar fashion to the story: "Unfortunately for Mr. Sousa ragtime is incapable of any development… the public is already beginning to show signs of restiveness and in a little while the syncopated measure will join all those other fads that have been stowed away in the land of the half forgotten."[26]

Unwilling to turn into a half-forgotten music-hall buffoon, especially now that his band's primary advocate for ragtime had become a competitor, Sousa abruptly stopped playing ragtime in 1903. When later asked about it in Winona, Minnesota in March 1906 he spoke with characteristic vitriol:

> Ragtime is good music badly named… probably of 3,000 pieces with which I have become acquainted through their presence in my library, 2,250 lack rhythm, melody and all other qualities which should recommend them… Once ragtime compositions were included in all my programs and gained great commendation, but for three years I have scorned ragtime and would not dare introduce it now, so nauseating has the term and what it stands for become."[27]

Tin Pan Alley songs, mainly those written before the turn of the century and thus standing the test of time, now replaced ragtime on his twice-daily concerts. While he would, in spite of his protestations to the contrary, still include occasional ragtime pieces in his concerts, he would never employ the style as pervasively as he had in the first years of the century. Beginning in 1903, the costs of drawing critical ire and the loss of Arthur Pryor's supportive presence vastly overshadowed the declining benefits of prominently featuring ragtime on his concert programs.

Sousa's Early Opposition to Jazz

Given the ups and downs of his experiences with ragtime and the ever-present need to find the right balance in programming popular and classical selections on his concerts, Sousa demonstrated an understandable reticence towards performing jazz. One key difference from his earlier experiences with ragtime was the absence of an influential advocate for the style within the band as Arthur Pryor had been. While there were active jazz musicians in the Sousa Band—notably drummer Vic Burton, who played jazz in Chicago, and xylophonist Joe Green, the brother of George Hamilton Green, who recorded with the Yerkes' Jazzarimba Orchestra from 1917–23—these figures lacked Pryor's stature and tenure with the band.[28] Indeed all the core long-term members of the Sousa Band showed a marked aversion to jazz. In a 1921 letter Herbert L. Clarke condemned the trumpet as a jazz instrument and attacked jazz generally as "the nearest Hell, or the Devil, in music," and that it "pollutes the art of music."[29] Although Clarke left the Sousa Band in 1917 there is every indication he was of a similar mind to Sousa and scant evidence towards a positive disposition among the longest serving Sousa bandsmen. The absence of a champion for the style points to a second key difference between his receptions of ragtime and of jazz: he saw and thought of jazz as just another popular rhythmic phenomenon instead of as an emerging musical style with distinctive qualities of its own. Where Sousa (with Pryor's help) essentially understood the style of ragtime and could reproduce it with accuracy in concert, his early opinions on jazz seem to have been formed more on assumption than on an actual hearing or understanding of it.

Sousa's interactions with jazz encompass 1919–28, roughly the final decade of his career. By the postwar period, with his legacy seeming secured and rumors of his impending retirement swirling, his attitudes towards popular styles could relax in some ways. In 1915 he stated dispassionately that "The 'low-brows' like to talk about ragtime to deride the 'high-brows' and the 'high-brows' use it to make fun of the 'low-brows.' The fact remains that when it's clever we like to hear it regardless of the kind of 'brows' responsible."[30] Despite this moderation of attitude, brows still mattered to Sousa when it came to the new and unknown style of jazz. As with ragtime, race was not a central concern of his, rather the likelihood that it was a fad that he felt would be safest if ignored.

In 1919 the sixty-four year-old Sousa spoke out against jazz for the first time, viewing it as the latest in a long line of passing fads to be avoided. In an interview given in Winnipeg he noted the "rise and fall of dozens of musical fads" as part of an ongoing cycling of popular taste: waltzes, gavottes, "name songs" (titling pieces after the names of women), two-steps,

ragtime, "Irish songs—mostly written by Jewish composers," and jazz.[31] Noting that he himself bore some of the guilt for starting the two-step craze with his *Washington Post*, and recalling the Chicago World's Fair origins of ragtime (now quite bizarrely arguing that the term "ragtime" was a misreading of the Hindu rag), he went on to make an odd yet telling definition of jazz:

> As for 'jazz,' there are many explanations of it, but the most reasonable to me emanates from the old-time darkie minstrel shows of the South [, where] they used two terms to indicate that a piece of slap-stick comedy was 'sure-fire'; that is to say, a certain laugh-getter. A terrific swat with a stick, or a squirt of water in the face was always certain of producing mirth, and such bits of business were termed either 'hokum' or 'jazzbo.' The term 'jazz' as we use it signifies the entry of 'slap-stick' into music. I believe it is merely a passing fad. But there is no denying its popularity. It expresses the hysterical mood of today's public, the atmosphere of license and breaking away from the old conventions and traditions. It typifies the mood of the world's youth who find convention dull and vapid. At its extreme it gets close to musical 'harlotry.'

The author of the report goes on to note that Sousa's *Impressions of a Movie* and *Showing Off Before Company* would be Winnipeg's first introduction to the jazz fad. If we accept Sousa's definition of jazz as a rhetorical device rather than a musical style, the reporter was correct in his conclusion. *Showing Off Before Company*, for example, is clearly "slap-stick" in that it was designed humorously to bring the band back on stage one-by-one after intermission.[32]

Sousa's awareness of jazz's connections with African Americans, even if only through minstrelsy as the above quotation implies, does not appear to have played a role in his rejection of the genre, but was tangential at best. Anything remotely "slap-stick" surely was beneath his dignity, regardless of the genre. On the other hand, Sousa was aging and his band was increasingly struggling to fill a full touring schedule and turn a profit. The underlying rationale for adopting a new and very popular genre that appealed to a new generation was already in evidence.

Over the next few years the definition of jazz as musical humor would become Sousa's standard response to the musical style, sometimes with more or less embellishment. In 1920 he called jazz "burlesque," the "hit and miss mingling of instruments with the added comedy touch," and "fine melodies… distorted."[33] If jazz was merely a mode of expression adoptable by any ensemble playing in any style, it was not a threat to his own popularity or to the future of American music. That jazz was a musical style indicative of American optimism further worked to tame it into something manageable. In "All's Well with the Musical World," an essay included in his 1921 souvenir program book, he opined:

> A number of well meaning but highly apprehensive people are much exercised over the popularity of the so-called Jazz music; they fear the Soul of Art may be contaminated by the tentacles of Syncopation, and the Structure of Harmony by the extravagance of Counterpoint, but, Lord alive, they have naught to fear. A glance down the avenues of the past shows the whitened bones of a myriad of musical ephemera. Stepping high, with head erect, ever onward and onward, march the works of Beethoven, Mozart, Wagner, Schumann and the rest of the normals.[34]

While jazz might be redefined within the context of the "normals," Sousa, apparently backed into an ideological corner, felt the need to defend his career-long use of marches mixed with classical transcriptions. At the same time, his personal fatigue with being constantly questioned about the value and even the morality of jazz was reaching a head. In 1922 he said he had been asked "a thousand and ten" times about jazz by reporters and that "as long as there are flat-footed men who like to hug girls, and as long as the girls will stand for it, there will be jazz."[35] Public pressure both from reporters and from the classical music establishment played a key role in his adoption of jazz in 1924, just as pressure of another form led to his abandonment of it shortly thereafter.

Sousa's Conversion to Jazz

Sousa abruptly began including jazz—according to his idiosyncratic rhythmic definition—in his 1924 concerts. The reasons behind the change are hinted at in the title of his interview-as-essay on the topic published that very summer: "Jazz, in Its Present State, May Develop National Style."[36] Written in response to fan mail he received critical of the decision, he defends jazz as an American innovation, notes that the public likes it and wants to hear it played (and played well), and that he has always promoted quality American music and tried to please audiences. From this perspective, his and his public's goals were in alignment and the change was therefore natural and unavoidable.

While his apology shows how little his definition of jazz had evolved, there are hints that he was learning more about the style. His references to the precedents of jazz and its origins here became somewhat more in line with the general perception at the time—at least as it far as white musicians understood it—apparently due to a conversation he had with vaudeville and Broadway actor Fred Stone. Now he cited African American performer Ernest Hogan and his ragtime hit *La Pas Ma La* (1895) as an early example of jazz and remarked on musical practices in New Orleans at the turn of the century. His mention of jazz being a "backward" dance "devoid of the regular rhythm" indicates a recognition that jazz employed a backbeat. His reference to Irving Berlin as a jazz composer, while surprising at first, will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

Sousa gave credit for his conversion to Leopold Stokowski in the same 1924 essay-as-interview, and fortunately he related many of Stokowski's persuasive points shortly after their conversation.[37] The American-ness of the style played a key role in convincing Sousa, but Stokowski also emphasized the esteem in which Europeans held the genre, "for they see in it the possibilities of great future developments" and "in the opinion of great musicians, [jazz] has wonderful possibilities." Keeping in mind that Sousa was used to setting precedents in Europe not reacting to them, this comment surely hit a nerve. Throughout the essay Sousa carefully navigates around the question of the artfulness of jazz in an effort to show he was maintaining his high musical standards. His verdict is that jazz used to be vulgar but had matured: "We had to go through an era of squealing clarionet and tincan tone poems, before someone conceived the idea of making jazz melodic, and that has been the tendency for the past three or four years." Stokowski may have also hinted that the soon-to-be septuagenarian Sousa showed his age by rejecting jazz. To counteract that claim, Sousa made sure to point out his forward-looking attitude: "Here in America is enormous vitality and great freedom. We make a fresh start when we do anything in this country, while in Europe and Asia they are always looking to the past."

Sousa never referenced the larger context within which he and Stokowski conversed, but there is every reason to suspect that the premiere of George Gershwin's *Rhapsody in Blue*, given by Paul Whiteman in New York City's Aeolian Hall in February 1924, acted as an indirect catalyst. Whiteman invited a number of prominent musicians he regarded as "skeptical" towards jazz to attend the concert (Sousa and Stokowski included), hoping to "try to show that jazz had come to stay and deserved recognition."[38] Various secondary sources on Gershwin have placed Sousa at the concert, but he was actually not in attendance because he was in Pensacola, Florida on that day, midway through a typically grueling tour.[39] Stokowski, however, did attend and was sufficiently impressed to become an advocate both to Sousa and others for the acceptance of jazz as a serious art form. One report entitled "Why They Say Jazz is Here to Stay" quoted Stokowski immediately after the concert saying: "Mr. Whiteman has taken the worst type of American music, which is of African descent, and through masterly representation and his own orchestration brought it into the field of art."[40]

Stokowski's view that jazz was "art," together with some uncredited help from Whiteman and Gershwin, won Sousa over: "I [Sousa] came home from Philadelphia and wrote my first jazz fantasy, which I have chosen to name, 'Music of the Minute.' It is my conception of modern jazz, and is my musical comment upon jazz tunes of the present day."[41] The passing reference to Philadelphia (rather than New York) presents tacit evidence that he was not at the Whiteman concert. More importantly, note how Sousa immediately wrote the piece after speaking with Stokowski and how it was "modern" jazz "of the present day." Even his title, *Music of the Minute* speaks to the currency of the songs quoted in the work as well as his own hipness to the latest trend. Seen from a different angle, the in-the-moment titling and framing of the fantasy also allowed Sousa to avoid taking a public stance on whether jazz was here to stay or a passing fancy (his 1919 excuse for avoiding jazz) while still capitalizing on the style while it was popular. If Stokowski was right in saying jazz was now an "art," Sousa had jumped on the

bandwagon at just the right moment, if Stokowski proved wrong and jazz was merely the "music of the minute," Sousa had an easy out. Whiteman had taken exactly the same approach by billing his Gershwin concert as "An Experiment in Modern Music." By framing jazz as momentarily significant both Sousa and Whiteman ensured that they could exit the style gracefully if necessary.

Stokowski and Sousa probably also discussed financial matters and ways in which ensembles struggling with attendance might take advantage of jazz to reach new audiences. These issues mattered to both conductors and have marked parallels to ongoing debates within modern concert organizations. Sousa argued in 1925 that orchestras needed to start reaching out to new audiences using jazz or they would stagnate. One headline out of Rochester, New York, printed the headline "Sousa Thinks Symphony Orchestras Should Play Jazz for Popular Appeal."[42] He noted the "tragedy" that most orchestras were not financially solvent because they "have been too much bound by tradition… I think the orchestras will succeed only when they play the sort of music that Americans like. It need not be trashy music, but it must be vivacious, invigorating music… If jazz, for instance, is well played by an organization of ten or twenty men, which is the size of the average jazz orchestra, how much better it should be played by a full symphony orchestra of 125 men." Just as Stokowski's endorsement of jazz enabled Sousa to argue it was acceptable for his band to play, Sousa's embracing of jazz provided a reciprocal justification for Stokowski to move the Philadelphia Orchestra beyond its traditional repertoire.

In spite of his public reversal in 1924, Sousa's performances of jazz would never evolve beyond "syncopated music," as will be seen below, nor would his discussion of the style's origins change. This stasis stands in contrast to Paul Whiteman, who increasingly moved away from Tin Pan Alley-style syncopation to a more standard jazz sound in his non-classical recordings later in the decade.[43] Nevertheless Whiteman too sought to "make a lady out of jazz," a view echoed in many of Sousa's discussions of his goals for playing music in the new style.[44]

Defining Jazz and Setting Precedents

There is every reason to question the extent to which what Sousa heard as jazz would actually be called jazz today, either during or after his brief conversion. Judging by his written statements, interviews, concert programming habits, and, especially, the two most prominent "jazz" compositions used on tour during these years—*Music of the Minute* (1924) and *Jazz America* (1925)—the gulf between what today is thought of as mid-1920s jazz as performed by African Americans and what Sousa claimed was jazz for his white middle-class audiences was wide indeed.[45] His attitudes are comparable to many white musicians of the time, and contemporary newspapers show no indication that his use of the term was considered unusual or incorrect. In fact, Sousa's audiences embraced this seemingly idiosyncratic definition of the style, as a catchall term for all forms of popular music ("rock" was used in much the same way during the second half of the twentieth century). For Sousa "jazz" was not at first a blanket term. He lamented in 1924—as he was composing *Music of the Minute*—that his own dictionary's definition of jazz

was deficient: "Ragtime music in discordant tones or the notes for it."[46] Where he normally cited music dictionaries as authoritative in argument, his resignation to defining it for himself indicates the extent to which he felt emboldened to use the term to describe certain pieces regardless of their actual sound or style.

Sousa did not mention any of the significant early practitioners of jazz in his interviews or essays. In fact the only contemporary name he could find was Irving Berlin, whom he mentioned as a respected jazz composer in 1924.[47] The reference to Berlin is at once curious and telling. Clearly African American jazz musicians of the time would have disagreed with such a definition, and nothing of what Sousa would have called jazz has more than a passing relationship with the music of Louis Armstrong or Duke Ellington. Of course few Americans of any race had heard Armstrong or Ellington in 1924: Ellington's only made his first recordings in late 1924 and Armstrong beginning in 1925. Berlin's music, even if it does not meet the definition of jazz as it would evolve in the late 1920s, includes the syncopation, fast tempos (or "pep" as Sousa called it), and danceability (by way of the Foxtrot) that were at the center of what Sousa, those musicians with whom he associated, and his white audiences considered jazz. The question was neither of authenticity or purposeful ignorance, rather he used the term jazz as he understood it from a purely musical perspective and his definition rests solely on the stylistic markers of a fast tempo and syncopation.

Paul Bierley has argued that Sousa's jazz works share the common thread of syncopation, and that they might therefore discard the term in favor of "syncopated music."[48] While this can help delineate the sounds for modern ears, Sousa and his circle understood these pieces as jazz and not merely as "syncopated music." Newness and modernity were key markers of jazz among white audiences, as is evidenced both by Sousa's title for *Music of the Minute* and Whiteman's "Experiment in Modern Music" concert title. The absence of improvisation in both of Sousa's jazz fantasies is another problem that arises from his employment of the term jazz, though this was never remarked upon as a problem or oversight in the reviews of Sousa's performances. A perusal of the Yerkes' Jazzarimba Orchestra recordings, which featured Sousa Bandsman Joe Green on xylophone, present a mixture of the syncopated sounds of ragtime (as in *Rag-A-Minor* [1918]) with the occasional lilting swing (as in the *Wild Flower Waltz* [1919]). It seems unlikely that the Sousa Band employed swing, however, as it would have stood at odds with the crisply executed rhythms expected of his large ensemble. In the end, jazz was the term used by Sousa, and his use was perceived as accurate. His use that term would have significant consequences for his own viewpoint as well as the public's perception of what he was playing.

Many of these stylistic features can be found in Sousa's two jazz fantasies. Both open in minor, perhaps a thinly veiled reference the exotic nature of jazz or blackness.[49] As the works continue they primarily juxtapose various Tin Pan Alley and minstrel songs, many of which are not as of-the-moment as Sousa claimed. For instance *Jazz America* quotes Stephen Foster's "Oh! Susanna" (1848) while the score and performance parts to *Music of the Minute* have Sousa's tango *The Gliding Girl* (1912) taped within.[50] On the other hand Irving Berlin's "What'll

I Do" (1923)—the hit song of the previous year—gets played in *Music of the Minute* and an arrangement of Richard Fall's foxtrot *O Katharina* (1925) was not even a year old when it was taped into the score and parts of *Jazz America*.[51]

If the actual sounds today associated with 1920s jazz are not present here, the appearance of jazz was more visible on Sousa's stage. His 1924 tour featured a self-described jazz band of about 18 members selected from within the Sousa Band to play certain selections.[52] In 1925 his concerts additionally featured a saxophone ensemble dubbed the "Sousa Syncopators."[53] The press and audience reacted positively enough for Sousa to feature jazz for thirty minutes (roughly one quarter) of each concert. It is unclear exactly what the jazz band or Sousa Syncopators were playing, as encores were not listed in programs, but it seems likely that it was simply a subset of the larger ensemble playing "syncopated" music and popular selections similar in style to *Music of the Minute* and *Jazz America*.

During the 1924 and 1925 tours Sousa was able to navigate the press adeptly to promote his use of jazz in cities he felt would be receptive to the novelty or to avoid and openly criticize jazz in cities where he felt his audience would be strong without it. Headlines like "Sousa on Jazz, Says It's Stupid" (in the *Washington Times*) and an odd rumor that Sousa marches were now more popular than jazz in Paris continued to show up through 1925 even as the bulk of reporters in small-town America noted his newfound appreciation for the genre and its potential.[54] The imagery in the press similarly reinforced the perception that Sousa was only 70 years young. One oft-reprinted publicity photo showing him celebrating his seventy-first birthday by abdicating as march king for two dancing flapper girls doing the Charleston (see figure 3). Another, only apparently printed in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, celebrates the jazziness of the *Marquette March* and *The National Game*, neither of which has any jazz features from a musical standpoint (see figure 4).

Figure 3: A 1925 publicity photo with the caption "MARCH KING ABDICATES. Jazz has claimed John Philip Sousa. On his seventy-first birthday, November 6, he succumbed to the inveigling charms of the Misses Kay Annis and Florence Parker, and promised to compose a Charleston to fit their steps."[55]

Figure 4: Two of Sousa's newest marches publicized as jazzy: the *Marquette March* (1924) and *The National Game* (1925).[56]

By 1927 Sousa's experiment with jazz was over. There was no single reason that he stopped playing it, rather it was a combination of fatigue in dealing with constant questions about the genre (instead of about his own marches), ambivalence among his core audience (it likely did not draw in audiences as he believed it would), and his own lack of enthusiasm for the music (in spite of what he said in the press). In an April, 1927 interview in Springfield, Massachusetts he said audiences were "displeased" with jazz even as his tone changed to argue that he had only embraced reluctantly as an experiment—exactly the easy exit that his initial framing of the issues made possible.[57] Two days later a telling report from Boston in the week leading up to his concert there noted that he was not going to play any jazz in that city because he "would not presume" to play it there and that jazz was "on the wane" regardless.[58] Later on that same tour he remarked in Dallas that some jazz "makes you want to bite your grandmother."[59] He followed this comment with evident frustration: "the world is crazy… the average American demands ceaseless change in music." Change for its own sake had never been one of Sousa's operating principles, and so he reverted to his earlier concert programming practices while ignoring jazz or dismissing it in interviews going forward, just as he had done with ragtime between 1903 and 1906 and with jazz prior to 1924.

By 1926 his abandonment of jazz did not really matter as the band increasingly struggled to book concerts and full tours and Sousa's presence in public life diminished in similar proportion. The Great Depression in 1928 and Sousa's age (now well above 70) reinforced the fact that the Sousa Band would never return to its former self. Reconciled to playing fewer concerts for smaller audiences and entering quasi-retirement, Sousa had no qualms about playing his old favorites and discarding the trendier music of America's Jazz Age. Unlike his eventual reconciliation with ragtime, once the jazz "experiment" ended, Sousa let it go for good.

Ramifications and Conclusions

It would be easy to overlook Sousa's short-lived flirtation with jazz as an aging bandmaster trying to preserve relevance in a popular musical world quickly moving away from his style towards much different realms. Although jazz was apparently a passing fad as far as Sousa perceived it, his public statements to the press in 1924–26 presented a much different picture to the broader population. The news media, following each twist and turn on an almost daily basis, argued that Sousa's adoption of jazz, regardless of its authenticity or his actual ambivalence towards it, made it a respectable and viable genre for skeptical white audiences in rural and small-town America with little or no exposure to actual jazz or African Americans.[60] To be clear this is not to say that Sousa was actually exposing his audiences to African American culture or intended to do so, rather he granted jazz newfound status among white Americans simply by using the term and saying that he was playing it.

In a telling reversal of influence, evidence of Sousa's sway over public perception comes from none other than Paul Whiteman. Whiteman referenced Sousa's pre-1924 ideas on the formation of jazz in his own 1926 book on the style as he made his case for the artfulness of jazz and the ways in which serious musicians were embracing the new form.[61] Sousa's adoption of jazz touched the public in tangible and practical ways. One Watertown, New York headline from 1925 read "Sousa Dignifies the Saxophone," promoting the Sousa Syncopators saxophone ensemble and soloist Harold B. Stephens.[62] The reporter opens by noting how the instrument "got into bad company several years ago, when it became the worst offender in the first crude jazz music" and continues by noting that Sousa intends to save the instrument "if possible" by writing good syncopated music for it. In the interview that follows Sousa quotes Berlioz's orchestration treatise, notes the use of the instrument in various classical works, and criticizes the Metropolitan Opera for replacing saxophones with clarinets in a performance of Jules Massenet's *Le Roi de Lahore* in an effort to avoid the "clown of jazz." Sousa's verdict is telling: "We are doing nothing revolutionary. We merely are moving the saxophones down front so the audience may see what a fine family of instruments they can be—when they keep good company." One cannot help but see racial undertones in these statements, but Sousa likely did not see these statements as based on race. Regardless, the reporter's contextualization of Sousa's views actually works to persuade readers that the saxophone and jazz, when presented by professional musicians under Sousa's own baton, are perfectly acceptable to polite company and might even be cultured and artful in their own right.

It comes as no surprise that the press reports present a confused picture of Sousa's interest in jazz, given how quickly he moved towards and away from syncopated music and the extent to which he tailored his interview responses based on locale. At times the same reports in which he criticizes jazz still present him as receptive and modern in his tastes. The more telling reports are those in which Sousa argued that he played syncopated jazz decades earlier than anyone else, leading reporters to credit him with popularizing the genre across the nation. For example, "Sousa Composed Jazz Years Ago" published in Springfield, Massachusetts remarked on the audience's displeasure with jazz in concert yet noted that "although he does not claim

the honor, John Philip Sousa might lay as good a claim as any to the title of being the 'Father of Modern Jazz'."[63] Sousa in this instance cited his 1912 tango *The Gliding Girl*, one of the pieces he pasted into the parts of *Music of the Minute*, as an early example of jazz. So convincing was his argument that the reporter concluded "this one bit of evidence seems enough to clinch the claim."

Sousa was at least consistent on a few points throughout his entire jazz experience: that jazz was good when it was good, bad when it was bad, and not immoral, rather something fast and fun to which audiences could both listen and dance. While in the end he decided that jazz was not really to his taste, he admitted that it was nevertheless "here to stay." Clearly he was not the "Father of Modern Jazz"—nor did he initiate a craze as had occurred in 1900 with ragtime in Paris—yet Sousa played an important role in legitimizing the fledgling genre among white audiences across the United States.

ENDNOTES

[1] A sampling of his programs can be found in Bierley, *Incredible Band*, 270–320. Further on Sousa as a salesman, entrepreneur, and businessman see Brion, "Master of Programming," 50–3; Brown, "David Blakely," 121–33; Chessum, "Sales Pitches"; Cipolla, "Business Papers," 2–7; Warfield, "Menace," 431–63. On Sousa's interaction with public taste and "classicism" see Harris, "Culture of Reassurance," 11–40; Korzun, "Orchestral Transcriptions for Band"; Martin, *Opera at the Bandstand*, 96–7. On the meaning of "high class" music see Sousa, "Music for the People" in Proksch, ed., *Sousa Reader* 11–16; idem "American Musical Taste" in ibid., 104–11.

[2] Harry Askin began managing the Sousa Band in 1919 after convincing Sousa that his band could still tour profitably after the war's end. Further see Bierley, *Incredible Band*, 59.

[3] On the problems related to Joplin's time in Chicago and in documenting ragtime music at the time of the Exposition see Berlin, *Joplin*, 10–12.

[4] Bierley, *American Phenomenon*, 18. Further on the Sousa Band in the 1890s see Warfield, "Making the Band," 30–66.

[5] "Mr. Sousa and the Delights of Rag Time," *Louisville Times* February 16 1899, in *Sousa Band Press Books* Vol. 8 part 1, 69. Hereafter the *Sousa Band Press Books*, now available online at http://www.marineband.marines.mil/About/Library-and-Archives/Sousa-Band-Press-Books/ will be abbreviated as *SPB* with volume and part number, when applicable, separated by a colon. Page number citations are to the original pagination of the volumes, not to the PDF numbering system.

[6] Further see Bierley, *American Phenomenon*, 142–43.

[7] "R. J. W.," "Music for the People, as Interpreted by the Famous Leader of a Famous Band" in unknown newspaper, September 5, 1890 (?); rpt. Proksch, 12–16.

[8] "'Policy Sam,' the Song That Is Amusing All Paris," *New York Journal* May 20, 1900, in *SPB* Vol. 6:2, 94.

[9] Joseph Gioscia, *Policy Sam* (New York: T.B. Harms & Co., 1901), image from the Lester S. Levy Sheet Music Collection at Johns Hopkins University, http://levysheetmusic.mse.jhu.edu/catalog/levy:172.059.

[10] "Le Cake-Walk," *L'Illustration* January 10, 1903, in *SPB* Vol. 15:3, 243–44.

[11] "Sousa's Cakewalk," *Brooklyn Citizen* January, 14, 1901, in *SPB* Vol. 14:1, 5

[12] "Sousa Poses Before a Camera on the North American Building," *Philadelphia American* May 30, 1901, in *SPB* Vol. 14:2, 115

[13] "Rag Time Waning" *Bangor Commercial* February 7, 1901, in *SPB* Vol. 14:1, 52.

[14] "Sousa the Bandmaster," *Denver Times*, February 4, 1901, in *SPB* Vol. 14:2, 117.

[15] For one of many examples see a *Buffalo Enquirer* review for the Pan-American Exposition entitled "Biggest Day at Grounds," June 13, 1901 in *SPB* Vol. 14:2, 135.

[16] John Philip Sousa, "What 'Rag Time' Means," *New York World* April 7, 1901, in *SPB* Vol. 14:1, 73.

[17] Generally on Pryor see Frizane, "Arthur Pryor."

[18] Pryor's description of the Paris Exposition includes no references to his own playing or conducting, dutifully deferring to Sousa's genius as a band leader: Arthur Pryor, "Pryor Talks of European Trip," unidentified St. Joseph, Missouri publication ca. 1901, in *SPB* Vol. 14:2, 68.

[19] Although many secondary sources indicate that Pryor conducted most if not all of the Sousa Band's ragtime selections in concert, the clippings preserved in the *Sousa Press Books* from ca. 1899–1903 include virtually no references to Pryor's conducting of anything at a typical concert. When his conducting is mentioned, it is because he served as a substitute conductor for the entire concert due to Sousa's inability to conduct due to illness. The reviewers in those instances did not remark upon his abilities as a conductor. On Pryor and the "feel" of ragtime see see Schwartz, *Bands of America*, 203–204 and Frizane, "Arthur Pryor," 75. Note that neither of these secondary sources include primary source documentation, however. On his conducting when Sousa was ill see Bierley, *Incredible Band*, 52.

[20] On the reasons for Sousa not participating in recording sessions see Sousa, "Testimony before the Congressional Committees on Patents (June 1906)" in Proksch, ed., *Sousa Reader*, 61–9.

[21] Encores were not listed in the band's programs, but were planned and more or less standardized for the duration of a given tour. Occasional mention of a specific encore occurs in some of the more detailed concert reviews. For a rare mention of "A Coon Band Contest" in specific see "Uncle Silas Hears Sousa's Band Play," *Kalamazoo Morning Gazette-News* (March 23, 1901), in *SPB* Vol. 14:1, 59.

[22] "Comments and Opinions," *Musical Standard* (London), December 4, 1901, in *SPB* Vol. 15:2, 166.

[23] His editorial responses include a particularly vitriolic tirade while in Paris regarding state funding for bands: Sousa, *Marching Along*, 200–205.

[24] "Ragtime Poetic to Sousa," *Chicago Chronicle* September 21, 1903, in *SPB* Vol. 19:2, 179.

[25] "American Music and Ragtime," *New York Review* October 3, 1903, in *SPB* Vol 19:3, 205.

[26] Quote recorded in "The Apotheosis of Ragtime," *New York City Public Opinion* October 8, 1903, in *SPB* Vol. 19:3, 210.

[27] "Ragtime is a Dead One," *Winona Independent* March 22, 1906, in *SPB* Vol 25:2, 69.

[28] Proksch, ed., *A Sousa Reader*, 126–29; Further on the Green brothers see Lewis, "Much More than Ragtime." Green played with the band from 1917–20.

[29] Clarke, letter to Elden E. Benge, January 13, 1921. The letter is housed in the Sousa Archives at the University of Illinois and is accessible at https://archives.library.illinois.edu/archon/?p=digitallibrary/digitalcontent&id=164.

[30] Warfield, *Making the March King*, 64.

[31] Bertram R. Brooker, "The World Famed Sousa," *Musical Leader* August 21, 1919, in *SPB* Vol. 52, 39.

[32] Warfield, "Sousa and His Audience," 1.

[33] "Anything from a Frying Pan to a Piano Constitutes Orchestra for Jazz, Says the Great Sousa," *Green Bay Press Gazette* November 2, 1920, in *SPB* Vol. 54:1, 57; "Sousa Says Jazz is Musical Whim," unknown newspaper, 1922, in *SPB* Vol. 54:2, 146.

[34] Sousa, "All's Well with the Musical World," in Proksch, ed., *Sousa Reader*, 144.

[35] "Sousa Entertaining in Address Made at the Rotary Luncheon," *Morning Herald* (Hagerstown, Maryland) March 16, 1922, in *SPB* Vol. 56:1, 62.

[36] Sousa, "Jazz, in Its Present State, May Develop National Style," *Philadelphia Record*, ca. July 1924, in *SPB* 64, 9b; rpt. Proksch, ed., *Sousa Reader*, 170–74.

[37] Sousa, "Jazz, in Its Present State," *Philadelphia Record*, ca. July 1924, in *SPB* 64, 9b; rpt. in Proksch, ed., *Sousa Reader*, 170–74. Stokowski wrote a short essay of his own on jazz (*The Etude*, September 1924, rpt. in Walzer, ed., *Keeping Time*, 52) just after his conversation with Sousa saying that it had "come to stay" was the "greatest hope in the whole musical world" and noting the esteem in which Debussy and Ravel held it. Further see Lopes, *The Rise of a Jazz Art World,* 82.

[38] Whiteman, *Jazz*, 94.

[39] Further on the concert (and an erroneous report of Sousa attending) see Rosenberg, *Fascinating Rhythm*, 60–1. The *SPB* of 1924 include a number of reports on Sousa being in Pensacola on that day. *SPB* Vol. 60:3 includes one of the programs from that concert and *SPB* Vol. 62, 80 includes a report in the *Pensacola News* of Sousa's arrival and concerts on that day. Insofar as I have been able to determine, Sousa never mentioned Gershwin or *Rhapsody in Blue* in any of his interviews or writings, though he frequently programmed a medley from Gershwin's 1925 musical *Song of the Flame* during his 1926 tours. Similarly his autobiography (Sousa, *Marching Along*) though written "in the moment" in as it were in 1928, only briefly echoes his most typical interview responses, without reference to Gershwin, Stokowski, or Whiteman.

[40] "Why They Say Jazz is Here to Stay," *New York Public Ledger*, May 18, 1924, in *SPB* Vol. 63:2, 98.

[41] Sousa, "Jazz, in Its Present State," rpt. in Proksch, ed., *Sousa Reader*, 173.

[42] "Sousa Thinks Symphony Orchestras Should Play Jazz for Popular Appeal," *Rochester Herald*, June 7, 1925, in *SPB* Vol. 66:3, 167.

[43] Briefly on Sousa and Whiteman see the introduction to Warfield, "Sousa and His Audience," lii.

[44] Welburn, "Jazz Criticism," 748.

[45] I have dated *Music of the Minute* to 1924 in spite of a 1922 date in the Library of Congress

manuscript of the work noted by Bierley, *Works*, 141. All of the references to this work in the press, including Sousa's story of the work's genesis in the above paragraph and the concert programs in Bierley, *Incredible Band*, date to 1924 or later. On the white perception of jazz see the set of essays published by *The Etude* in August 1924 (one month before Stokowski's essay mentioned above) as rpt. in Walzer, ed., *Keeping Time*, 41ff.

[46] Sousa, "Where is Jazz Leading America," *The Etude* (August, 1924), 520; rpt. in Walzer, *Keeping Time*, 52.

[47] Sousa, "Jazz, in Its Present State, May Develop National Style," *Philadelphia Record*, ca. July 1924, in *SPB* 64, 9b; rpt. Proksch, ed., *Sousa Reader*, 170–74.

[48] Bierley, *Works*, 141.

[49] Sousa's 1910 composition *Dwellers of the Western World*, mvt. 3 "The Black Man" is heavily syncopated and includes section midway through in minor. In terms of orchestration and mode the openings of his two jazz fantasies sound more like the opening of the second movement of *Dwellers*: "The Red Man."

[50] *The Gliding Girl* is taped within the 1924 parts housed at the Sousa Archives at the University of Illinois.

[51] *O Katharina* is taped within the 1925 parts housed at the Sousa Archives at the University of Illinois.

[52] Further see Bierley, *Incredible Band*, 54.

[53] "Sousa to Give 30 Minutes of Syncopation," *Syracuse Herald Journal*, June 1925, in *SPB* Vol. 66:3, 175; "'Sousa Syncopators' Given Place on March King's Present Programs," *Rochester Record* June 21, 1925, in *SPB* Vol. 66:3, 178.

[54] "Sousa on Jazz Says It's Stupid," *Washington Times*, October 1925, in *SPB* Vol. 66:4/229; "Sousa's Band Killing Jazz," unknown newspaper in Erie, Pennsylvania, October 1925, in *SPB* 66:4, 230.

[55] "March King Abdicates," *New York Herald-Sun*, November 15, 1925, in *SPB* Vol. 69:1, 53.

[56] "Jazz Goddess is Served Sousa Marches on Altar," *Milwaukee Sentinel*, October 25, 1925, in *SPB* Vol 69:1, 55. Note: The *SPB* newspaper clip is missing portions of the original photo and is here presented as preserved.

[57] "Sousa Composed Jazz Years Ago" *Springfield Union*, April 7, 1927, in *SPB* Vol. 71:2, 118.

[58] "No Jazz for Boston, Declares Mr. Sousa," *Christian Monitor*, April 9, 1927, in *SPB* Vol. 71:2, 120.

[59] "Sousa Laughs Off Jazz," *Dallas News*, April 3, 1927, in *SPB* Vol. 71:2, 119.

[60] Bierley, *American Phenomenon*, 19 mentions this in passing.

[61] Whiteman, *Jazz*, 122.

[62] "Sousa Dignifies the Saxophone," *Watertown [NY Daily News?]*, September 15, 1925, in *SPB* Vol. 66:4, 255. The exact name of the newspaper is obscured in the *SPB*.

[63] "Sousa Composed Jazz Years Ago" *Springfield Union*, April 7, 1927, in *SPB* Vol. 71:2, 118.

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ANATOMY OF A FESTIVAL: CONTEST, COMPETITION OR ASSESSMENT?

Kenneth J. Moore

Since the 1980s, there has been a growing trend toward accountability in education. Policies such as *No Child Left Behind*[1] *and the Race to the Top*[2] have tied federal education dollars to quantifiable school performance, resulting in the passage of state-mandated assessments of student learning and more stringent evaluation of teachers.[3] Responding to these measures, some educators have looked to large-ensemble festivals to provide evidence of student growth in music performance classes, and music associations in several states have renamed their large-ensemble festivals "music performance assessments"[4] For example, Kentucky relabeled its festivals in 2013 "to better reflect [their] assessment value" while making no structural changes to the event.[5] While festivals are a type of assessment, a full investigation of their nature and development is needed before their use in this context should be deemed appropriate. To date, there have been no such investigations.

Because the national band and orchestra contests terminated in the 1930s, determining their evolution afterward must come by examining state festivals.[6] The purpose of this historical study was to determine the character and nature of large-ensemble festivals in Michigan, another state that recently considered relabeling festivals as assessments. Primary source material consisted of reports, minutes of meetings, and other publications and documents held in the archives of the Michigan School Band and Orchestra Association, as well as interviews with past Association officers. Data were collected as researcher notes and recorded in a database using standard spreadsheet software to allow organizing, coding of themes, and sorting; this database became a timeline of the festival's development from 1938 to the present. Research questions addressed 1) the historical context regarding large-ensemble festival development; 2) the factors that shaped festival systems after their inception; 3) whether current festivals are, by nature, contests, performance events, academic assessments, or a combination of these; 4) whether or not festivals should be used in conjunction with teacher evaluation.

After reviewing the contest/festival historical literature and discussing the influence competition has had on music education, I will closely examine how large-ensemble festivals evolved in Michigan. I will also discuss the implications the current study has for festival practices and music education policy.

The Early National Contests

Scholars generally agree that the National Band Contests — a derivative of the community band contests common in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries — were a primary catalyst for the sharp rise in the number of school bands during the 1930s.[7] After the

advent of the phonograph record and the demise of World War I military bands led to a decrease in wind instrument sales, a group of Chicago instrument manufacturers organized the 1923 School Band Contest of America to reverse this trend. This successful venture "thrust the school band program, long among the lowliest of school music groups, into a position of prominence," according to Holz.[8] Subsequent tournaments became known as the National Band Contests.

Over the next several years, organizers formalized rules and added a national orchestra contest. Due to the contests' popularity, states created their own qualifying tournaments, and schools organized bands specifically to enter them: by 1932, forty-four states held their own qualifying events and one thousand bands entered annually.[9] However, many directors and administrators felt that the competitive nature of these events was inconsistent with educational values.[10] In 1933, the elimination tournament format, which produced a single winner in each classification, was replaced with a "competition-festival" format, which used a five-division rating system based on loosely-defined standards. Every ensemble could receive a "first division" designation (worthy of being the "winner"), and contest administrators adopted the slogan "Pace Each Other to Excellence."[11] The national events became biennial after 1934 because of financial and logistical concerns, and ten regional events replaced them in 1937. World War II caused the postponement of the regional events, and after the war, festivals terminated at the state level. Local and state contests/festivals continued to be popular and fostered the growth of instrumental music in the public schools.[12]

The Competition Debate

A debate over using competition as an educative agency began soon after the 1923 National Band Contest and has continued to the present. Even after the elimination format was abandoned, the events were still referred to as "competition-festivals."[13] A survey of the *Music Educators Journal* from the 1920s onward helps synthesize the arguments about competition, pro and con, as the *Journal* has regularly printed feature and special-series articles focused on this question. These arguments have remained generally consistent over time.

Just months after the 1923 National Band Contest, Peter Dykema of the University of Wisconsin argued that the competitive principle was at the center of both the curriculum (e.g., grades and spelling bees) and athletics, and as an inherent part of American culture, competition and comparison drive all knowledge and all progress. To allow schools from a variety of constructs to compete fairly, he proposed enrollment-based classification as a necessary "handicap," requiring bands from larger schools to play more difficult literature. Dykema summarized his position by stating,

> [T]he advantages of music contests are so numerous that most teachers are convinced that musical competition may be used as an educative agency. Contests create enthusiasm for the study of music, spread the gospel of music over a large territory, cause talented young people to meet and learn to respect each other's accomplishments, and teach individuals

to appear before an audience under the most trying conditions. [14]

These arguments were perpetuated and expanded in the *Journal* over the ensuing seventy years. Contests and festivals were given credit for fostering balanced instrumentation in school ensembles, motivating student practice, elevating performance standards and literature quality, and stimulating effective teaching techniques.[15]

Joseph E. Maddy, chairman of the National Committee on Instrumental Affairs, made one of the first fully articulated arguments against the contests in a 1931 *Journal* article. After contending that participating students suffered from travel fatigue, costs incurred, and missed classes, Maddy stressed that the events were antithetical to American educational values because they did not stress equalizing opportunity. He condemned programs that functioned almost entirely for the purpose of winning contests and that spent an entire year studying only the contest pieces. "Music contests are in grave danger of being smothered by their own evils," Maddy moralized.[16] For decades afterward, *Journal* authors repeated these assertions and added others: festivals were psychologically damaging and could lead to mental illness; they propagated the "dismal effect of losing" and provided a "scarcity of rewards;" judges were unreliable and gave only subjective opinions; competition undermined artistic endeavor by promoting conformity in a discipline meant to foster "creative individualism."[17] Despite these criticisms, both pure contests and competition-festivals have remained popular among a large segment of music educators to the present day.[18]

Michigan Festivals 1938-1959

The influence of competition is evident in the festival activities in Michigan. Led by Dale Harris of Pontiac High School, a small group of prominent instrumental directors who were highly involved in the contest movement created the Michigan School Band and Orchestra Association (MSBOA) in 1934, just when the national contests were coming to an end.[19] Even before the MSBOA was chartered, its founders decided to first create competition-festivals. The first state band and orchestra festival was held on April 30, 1938 in Ann Arbor with 47 participating ensembles. [20] School administrators did not initially support the band and orchestra festival, citing the need to transport large numbers of students over considerable distances. However, Harris was eventually able to persuade the Michigan Association of Secondary School Principals to sanction the event. [21]

MSBOA officers adopted many of the national contest rules and procedures when creating Michigan's festival, including the MENC National Music List, a three-judge panel, a five-division rating system, an enrollment-based classification system, and a sight-reading component. Each ensemble played a warm-up number, one required number, and one selective number. All groups within the same classification played the same required number. The first district-qualifying events were held in 1940 (only first-division ensembles at districts qualified for the state festival), and in 1947, the MSBOA developed its own required music list, later naming it the Basic Music List. The structure implemented in 1938 remains largely intact to this day. [22]

Although the band and orchestra festival was not a true, rank-order contest, many MSBOA founders were contest advocates, and competition remained an important part of the festival milieu. For decades, many members referred to the event as a "competition." Some contemporaries of Dale Harris firmly believed that one of his purposes for creating the MSBOA was the revival of a pure state contest in Michigan.

> Dale Harris's goal through all this—if you were with him—was that if you were going to have really good music programs with lots of power, you had to have contests. That's the only thing that's going to compete with the glamour of sports. That's what they tried to do [with the MSBOA Band and Orchestra Festival].[23]

> [Dale Harris] started MSBOA, and it began to [move away from the pure contest philosophy in the 1960s] . . . At that point, I think Dale sort of gave up on the organization . . . Away from the contest, I think that was a major issue [that concerned him].[24]

The band and orchestra festival grew continually after its inception. By the late 1950s, about one hundred seventy-five ensembles performed at the state festival annually (with hundreds more performing at district-qualifying events), requiring that it be held at multiple sites over two weekends.

Michigan Festivals 1960-1973: Competition, Bloody Saturday, and Aesthetic Potential

While continuing to refer to it as both a "competition-festival" and a "contest," the MSBOA made changes to its festivals during the 1960s that moved slightly away from national contest influences. The structure remained the same; however, classification, the required number, and other rules were revised as the Association continually adapted to shifting trends and conditions.

State Band and Orchestra Festival participation grew considerably during this period, with total events increasing more than 65 percent.[25] Hundreds of groups performed at the district-qualifying festivals each year, and by the middle 1960s, the vast majority of member schools participated.[26] As participation increased, the Association offered additional sites and multiple sections within the same classification, ending the standing practice of directly comparing all ensembles in each classification by having them play in succession at a single location; this was a significant move away from a pure contest format. [27] The band and orchestra festival moved even further away from Contest Era traditions in 1968, when the definition of a first-division rating was shortened to read, "Division I will represent an excellent level of performance and musicianship for the event and classification being judged."[28] Until then, the definition had included the phrase, "worthy of the distinction of being recognized as a first-place winner."[29] This original definition may corroborate the belief held by many that MSBOA founder Dale

Harris's intent was to establish a pure band contest in Michigan, and the decision to remove the phrase, "first place winner," was a significant step away from the national contest ideal.[30]

Despite these adjustments, the influence of contests was still apparent in the MSBOA's struggle to revise its enrollment-based classification system. The system's rationale was that ensembles from larger schools (which theoretically had a higher number of accomplished musicians) should perform more difficult music and be held to more stringent standards. The classification system underwent several changes between 1964 and 1973 because of population shifts and evolving grade-level configurations within school buildings.

As people moved out of urban centers like Detroit, Flint, and Lansing into the suburbs, suburban school enrollments exploded, creating unforeseen festival classification problems. For example, for many decades most school districts had junior high schools housing grades 7-9 and senior high schools housing grades 10-12. But in the 1960s and early 70s a wide array of new grade-level organizational schemes began to be used.[31] The MSBOA initially attempted to retain a classification system based on total building enrollment by including all grade-level schemes,[32] but this eventually became untenable, and in 1972, a new classification table was introduced based on the average enrollment per grade and the highest grade-level present in the school's top ensemble.[33] MSBOA leaders only permitted changes that would safeguard the ability of adjudicators to compare ensembles to each other and "compete" fairly against each other – making it clear that the festival was still moored to its contest roots.[34]

This is perhaps most obvious in the Association's response to what it called open classification. In 1962, a Festival Revision Committee proposed a system that would allow directors to determine their ensembles' classifications based on the required work chosen (i.e., the more difficult the literature, the higher the classification). The proposal also prohibited schools with more than eleven hundred students from entering in the lowest classifications. The Revision Committee gave the following rationale for the open classification system:

> More stress is laid upon the personal integrity and musical sincerity of each member of MSBOA. We are suggesting these changes in the hope that they will provide the flexibility necessary in a rapidly changing, shifting, and growing school pattern.[35]

Despite the flexibility that open classification would have provided, the proposal was defeated by a vote of the membership, most likely because MSBOA leaders strongly opposed it. In a memo sent to district presidents before the vote, state president Arthur Hills had clearly sought to defeat the measure by explicitly stating his disapproval:

> I must add that I am doing all that I can not [sic] to write to you that I am opposed [to open classification]. However, it is my opinion that [it] takes us too far afield from the original intent of the festivals. I do have faith in our membership, but this does allow too much freedom. To drop back a classification or two, which would allow the performance

> of easier music presumably with many schools with smaller enrollments, is apt to create quite a temptation to many directors. I fear for the competitive feeling to that type of festival. And, whether we like to admit it or not, this very competitive feeling among students and directors alike is what has made bands and orchestras in Michigan what they are today.
>
> I am fully cognizant of the problems involved in finding a classification system that is fair to all types of enrollment patterns. In this day of the explosion of population and the variety of schools which this causes there are bound to be problems. However, I am not certain we need to throw out nearly all enrollment classifications because of this.[36]

Although open classification was rejected, perpetuating a policy of comparing ensemble performances with each other, other changes were implemented that made festivals slightly less competitive. One example is the shift away from the contest practice of having a single required number for each classification. Traditionalists held that requiring a common required number made adjudication easier. Since the festival's inception in 1938, the membership had voted annually to determine these required numbers.[37] But many younger directors began to question the educational value of this procedure, and the method for selecting the required number changed several times, despite opposition from the traditionalists.[38] Since every ensemble's instrumentation varied each year, directors often faced the challenge of performing a required number ill-suited to their ensembles' instrumentations, causing newer members to push the festival further away from its contest roots.[39]

The catalyst that led the MSBOA to abandon a single required number can be traced to a single event. On January 14, 1966, conductor William D. Revelli and the University of Michigan Band performed a transcription of Carl Maria von Weber's *Euryanthe Overture* at the Midwestern Conference on School Vocal and Instrumental Music in Ann Arbor.[40] *Euryanthe Overture* was then on the final ballot as the class AA band required number. Band directors in the audience were enthralled with the performance, and many began to lobby their peers to select the piece as the class AA band required number for that year.[41] However, Revelli, who was highly influential, believed that the work was too difficult for high school ensembles to perform. At the MSBOA meeting held the day after the performance, Revelli tried to dissuade his high school colleagues, stating, "You people are crazy if you choose *Euryanthe*."[42] Despite Revelli's warning, the membership selected the piece. Raymond Roth, who hosted a festival site for class AA bands that spring at Flint Southwestern High School, later recalled how some of the finest bands in the state fared with the work:

> The [class] AA groups performed at . . . Flint Southwestern. Bill Revelli was the first judge, Art Hills was the second, [and] I don't remember the third. And one of the first bands in the morning . . . got through [with a first-division rating]. . . But then it started to go down from there. Vic Bordo at Ann Arbor got a II; he was *livid*! Thad Hegerberg, who had built Traverse City to a great program, got a IV. Bernie Kuschel [of Benton Harbor

> High School], a wonderful, wonderful man [received a] III. . . [Gerald Bartlett and the East Lansing Band received the only other] I that day. It was known as Bloody Saturday.[43]

Because of the fallout from Bloody Saturday, a single required number for band and orchestra festival no longer seamed feasible. After several years of debate, a 1971 rule change allowed directors to perform any one of the three works from the Final Festival Music List (previously, the final ballot for selecting a required number) as a required number. This led to a significant expansion of the Basic Music List. Several years later, direct balloting ended, and directors were given the liberty to select any title from the Basic Music List in their classification as a required number. [44]

One additional proposed change during this period exhibits the ongoing competition-versus-performance-versus-assessment debate. In 1969, Past President Raymond Roth made a motion to add a written theory exam to the State Band and Orchestra Festival, and he was appointed to chair a Theory Committee to study the issue.[45] The committee later recommended that a written theory exam become a component of the state festival to develop "aesthetic potential."[46] The membership narrowly rejected the recommendation, as Roth later recalled:

> We were within one or two votes of actually instituting [a theory exam into the State Band and Orchestra Festival]. What would have happened in the future if that had actually passed, I don't know; we'll never know. We began to think about measurable outcomes. We, as music educators, needed to be ready to state what we [were] teaching, why, and what our effective methods [were]. I think it . . . made us aware that we needed to answer questions of learning music, not just, "We did this concert, we marched at six games." What did our students gain from their experiences in our instrumental classes? I think opponents were afraid that there would be too much time spent on pure theory, and that they might . . . play fairly well but [receive a lower rating].[47]

The MSBOA has never added a theory component to the State Band and Orchestra Festival.

Michigan Festivals 1974-84

Between 1974 and 1984, the MSBOA made its State Band and Orchestra Festival its primary focus. Although participation remained stable, more time was spent considering changes to the event. Committees worked dozens of hours each year, often debating whether to further liberalize festival procedures or maintain contest era traditions. Debates during this period centered on the classification system. The Association maintained enrollment-based classification while many other states adopted literature-based classification (what MSBOA called open classification). An open classification pilot project was held in 1974 and 1975 festivals in four different districts.[48] A post-festival survey revealed that 70 percent of the participating teachers favored open classification, and 71 percent believed that open classification did not lower standards.[49] Eighty ensembles entered district-qualifying festivals for the first time, and seventy-

five of those did so specifically because of the open classification pilot project.[50]

Despite the success of the pilot project, traditionalists argued—as they had in the 1960s—that open classification enticed directors to under-classify their ensembles to perform easier literature. Although the open classification system had attracted new ensembles, the Festival Improvements Committee still believed that enrollment-based classification best maintained high standards, as reflected in its May 1975 report:

> We affirm the belief that the classification system currently in use in Michigan, though not perfect, is an outstanding one, and is a positive factor in the continual development of excellent music programs in our state. For [some] groups, we recommend the adoption of an alternative procedure which will not only enable, but actually encourage these groups to participate in our festivals, while keeping goals high.[51]

The "alternative procedure" that the committee proposed they called a "provisional" classification. It allowed directors of struggling programs to request to enter a lower classification than dictated by their schools' enrollment. The procedure required directors to formally apply to their district executive boards for provisional status, with the state board giving final approval. If provisional status was granted, the school's first groups could play a maximum of two levels below its enrollment-based classification. The membership adopted the provisional system and implemented it in the 1975-76 school year. Although it was not an entirely open system (there was a limit to the classification adjustment), it did give directors a new option. Still, directors were totally beholden to their district and state executive boards for permission to use it. [52]

The MSBOA piloted open classification again in 1980, implementing a two-year project in District 15, the city of Detroit. Afterward, District 15 reported that its members were overwhelmingly in favor of the new system: festival participation in the district had increased, and thirty-five Detroit schools had joined the MSBOA for the first time. [53] The membership voted to extend the project for an additional three years (through the 1984 festival).[54] Although the project is not mentioned in MSBOA records after 1982, the Association has allowed District 15 to use open classification for its district festivals every year since 1981—the only such allowance that the Association has ever made—in an attempt to assist the urban district's struggling programs.[55]

Michigan Festivals 1985-1997:

Participation in the MSBOA festivals remained steady throughout the late 1980s and the 1990s, as nearly nineteen thousand students performed at the state festival, and tens of thousands performed at the district-qualifying festivals annually.[56] Despite this, many members believed that the event was stagnant and in need of restructuring. The Festival Improvements Committee considered a host of modifications, but only a fraction of them were voted on by the membership. In 1985, the MSBOA revised the award plaques given to state festival ensembles by replacing

the words "won by" with "awarded to,"[57] signifying another step away from a pure-contest philosophy. Still, other developments demonstrated ongoing ties to contest-era traditions.

Throughout MSBOA history, many members expressed the opinion that the district festival and the state festival were practically identical, with the exception of more difficult state festival sight-reading music. According to former President Ed Downing, he and many others believed that the State Band and Orchestra Festival never "found a [definitive] format,"[58] leading many to participate only at the district level. The MSBOA made attempts to make clear distinctions between the two levels but was unsuccessful. Two of these attempts recommended transforming part of the sight-reading portion of the district festival into a clinic. In 1989, District 12 held a pilot project at its band and orchestra festival that required ensembles to sight-read one piece rather than two to allow time for a fifteen-minute clinic from the adjudicator. Although the pilot went well, the motion to make it a statewide pilot project was tabled several times and died.[59]

Michigan Festivals 1998-Present:

Participation in the State Band and Orchestra Festival has remained steady since 1998.[60] Two significant changes were considered; one was adopted, the other was not.

The most significant event of the period was the most ardent attempt to implement open classification in the Association's history. When educational reforms, alternative building schedules, and declining enrollments in urban districts affected schools during the 1990s, many members again expressed that enrollment-based classification was antiquated and no longer served the needs of all member schools.[61] Many argued that a number of the state's inner-city programs unavoidably lacked the instrumentation, technical skills, or financial resources necessary to perform class A and AA literature from the MSBOA Basic Music List. President Cliff Chapman supported this assertion in his 1997 spring report:

> We spend an inordinate amount of time and energy on classification rules and music list issues that are, in many cases, the outgrowth of various school reforms. While [enrollment-based classification] does not apply as it once did, our organization needs an umbrella of rules and procedures which will allow our directors, with many varieties of instructional delivery and scheduling, an option.[62]

In 1999, the Festival Improvements Committee proposed a new open classification system based on graded literature.[63] Each ensemble's classification would be determined by the difficulty of the required number selected from the Basic Music List, an idea the MSBOA had explored and rejected several times since the 1960s. Thinking that the "wheels of change" might turn too slowly, President Jane Church appointed Past President Chapman to chair an Open Classification Task Force to study the motion – which had been tabled – and make a recommendation to the membership.[64]

The Task Force surveyed the membership in the fall of 1999 (table 1). The survey results revealed that 60 percent of the respondents were "concerned" with enrollment-based classification and 57 percent favored replacing the current classification table with a graded-literature classification system.[65] The Task Force spent the next year reviewing the data and developing a proposal. The proposal, submitted in June 2000, recommended sweeping changes to the MSBOA classification system by removing school enrollment as a determinant and eliminating the provisional system. Ensembles would still perform a march, a required number (chosen by the director from any classification in the Basic Music List), a selected number, and sight reading. Divisional ratings would include the chosen classification (e.g., a first-division rating in class B would be reported as I-B).

At the January 2001 winter meeting, members intensely debated the adoption of the proposal. President Howard Wilson later recalled his apprehensions about maintaining order during the debate:

> [The open classification debate] scared me a lot . . . I probably did the biggest course in Robert's Rules of Order, because I was really afraid someone was going to pull a parliamentary procedure fast-one on me, [and] I wouldn't be prepared. I remember sitting in my hotel room at the Campus Inn, sweating bullets, going over my notes. . . I had downloaded a bunch of stuff at home and printed it out. I'd gotten several books on Robert's Rules and realized that you could change the agenda, you could do a lot of parliamentary things. That was my biggest fear, that [the debate and vote] wouldn't be on the up and up.[66]

Although no parliamentary issues arose, the discussion was heated. Those in favor of the proposal asserted that each director was the most appropriate person to determine his or her group's festival classification. Traditionalists argued that it was the duty of the MSBOA to maintain high musical standards and that allowing directors to choose any classification would result in large schools playing easy literature to assure a first-division rating, ultimately weakening curricula.[67] Traditionalists carried the day and defeated the proposal: 74 in favor of adoption and 125 against.[68] Several MSBOA leaders have surmised that the open classification system would have been adopted without the provision linking the ensemble's classification to its final rating, as some members considered a I-D rating inferior to a I-AA rating;[69] this suggests that competition and ensemble comparisons continued to be significant concerns for a large portion of the membership.

Table 1 Data from the 1999 Survey on Open Classification

MSBOA FESTIVAL MUSIC CLASSIFICATION SURVEY COMPILATION
November 5, 1999

A total of 308 surveys have been received as of November 4, 1999. The responses to questions requiring a "yes", "no", or "other" are listed below. Majority responses are in **bold type.**

QUESTION #1	Do you feel music classification by school size for Band and Orchestra Festivals is a concern	**YES**	**186**	NO	132	OTHER 0
QUESTION #3	Do you feel adjudication standards are impacted by school size classification for festival music selection?	**YES**	**163**	NO	124	OTHER 21
QUESTION #5	Has performance ensemble class scheduling in your school effected your festival participation in the past five years?	YES	69	**NO**	**229**	OTHER 10
QUESTION #7	Does classification by school size impact your performing ensemble curriculum?	YES	101	**NO**	**198**	OTHER 9
QUESTION #8	Do you prefer the present system of music classification by school size?	YES	109	**NO**	**169**	OTHER 30
QUESTION #9	Would you prefer a graded music classification system in place of school size?	**YES**	**176**	NO	98	OTHER 34
QUESTION #10	Would you favor a required graded music list for District and State Solo and Ensemble Festivals?	YES	129	**NO**	**159**	OTHER 20
QUESTION #11	Are you familiar with the music selection requirements in any state outside of Michigan?	YES	117	**NO**	**187**	OTHER 4
QUESTION #13	Do you feel music classification impacts the sight reading portion of District and State Festivals?	**YES**	**179**	NO	108	OTHER 21
QUESTION #15	Would you attend District and State meetings to discuss these and related topics of music selection, classification, and adjudication?	**YES**	**248**	NO	31	OTHER 29

SOURCE: Clifford Chapman

The most recent change to Michigan's festival has been the development of an adjudication rubric. Until 2017, the form used by festival adjudicators had remained largely unchanged since the 1940s: a single page with five squares on the left margin in which to place letter grades for each evaluated category (tone, intonation, rhythm, technique, and interpretation), and blank space on both sides for written comments. As teacher evaluation and student growth data came to the fore of educational reform debate during the mid-2000s, MSBOA officials began to consider making festival feedback more valid, going beyond simply a division rating. An appointed committee took two years to develop a rubric that would provide teachers and students more detailed information about their performances. The intent was not to change the festival process or to raise or lower standards, but to codify and better define current practice.[70] The result was a booklet containing a rubric with detailed descriptors of what constituted each letter grade in each evaluated category and additional space for written comments. This new tool was piloted in 2013 and 2014 and implemented statewide in 2017. According to the rubric committee chair, the biggest challenge to implementing the new form was that directors assumed that ratings would be lower. However, ratings in both 2017 and 2018 were consistent with, if not higher than, previous years. [71]

Summary and Conclusions

The continued resemblance of Michigan's current festivals to the early national contests is unmistakable. If MSBOA founder Dale Harris were able to attend a current Michigan festival site, he would find himself in a familiar setting, perhaps even comfortable enough to adjudicate. Even though the Michigan festival was never a true elimination tournament, the desire to compare ensemble performances shaped the event for much of its history. Should the current MSBOA Band and Orchestra Festival be given a DNA test, the National Band Contest would be confirmed as its parent, and competition would be identified as a strongly inherited trait. Three other influential factors existed: 1) shifting enrollment patterns and grade-level configurations; 2) the growth of the event due to its popularity; and 3) the increasing demand for data-driven accountability from the 1960s onward. While these additional factors are evident, their influence pales in comparison to the impact that the competitive instinct had on festival development.

However, is the festival essentially a contest, as Dale Harris had hoped? Despite calling it a contest, the MSBOA outwardly avoided other rhetoric identifying it as such. The Association also regularly discarded tournament-era rules, such as a single required number for all ensembles, a single performance site for each classification, and designating first-division ensembles as worthy of being a "winner." The educator-members of the organization were likely uncomfortable with overtly advocating competition as it increasingly became incompatible with popular educational philosophy. This led to a nebulous purpose for the festival, as evidenced by the dozens of revisions either enacted or considered since the 1940s.

For much of its history, Michigan's festival was a performance event that encouraged comparisons. Many progressive measures, such as adding a theory exam or moving from an

enrollment-based to a literature-based system, were not enacted. The single most important guiding principle was comparing ensembles one with another, often in the name of "fairness," to ensure that small schools and large schools performed "on a level playing field." That is what enrollment-based classification is all about, and many prominent state music associations continue to use it (e.g., the Texas University Scholastic League and the Florida School Music Association). The MSBOA considered changing to literature-based classification no fewer than four times in its history, and each time it was rejected in order to "protect" smaller schools from larger schools trying to earn a first-division rating the easy way. Likewise, when it was proposed that a school's classification be reported with the rating (e.g. I-C or II-A), members from the smaller schools thought that such a designation unfairly diminished their accomplishment, assuming a I-D rating was not as prestigious as a I-AA rating. An anatomy of Michigan's large-ensemble festival, then, reveals a peculiar hybrid: a competition with as many "winners" as possible; a comparison of ensembles that should not be compared, and an assessment with an unclear purpose. This lack of clarity and the dissatisfaction of some members may have been a contributing factor in the creation of a non-rated performance clinic by the Michigan Music Education Association in 2013.[72]

The study of Michigan's festivals has several implications for festival practice nationwide. First, the need for a two-tiered (district and state) festival system in which both levels offer the same experience is questionable. In Michigan, the district and state levels occur only weeks apart, meaning that ensembles often practice the same repertoire for months. For decades, Michigan teachers questioned the efficacy of this practice. States with such a system might consider making the district and state festival experiences distinctly different from one another or eliminating one level altogether.

Second, enrollment-based classification may now be inappropriate for many ensembles, yet it is still used by a number of states. It can be difficult, if not impossible, for some large-school programs to perform the advanced literature that their enrollments require, especially if those schools are underserved or have not adopted best-practice policies for optimal program support. The New York State School Music Association bases classification solely on literature selection, as does the Idaho Music Educators Association. The Wisconsin School Music Association allows the director to determine classification based on the approximate number of years the students in an ensemble have studied their instrument, regardless of grade level.[73] Allowing the teacher/director the freedom to choose an appropriate festival classification may better address the situational needs of each ensemble and help mitigate the circumstances of disadvantaged programs.

Additionally, the evolution of Michigan's festival also reveals the need for state Associations to be responsive to their memberships. In spite of the call for literature-based classification for decades and a number of successful pilot projects, enrollment-based classification was maintained while officers, at times, turned a deaf ear to the desires of the membership. In most cases the membership voted on policy and rule changes, but only those

members present at a statewide membership meeting were allowed to cast a ballot, effectively disenfranchising those unable to attend. Implementation of online voting would allow all voices to be heard.

Research findings of festival practices may not support the use of ratings in teacher evaluations.[74] National Association for Music Education policy makes allowance for such use, but only when "valid and reliable measures" are used.[75] Studies of the reliability and validity of festival ratings in several states reveal concerns in these areas. Barnes and McCashin concluded that the length of the festival day could influence ratings.[76] Studies by Rickles, King and Burnsed, and Killian all indicated that ensemble size may affect adjudication.[77] And in his meta analysis of music festival research, Hash reported that a number of non-instructional and non-musical factors have been found to affect ratings, including judges' experience and training, the type of adjudication form used, the performance order of groups, and the difficulty of the repertoire.[78] These findings should give pause to policy makers inclined to tie festival ratings to evaluation.

Policy makers can also learn from changes made to Florida's festival system. In 2001 the Florida School Music Association (FSMA) renamed its traditional festival the Music Performance Assessment (MPA). The FSMA began describing it as "a major assessment event for secondary music programs [that] may give a significant measure of the success of a music program on a campus." No structural or operational changes to the festival accompanied the renaming. Nevertheless, some Florida school districts are using MPA ratings in teacher evaluation.[79] Furthermore, Perrine examined the reliability and validity of scores earned at the 2010-11 MPA and discovered that several non-musical factors affected the final ratings: larger groups and ensembles from larger schools tended to receive higher ratings, while groups with higher percentages of minority students and students receiving a free/reduced lunch tended to receive lower ratings.[80] This suggests that Florida administrators giving poor evaluations to teachers due to festival ratings may be doing so using flawed data.

Large-ensemble festivals have done much to promote music education. They are and will likely remain popular. While a festival does evaluate a group's performance, it is only a single performance, outside the context of the curricula and the classroom.[81] Thus it cannot accurately measure growth in a given year. A host of extra-musical factors outside the control of the teacher/director can negatively affect a single performance, including student illness, performing in an unknown venue, or changes to the school's calendar that disrupt preparation. Therefore, using large-ensemble festival ratings as a factor in teacher evaluation lacks validity and could unjustly jeopardize careers.

ENDNOTES

1. *No Child Left Behind* was a Congressional reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. It supported standards-based education reform and required all public schools to administer standardized tests annually to all students. See https://www2.ed.gov/policy/elsec/leg/esea02/index.html, accessed January 14, 2019.

2. *Race to the Top*, funded by the American Recovery and reinvestment Act of 2009, was a competitive grant program for local and state innovations in public education. It incentivized performance-based evaluation of educators, the adoption of common standards, and the increase of charter schools. See https://www2.ed.gov/programs/racetothetop/index.html, accessed January 14, 2019.

3. Laura S. Hamilton, Brian M. Stecher, and Stephen P. Klein, *Making Sense of Test-Based Accountability in Education* (Santa Monica, CA: Rand, 2002), 17-30; Martin Carnoy, Richard Elmore, and Leslie Santee, *The New Accountability: High Schools and High Stakes Testing* (Taylor and Francis Books: New York, 2013): 1-12; Kathryn A. McDermott, "'Expanding the Moral Community' or 'Blaming the Victim'? The Politics of State Education Accountability Policy," *American Educational Research Journal* 44, no. 1 (March 2007): 77-111; Christine E. Sleeter, *Facing accountability in education: Democracy and Equity at Risk* (Faculty Authored Books: 2007); Jaekyung Lee, "Is Test-Driven External Accountability Effective? Synthesizing the Evidence from Cross-State Causal-Comparative and Correlational Studies," *Review of Educational Research* 78, no. 3 (Sep., 2008), 608-644.

4. The "assessment" label is used in a number for states, including Alabama, Florida, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina.

5. John Straube, Executive Director, Kentucky Music Educators Association, email to the author, January 28, 2019. Mr. Straube was quoting from the undated minutes of the Festival Commission for Performance Assessment.

6. Noreen Diamond Burdett, "The High School Contest Movement in the United States" (PhD diss., Boston University, 1985): 147-150..

7. Michael L Mark and Charles L. Gary, *A History of Music Education* (Reston, VA: MENC, The National Association for Music Education, 1999): 271; Julie Dunbar, "Support Network Alignment in the Early Development of School Bands: A New Interpretation of the Band Contest Era," in *Dialogue in Instrumental Music Education* 18, no. 2 (1994): 34-52; Frank Battisti, *The Winds of Change: The Evolution of the Contemporary American Wind Band/Ensemble* (Galesville, MD: Meredith Music, 2002), 219-221; Richard K. Hansen, *The American Wind Band: A Cultural History* (Chicago: GIA, 2005): 66; Jere T. Humphreys, "An Overview of American Public School Bands and Orchestras before World War II," *Bulletin of the Council for Research in Music Education* 101 (Summer 1989): 50-60.

8. Emil A. Holz, "The School Band Contest of America (1923)," *Journal of Research in Music Education* 10 (Spring 1962): 3.

9. Burdett, "Contest Movement," 20-29.

10. Ibid, 70-74.

11. Burdett, "Contest Movement," 93.

12. Ibid, 147-249.

13. Joseph Maddy, "The Competition-Festival of the Future." *Music Educators Journal* 23, no. 3 (Dec., 1936): 17-18, 20.

14. Peter W. Dykema, "The Contest Idea in Music," *Music Supervisors' Journal* 10, No. 2 (Dec., 1923): 14, 16, 18, 58-62. It is interesting to note that the 1920s were the so-called "Golden Age of Sports," when American popular culture became more centered on athletic events and athletes.

15. Grace V Wilson, "Making the Most of Contests," *Music Supervisors' Journal* 13, No. 2 (Dec., 1926): 11, 13, 65; John H. Stehn, "The Music Contest and Music Education," *Music Educators Journal* 33, No. 4 (Feb. - Mar., 1947): 48, 50; Thomas A. Regelski, Maurice C. Whitney, Edward S. Meadows and William Baker, "Contest Symposium," *Music Educators Journal* 53, No. 1 (Sep., 1966): 60-63, 140, 143; Jack Pierson, "Variation on a Theme," *Music Educators Journal* 81, no. 3 (Nov., 1994): 10-11.

16. Joseph E. Maddy, "The Contest in Education," *Music Supervisors' Journal* 18, No. 2 (Dec. 1931): 45.

17. Hellen Rae Wunderlich, "Festivals Make Me Furious," *Music Educators Journal* 38 no. 2 (Nov.-Dec., 1951): 20; Gene Chenoweth, "What Shall We Do about Competition?", *Music Educators Journal* 33, No. 3 (Jan., 1947): 20-21, 24; James R. Austin, "Competition is Music Education the Loser?", *Music Educators Journal* 76, no. 6 (Feb., 1990): 21-23; Rodney E. Miller, "A Dysfunctional Culture: Competition in Music," *Music Educators Journal* 81, No. 3 (Nov., 1994): 31.

18. For example, competitive marching band circuits (patterned after Drum Corps International) and regional/national concert ensemble contests sponsored by organizations like Bands of America.

19. See James B. Hause, "A History of the Michigan School Band and Orchestra Association: The First Twenty-Five Years 1934-1950," (EdD diss., University of Michigan, 1969): 56-88.

20. William D. Revelli, "Just a Thought or Two," MSBOA Journal (December 1953): 8.

21. See Hause, "A History," 94-110.

22. Bulletin of Michigan School Band and Orchestra Association—1938 Festivals (March 17, 1938), quoted in Hause, "A History," 99. See also *2018-19 MSBOA Yearbook*, 55-70.

23. James B. Hause, MSBOA historian, interview by the author, Ypsilanti, Michigan, March 18, 2009, original recording and transcript in the possession of the author.

24. Raymond Roth, former president, MSBOA, interview by the author, Mackinaw City, Michigan, June 29, 2009, original recording and transcript in the possession of the author.

25. See MSBOA festival records from the period.

26. In 1966, the approximately 800 schools that were MSBOA members entered a total of 950 events in the district-qualifying festivals. See MSBOA Minutes of the General Membership, Meeting of May 7, 1966.

27. MSBOA Minutes of the General Membership, Meeting of May 13, 1961; MSBOA Minutes of the General Membership, Meeting of May 1, 1965.

28. MSBOA Minutes of the General Membership, Meeting of January 13, 1968.

29. *MSBOA Journal* (February 1947): 7.

30. Hause, interview; Roth, interview.

31. MSBOA Minutes of the General Membership, Meeting of June 3, 1972. Post-elementary schemes included grades 6-8, 7-8, 7-9, 8-9, 9-12, and 10-12.

32. E. A. Morris, "Notes From the Staff," *MSBOA Journal* (November 1963): 4; MSBOA Committee on Reclassification Report, May 4, 1964; "Band and Orchestra Rules and Information," *MSBOA Journal* (February 1965): 19; MSBOA Festival Improvements Committee Report, May 1, 1965; MSBOA Minutes of the Executive Board, Meeting of May 1, 1965.

33. Nathan Judson, former president, MSBOA, interview by the author, Grosse Pointe, Michigan, March 24, 2009, original recording and transcript in the possession of the author; MSBOA Minutes of the General Membership, Meeting of October 7, 1972.

34. MSBOA Committee on Reclassification Report, September 23, 1963.

35. MSBOA Revision Committee Report, May 1962.

36. Arthur Hills, Memo to District Presidents, April 24, 1962.

37. MSBOA Minutes of the General Membership, Meeting of September 17, 1960; "Procedure For Music Selection," *MSBOA Journal* (November 1960): 23. Until 1947, a title could only appear on the Preliminary list for three successive years, and once used as the required number, could not reappear on the Preliminary list for three years. Beginning in 1947, a Music Selection Committee began submitting a Basic Music List each spring that consisted of no more than nine titles per classification. This list served as a preliminary ballot for the festival's required number and was used by the membership to determine a Final Festival Music List of three titles per classification at the fall general meeting. The membership then voted for one title per classification at its winter meeting, and these works became the required numbers for that year's festivals. Under the new rules, each year the members chose six works for the preliminary ballot, three for the final ballot, and one as the required number.

38. MSBOA Minutes of the General Membership, Meeting of January 11, 1962.

39. Roth, interview.

40. The Midwestern Conference on School Vocal and Instrumental Music was held each winter on the University of Michigan campus. It was Michigan's primary professional conference for music educators, and during the middle of the 20th century, was one of the premier events of its kind in the United States.

41. Judson, interview.

42. Roth, interview.

43. Ibid.

44. Judson, interview; Bruce Galbraith, former MSBOA Managing Secretary, interview by the author, Celina, Ohio, June 17, 2009, original recording and transcript in the possession of the author; MSBOA Minutes of the General Membership, Meeting of October 2, 1972; MSBOA Basic Music List, 1972-73 through 1978-79 (most classifications ended up with over 50 titles); MSBOA Minutes of the General Membership, Meeting of January 24, 1976; MSBOA Minutes of the General Membership, Meeting of June 4, 1977.

45. MSBOA Minutes of the General Membership, Meeting of October 4, 1969.

46. MSBOA Theory Committee Report, May 23, 1970. Music Education as Aesthetic Education (MEAE) had become the preferred philosophy of many music educators by 1970, a philosophy espoused by Bennett Reimer in a book published that same year. See Bennett Reimer, *A Philosophy of Music Education*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, 1970.

47. Roth, interview.

48. MSBOA Minutes of the General Membership, Meeting of September 8, 1973. The pilot project was held in Districts 3, 8, 10, and 15.

49. MSBOA Festival Improvements Committee Report, June 1, 1974.

50. MSBOA Festival Improvements Committee Report, May 31, 1975.

51. Ibid.

52. Ibid; MSBOA Minutes of the General Membership, Meeting of May 31, 1975.

53. MSBOA Minutes of the General Membership, Meeting of June 2, 1979; MSBOA Minutes of the General Membership, Meeting of May 30, 1981.

54. Ibid.

55. Paul Lichau, MSBOA Executive Director and former MSBOA Assistant Director, interview by the author, Okemos, Michigan, June 17, 2010, original recording and transcript in the possession of the author.

56. See *MSBOA State Band & Orchestra Program* editions between 1984 and 2000.

57. MSBOA Minutes of the General Membership, Meeting of June 1, 1985.

58. Edward Downing, former president, MSBOA, interview by the author, Traverse City, Michigan, July 2, 2009, original recording and transcript in the possession of the author.

59. MSBOA Minutes of the General Membership, 1988-1990. In 1990, the Executive Board announced its intention to appoint an ad hoc committee to study and recommend changes to the festival system, which included the District 12 pilot project, but the committee was never appointed (see MSBOA Minutes of the General Membership, 1990-1992)

60. See *MSBOA State Band & Orchestra Program* editions between 1998 and 2015.

61. Clifford Chapman, former president, MSBOA, interview by the author, White Lake, Michigan, November 10, 2009, original recording and transcript in the possession of the author. Block scheduling was very popular in the 1990s and was implemented in a number of Michigan schools. See Richard B. Miles and Larry R. Blocher, "A Survey of Block Scheduling Implementation on Secondary School Music Programs in Michigan," *MSBOA Journal* (Spring 1996): 57-60; MSBOA President's Report, November 15, 1997.

62. MSBOA President's Report, May 31, 1997.

63. MSBOA Minutes of the General Membership, Meeting of January 23, 1999.

64. Jane Church, former president, MSBOA, interview by the author, East Lansing, Michigan, November 16, 2009, original recording and transcript in the possession of the author; MSBOA President's Report, June 5, 1999. Originally, Church planned to refer the matter to the Policy Study Committee, also chaired by Chapman. But because the past president was completing the work of the Policy Study Committee without the assistance of additional committee members, Church created the new task force, appointing herself, several former presidents (including Chapman), and other members.

65. MSBOA Task Force on Open Classification Report, November 6, 1999.

66. Howard Wilson, former president, MSBOA, interview by the author, Howard City, Michigan, October 24, 2009, original recording and transcript in the possession of the author.

67. Chapman, interview; Church, interview; Wilson, interview; Lloyd Whitehead, Task Force member and former MSBOA President, interview by the author, Pittsfield Township, Michigan, October 7, 2009, original recording and transcript in the possession of the author.

68. MSBOA Minutes of the General Membership, Meeting of January 20, 2001.

69. Church, interview; Lichau, interview; Mike Eagan and Cindy Swan Eagan, former presidents, MSBOA, telephone interview by the author, December 11, 2009.

70. Rick L. Catherman, former Vice President of Adjudication, MSBOA, interview by the author, Dexter, Michigan, January 3, 2017, original recording in the possession of the author. Catherman was largely responsible for leading the rubric development and chaired the committee.

71. Ibid. In a recent examination of Michigan festival scores in 2015 and 2018, Hash determined that the new rubric actually raised composite scores; see Phillip M. Hash, "A Comparison of Two Band and Orchestra Festival Adjudication Forms, *Journal of Band Research* (in press).

72. The Michigan Music Education Association (the state chapter of National Association for Music Education, with no official connection with MSBOA) Instrumental Clinics are ensemble performance events in which clinicians provide oral feedback (but no ratings) followed by a clinic from one of the panelists. The author contacted the MMEA to determine the genesis of the Clinics, and the following statement was provided: "MMEA instrumental clinics are facilitated by participant directors at locations around the state, and were developed, and continue to be updated based upon input and feedback from music educators, in an attempt to provide the most rewarding and educational experience for both students and directors." See Lisa Furman, MMEA President, and Cory Mays, MMEA Executive Director, email to the author, February 11, 2019.

73. See https://www.nyssma.org/parents-students/, accessed October 28, 2018; https://www.idahomusiced.org/rules/ihsaarules.php, accessed October 28, 2018; https://wsmamusic.org/festival-resources/rules/#CGE, accessed October 28, 2018.

74. Paul Lichau and Garrett Ernst, "Using the Michigan School Band and Orchestra Association Festivals as a Component of the Evaluation Process," workshop presented at the Educator Evaluation Best Practices Conference, Michigan Institute for Educational Management, Lansing, Michigan, April 15, 2011; Rick L. Catherman, "MSBOA Adjudication Report," January 2011, accessed January 25, 2019 at http://www.msboa.org/Portals/0/downloads/minutes/2011_winter_packet.pdf.

75. National Association for Music Education, "Teacher Evaluation (Position Statement)," accessed January 24, 2019 at https://nafme.org/about/position-statements/teacher-evaluation-position-statement/teacher-evaluation/.

76. Gail V. Barnes and Robert McCashin, "Practices and Procedures in State Adjudicated Orchestra Festivals," *Update: Applications of Research in Music Education* 23, no. 2 (March 2005): 34–41.

77. David A. Rickles, A Multivariate Analysis of Nonperformance Variables as Predictors of Marching Band Contests (DMA diss., Arizona State University, 2009), accessed January 25, 2019 at https://works.bepress.com/david_rickels/3/; Stephen E. King and Vernon Burnsed, "A Study of the Reliability of Adjudicator Ratings at the 2005 Virginia Band and Orchestra Director's Association State Marching Band Festivals," *Journal of Band Research*, 45, no. 1 (Fall 2009): 27-32; Janice Killian, "Effect of Music Selection on Contest Ratings: Year Three of a Continuing Study," *Texas Music Education Research*, accessed January 27, 2019 at https://www.tmea.org/assets/pdf/research/TexasMusicEducationResearch_2000.pdf#page=56.

78. Phillip M. Hash, "Large-Group Contest Ratings and Music Teacher Evaluation: Issues and Recommendations, *Arts Education Policy Review* 114, no. 4 (Sep. 2013):163-169.

79. Florida School Music Association, "Explanation of Terms Used in the State Music Report," accessed January 27, 2019 at https://floridaschoolmusic.org/media/1138/explanation-of-terms-mpa.pdf; Neil Jenkins, Executive Director, Florida Bandmasters Association, email to the author, January 31, 2019.

80. William M. Perrine, "Effects of Selected Nonmusical Characteristics and Band Festival Participation, Scores, and Literature Difficulty, *Arts Education Policy Review* 117, no. 1 (Jan. 2016): 19-28.

81. Hash, "Large-Group Contest Ratings," 165.

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