

Journal of the American Musicological Society



VOLUME 64 • NUMBER 2
SUMMER 2011

The March as Musical Drama and the Spectacle
of John Philip Sousa
PATRICK WARFIELD

“Forward to Haydn!”: Schenker’s Politics and
the German Revival of Haydn
BRYAN PROKSCH

Musical Communities: Rethinking
the Collective in Music
KAY KAUFMAN SHELEMAY

The March as Musical Drama and the Spectacle of John Philip Sousa

PATRICK WARFIELD

On 14 May 1897 John Philip Sousa and his band of fifty musicians arrived in Philadelphia where they were scheduled to begin a series of three concerts at the Academy of Music. These appearances by the ensemble, perhaps the most celebrated in America, coincided with the arrival of William McKinley. Both the American President and the American March King were in town to celebrate the dedication of Rudolf Siemering's new George Washington statue in Fairmount Park. By 1897, Sousa was well known to Philadelphia audiences, and these concerts marked his third visit of the season. But his May engagements would be special: for Philadelphia, Sousa had written a new march.

Throughout his forty-year career as leader of one of America's most successful touring organizations, Sousa often worked to attach his compositions to events of local or national importance (*The Washington Post* for an 1889 competition held by the newspaper; *The Liberty Bell* for the 1893 tour of that American icon; *A Century of Progress* for the 1933 World's Fair in Chicago). Such timely titling was a sure way to drum up interest, improve ticket sales, and guarantee the success of sheet music, which was often decorated with lavish images designed to make the connection all the more obvious. The 1897 Philadelphia performances provided yet another opportunity to have a new march advertised in the press, fawned over by the public, and succeed in the marketplace, and so a week before the first concert Sousa promised Philadelphians a reward for their faithful patronage: "Mr. Sousa's latest march will be given, the name of which, by arrangement with his publisher, cannot be announced until the 14th inst. Of this, Mr. Sousa writes that it is the greatest of

Shorter versions of this paper were read at the Thirty-First Annual Conference of the Nineteenth Century Studies Association in Tampa on 12 March 2010, and again at the Seventy-Sixth Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society in Indianapolis on 6 November 2010 (Sousa's 156th birthday). I am deeply grateful for the suggestions, comments, and encouragement offered by participants at both conferences and by the anonymous readers for this *Journal*. Many of the ideas presented here are the results of conversations I had while preparing my own edition of *John Philip Sousa: Six Marches*. I am grateful to the editorial staff of the series *Music in the United States of America*, especially Richard Crawford, for their suggestions.

his career.”¹ Following the Philadelphia premiere, reviews suggest that Sousa’s strategy was successful; his new march, *The Stars and Stripes Forever*, was “stirring enough to rouse the American eagle from his crag and set him to shriek exultantly while he hurls his arrows at the aurora borealis.”²

Sousa later explained that he mentally composed *The Stars and Stripes Forever* while traveling aboard the White Star Liner *Teutonic* from Liverpool to New York. The pencil piano draft was finished shortly after his arrival, and Sousa dated it Christmas Day 1896. A full score for band was completed several months later, on 26 April. From this moment in April, three weeks remained until the Philadelphia concert, an interval that left plenty of time to copy out band parts and submit a score for copyright.³

Over the course of these nineteen days, however, the Sousa Band played thirty-one concerts in nearly as many cities. As Table 1 demonstrates, not a single evening was left dark and only a handful of afternoons lacked matinees, no doubt to accommodate the band’s travel. Such hectic touring was, of course, typical for Sousa’s ensemble. Between its formation in September of 1892 and Sousa’s death in March of 1932, the band played 15,623 concerts as it traveled from New York to San Francisco, from Montreal to New Orleans, and from St. Joseph to Johannesburg. Such a schedule left little opportunity for rehearsal, and when travel is factored into the band’s itinerary, it is hard to see where they could have found time away from an audience or train car to prepare *The Stars and Stripes Forever* for its official premiere on 14 May 1897.⁴

A lesson can be drawn from this story of a march promised, a march written, and a march (sort of) premiered.⁵ John Philip Sousa was born in

1. “May Musical Musings,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 9 May 1897, 20.

2. “Academy of Music—Sousa’s Band,” probably from the *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, 15 May 1897, HJ 5, p. 47. The library of the United States Marine Band in Washington, D.C., holds more than eighty volumes of Sousa-related press clippings. These press books were once in the possession of Herbert Johnston, and are today referred to by their HJ numbers. The Marine Band also possesses an earlier press book, referred to as the Fowles scrapbook after its one-time owner. Many of the clippings in these volumes are only hand labeled, and the best guess as to their origins is presented here.

3. The march was deposited for copyright on 14 May, the very day of the Philadelphia premiere, presumably to protect the secrecy of Sousa’s latest title. All of the holograph sources for this march are currently part of the Sousa Collection at the Library of Congress, a good portion of which is available online through the library’s website at <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/diglib/ihas/html/sousa/sousa-home.html>. The materials can also be found as part of the facsimile edition published by the Library of Congress and the Ludwig Music Company in 1998.

4. Complete concert information for the Sousa Band can be found in Bierley, *Incredible Band of John Philip Sousa*. Bierley is the author of two other standard reference books on Sousa: *John Philip Sousa: American Phenomenon* and *John Philip Sousa: A Descriptive Catalog of His Works*. He also edited the reprinting of Sousa’s autobiography, *Marching Along*. All page citations are to the reprint editions.

5. James Smart has already proposed a solution to the problem of *The Stars and Stripes Forever*, and we shall return to it shortly. See Smart, “Genesis of a March.”

Table 1 Sousa Band Concerts from 26 April to 14 May 1897

26 April	Boston, MA (matinee and evening)
27 April	Lynn, MA (evening)
28 April	Saco, ME (matinee) / Portland, ME (evening)
29 April	Waterville, ME (matinee) / Bangor, ME (evening)
30 April	Belfast, ME (matinee) / Rockland, ME (evening)
1 May	Augusta, ME (matinee) / Lewiston, ME (evening)
2 May	Boston, MA (evening)
3 May	Plymouth, MA (matinee) / Brockton, MA (evening)
4 May	Salem, MA (evening)
5 May	Manchester, NH (matinee and evening)
6 May	Haverhill, MA (evening)
7 May	Lowell, MA (matinee and evening)
8 May	New Bedford, MA (matinee and evening)
9 May	Boston, MA (evening)
10 May	Lawrence, MA (evening)
11 May	Middleboro, MA (matinee) / Fall River, MA (evening)
12 May	Providence, RI (matinee and evening)
13 May	New London, CT (matinee) / Norwich, CT (evening)
14 May	Philadelphia, PA (evening)

Washington, D.C., in 1854; but his alter ego, the March King, was created on the road, during those some 15,000 concerts that took his band across America, four times through Europe, and once around the globe.⁶ This March King was, of course, a composer, arranger, and conductor. But he was also America's star performer. In short, the March King was much more than a musician; he was a character, one defined by his full-blooded patriotism and masculine virility. As he traveled the nation, Sousa presented this character to audiences from the stage, in the press, and through music.⁷

At the heart of this March King character was the Sousa march itself. Under the composer's baton, pieces like *The Stars and Stripes Forever* became much more than three-minute trifles, full of repeats, sold as sheet music, and

6. The Sousa Band visited France, Belgium, Germany, and Holland in 1900; England and Scotland in 1901; Great Britain, France, Belgium, Germany, Poland, Bohemia, Denmark, Holland, and Russia in 1903; and Great Britain in 1905. In 1911 the ensemble undertook a historic World Tour, during which they traveled to South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and Hawaii. The world tour is documented in Warfield, "Essence of Uncle Sam: John Philip Sousa's 1911 World Tour."

7. In examining Sousa's persona, I am borrowing from Philip Auslander's argument that all musicians, from the relatively anonymous section violinist to the flamboyant rock guitarist are playing a part: "What musicians perform first and foremost is not music, but their own identities as musicians, their musical personae"; "Musical Personae," 102. See also idem, "Performance Analysis and Popular Music: A Manifesto." Also useful is Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening*. Small's conception of musicking is far more complex than what will be used here, but it is useful to remind us that what really happens at a musical performance is an interaction between the performer and audience (as well as stage hands, architects, and critics) and not simply the presentation of a musical text.

played by bands. Every element of the Sousa march, from its initial announcement through to its appearance on concerts and in middle-class parlors, converged to create Sousa's reputation as the March King. This reputation was rooted in the march as music, but Sousa's fame was not limited to notes on the page. The march was part of a much larger event, one that relied on all the tricks of the celebrity showman, from advertisement to programming and from interviews to performance practice. Indeed, the Sousa march was an integral part of a complex theatrical ritual presented to adoring American audiences and to fans around the world.

The great wind band conductor Frederick Fennell once cited *The Stars and Stripes Forever* as an example of Sousa's "layer-cake construction."⁸ Fennell was, of course, referring to Sousa's thrice-repeated trio, which is heard first only with its principal melody and accompaniment, then with an added piccolo obbligato, and finally with a trombone countermelody. The March King, too, consisted of layers, which when pulled away reveal a carefully constructed persona. Contained within these layers is Sousa the composer, who created music for publication and sale; Sousa the public figure, who frequently used the press to address his audience; Sousa the programmer, carefully crafting concerts that both harkened to a familiar past and catered to a modern taste; and finally Sousa the performer, who delighted and reassured audiences from his exalted position on the podium.

In creating this multilayered persona, Sousa strove to model the very traits his late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century listeners hoped to find in themselves: a self-assured sense of masculinity, a confident patriotism, and a comfortable, if not always well-articulated, balance between cultural sophistication and more everyday musical sensibilities. The character of the March King thus allows access not only to the bands and marches of a repertoire still performed widely across the U.S., but also to turn-of-the-century American practicalities of musical commodification, habits of programming, sensibilities of reception, and constructions of gender.

The March as Musical Commodity

On the printed page the Sousa march appears a simple thing. Experience as well as scholarship has taught us that these omnipresent musical miniatures are short works for ensembles of winds alone, always and obviously in duple meter, containing a single key change that is, virtually without exception, to the subdominant. Thinking of the march as an uncomplicated and autonomous work, one might be surprised by just how completely the genre has resisted efforts to explain its charm. Having counted Sousa's various sonorities, one

8. Fennell, "Sousa March: A Personal View," 102n30.

devotee unhelpfully declared: “There is little doubt that the favorite chords of Sousa were the tonic, dominant and the dominant seventh.”⁹

Frustrated by the composer’s musical directness, the Sousa scholar might justifiably turn to the problems of source material. Modern familiarity with Sousa is based largely on high school and university band concerts, or on the many performances of Sousa that occur during patriotic, sporting, and civic events.¹⁰ But modern conductors actually have quite limited options for performing Sousa. On the one hand, reprintings of original march editions are readily available. These materials, however, are quite problematic. Nineteenth- and early twentieth-century bands were often led by their first cornetist, and given the conventions of early wind band scoring, this player/conductor would simply deduce a piece’s likely orchestration from his own part. Publishers therefore found it not only unnecessary, but financially wasteful, to produce a full band score. As a result, almost all printings of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century band music contain only individual parts.¹¹ As the public eagerly anticipated new works from the March King’s pen (pieces that often capitalized on commemorative or commercial events) new marches were routinely rushed to publication, almost always in a small-sized format suitable for use in parade folders. Such hasty copyediting and compact size resulted in parts that contain a startling number of errors and inconsistencies, errors that remain almost completely uncorrected in the modern reprintings still used by bands.¹² Conductors looking for a full score can also turn to any

9. Evenson, “March Style of Sousa,” 15. Such frustrated analyses are common in the Sousa and wind band literature, and many studies—while providing useful data—come a bit too close to cataloging the obvious. When Sousa’s music is mentioned in the context of music theory, it is usually because his pieces are direct enough to provide understandable examples, as in Polansky and Bassein, “Possible and Impossible Melody: Some Formal Aspects of Contour,” and Gauldin, “Theory and Practice of Chromatic Wedge Progressions in Romantic Music.”

10. A number of studies have shown that Sousa remained one of the most frequently performed band composers in educational settings well after his death. See for example Holvik, “Emerging Band Repertory, A Survey of the Members of the CBDNA”; Fiese, “College and University Wind Band Repertoire 1980–1985”; and Hopwood, “Wind Band Repertoire.” Of course Sousa is also commonly heard at sporting events and during patriotic and pops concerts.

11. Sousa generally followed a multistep process when composing. After some melodic sketching, he would draft two piano versions of a march, the first in pencil and the second in ink. Using the pencil version, Sousa would then write out a full score for band (in this step he was rather unusual among band composers, as most would simply prepare a short score from which a copyist could use conventional practice to derive parts). From this score, two sets of hand-copied parts were then extracted. One was sent, along with the ink holograph piano version, to the publisher, and the other was used by the Sousa Band to premiere the march. The set given to the engraver was usually destroyed once it was no longer needed. As the parts used by the band were too bulky to be convenient on tour, they were usually discarded once the more compact printed parts became available. Broken sets of copyist parts are known to exist for fewer than thirty of Sousa’s marches (including *The Stars and Stripes Forever*).

12. The issue of sources is discussed more fully in my edition of *John Philip Sousa: Six Marches*. There are three primary repositories for Sousa source materials. The band’s performing library is found mostly at the Sousa Archives: A Center for American Music at the University of

of several recent editions of Sousa's works, almost all of which suffer from the scholarly disadvantage of being updated for modern band.¹³

Addressing such textual concerns, while important, does little to explain the appeal of Sousa's marches. The problem is that Sousa has thus far been approached primarily as a composer, and the march as a printed work to be bought and sold. Sousa's marches were indeed published in a wide range of editions, and the composer relied on their sale for much of his livelihood. *The Stars and Stripes Forever*, for example, was famously made available in 1897 by the John Church Company not only for band, but for orchestra, piano (two, four, or six hands); zither solo or duet; mandolin solo or accompanied by piano, guitar, or both (or two mandolins accompanied by the same); guitar solo or duet; banjo solo or duet; or banjo with piano.¹⁴ But Sousa's fame and wealth did not come exclusively from publication. He was, from the mid-1890s to the mid-1920s, one of America's most celebrated performers. This Sousa, the composer-entertainer, became such an integral part of American culture that by 1898 the *Musical Courier* could declare: "It is Sousa in the band, Sousa in the orchestra, Sousa in the phonograph, Sousa in the hand organ, Sousa in the music box, Sousa everywhere. The American composer is the man, not of the hour or of the day, but of the time!"¹⁵

In order to attend to both Sousa the composer and Sousa the performer, it is useful to examine the march not only as printed music, but also as a work presented to audiences who already had expectations for both the genre and its performer. To meet these expectations, Sousa crafted a public image that responded to the anxieties of his audience, and in doing so presented them with a dramatic persona: the March King. Through this character, Sousa helped to bridge old and new understandings of concert programming, democratic music making, and American masculinity. In the process, Sousa's appearance on stage was transformed from a mere concert into a ritualized event with its own set of theatrical conventions. A Sousa performance extended well beyond the concert itself, with the March King persona shaped by biography, composition, publicity, and spectacle. This transformation is not as

Illinois in Urbana-Champaign. This collection is documented in Danner, *Sousa at Illinois*. Many of Sousa's sketches and holograph materials are now part of the Sousa Collection at the Library of Congress in Washington, DC. The most important source for Sousa's marches, however, are the band's encore books, now housed at the United States Marine Band Library in Washington, DC.

13. Several of the twentieth-century's great wind band conductors, including Raymond Dvorak and Frederick Fennell, have adapted Sousa's marches to reflect modern band instrumentation. Others have simplified Sousa's music for primary and secondary school bands. For a survey of the latter, see Cowherd, "Sousa Marches: The Arranged Versions."

14. Most of these arrangements were included with the original copyright deposit, suggesting that they were prepared in the publisher's house, rather than by Sousa himself. The band and orchestra versions were not received by the Copyright Office until some weeks later.

15. "Era of Sousa."

surprising as it might first seem, as Sousa—the quintessential bandmaster—had roots in the theater.¹⁶

The March King as Predetermined Biography

Sousa's biography formed a key part of the March King's persona, and was well known to his audiences through carefully targeted profiles, interviews, and articles. As his story is usually told, John Philip Sousa was predestined from the cradle to write patriotic music. He was born in 1854 in Washington, D.C., with the band march in his blood. Sousa's father, Antonio, served as a trombonist in the United States Marine Band, and at the age of thirteen the young Sousa enlisted in that ensemble's apprentice program. Following a brief trip to Philadelphia to play at the Centennial celebrations, Sousa returned to Washington in 1880 to become the youngest and first American-born leader of the Marine Band. Here he would write his first famous marches, including *Semper Fidelis* (1888) and *The Washington Post* (1889).¹⁷ Tired of working in obscurity, Sousa left Washington in 1892 to form his own private, commercial band. With this ensemble Sousa would make annual tours across the United States, perform at the nation's major fairs and expositions, tour Europe, and in 1911 travel around the world. The Sousa Band continued to play an important role in American entertainment through the 1920s. In 1932, after leading a rehearsal of the Ringgold Band in Reading, Pennsylvania, John Philip Sousa died; the last piece he conducted was his own march, *The Stars and Stripes Forever*.

This biography, which is correct as far as it goes, was the one stressed by Sousa's first manager, David Blakely. In 1891 and 1892 Blakely, who had earlier organized appearances by Theodore Thomas and managed concert tours by Patrick Gilmore, arranged for the entire Marine Band to receive military leave and undertake two national tours. These were little more than trial runs for the professional band Blakely hoped to manage once he convinced Sousa

16. For more on Sousa's relationship to his audience see Byrne, "Patriotism and Marketing Built the Sousa Legend"; and Harris, "John Philip Sousa and the Culture of Reassurance." Neither of these studies, however, addresses the interrelationship between Sousa's music and his performance persona.

17. Sousa had written a handful of earlier marches, the first of which was *Review*, published by the Philadelphia house of Lee and Walker in 1873. Many of Sousa's Marine Band-era marches were published by Harry Coleman of Philadelphia, and Coleman was probably responsible for Sousa's label as the "March King." The publisher discovered that a British brass-band journal (as yet unidentified) had compared Sousa to the "Waltz King," Johann Strauss. Coleman then issued an advertisement: "You can hear his music from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf Stream. The March King reigns supreme!" Given this story's placement in Sousa's autobiography, the royal designation was probably conferred between 1889 and 1892; Sousa, *Marching Along*, 111.

to leave the security of military employment.¹⁸ Naturally, Blakely molded Sousa into a distinctly American composer by stressing his connections to the capital city and noting that the Marine Band was “the pride of the Navy Department,” and Sousa the country’s “Musician-in-Chief.”¹⁹ The press was only too happy to amplify Blakely’s patriotic story: John Philip Sousa “is an American, born in Washington under the shadow of the capitol dome, and breathed the inspiration of his work from the center of the nation’s history. He was brought up there, educated at a public school and is about as near one of us as anybody could be, with his name. John is a fine-looking, military-toned man, with good carriage and unaffected grace.”²⁰

Despite its usefulness as a promotional tool, this patriotic biography glosses over a central point about John Philip Sousa. In addition to his apprenticeship in the Marine Band, Sousa spent a less formal training period in the pits of Washington’s theaters. By the mid 1870s he was playing violin and serving as a substitute conductor in Ford’s Opera House and Kernan’s Theatre Comique. During the fall of 1875 and spring of 1876 he toured as composer, arranger, and orchestra leader for two traveling theater companies (one associated with the actor Milton Nobles and the other with the illustrator Matt Morgan).²¹ When he moved to Philadelphia in 1876, it was not merely to work on the fairgrounds, but also to play in that city’s Chestnut and Arch Street theaters. In 1928, the mature Sousa reflected on his career and wrote the march *Golden Jubilee* to celebrate his fifty years on the podium. With this march, Sousa dated the beginning of his conducting career to an engagement with the Gorman Philadelphia Church Choir Company, an ensemble of semi-amateurs—rehearsed and conducted by Sousa—that performed the

18. Blakely’s role in forming the Sousa Band is detailed in Brown, “David Blakely, Manager of Sousa’s Band”; and in Warfield, “Making the Band: John Philip Sousa, David Blakely, and the Creation of the Sousa Band.”

19. U.S. Marine Band advertisement, *Daily Herald* (Helena, MT), 21 April 1892. In forming the Sousa Band, Blakely took every opportunity to connect his commercial ensemble to Sousa’s growing fame as a national and military musician. At its start, the new group was even advertised as “The New Marine Band.”

20. “Marine Band’s Concert,” *Daily News* (Chicago), 22 March 1892, Fowles Scrapbook, 52–53. References to Sousa’s foreign-sounding last name, as seen here, were fairly common, and the bandleader’s management worked them to advantage. His press agent, George Frederick Hinton, went so far as to concoct a story claiming that Sousa was an English immigrant named Sam Ogden whose baggage was marked for a trip to the United States with “S. O., U.S.A.” This story was varied for endless countries and immigrant groups such that the bandleader could appear local to audiences wherever he went. The trick became so widely reported that Sousa had to deny being foreign-born on several occasions, but called it “one of the best bits of advertising I have had in my long career”; *Marching Along*, 307.

21. The first tour featured Nobles’s play *Jim Bludso, or, Bohemians and Detectives* (later called *The Phoenix*). The second was a production of *Matt Morgan’s Living Pictures*, a series of *tableaux vivants*. The music Sousa wrote for the Nobles Company is now in the hands of the actor’s descendants. Some of his music for Matt Morgan’s production survives, largely at the University of Illinois.

musician's own arrangement of Gilbert and Sullivan's *H.M.S. Pinafore*. The Gorman Company took New York by storm in 1879, and established Sousa's reputation as a conductor.²²

Sousa, in other words, began his career in the theater, and he likely won the leadership of the Marine Band in large part through the success of his operetta orchestrations, several of which had been published for piano and some even written for the Marine Corps Commandant.²³ Even after becoming leader of the Marine Band in 1880, Sousa continued to work toward a success on the operetta stage. By 1882 he was conducting the Washington Operatic Association, an ensemble that produced his first operetta, *The Smugglers*.²⁴ A brief tour was a critical and financial disaster, but his new operetta *Désirée*, which opened at the National Theatre in May 1884, was well received in both Philadelphia and Boston. Other stage works soon followed, including a one-act operetta entitled *The Queen of Hearts* (1885) and overtures for the plays *Tally-Ho!* and *Vantour* (both 1886). With the formation of his own band in 1892, Sousa's theatrical endeavors declined, but he still managed to write several operettas, including *El Capitan* (1895), *The Bride Elect* (1897), *The Charlatan* (1898), *Chris and the Wonderful Lamp* (1899), *The Free Lance* (1905), and *The American Maid* (1909). Sousa's proclivity for story telling also found an outlet in his three novels: *The Fifth String* (1902), *Pipetown Sandy* (1905), and *The Transit of Venus* (1920).²⁵

Sousa's audiences were certainly aware of his theatrical endeavors, but his reputation, then as now, rested primarily on his work with bands. Nevertheless, Sousa's autobiography makes clear that the conductor felt equally at home on the bandstand and in the theater. He frequently mentions his friendships with famous actors including DeWolf Hopper and Jackie Coogan, and in 1916 he was famously photographed with another of the world's great entertainers, Charlie Chaplin (Fig. 1). But just as importantly, Sousa saw the bandstand itself as an extension of the stage. Thus, in order to understand how his marches connected with the character of the March King, it is useful to consider their dramatic qualities.

22. There are two extant copies of Sousa's *H.M.S. Pinafore* orchestration. The first is an incomplete manuscript score at the Library of Congress. The other is a manuscript Sousa sent to Australia with the actor James Cassius Williamson, now housed at the Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Australia.

23. See for example a letter from Commandant Charles McCawley to Sousa, 4 August 1880, Record Group 127, Entry 4, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC.

24. Sousa had earlier orchestrated F. C. Burnand and Arthur Sullivan's *The Contrabandista* for the Gorman Company. *The Smugglers* was a further reworking of this piece, now with largely original music. A few orchestral parts from Sousa's 1879 orchestration survive at the University of Illinois. A manuscript of the 1882 reworking can be found at the Library of Congress. A piano-vocal score of Sousa's *The Smugglers* was published by W. F. Shaw.

25. Many of Sousa's operettas were published in piano reduction.



Figure 1 Sousa with another great actor and musician, Charlie Chaplin, in 1916. Photographer unknown. John Philip Sousa Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress.

The March as Musical Drama

Despite the hype, John Philip Sousa did not invent the march. Thousands of pieces designed to accompany the movement of troops were published in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century America. But the march's appeal was hardly limited to the parade ground, and nineteenth-century programs reveal

that marches were often used to accompany social dancing.²⁶ The genre, as inherited by Sousa, thus required a certain flexibility. Music for marching had to be adaptable to various parade routes; and music for the ballroom needed to last until dancers tired of the step. It was only natural then that marches consisted largely of equal-length strains, each marked with a repeat, to be taken, retaken, or ignored, depending on the fancy of the dancers or the parade route's length. The marches of Sousa's youth provided yet another option for varying the length of a work: many were marked with a *da capo*, often without any accompanying *fine*. For the stationary listener along the parade route, as the band passed by, any strain could function as the march's beginning, middle, or end. With their equal strains and potentially endless *da capo* repeats, such pieces could continue indefinitely, and conclude with whichever section was nearest at hand.

Sousa's 1879 march *Resumption* (Fig. 2) is typical of this midcentury, flexible form. The piece is in two big sections, a march in the tonic and a trio in the subdominant, each consisting of two repeated strains (Table 2).²⁷ *Resumption* was hardly the only Sousa march to use this *da capo* structure, which can also be found in his first published march *Review* (1873) and in *Yorktown Centennial* (1881).

Sousa and other march composers used this structure for its practical application: the four strains could be repeated or left unrepeated; the *da capo* could be taken or ignored (or taken and retaken until the dancers collapsed or the marching band reached home). But Sousa was a man of the theater who believed that "the chief aim of the composer is to produce color, dynamics, nuances and to emphasize the story-telling quality" of his music.²⁸ This *da capo* structure was useful for its flexibility on parade, but its circular form prohibited any sense of drama; any "story-telling quality." Sousa noted the problem in his typically colorful prose: "As a child I was brought up on band music. As I grew I noticed something about the marches of that day—they did not climax. Speaking gastronomically, when they got through with the ice cream they went back to the roast beef. And the beef had no new sauce on it, no new flavor."²⁹

While the *da capo* form was useful on the parade ground and in the ballroom, Sousa's civilian organization was a concert ensemble that marched on

26. For brief discussions of the march as dance music see Bly, "March in the United States of America"; and Norton, "Nineteenth-Century American March Music and John Philip Sousa." Sousa's own *Washington Post* became virtually synonymous with the two-step.

27. The word "march" was often used to indicate both the work as a whole and its opening section. The fermata found just before the trio in *Resumption* is frequently, but not always, present in *da capo* marches.

28. Sousa, *Marching Along*, 332.

29. Sousa, quoted in "Sousa's New War March," *Boston Post*, 10 March 1918.

RESUMPTION MARCH. *J. P. Sousa.*
Leader U.S.A. Marine Band.

E♭ Cornet.

Pub. by J.W. PEPPER, Phila. Pa. Copyright 1882 by J. W. Pepper. D.C.

Figure 2 John Philip Sousa’s march *Resumption*, E♭ cornet part

Table 2 *Resumption*

MARCH		TRIO	
Introduction	1st strain	3rd strain	4th strain
4	:16:	:16:	:16:
A♭		D♭	
		<i>fine</i>	<i>dc</i>

only a handful of occasions.³⁰ His seated audience, therefore, was more attentive, and to please them Sousa began slowly to alter the march’s structure, turning it into what he called “a thing of cumulative force and interest.”³¹

30. The only documented examples of the Sousa Band on parade occurred in 1892 as part of the dedication of the World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago; in 1898 to escort a portion of the Ohio National Guard as it departed Cleveland for the Spanish-American War; in 1898 to celebrate the return from war of a Pittsburgh regiment; in 1899 as part of the Victory Parade for Admiral Dewey in New York; in 1900 as part of the Paris Exposition; in 1916 and 1917 in conjunction with the *Hip! Hip! Hooray!* show at the New York Hippodrome; and in 1929 at a procession on the Princeton University campus. During World War I, Sousa helped to train bands at the Great Lakes Naval Training Station near Chicago, and often marched as part of Liberty Loan drives.

31. Sousa, quoted in “Sousa’s New War March,” *Boston Post*, 10 March 1918.

Jonathan Elkus has outlined the step-by-step evolution of Sousa's march form, and so it is only briefly summarized here.³² In later pieces, the binary structure of the opening march remained unchanged; the trio, however, was altered significantly. The first step was to delete the *da capo*. Elkus calls the resulting structure the short-trio form, and several pieces from the early 1890s use it, including *The High School Cadets* (1890) and *Manhattan Beach* (1893). Next Sousa replaced the trio's second strain with an interlude (or break strain) that came between statements of the main trio melody. Elkus identifies this structure as Sousa's long-trio form, and it is found in such marches as *King Cotton* (1895) and *Hands Across the Sea* (1899). The final step was to expand the trio from sixteen to thirty-two bars and delete its initial repeat. Elkus calls this structure the extended-trio form, and it is found in many of Sousa's most famous works, including *The Stars and Stripes Forever* (see Fig. 3 and Table 3), *The Liberty Bell* (1893), and *The Invincible Eagle* (1901).³³

While these changes may seem trivial, they did have two important effects. First, by deleting the *da capo*, Sousa transformed the earlier, circular structure into a linear drama. Second, as the trio's melody—with repeats—would now be heard three times, the march no longer consisted of undifferentiated strains, but rather came to a climax in its second half.³⁴ These changes were made largely to satisfy Sousa's audience. Whereas the *da capo* march allowed a stationary listener to enjoy the sounds of a moving band (from which they would hear only a portion of a work), Sousa's new marches were attractive to an attentive concert audience that could listen from beginning to end as the drama unfolded.

32. Elkus, "Defining the Sousa March."

33. Sousa did not follow quite the evolutionary process suggested here, and he continued to use several of these forms throughout his career (although the *da capo* structure was abandoned). According to Elkus, approximately a quarter of Sousa's quickstep marches use the short trio form (and most of these are from before 1895), about half are long trios, and another quarter have extended trios. There are, of course, other marches whose forms are determined by borrowed material or special layering effects; *ibid.*, 42–44.

34. With the trio now the tonal center of the march, it is worth reconsidering Sousa's key scheme. As written, any *da capo* march has a predictable I–IV–I key structure. In Sousa's mature marches, the trio fills most of the work's space and provides its dramatic climax. Elkus has thus argued that the key change in Sousa's concert marches should be heard as a resolution to the tonic, and the opening march as an introductory dominant; *Charles Ives and the American Band Tradition*, 20. The deletion of the *da capo* was not purely Sousa's invention, and he seems to have simply brought theory into line with practice. As he explained: "In my childhood in Washington I noticed that the bands parading with the regiments in nearly every instance, although the composition called for *da capo*, would finish playing on the last strain of the march; therefore, if it was done practically in the use of the march I could not understand why it should not be done theoretically in the writing of the march. Accordingly, in composing my marches I ignored the old established rule and wrote with the idea of making the last strain of the march the musical climax, regardless of the tonality"; "Letter from Sousa." The alteration of the trio, however, does seem to have been Sousa's invention.

The Stars and Stripes Forever. March.

E♭ Cornet. SOUSA.

247 *ff* *legg.* *ff*

p Clar. *ff* *ff*

Trio. *p*

E♭ Cor. *ff*

Bar. *ff*

Grandioso. *ff* *ff molto marcato.*

12340-5 The John Church Company. *fff*

Figure 3 John Philip Sousa's march *The Stars and Stripes Forever*, E♭ cornet part

Table 3 *The Stars and Stripes Forever*

MARCH			TRIO		
Introduction	1st strain	2nd strain	trio	break	trio
4	:16:	:16:	32	: 24	32:
E♭			A♭		

Sousa's theatrical inclination and his desire to stress music's "story-telling quality" are found not only in his marches, but also in several explicitly descriptive works. Many of these pieces were based on stories well known to his audiences, stories that Sousa depicted with clear programmatic appeal. Such works include *The Chariot Race* (1890), based on Lew Wallace's immensely successful novel *Ben-Hur*; *Sheridan's Ride* (1891), which draws on poems by Thomas Wentworth Higginson and Thomas Buchanan Read; and *The Last Days of Pompeii* (1893), based on the book by Edward Bulwer-Lytton. Other Sousa works, such as *At the King's Court* (1904), *People Who Live in Glass Houses* (1909), and *Dwellers of the Western World* (1910), use dance forms or melodic material to create short, dramatic character sketches. For such pieces, Sousa provided lengthy program notes, and the familiarity of the stories—coupled with Sousa's exciting music—routinely thrilled audiences. One critic noted that *The Chariot Race* "among all the pieces for the

band roused perhaps the loudest demonstrations of applause on account of its realistic simulation of the exciting events depicted in the celebrated story.”³⁵ Sousa’s simulation included “imitations of the cannon, the trumpet, the bugle, the voices of the multitude, [and] the clatter of horses’ hoofs.”³⁶

From Page to Sound: Drama in Performance

Sousa’s marches were published in a form suitable for performance by amateur bands across the country. Therefore the printed editions often include simplifications and doublings useful to an underskilled or understaffed ensemble. But the Sousa Band was one of America’s premiere musical organizations, and it provided employment to many of the nation’s most accomplished wind and percussion players. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that when played by this ensemble, the Sousa march differed in significant ways from its printed music. Most of the changes Sousa made from the podium to enliven his marches were never notated, but the testimony of former Sousa players allows for at least a partial reconstruction of his performance practice.³⁷

On the printed page, the Sousa march appears quite repetitive, but in performance Sousa varied each strain repeat with changes in dynamic and scoring. Generally speaking a march’s introduction and first strain were played as written. The second strain was performed at a lowered dynamic level and in a reduced scoring that omitted cornets, trombones, E \flat clarinet, and piccolo (B \flat clarinets were dropped an octave). On its repeat the second strain was played as written. When first heard, the trio featured a similarly reduced scoring and lowered dynamic. These changes caused the following break strain, which was always played as written, to ring out with dramatic excitement. On its repeat the trio returned to its reduced scoring and the dynamic was dropped even further to *pianissimo*. Only on the trio’s final appearance was the entire band and full dynamic heard.³⁸

35. “Music and Musicians,” *Times* (Los Angeles), 14 April 1892, Fowles Scrapbook, 50.

36. “The Players’ Column,” clipping labeled *Times* (Kansas City), 26 March 1892, Fowles Scrapbook, 50. Sousa’s suites are discussed in Stacy, “John Philip Sousa and His Band Suites.”

37. Several Sousa players worked to preserve the band’s performance style after the March King’s death. The most important of these was Frank Simon (1889–1967), who served as a cornetist and assistant conductor with Sousa’s band from 1914 to 1920. At the 1962 meeting of the American School Band Directors Association (ASBDA) in San Francisco, Simon gave a demonstration of how Sousa conducted his marches, and initiated a project of recording them. At the 1965 convention in Washington, D.C., he rehearsed and recorded fourteen marches with a band made up of Northern Virginia High School students. In 1969, shortly after Simon’s death, the United States Army Band recorded twenty-two marches, with some duplication from the first session. The two recordings enjoyed a limited release from the ASBDA as *The Sounds of John Philip Sousa*, and were accompanied by transcriptions of Simon’s performance narratives. These recordings and transcriptions provide the most direct access to Sousa’s march performance practice.

38. Some of these performance changes are detailed in Byrne, “Sousa Marches: Principles for Historically Informed Performance.”

While these changes may appear trivial, their effect is significant. Anyone who has sat through a march performance where the music is played as written knows that these pieces can quickly become musically pedestrian. But by incorporating Sousa's signature changes, each strain repeat is transformed into a shifting drama of volume and density. When combined with the March King's penchant for adding countermelodies (as in *The Stars and Stripes Forever*), Sousa's trios are revealed to be long, dramatic crescendos that cause a march to climax in "fire and tongs."³⁹ Critics were rarely able to explain these changes, but they often noted their effect. One South African writer was not particularly interested in hearing Sousa during the band's 1911 World Tour, but when the March King began *El Capitan*, the critic quickly changed his mind:

Sousa's marches have been done to death by German bands, have been mangled by barrel organs, hashed up by gramophones, and whistled fiendishly by street urchins, and perhaps one did not look forward . . . to hearing them again. . . . But as soon as the band struck up *El Capitan*, one realised that one had never heard a Sousa march played before. There is a vim about the Sousa march as played by the Sousa Band that sets the blood a-tingling, and you feel that you could march anywhere to such virile music.⁴⁰

As with altering his march structure, Sousa had his audience in mind in making these performance changes. Any amateur could purchase and play a Sousa march at home, and the Sousa Band was so widely recorded that it could be heard in parlors across the country.⁴¹ But to see and hear a Sousa concert was a special event, and the conductor looked to make his own performances different from those of other ensembles. These tricks not only separated Sousa concerts from amateur performances, but they also distinguished the Sousa Band from the many other professional ensembles that might play the March King's music. The flutist Joseph Lefter explained that the performance changes were a way of protecting the Sousa brand: "I asked him one time why he changed his music when he played it in the marches. When it's marked loud, why he didn't play it loud. He told me, he says, 'Mr. Lefter, if everybody played it the way it's written, then everybody's band would sound like Sousa's Band so we make some changes now and then just to make it a lit-

39. Simon uses this phrase frequently in describing the final strains of Sousa marches; see *Sounds of John Philip Sousa*.

40. "Sousa in Pretoria," clipping labeled *News* (Pretoria, South Africa), 4 April 1911, HJ 34, p. 8.

41. The Sousa Band made about 1,770 recordings, although the March King personally conducted only three sessions, and the limitations of the early technology made his performance changes impractical. There is one recording, of a Thanksgiving Day 1929 radio broadcast, that does include Sousa's signature performance practice, and it is now available from Crystal Records as part of *Sousa Marches Played by the Sousa Band*. For details on Sousa's distrust of commercial recordings, which stemmed from both social and economic concerns, see Warfield, "John Philip Sousa and 'The Menace of Mechanical Music.'"

tle bit different.’”⁴² Or, as the great Sousa Band bass drum player August Helmecke explained: “He didn’t want any other band to play his marches the way he did. You may recall that on all the billings for the band was the statement, ‘There is only one Sousa,’ and I second the motion!”⁴³

Sousa’s dramatic performance tricks were not limited to march scoring, and he often used simple choreography to emphasize music’s “story-telling quality.” The unpublished humoresque *Good-Bye* (1891) was an answer to Haydn’s “Farewell” Symphony. The piece begins when the band decides to protest unreasonable criticism and desert their conductor by walking off stage to tunes of travel and loss (“I’m Going Back to Dixie,” “The Girl I Left Behind Me,” “The Soldier’s Farewell”). Soon, however, the players realize that payday is fast approaching and scurry back to “Annie Laurie.” In the similarly unpublished *Showing off before Company* (1919), the audience returns from intermission to find an empty stage that is slowly populated by musicians playing virtuosic numbers. On the page, such pieces appear commonplace, but their frequent appearance on Sousa Band programs suggests that such novelty performance tricks were popular with audiences, and no doubt played a role in deepening their fondness for the March King.⁴⁴

Sousa also knew to take advantage of unusual situations. In 1901 the ensemble appeared at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, where one of the wonders on display was a lighting device that gradually increased levels “from a glow that is scarcely perceptible” to “the extreme of brilliancy.”⁴⁵ Sousa noticed the effect at the band’s first concert in early June: “The lights were suddenly dimmed until the grounds were shrouded in darkness; then a little light appeared, the illumination grew steadily, till, brightening and brightening, the full blaze was restored.” Seeing the impact on fairgoers, the conductor decided that a hymn would be more appropriate than a march, and so the next day he adjusted his program and had “the band softly begin, *Nearer my God to Thee*, and as the lights grew the band crescendoed and swelled out its power to the utmost. The effect was thrilling!”⁴⁶

Sousa’s holograph materials and sheet music thus do not always reveal his allure. Individual pieces were altered to make them more dramatic, works were choreographed to increase their theatricality, and Sousa readily adapted his programs to novel situations. There was, however, a layer to Sousa’s dramatic appeal that stood beyond his music or its performance practice: the very persona of the March King himself.⁴⁷

42. Joe Lefter, Oral History Interview (August 1980), The Sousa Oral History Project, transcribed by Frank Byrne, 65, Marine Band Library.

43. Helmecke, “Why the Accents Weren’t Written In. . . .”

44. Performance materials for both *Good-Bye* and *Showing off before Company* can be found in the Sousa Collection at the Library of Congress.

45. Brush, “Electrical Illumination at the Pan-American Exposition.”

46. Sousa, *Marching Along*, 230.

47. Very few of Sousa’s theatrical tricks are preserved on the performance parts held by the University of Illinois or Marine Band. This is due in no small part to the long-standing bias

The March King as Theatrical Spectacle

Reviews make clear that it was John Philip Sousa, and not just his music, that convinced audiences to purchase concert tickets: “The non-musical public allows itself to be lured into hearing music which it would vote a bore, if anybody else played it. Such is the magic of personality. . . . The exuberant vitality of Sousa, the dash and vivacity of the man, conquer everybody.”⁴⁸ For Sousa, the roots of this dash and vitality lay in the theater, something noticed in the mid-1890s by the American stage actor Otis Skinner: “Sousa is away ahead of us all. Watch him in his exquisite art of dress, his make-up, his fascinating stage manner, his abandon to the character of the music his band plays and his magnetic capture of his audience. Of course, his band is the greatest on earth and that has something to do with it, but Sousa is the best actor America ever produced.”⁴⁹

Some of Sousa’s theatrical appeal lay in his visual antics: his ensemble wore the military uniforms common to nineteenth-century bands, and Sousa himself was nearly obsessive in his use of immaculately white kid gloves. Sousa was so intent in using visual appeal to entertain audiences that some reviewers found the whole spectacle tiring:

I’ve just been Sousa-ed. . . . But, big as my admiration is for the Toot-toot-two Step King, I’ve always felt that his audiences over-estimated the value of his left hooks and uppercuts. Don’t you think the piccolo would be just as tremulous without the fingers twiddling at him? Don’t you reckon the big drum would butt in just as accurately in the dead centre without that jerk of an imaginary string? Doesn’t it strike you that the cornet and the trombones and the triple-barrelled brass instruments would be just as ferocious without that frantic baton saving off the atmosphere and flinging the pieces to the dogs? . . . I’ve got a suspicion that he might start the item and then sit down and read the newspaper comfortably, and his band would get along just as well as it does now.

But this Australian reporter recognized Sousa’s intent: “Yet, as a matter of business, I suppose he’s right. The people pay just as much to see him and his energetic counters and right-crosses and double-hand punch, his hypnotic passes, cut-and-thrust-exercises, wood-chopping contests and flag-wagging gesticulations as they do to hear his band. So he gives them the goods they

amongst band musicians against notating performance changes on their parts. In discussing the use of improvisational accents in band performances, the cornetist and conductor Leonard B. Smith once explained: “As a matter of pride, conductors and players alike would purposely not indicate them on the parts but instead, memorize them”; “Concerning the Interpretation of Sousa and Other Marches,” unpublished article, 3, Marine Band Library.

48. “In the Theaters,” clipping labeled *Post Express* (Rochester, NY), 3 April 1906, HJ 26, p. 3.

49. Otis Skinner; quoted in a Sousa press package, ca. 1897, Paul Bierley Papers, University of Illinois.

come for.”⁵⁰ The March King character, however, was hardly limited to costumes or pantomimes; rather, it was part of a ritualized event that included carefully scripted programming and a personalized, comforting interaction between Sousa and his audience. At the center of this interaction stood the Sousa march.

Much has been made of Sousa’s penchant for mixing serious music with popular favorites. Band concerts, even today, are places where a lost and romanticized past can be briefly recreated, and in many ways, Sousa’s programs looked backward to familiar mid-nineteenth-century concert styles (Fig. 4).⁵¹ In explaining his programs, which contained both orchestral transcriptions and popular tunes, Sousa suggested that he was taking part in an older tradition. Tellingly, he connected that tradition to the theater: “Take the drama: it is not incongruous to see a comedy scene immediately follow a tragic one; in fact it is a favorite device of Shakespeare and many other master dramatists. It does not shock me to see laughter follow tears in the romantic drama. So it is that I have no hesitation in combining in my programme tinkling comedy with symphonic tragedy or rhythmic march with classic tone-picture.”⁵²

In selling this mixture of music, Sousa worked to make his audience a part of his dramatic performance, and he did so both before and during the program. Arriving in town, Sousa would flatter local taste and suggest that he had been moved by his audience’s sophistication to play only the best music at the highest levels. In Plainfield, New Jersey, just before the band’s very first concert in 1892, Sousa explained to reporters that he had been warned of local sophistication: “You will find the intelligence of a Plainfield audience far above the average—in fact as good as you will find anywhere. They’re no country hayseeds out there, but they are as good as the best critics in this country.” As would become the pattern for the next forty years, the newspaper both accepted and amplified Sousa’s flattery: “That the public taste is not so depraved or vapid is evidenced by the marked contrast in the make up of the audiences which the trashy performances attract and the fine one that was attracted to Music Hall last evening.” Those in attendance were “all good patrons of the better class of entertainments . . . and all able to appreciate true merit.”⁵³

50. Unlabeled clipping from Ballarat, Australia, ca. 7 July 1911, HJ 34, p. 31.

51. A particularly good example of this re-creation of a mythologized past is the Great American Brass Band Festival held each summer in Danville, KY. Band music here provides the backdrop for a remarkable series of events that have little cohesive historical authenticity, but evoke an artificial sense of nostalgia. These include outdoor concerts, a Chautauqua Tea, a hot air balloon race, a Main Street parade, and a picnic in which participants decorate tables and dress in late nineteenth-century fashions.

52. Sousa, *Marching Along*, 275.

53. “Sousa’s Rare Treat,” unlabeled Plainfield, NJ, clipping, ca. 26 September 1892, HJ 1, p. 1. Sousa attributes the warning about Plainfield audiences to the librettist Francis Wilson. It is clear that Sousa’s management planted at least some of these so-called reviews. For details on David Blakely’s press activities during the 1891 Marine Band tour see Eiland, “1891-Tour of John Philip Sousa and the United States Marine Band.”

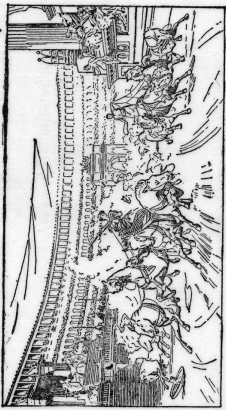
PROGRAMME.

1. OVERTURE,—“Seniramide,”Rossini
2. SUITE,—“Peer Gynt,”Grieg
 - a. Morning.
 - b. Asa’s death.
 - c. Peer Gynt chased by the King of the Mountains.

The contrasts displayed by the delicacy and grace of the first movement, the solemn mournfulness of the second, and the fire, fervor and extreme rapidity of a military band.
3. EUPHONIUM—TROMBONE SOLO,Selected
 SIG. RAFFAELLO,
 (Until Gilmore’s death, the greatest soloist of his brilliant band.)
4. SCENES HISTORICAL,—“Sheridan’s Ride,”Sousa
 (See Synopsis.)
5. ARIA—Mad Scene from “Lucia,”Donizetti
 Mlle. MARCELLA LINDH.
6. ARABESQUE, An Old Dance Tune,Slasny
 A varied, tuneful and extremely “fetching” composition.
7. CORNET SOLO,—“Souvenir à la Suisse,”Liberati
 SIG. LIBERATI.
8. { a. INTERMEZZO—“Bal des Enfants,”Jaxone
 (b. MORCEAU,—“A Dream After the Ball,”Cibulka
 The above are delicious bits of melody, full of opportunities for graceful, refined and delicate treatment.
9. SONG,—“Evening Star” (Tannhauser).....Wagner
 SIG. GALASSI.
10. HUMORESQUE,—“Good Bye,”Sousa
 Note—The members of the band, having taken unlessee as a sharp critic of their leader, conclude to rebel. The oboe initiates the revolt by rising in his place, playing “I’m going back to Dixie,” and leaving the stage. The others well song. Finding after all the fuss, that the leader remains perfectly calm and unconcerned and recalling also that pay-day comes on the morrow, they all surrender, and begin playing, as an index of their repentance, the emotional old song of “Ameie Lauric.
11. PATRIOTIC AIR,—“The Star Spangled Banner,”Arnold

None but Steinway Pianos used at Mr. Sousa’s Concert.

THE BEN-HUR CHARIOT RACE.




Sousa

This great dramatic picture, very successful as a classic, was produced in Philadelphia, Dec. 24, 1890, meeting with instant success as the Chariot Race scene. The piece de resistance was Sousa’s “Symphonic Poem” on the Chariot Race, which has since been enabled to follow the Chariot Race with close interest and bared breath, from the moment the driver of the horses left. The scene is a fine one for a composer and for popular purposes. The music is in the key of D minor, and the tempo is moderate. The character of the leader laid on by the driver, and real character of the performer, of spectators, and the pitter of the horses’ hoofs, slower and slower of tread, is distinguishable at the close. —*Phila. Public Ledger*, December 15th, 1890.

Sousa

THE FAMOUS SHERIDAN’S RIDE.



Sousa

“Waiting for the Bugle.” “The Attack.” “The Death of Thurman.” “The Apocalyptic.” He dashed down the line, “aid a storm of fuzzes. The sight of the master compelled it to pause. With foam and with dust the black-charger was gray; By the aid of the bugle he led the whole army to bay. He seemed to the whole great army to say, I have brought you Sheridan all the way. From Winchester down, to save the day.”

Figure 4 An 1892 season program for Sousa’s New Marine Band. United States Marine Band Library. Notice not only the mixed programming, but also the descriptions and illustrations provided to further highlight the dramatic quality of the narrative pieces.

Such exchanges, which helped to lessen the distance between the March King and his audiences, became a regular part of Sousa's advertising strategy. When the band visited Australia, Sousa told reporters that he was honored to play in the nation that had given the world Nellie Melba, Ada Crossley, and Amy Castles, and that he knew Australian audiences "could not fail to appreciate that which was best in music."⁵⁴ Once again the press embraced Sousa's flattery, declaring that Australians are "from a musical point of view, and in the gross, a more highly educated body than may be found anywhere outside the great art centres of the Old World." By filling Sousa's concerts they would prove "this fact to the full satisfaction of our famous visitor."⁵⁵

Sousa's concerts featured a great deal of European art music, and the March King made clear that he was not attempting to play above the heads of his listeners, but rather was simply responding to their good taste. Sousa used a visit to North Dakota to illustrate his point: "I got a telegram saying: 'In the name of a hundred citizens of Fargo, will you kindly put the *Tannhaeuser* on your program? Don't put it No. 1, because we want the house to be quiet.' I put it No. 6 on the program. Every one wanted to hear *Tannhaeuser*, not because it was *Tannhaeuser*, but because they loved it; it appealed to them."⁵⁶ In this endeavor to please a well-flattered audience, Sousa was quite different from his older contemporary Theodore Thomas. As the March King explained: Thomas "gave Wagner, Liszt, and Tchaikowsky, in the belief that he was educating his public; I gave Wagner, Liszt and Tchaikowsky with the hope that I was entertaining my public."⁵⁷ Richard Wagner's music did indeed make up a significant portion of Sousa's programming, and the bandmaster took great pride in playing selections from *Parsifal* a decade before the full work was produced at the Metropolitan Opera in New York.⁵⁸ As with Sousa's own descriptive works, selections from Wagner's music dramas were routinely accompanied by detailed (and dramatic) program notes.

Sousa continued this communion with his audience even after the concert began, and in the process he became more an honorary local than a visiting celebrity. In addition to the programmed works, concerts frequently featured short, unpublished pieces by local composers, and Sousa was known to lead high-school bands during intermission. But nowhere was his connection with the audience more apparent than in the use of his own marches. On the printed program the bandleader's name was largely absent, as it appeared only next to his latest march (advertised as "new") and a programmatic work or suite. But reviews indicate that virtually every programmed piece was encored, often with a Sousa march. As such, while the printed program might list just

54. Sousa; paraphrased in "Sousa's Band," clipping labeled *Evening Mail* (Bendigo, Australia), 5 July 1911, HJ 34, p. 57.

55. "Sousa and His Band," unlabeled Melbourne clipping, ca. 22 June 1911, HJ 34, p. 48.

56. Sousa, quoted in "Sousa and His Mission," *Music* 16 (July 1899): 275.

57. Sousa, *Marching Along*, 132.

58. *Ibid.*, 341.

Table 4 Concert Program with Encores, from the *Herald* (Rochester, NY), 12 November 1894^a

1. <i>Tannhäuser</i> : Overture	Wagner
encore: <i>Plantation Chimes</i>	Hall
encore: <i>The Washington Post</i> , march	Sousa
encore: <i>Jesus, Lover of My Soul</i>	Marsh
2. <i>Hungarian Rhapsody</i> , No. 2	Liszt
encore: <i>Minuet l'Antique</i>	Paderewski
encore: <i>The Directorate</i> , march	Sousa
3. <i>Annie Laurie</i> , air varié	Pryor
encore: <i>Love's Old Sweet Song</i>	Molloy
Arthur Pryor, trombone	
4. <i>Scenes at a Masquerade</i>	Lacombe
encore: <i>Crack Regiment</i>	Haimann
encore: <i>Corncracker</i>	Meacham
5a. <i>Serenade enfantine</i>	Bonnaud
5b. <i>The Liberty Bell</i> , march	Sousa
encore: <i>Manhattan Beach</i> , march	Sousa
6. "O Hall I Greet Thee," from <i>Tannhäuser</i>	Wagner
encore: <i>Old Folks at Home</i>	Foster
Francesca Guthrie-Moyer, soprano	
7a. <i>Intermezzo russe</i>	Franke
7b. <i>Pasquinade</i>	Gottschalk
encore: <i>At the Circus</i>	Dunewaller
encore: <i>Bamboula</i>	Urich
8. <i>Good-bye</i> , humoresque	Sousa
encore: <i>The High School Cadets</i> , march	Sousa
9. Prelude to Act I of <i>Lohengrin</i>	Wagner

^aFew Sousa programs can be fully reconstructed with their encores. The Marine Band's John J. Heney Collection, however, includes a scrapbook in which the Sousa percussionist annotated the 1926 Willow Grove season programs with encores, and sometimes reviews indicate all the performed pieces. The program reproduced here is taken from Bierley's *The Incredible Band*, which includes several examples of reconstructed programs.

nine numbers, the actual concert could consist of twenty or more selections, and Sousa's music, while invisible in print, was in fact everywhere (Table 4).

In separating his marches from the printed program, Sousa humbled himself before his audience, and became not the vain composer/performer programming his own music, but simply an entertainer complying with the demands of his fellow Americans. Just as he had given Wagner to Fargo, he now gave his own marches to a public who called for them: "Marches are only a small part of my programmes. There is rarely more than one listed. If the audience gets others, it is because they are demanded as encores."⁵⁹

59. *Ibid.*, 294. Sousa is here reproducing (with some revision) his comments in "Mme. Chaminade and John Philip Sousa Talk about Music." Sousa was certainly not the only conductor of this period to advertise a brief program, which was then filled out with encores. He was, however, unique in using his own music so heavily as encore material. Sousa was also, of course, far better known as a composer than most other American bandleaders, and the chance to hear Sousa's music played a major role in drawing audiences to Sousa concerts.

These “graciously granted” encores were, of course, all part of Sousa’s pose.⁶⁰ Encores were an integral part of any Sousa performance, and the advertised concert would have been unacceptably short without them. According to reviews, entire concerts moved through their program at a clipped pace, and encores occurred far too quickly not to have been at least partially preplanned.⁶¹ But in camouflaging his own fantastically popular works as mere encores, Sousa fictitiously invited his audience to take part in the evening’s programming and engage with their bandmaster in an illusionary dialogue across the footlights. Sousa’s character in this story happily responded with an endearing generosity. As a result, each concert became as predictable in format and as surprising in content as were the marches themselves, and throughout the performance Sousa’s music acted as a familiar ritornello amongst a varied collection of pieces. Meanwhile, both Sousa and his audience were transformed. The March King’s flattery, humility, and consultative programming allowed Sousa to appear an ordinary American. By aiding in this programming, his audiences were allowed to take part in a musical event as democratic as the society their entertainer had come to represent.

It is here, in the March King’s connection to his audience, that we find his real appeal. Urbanization may have promised much to the new middle class, but between 1870 and 1910 the opportunities of small-scale, competitive capitalism were visibly on the decline. As Jackson Lears has suggested, such economic uncertainty spawned a strong backlash of antimodernism.⁶² In the process, two modes of masculinity were thrown into conflict. Many men of Sousa’s generation had assumed that hard work and moral restraint would lead to financial success, and indeed the March King seemed to embody this Victorian model of manliness. By all accounts Sousa rarely swore, resisted smoking or drinking in public, and carefully protected the reputations of the female violin and vocal soloists who toured with his band. As his road manager William Schneider later explained: “Sousa gave the general impression of one trying diligently to be the most honorable man who ever walked on the face of the earth.”⁶³

But with the turn of a new century, the financial rewards of such self-restraint appeared in doubt, and many Americans began to wonder if modern civilization was leading them astray from Romanticized notions of nature and the primitive. From *Tarzan of the Apes* to *The Virginian*, popular culture came to celebrate a less restrained sense of manhood, and worked to restabilize

60. “Audience Which Packed Lyceum Heard Sousa’s Band Concert,” clipping labeled *Union and Advertiser* (Rochester, NY), 3 April 1906, HJ 26, p. 2.

61. Some descriptions even demonstrate that specific encores were decided in advance: “There were encores galore. These were announced by large placards held up in such a fashion that everybody could read them.” “Amusements,” clipping labeled *Democrat and Chronicle* (Rochester, NY), 3 April 1906, HJ 26, p. 2.

62. See Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880–1920*.

63. William Schneider as paraphrased in Bierley, *John Philip Sousa*, 101.

heteronormative images of untamed masculinity in the face of advancing technology and financial uncertainty.⁶⁴

It was here, in the masculine primitive as much as in the restrained gentlemen, that audiences found the March King. Like so much popular fiction of his day, Sousa's own writings celebrate sport and physical culture. His second novel, *Pipetown Sandy*, is a fictionalized account of his own childhood focusing on an idealized youth spent hunting, fighting, and seeking adventure. As an adult, Sousa the composer was also Sousa the athlete. In 1899, the *New York Morning World* was invited to observe Sousa in his boxing lessons, and the newspaper declared, "You see bared before the camera the muscular right arm that has wielded the baton to the delight of millions, the sturdy fist that wrote *El Capitan*."⁶⁵

The European music that made up so much of a Sousa concert, with its foreign roots and cultivated status, might undermine this sense of American masculinity, and so the March King worked to defuse any uncertainty. Sousa stated unequivocally that his concerts reinforced gender security, and that his audiences were able to resist any of the weakening effects of modern culture: "The people who frequent my concerts are the strong and healthy. I mean the healthy both of mind and body. These people like virile music. Longhaired men and shorthaired women you never see in my audience. And I don't want them."⁶⁶ For both the March King and his audience, virile music might be either a selection from Wagner or one of Sousa's own descriptive works. The value was found in presentation. Like his audiences, the March King had no use for "hypocrisy in music" or for artists who wore "long hair, goggles, an air of mystery" and smelled "of Dutch cheese."⁶⁷ Rather than being an overly sensitive conductor or diva, Sousa was a bandmaster who failed to "affect any of the airs of a genius. He is a tall, burly fellow in the prime of life, and, unlike most of his fellows in the wide domain of art, he combs his hair carefully."⁶⁸

64. For more on America's changing understanding of manhood, see Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era*. The terminological distinction between restrained "manhood" and physical "masculinity" is borrowed from Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*.

65. "Sousa as a Boxer," clipping labeled *New York Morning World*, 13 August 1899, HJ 9, p. 28. Sport played an important role in the March King's persona. The Sousa Band fielded its own baseball team, in which Sousa often acted as pitcher, and in 1909 he published an article on the sport: "Greatest Game in the World." In 1916 Sousa traveled nearly a thousand miles on horseback to participate in a number of trapshooting competitions, and in the same year he was elected president of the American Amateur Trapshooters' Association; see Bierley, *John Philip Sousa*, 110–15.

66. Sousa, quoted in "Sousa on the Mongrels," clipping labeled *Post* (Houston), 17 May 1903, HJ 19, p. 97.

67. Sousa, quoted in "Sousa as a Composer," clipping labeled *New York Advertiser*, 27 August 1893, HJ 2, p. 76.

68. "The President's Band," clipping labeled *Daily Telegram* (Worcester, MA), ca. 3 April 1891, Printed Ephemera, David Blakely Papers, New York Public Library. Some of Sousa's comments are reminiscent of the gendered writings of Charles Ives. It is worth noting, however, that



Figure 5 Sousa in a particularly commanding pose. *Musical Courier* 52 (25 April 1906): 18.

While reinforcing a new sense of physical masculinity, Sousa also provided a bridge into the modern world, where business and organizational skills could serve as replacements for bodily manhood. Sousa thus became much more than a composer or conductor; he was an entrepreneurial organizer of men (see Fig. 5):

Sousa is the embodiment of leadership. To be able to command men is a gift possessed by comparatively few, and the great general is no more difficult to discover than the great conductor. The strict discipline that promotes a wholesome respect for the commander is as necessary in maintaining the standard of a musical organization as it is in promoting the efficiency of a fighting body. Not the least enjoyable thing about a Sousa band concert is the masterly control of the leader over the human instrumentality before him. It is a fine illustration of the domination of intellect and personality.⁶⁹

Sousa was no great fan of Ives. On receiving a copy of *50 Songs*, he wrote to the younger composer: "Some of the songs are most startling to a man educated by the harmonic methods of our forefathers." Sousa, quoted in Hitchcock, "Ives's *114 [+15] Songs* and What He Thought of Them," 115n27.

69. "Sousa's Band Plays Twice Sunday," clipping labeled *Tribune* (Detroit), 6 April 1899, HJ 8, p. 243.

In all of this, the March King appeared as an ordinary, if particularly successful American. Through hard work, determination, and skill, Sousa had achieved critical, popular, and financial success. Along the way he proved himself to be simply an idealized version of the man many in his audiences hoped to be. Even the Sousa Band itself took part in this cultural reassurance. America's multitude of recurring fairs, expositions, and summer resorts acted as markers of stability in a rapidly changing world, and Sousa's Band was an unfailing presence. From the World's Columbian, St. Louis, and Pittsburgh Expositions to regular residencies at Manhattan Beach and Willow Grove, the Sousa Band acted as a predictable refrain no matter the prevailing political, social, or cultural winds.

John Philip Sousa was a performance artist, and in 1927 a Seattle reporter noted that an appearance by Sousa was a complex affair: "A concert by Sousa's band is more than a mere concert—it is a dramatic performance, a stirring lesson in patriotism, and a popular musical event, all on the same program."⁷⁰ The May 1897 premiere of *The Stars and Stripes Forever* in Philadelphia was one part of that grand performance. A careful reading of reviews reveals that on 1 May in Augusta, Maine, the Sousa Band played as its first encore "a march that has not been named."⁷¹ Most scholars now agree that this was the premiere of *The Stars and Stripes Forever*, rehearsed in performance, in a town whose press would not be later noticed. The practicalities of touring had prevented a premiere in Philadelphia, but the March King would not disappoint his public. Through slight of hand, he was still able to kindly write a piece for his favorite audience; favorite, that is, until he moved on to the next town.

Modern eyes looking at Sousa's published music may find his marches overly repetitive, a perceived defect that is only confirmed by performances that rely too carefully on the printed music. Likewise, modern sensibilities might find the always-attentive March King a bit too pandering and needlessly familiar. But through his work as a composer, performer, and celebrity, this American musician made his deceptively simple, three-minute works thrive theatrical. In their very structure Sousa transplanted the march from its origins on the parade ground into the concert auditorium. He then wrapped these musical gems in a largely forgotten performance practice, further heightening their dramatic appeal. The resulting works were then presented to audiences in the guise of unannounced encores, humble offerings from a favorite musician. In all of this, Sousa was well matched to his time, and he was able to sell a dramatic character—masculine, commanding, and accessible—to an audience happily cheering the self-reliant man many of them hoped to become.

70. "March King at Metropolitan," clipping labeled *Post-Intelligencer* (Seattle), 1 October 1927, HJ 72, p. 104.

71. "Sousa Is a Busy Man," *Daily Kennebec Journal* (Augusta, ME), 3 May 1897. Additional information on the Maine concert can be found in Ward, "Augusta's Proudest Secret."

Works Cited

Archival Sources

- Library of Congress, Washington, DC
 John Philip Sousa Collection, Performing Arts Reading Room
 National Archives and Recordings Administration, Washington, DC
 Record Group 127, Entry 4. Records of the United States Marine Corps
 New York Public Library
 Manuscripts and Archives Division, David Blakely Papers
 United States Marine Band Library, Washington, DC
 Fowles Scrapbook
 John J. Heney Collection
 Smith, Leonard B. "Concerning the Interpretation of Sousa and Other Marches."
 Sousa Band Press Books (cited by HJ number)
 Sousa Oral History Project
 University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
 The John Philip Sousa and Herbert L. Clarke Manuscript Collections
 The Paul E. Bierley Papers

Books and Articles

- Auslander, Philip. "Musical Personae." *Drama Review* 50 (2006): 100–119.
 ———. "Performance Analysis and Popular Music: A Manifesto." *Contemporary Theatre Review* 14 (2004): 1–13.
 Bederman, Gail. *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880–1917*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.
 Bierley, Paul Edmund. *The Incredible Band of John Philip Sousa*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006.
 ———. *John Philip Sousa: American Phenomenon*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1973. Reprinted and revised, Westerville, OH: Integrity Press, 1998.
 ———. *The Works of John Philip Sousa*. Westerville, OH: Integrity Press, 1984.
 Revision of *John Philip Sousa: A Descriptive Catalog of His Works*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973.
 Bly, Leon Joseph. "The March in the United States of America." In *Alta Musica* 8 (Congress of the Gesellschaft zur Erforschung und Förderung der Blasmusik held in Seggau, Austria, 1983), 245–61. Tutzing, Germany: Hans Schneider, 1985.
 Brown, Margaret L. "David Blakely, Manager of Sousa's Band." In Newsom, *Perspectives on John Philip Sousa*, 121–33.
 Brush, Edward Hale. "Electrical Illumination at the Pan-American Exposition." *Scientific American Supplement* 51 (1901), 20943–44.
 Byrne, Frank. "Patriotism and Marketing Built the Sousa Legend." *Instrumentalist* 59, no. 4 (November 2004): 20–32, 68–69.
 ———. "Sousa Marches: Principles for Historically Informed Performance." In *The Wind Ensemble and Its Repertoire: Essays on the Fortieth Anniversary of the Eastman Wind Ensemble*, edited by Frank J. Cipolla and Donald Hunsberger, 141–67. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 1994.

- Cowherd, Ron. "Sousa Marches: The Arranged Versions." *Instrumentalist* 32, no. 5 (December 1977): 44–47.
- Danner, Phyllis. *Sousa at Illinois: The John Philip Sousa and Herbert L. Clarke Manuscript Collections at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign; A Catalogue of the Collections*. Warren, MI: Harmonie Park, 2005.
- Eiland, Dianna. "The 1891-Tour of John Philip Sousa and the United States Marine Band." In *Alta musica* 16 (Congress of the Gesellschaft zur Erforschung und Förderung der Blasmusik held in Feldkirch, Austria, 1992), 169–80. Tutzing, Germany: Hans Schneider, 1994.
- Elkus, Jonathan. *Charles Ives and the American Band Tradition: A Centennial Tribute*. Exeter, UK: American Arts Documentation Centre, 1974.
- . "Defining the Sousa March: Its Formal and Stylistic Constants." *American Music Research Center Journal* 15 (2005): 41–53.
- "The Era of Sousa." *Musical Courier* 37 (4 July 1898): [64–65].
- Evenson, E. Orville. "The March Style of Sousa." *Instrumentalist* 9, no. 3 (November 1954): 13–15, 48–50.
- Fennell, Frederick. "The Sousa March: A Personal View." In Newsom, *Perspectives on John Philip Sousa*, 81–102 (also available online at <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/diglib/ihas/loc.natlib.ihas.200152754/default.html>).
- Fiese, Richard K. "College and University Wind Band Repertoire 1980–1985." *Journal of Band Research* 23, no. 1 (Fall 1987): 17–42.
- Gauldin, Robert. "The Theory and Practice of Chromatic Wedge Progressions in Romantic Music." *Music Theory Spectrum* 26 (2004): 1–22.
- Harris, Neil. "John Philip Sousa and the Culture of Reassurance." In Newsom, *Perspectives on John Philip Sousa*, 11–40 (also available online at <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/diglib/ihas/loc.natlib.ihas.200152753/default.html>).
- Helmecke, August. "Why the Accents Weren't Written In. . . ." *Instrumentalist* 5, no. 5 (March–April 1951): 15. Reprinted in *Instrumentalist* 9, no. 3 (November 1954): 51.
- Hitchcock, H. Wiley. "Ives's 114 [+15] Songs and What He Thought of Them." *This Journal* 52 (1999): 97–144.
- Holvik, Karl. "An Emerging Band Repertory: A Survey of the Members of the CBDNA." *Journal of Band Research* 6, no. 2 (1970): 19–24.
- Hopwood, Brian Keith. "Wind Band Repertoire: Programming Practices at Conventions of the College Band Directors National Association." DMA thesis, Arizona State University, 1998.
- Lears, T. J. Jackson. *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880–1920*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1981.
- "Mme. Chaminade and John Philip Sousa Talk about Music." *New York Herald*, 15 November 1908.
- Newsom, Jon, ed. *Perspectives on John Philip Sousa*. Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1983.
- Norton, Pauline Elizabeth. "Nineteenth-Century American March Music and John Philip Sousa." In Newsom, *Perspectives on John Philip Sousa*, 43–52.
- Polansky, Larry, and Richard Bassein. "Possible and Impossible Melody: Some Formal Aspects of Contour." *Journal of Music Theory* 36 (1992): 259–84.

- Rotundo, E. Anthony. *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era*. New York: Basic Books, 1993.
- Small, Christopher. *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening*. Hanover, CT: Wesleyan University Press, University Press of New England, 1998.
- Smart, James R. "Genesis of a March: *The Stars and Stripes Forever*." In Newsom, *Perspectives on John Philip Sousa*, 105–19. Reprinted in Sousa, *Stars and Stripes Forever*.
- Sousa, John Philip. *The Fifth String*. Indianapolis: Bowen-Merrill, 1902.
- . "The Greatest Game in the World." *Baseball Magazine* (February 1909): 13–16.
- . *John Philip Sousa: Six Marches*. Edited by Patrick Warfield. Music of the United States of America 21. Recent Researches in American Music 69. Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 2010.
- . "A Letter from Sousa." *Etude* 16 (1898): 231.
- . *Marching Along: Recollections of Men, Women and Music*. Boston: Hale, Cushman, and Flint, 1928. Reprinted and revised by Paul E. Bierley. Westerville, OH: Integrity Press, 1994.
- . *Pipetown Sandy*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1905.
- . *The Stars and Stripes Forever*. Facsimile edition. Washington, DC: Library of Congress and Ludwig Music, 1998.
- . *The Transit of Venus*. Boston: Small, Maynard, 1920.
- "Sousa and His Mission." *Music* 16 (1899): 272–76.
- Stacy, William Barney. "John Philip Sousa and His Band Suites: An Analytic and Cultural Study." DMA thesis, University of Colorado at Boulder, 1972.
- Ward, Ellen MacDonald. "Augusta's Proudest Secret." *Down East: The Magazine of Maine* 43, no. 12 (1997): 72, 93–94.
- Warfield, Patrick. "The Essence of Uncle Sam: John Philip Sousa's 1911 World Tour." In *Alta musica* 25 (Congress of the Gesellschaft zur Erforschung und Förderung der Blasmusik held in Oberwölz, Austria, 2004), 359–78. Tutzing, Germany: Hans Schneider, 2006.
- . "John Philip Sousa and 'The Menace of Mechanical Music.'" *Journal of the Society for American Music* 3 (2009): 431–63.
- . "Making the Band: The Formation of John Philip Sousa's Ensemble." *American Music* 24 (2006): 30–66.

Sound Recordings

- The Sounds of John Philip Sousa*, vols. 1 and 2. American School Band Directors Association. Vol. 1: recorded by the Northern Virginia All-ASBDA High School Band, 1965. Vol. 2: recorded by the U.S. Army Band, 1969. Both issued privately by the ASBDA on LP (each was a 2 disc set). Notes by Frank Simon (as dictated to Mac Carr). Privately released as Century Records 23693. Capitol Custom SYB 2168-2171 [1967–69]. Vol. 1 was rerecorded by the U.S. Army Band and released on CD (also by the ASBDA). (These are available at the U.S. Marine Band Library, Washington, DC.)
- Sousa Marches Played by the Sousa Band: The Complete Commercial Recordings*. With essays by Keith Brion, Paul Bierley, Frank Byrne, Frederick P. Williams, and Seth B. Winner. Crystal Records, 2000, 3 CDs 461–463.

Abstract

John Philip Sousa's phenomenal appeal for early twentieth-century American audiences lay in large part in the dramatic nature of his marches, their performance practice, and his own persona as the March King. Sousa was responsible for transforming the earlier *da capo* parade march into a linear work suitable for concert performance. When combined with the now largely forgotten performance practice of the Sousa Band, these marches became miniature dramas. Sousa's famous marches, however, were seldom featured on printed handbills. Rather, the March King connected to his audiences by inviting them to take part fictitiously in concert programming by calling for Sousa's marches as encores. Such encores not only allowed Sousa to remain humbly invisible on programs, but also provided audiences with the illusion of an intimate conversation with a celebrity entertainer, a conversation that reinforced nineteenth-century notions of American manhood. Through his advertising and concert work, Sousa strove to appear not as a distant celebrity, but simply as a more successful version of the Americans in his audience.

Keywords: John Philip Sousa, band marches, nineteenth-century American music, music and theater

Sounds of Place: Music and the American Cultural Landscape (Northeastern University Press, 2003), won an ASCAP-Deems Taylor Award in 2004. A second book, *Leo Ornstein: Modernist Dilemmas, Personal Choices*, coauthored with Michael Broyles (Indiana University Press, 2007), won the 2009 Irving Lowens Book Award for distinguished scholarship in American music from the Society for American Music.

PATRICK WARFIELD is an Assistant Professor of Musicology in the School of Music at the University of Maryland. He specializes in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century American music, and has a particular interest in the lives of working-class musicians and in local histories. He is most recently the editor of *John Philip Sousa: Six Marches*, volume 21 in the series *Music of the United States of America* (A-R Editions, 2010), and he is currently at work on a monograph tracing Sousa's early life in Washington, D.C., and his first musical works.

HOLLY WATKINS is Associate Professor of Music at the Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester, where she teaches courses on nineteenth- and twentieth-century music, aesthetics, and philosophy. In 2010–11, she held a Donald D. Harrington Faculty Fellowship at the University of Texas at Austin, where she completed her book *Metaphors of Depth in German Musical Thought: From E. T. A. Hoffmann to Arnold Schoenberg* (forthcoming from Cambridge University Press). Watkins has published in venues including the *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, *19th-Century Music*, and *Current Musicology*. Her current research deals with musical space, music and place, and aesthetic transport.