

“Putting Into Music the Subjugation of the Desert”:  
The American Band Movement in Phoenix, 1885-1920

by  
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## ABSTRACT

This paper contains a cultural history of the band movement in territorial Phoenix, Arizona, from about 1885-1915. I discuss how bands formed, performed, and fundraised; and how their audiences supported them. Cultural historians have conducted studies of the band movement on a national scale or within a specific context, such as music in the Indian Schools. Music historians have published studies of the structure of band music, their repertoire, and the conductors who composed that music and led professional bands of the day. My study looks at the role of bands in supporting the development of nationalism in a particular region. Phoenix, between 1885 and 1915 was the capital city of a region transitioning from a dusty, relatively isolated western territory to an economically profitable state, connected to the greater nation by railroads and canals. The activities of bands in Phoenix illustrate Arizonans' drive to be included in the American national community.

I utilize the theories of several cultural historians and one economic historian. Jürgen Habermas, Benedict Anderson, and Maurice Halbwachs all look at how people see themselves as part of a nation, and the manners in which they communicate and socialize with each other. I assert that the development of the band movement in Phoenix parallels the stages of musical development that Jacques Attali, a French economist and historian, has established. Attali writes that music is tied to the mode of production of a society; as Arizona strengthened its economic, political, and social forms of production, bands reflected, and often heralded, those changes.

Despite their remote location and lack of professional musicians, Phoenicians were enthusiastic supporters of the band movement. They were eager to jump on the



bandwagon, not because they viewed brass and wind band music as an elite, virtuosic art form, but because bands allowed them a public forum in which to collectively celebrate their American nationalism and advocate their case for statehood on a national level.

## DEDICATION

For my husband, Zach, who believed in me from the start.

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## INTRODUCTION

“Music is more than an object of study: it is a way of perceiving the world.” – Jacques Attali<sup>1</sup>

For most of the history of mankind, people have been making and listening to music. Music can be created in many different rhythmic combinations and with many different instruments, all of which ultimately create a language that allows the people of a community to make sense of the natural world, construct their political and national identities, and order their society.

American popular music is as diverse as its people. Each immigrant group brought its own traditions to the United States, but it wasn't until jazz rose in popularity during the 20<sup>th</sup> century that mainstream popular music regularly incorporated non-white musical instruments and traditions. Before the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century, mainstream popular music in most of the country developed in a markedly European manner, blending together various traditions of European immigrants and their descendants.

This paper will focus on one particular musical movement that swept across the entire United States in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, and how it manifested itself in the Arizona Territory. During this period, brass and wind bands, spurred in popularity by the Civil War, were directly tied to American nationalism, politics, and history. I will address the rise and fall of bands' popularity in the city of Phoenix between 1885 and

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<sup>1</sup> Jacques Attali, *Noise: The Political Economy of Music* (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1985), 4.

about 1920. Anglo Phoenicians used bands in an effort to assimilate Arizona's Hispanic and Indian populations to American politics and culture, and to demonstrate to the federal government that the state had attained a level of Americanization that merited statehood.<sup>2</sup> While Phoenicians celebrated their participation in bands as evidence of Arizona's American character, the band movement in Phoenix reflected the unique cultural, political, and economic conditions under which bands operated. Phoenix was a city "founded largely by Anglos for Anglos," an original American community striving to prove its nationalist character culturally and economically.<sup>3</sup>

The use of bands for military purposes dates back to the founding of the United States. Wind ensembles first appeared in France and Germany in the 17<sup>th</sup> century; by the 18<sup>th</sup> century, they were utilized by local military organizations in ceremonies and parades.<sup>4</sup> European migrants brought this tradition to the colonies, and bands became closely associated with the military and a strong sense of American nationalism.<sup>5</sup> While

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<sup>2</sup> Historians often use the terms "acculturation" and "assimilation" interchangeably, when they actually convey different ideas. I maintain that the goal of many Anglo Americans was for Arizona's Hispanic and Indian populations to completely assimilate into American culture. In reality, most non-Anglo individuals acculturated rather than assimilated; they adopted some forms of American culture while maintaining aspects of their native traditions.

<sup>3</sup> Bradford Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix: A Profile of Mexican American, Chinese American, and African American Communities, 1860-1992* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1994), 18.

<sup>4</sup> Margaret Hindle Hazen and Robert M. Hazen. *The Music Men: An Illustrated History of Brass Bands in America, 1800-1920* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1987), 6.

<sup>5</sup> The bands of the French Revolution inspired some of the earliest American community bands founded in the 1820s. Jere T. Humphreys, "An Overview of American Public

the earliest bands were composed mainly of woodwind instruments, which offered a wide range and tone, 19<sup>th</sup>-century innovations in brass technology allowed Americans to transform the European military band into its own American incarnation. Brass instruments, which had before only consisted of series of tubes, were now outfitted with valves, which allowed musicians to easily play the entire chromatic scale.<sup>6</sup>

The Civil War solidified the brass band and its music as perhaps the most popular genre of American music for the rest of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>7</sup> This was the first war in which the brass band was the primary provider of music. The mass military mobilization of the war brought amateur musicians from many states to work and play together, allowing songs and ideas to travel long distances. A wealth of new patriotic songs became engrained in American collective memory. After the war, many American communities adopted these songs, and continued to use the brass band as their go-to standard for civic and political events. Industrialization made the metals and means to manufacture instruments more accessible, and railroads allowed merchants to deliver complete sets of band instruments to rural communities in every corner of the country. Paired with a rise in the availability of sheet music and the rising musical literacy of musicians, the widespread availability of band resources led to a trend in amateur community bands. Cities and towns organized bands in the fashion of their military examples, adopting

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School Bands and Orchestras before World War II.” *Bulletin of the Council for Research in Music Education* 101 (Summer 1989): 50-60.

<sup>6</sup> Hazen, *The Music Men*, 90-96.

<sup>7</sup> The discussion in this paragraph is based on the research of Margaret and Robert Hazen as published in *The Music Men: An Illustrated History of Brass Bands in America, 1800-1920*.

patriotic music and colorful versions of uniforms. The railroads also allowed for professional bands to pursue national tours. John Philip Sousa split from the US Marine Band in 1892 to form a nationally touring civilian band, which cemented the connection between patriotism and brass band music in many Americans' minds. Sousa and his contemporaries also modified the instrumentation of bands by reintroducing woodwind instruments like clarinets and saxophones.<sup>8</sup>

Numerous musicologists and historians have conducted studies of American bands. Their work has yielded valuable biographical information on the conductors and composers of such music, as well as important insight on the evolution of the band instrumentation and repertoire. Musicologist Richard K. Hansen authored *The American Wind Band: A Cultural History*, one of the most comprehensive works on the subject. *The American Wind Band* is a thorough history of the wind band as an artistic movement, exploring the major composers and conductors that influenced its music, and touching on the social and political phenomena that influenced its uses. Works like Hansen's contribute important insight into the development of the wind band as an art form, providing a focus on instrumentation, composers, and repertoire. Other works have focused on historical aspects of the band movement and how it evolved on a national scale. One example, John W. Troutman's *Indian Blues: American Indians and the Politics of Music*, looks at Anglos' utilization of music as a tool of assimilation and

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<sup>8</sup> Neil Harris, "John Philip Sousa and the Culture of Reassurance," *The Library of Congress*, 2007, <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/diglib/ihas/loc.natlib.ihas.200152753/default.html>. To a musicologist, the terms "brass band" and "wind band" connote two different arrangements of instrumentation: one with only brass instruments, and one that includes woodwinds as well. I refer to both forms as "bands," because despite their differences in instrumentation, these bands were part of the same movement and performed similar social and political functions in the Phoenix community.



Indian resistance in American boarding schools. Works like those of Hansen and Troutman offer a holistic treatment on their subjects. My analysis will place the American band movement into a cultural context by looking at the functional use of bands at social and cultural events in a specific time and place: the city of Phoenix between its settlement and the advent of Arizona's statehood, approximately 1885-1915.

This thesis will focus on the social and cultural roles that bands played in Phoenix, Arizona, particularly among the Anglo community. Phoenix is unlike most western cities because it was founded and built by Anglos of European origin; it had no recent Spanish or Indian history. As the Arizona territory agitated for statehood, many Phoenicians were not only interested in making their new home culturally familiar by making it similar to the places they had moved from, but they were also determined to demonstrate their patriotism and their efforts to "Americanize" the people and atmosphere of the territory to the federal government, in preparation for Arizona's entry into statehood. Thus, Phoenix provides a timely study in that its political activity as it headed for statehood directly coincided with this nationalistic musical movement. While the band movement was fiercely patriotic in many corners of the United States, Arizonans used it as a tool to fight for full citizenship.

Thus, band music in Phoenix performed more than an artistic function: it was integrated into their economy as well. Phoenix's early entrepreneurs supported and encouraged band music as a means of demonstrating Arizona's American acculturation and attract federal funding.<sup>9</sup> Bands served an economic purpose on a local level as well.

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<sup>9</sup> Arizona's early appointed officials formed a "federal ring," successfully collaborating to win federal grants, despite their varied political affiliations. Bands would have been a

Local businesses and community organizations engaged bands to perform at any and all civic functions, from funerals to political rallies, to fire department fundraisers. In addition, the bands routinely held public performances at city hall and at popular recreational sites. Because they were created and financially supported by the community, they were highly responsive to the opinions and demands of their patrons. They can help us understand more than simply Americans' musical tastes at during this period, but the social and political outlooks of their participants and audiences as well.

My focus on the cultural, political, and economic functions of the band movement in Phoenix will add insight on the cultural effect of bands on Arizona society. I will look at aspects of society that affected how people participated or interacted with these groups- what music they chose to play, where they chose to play it, what they chose to wear while playing it, and why and how people came to listen. Along the way, I will identify racial, social, and political issues in society that affected the way people used bands. I will utilize the theories of several cultural historians who examine nationalism, politics, and music history, including Benedict Anderson, Jürgen Habermas, and Jacques Attali.<sup>10</sup> As John Troutman, a historian of music in the United States Indian Schools, writes, "I am interested in the *practice* of music, the economy of meaning that clusters

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tool employed to convince officials of Arizona's American character. Howard R. Lamar, *The Far Southwest: A Territorial History, 1846-1912* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000), 385.

<sup>10</sup> Attali is perhaps better known for his work as an economist. He ties economics to music in a novel Marxist approach to show how people use sound and music as a source of production and power in society. Although his book, *Noise*, specifically referred to 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century French history, many of its ideas translate to territorial Phoenix.

around organized sound.”<sup>11</sup> While patriotic music and military-style uniforms were considered essential to Phoenician bands, the simple act of participation, whether as a musician or audience member, that was most important to Phoenicians.

The introduction will investigate how early Phoenicians defined, and made distinctions between, noise and sound. Their evaluation of music was based on who performed the music and their perceived adherence to dominant Anglo cultural practices. Popular bandleaders like John Philip Sousa, who utilized European-style instruments, American military-style uniforms, and musical arrangements by European and American composers, perpetuated those beliefs. Ethnic bands, with unusual instruments and rhythms, were often caricatured as cacophony by whites. While the Mexican band, which adopted American instruments and music, was well received, the Chinese clung to their traditional instruments and songs and were ridiculed by Anglo society. Through my discussion, I will provide insight into the ways in which Phoenicians ordered their social lives through music.

The next section will examine how music brought Phoenicians together as an audience and built a public sphere for political and social discussions. Bands invited audience participation in a common social and political sphere. Bands paraded through the streets of Phoenix, performed at football and baseball games, signaled people to gather at city hall for political rallies, and marched in funeral processions. Bands facilitated the formation of a public forum for political and social discussion, in the spirit

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<sup>11</sup> John W. Troutman, *Indian Blues: American Indians and the Politics of Music, 1879-1934* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012), 9.

of Habermas's public sphere.<sup>12</sup> True to the spirit of cooperation that often existed between Arizona's political parties, bands were a staple at every political rally or meeting, regardless of its affiliation. I will particularly look at the importance of the bandstand, which in Phoenix was located at city hall. The bandstand, more than simply a performance venue for weekly band concerts, served as a platform for politicians as well, placing the band and its performance venues (the music halls served as an indoor location for rallies and meetings as well) at the center of Phoenician politics. This proved especially significant as Arizona participated in the Progressive movement, and went through the process of obtaining statehood.

Bands in Phoenix were not strictly an Anglo-dominated phenomenon. In fact, the Mexican Industrial Liberty Band and the Phoenix Indian School Band were respected musical organizations in the city as well.<sup>13</sup> Participation in the band movement was one criterion by which Anglos evaluated the successful acculturation of an ethnic group to American society. The third section of this thesis will be dedicated to a discussion of how non-Anglo groups participated in the band movement and why.

The next section will look at music's economic role in Phoenix. Bands were the centerpiece for the celebration of Memorial Day and Independence Day, both integral to the formation of American collective memory. They also performed at fairs, picnics, and fundraisers benefiting groups like the fire department. No band was complete without a full range of instruments, mail-ordered uniforms, and a solid repertoire of music. The

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<sup>12</sup> Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, translated by Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989).

<sup>13</sup> *The Arizona Republican*, 1885-1920.

participants alone could not fund their bands and relied on the community to contribute. Businesses took out subscriptions, and individuals attended fundraising dances and passed hats at weekly concerts. In this section, I will examine how Phoenicians viewed the role of bands in their society by their willingness to financially support bands, and how and why their attitudes and support may have changed over time.

Phoenician Anglos, whether they realized it or not, exerted financial power over the development of the city and its bands. One such use of this cultural power was their support of the Phoenix Indian School and its band. The band enjoyed immense success in the community, not because of its musical prowess, but because the sight of Native Americans in uniform, playing American music, reassured white Phoenicians of their role in society, and could be used as evidence of the successful transformation of Arizona's culture. The band was well funded by the United States government and local Phoenicians, who regularly hired the group for performances and supported its travels to play at conventions, fairs, and parades in other states.

Finally, my conclusion will examine the decline of bands. Just as Attali described the transition of music into the period of repetition, I attribute the decline of bands to the invention and mass production of the phonograph, and later the radio.<sup>14</sup> They diminished the need for live music at many of the events that had previously been the domain of bands. In adopting technology, we disassociated music from our bodies, our elves, and our nationalism. Music became a passive, individual pursuit, as Phoenicians began to buy recordings and listen to them in the privacy of their homes. The popularity of professional bands declined and wind and brass music transitioned from performing in a

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<sup>14</sup> Attali, *Noise*, 87-130.

larger community setting to the smaller school setting. Adults who wished to practice music found their opportunities diminished.

Although there were perhaps dozens of bands that formed within different ethnic and fraternal sectors of the community during the time period studied in this thesis, the group of band participants that has left the most records is the group that introduced the tradition to Arizona: Anglo Americans.<sup>15</sup> This study mostly focuses on the Anglo perspective, which establishes a background for the development of bands in Arizona and provides a foundation for future studies of how non-Anglos used bands as a reflection of acculturation, or a tool of resistance. Three of the most prominent organized bands in Phoenix were the Phoenix Pioneer Band, the Industrial Liberty Band, and the Phoenix Indian School Band.<sup>16</sup> These bands performed social and political functions in the city by holding weekly performances in the city's center, and making themselves available for hire to perform at political rallies and holiday celebrations. Few recordings exist of early bands in Phoenix, but there are a multitude of written and photographic sources that describe the musical choices, uniforms, and performance venues of bands, as well as the opinions and individual backgrounds of their performers, supporters, and audiences.

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<sup>15</sup> One important record is the *Arizona Republican* newspaper, which has recently been digitized for its earliest decades, 1885-1920. Although the *Republican* sometimes maintained a politically Republican slant, the paper provides a reliable record of where, when, and how bands performed.

<sup>16</sup> *The Arizona Republican*. The Phoenix Indian School Band is also discussed in: David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1988* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995). Greg Handel and Jere Humphreys, "The Phoenix Indian School Band, 1894-1930," *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education* 26 No. 2 (April 2005), 144-161. Robert A. Trennert Jr., *The Phoenix Indian School: Forced Assimilation in Arizona, 1891-1935* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press), 1988. Troutman, *Indian Blues*.

These include articles from Phoenix newspapers, programs from performances, court records, financial records of local businesses, and photographs.

Professional bands occasionally visited Phoenix as well. Most notably, John Philip Sousa performed on several occasions. Ellery's Royal Italian Band and the Scottish Kilties Band made several appearances as well.<sup>17</sup> These bands were respectively American and Canadian in origin, but they hired many musicians who originated from the countries they represented. The groups successfully melded their European and North American backgrounds into a nationalistic spectacle.

Technology, politics, racial relations, and economics influenced the activities of all these groups. In turn, their performances influenced Phoenicians' perceptions of and attitudes towards American nationalism on Arizona's journey towards statehood.

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<sup>17</sup> *The Arizona Republican.*

## THE FINE LINE BETWEEN NOISE AND MUSIC<sup>18</sup>

In 1892, several residents living near Maricopa and Adams Streets brought the members of the Club Filarmonico, a local amateur band, to court. They claimed that the band's frequent practices were a public nuisance, and compelled the city council to restrict the band's practice hours. These concerned citizens contended that the musical strains of the practicing band not only interrupted their sleep, but would also lower the value of their properties. Writers at the *Arizona Republican*, however, took the side of the band, opining, "sleep is popularly regarded as something indispensable, but for that matter many eminent persons believe that brass bands are a public necessity." The newspaper made an observation: if the sound of a band could be restricted, why not should "the same prohibition might have been passed against planing mills, printing presses, and other producers of unusual noise"?<sup>19</sup>

How can one man's noise be another man's music? Historian and economist Jacques Attali writes, "Listening to music is listening to all noise, realizing that its appropriation and control is a reflection of power, that is essentially political...music is noise given form according to a code...that is theoretically knowable by the listener."<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Soundscapes and the definitions of noise and music have been a topic of study for musical and environmental theorists like R. Murray Schafer. Their work is utilized in the emerging field of aural history, led by historians such as Emily Thompson. R. Murray Schafer, *Our Sonic Environment and the Soundscape: The Tuning of the World* (Rochester, VT: Destiny Books, 1993). Emily Thompson, *The Soundscape of Modernity: Architectural Acoustics and the Culture of Listening in America, 1900-1933* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002).

<sup>19</sup> *The Arizona Republican*, July 24, 1892.

<sup>20</sup> Attali, *Noise*, 6, 25.



Arizona historian David Berman adds that in Arizona, politics had three objectives: collective and individual autonomy, the celebration and utilization of the tools of democracy, and economic development.<sup>21</sup> In accordance with these goals, many Phoenicians defined music not by the performer's aesthetic taste or virtuosic skill, but by the ethnic, political, and economic contexts in which the music was performed.<sup>22</sup>

Music, the “quintessential mass activity,” has the power to promote, or silence, minority voices.<sup>23</sup> In the case of the Club Filarmonico, the group's Mexican heritage may have spurred both their neighbors' concern about property values and the *Arizona Republican's* subsequent defense of the group.<sup>24</sup> Arizona's Mexican-American community was initially well integrated into territorial society and politics, but lost ground as the Anglo population rose and took majority status.<sup>25</sup> Labor and politics became divided between ethnic lines, and so did bands.<sup>26</sup> While the pro-Hispanic *Arizona*

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<sup>21</sup> David Berman, *Arizona Politics and Government: The Quest for Autonomy, Democracy and Development* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 2.

<sup>22</sup> The use of the term “Phoenicians” is not all encompassing. Participants in the band movement were overwhelmingly Anglo, but others, including Mexican-Americans and Indians participated as well.

<sup>23</sup> Attali, *Noise*, 14.

<sup>24</sup> Arizona's Hispanic population did not vote in high numbers, but those that did tended to vote Republican, explaining the *Arizona Republican's* support of the Club Filarmonico. David Berman, *Reformers, Corporations, and the Electorate: An Analysis of Arizona's Age of Reform*, (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 1992), 27.

<sup>25</sup> Berman, *Arizona Politics*, 17.

<sup>26</sup> The name of another popular Mexican-American group, The Industrial Liberty Band, makes a direct reference to the labor divisions between Anglos and Hispanics described by historian David Berman. *Arizona's Age of Reform*, 9.

*Republican* defended the Mexican-American band's right to rehearse, it appears that the Democratic *Gazette*, a paper representing a party that was less supportive of the Hispanic community, sided with the band's opponents.<sup>27</sup> Incidents like the Club Filarmonico episode reveal that, despite the belief of many Anglos that bands reflected a universal attitude towards nationalism, they actually operated in a diverse and sometimes divided community. For the growing Anglo population of Phoenix, music came to represent the transformation of Arizona's people, land, politics, and economics into an American model. Their goal was to conquer the desert and impress the nation, securing Arizona a place in the national community.<sup>28</sup> Music, performed in the correct manner, was seen by Anglos as a powerful tool in uniting the community in a common understanding of American nationalism. Musicians that declined to align with these American ideals simply produced noise.<sup>29</sup>

Anglo Phoenixians saw themselves as part of the larger American community from the city's inception. Benedict Anderson describes this phenomenon as an imagined community. He writes of the bond between the members of a group of people who have never met, and will never meet each other who identify as part of a larger nation.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> The Arizona Republican's coverage of the situation openly mentions the Democratic Gazette's opposing stance. *The Arizona Republican*, July 1892.

<sup>28</sup> Philip VanderMeer, *Desert Visions and the Making of Phoenix, 1860-2009* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2010), 53-56.

<sup>29</sup> Attali believes that music is produced when noise is controlled through political, cultural, social, and technological means. Society's economic base influences the creation of music, and vice versa. Attali, *Noise*, xi.

<sup>30</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991).

Despite their small population and remote geographic location, many Arizonans saw themselves as Americans, and were eager to use any means possible in demonstrating their loyalties. National holidays, memorial days, territorial fairs, and presidential visits were platforms for demonstrating belonging in the American community, and were events at which bands were invited to perform. Band participants ranged from Anglo merchants to Indian School Students; each band tells a different story of the social, political, and economic transformation of Phoenix during its territorial period.<sup>31</sup> Bands were a key component in a successful public relations campaign that brought the state capital to the city in 1890, and achieved statehood in 1912. The praise of papers from outside Arizona suggests that this campaign was a success on a national level as well.<sup>32</sup>

The amateur participation and egalitarian model of consumption allowed bands to enhance the fraternal nature of the political public spheres in Phoenix.<sup>33</sup> A band's outward declaration of patriotism through uniform and song was usually enough to win public support. Political parties, fraternal organizations, and citizen clubs proved willing to book the Anglo Pioneer Band, the Mexican and Indian Industrial Liberty Band, and the Phoenix Indian School Band interchangeably for their rallies, fundraisers, and social events.<sup>34</sup> In fact, all three bands often shared the stage at the annual Arizona Territorial

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<sup>31</sup> *The Arizona Republican*.

<sup>32</sup> *The New York Times* and *The Los Angeles Times* were two such papers.

<sup>33</sup> David Berman describes Phoenix's political scene as more fraternal the political, akin to "great spiritual families" similar to the brotherhoods formed in Arizona's strong labor movements. *Arizona's Age of Reform*, 11-19.

<sup>34</sup> *The Arizona Republican*.

Fair.<sup>35</sup> The bands performed at events from church picnics to presidential visits to celebrations of national holidays.

Jürgen Habermas characterizes the public sphere as an arena of public discourse, where people of multiple statuses and creeds could come together to discuss economics and politics.<sup>36</sup> Bands physically brought people out of their homes, into the public sphere, where they discussed issues ranging from noise pollution to political elections.

Phoenicians gathered at city hall, parks, and baseball diamonds on a weekly basis for band concerts. Many times, the concert at the bandstand at the territorial fair or city hall doubled as a political platform at which Phoenicians welcomed visiting officials or gave electoral speeches.<sup>37</sup> When a political rally was held elsewhere, the band would literally march through the streets of Phoenix to rally participants to the event location. Bands cultivated Habermas's public sphere by providing an opportunity for Phoenicians to gather and encouraging a discourse of politics, society, and what it meant to be American.

When Phoenicians gathered in the public sphere, economics were more than likely a topic of discussion. The city of Phoenix was developed by American civilians as an economic enterprise, and had no direct origins in Spanish settlement or American military installations.<sup>38</sup> Phoenix's politics and public relations campaigns were closely

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Habermas, *Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 1-5.

<sup>37</sup> *The Arizona Republican*.

<sup>38</sup> Jay Wagoner, *Arizona Territory, 1863-1912: A Political History* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1970), 277.

tied to the region's economic reliance on federal grants and distant boosters. Arizona's politicians and merchants formed a "federal ring:" they were willing to work together in pursuit of federal grants, in spite of their political affiliations.<sup>39</sup> The American loyalties and political sentiments of city boosters were rooted in economic growth and opportunity.

Phoenix bands not only promoted the city's agricultural and tourism endeavors on a national level, but operated on a capitalist system themselves. Jacques Attali argues that the music and politics of a region are inextricably tied to its economic system.<sup>40</sup> Phoenix's bands usually operated under an economic model in which an event organizer would pay for the performance, or the band would hold the performance free of charge.<sup>41</sup> Either way, members of the public rarely had to pay for a ticket to listen. Anyone and everyone could come hear the band perform, an arrangement that enhanced the sense imagined community and public sphere in Phoenix. Jacques Attali's Marxist approach to the economy and politics of music, particularly the early stages of his model, can be successfully applied to the city.<sup>42</sup> Phoenicians were transforming Arizona, culturally and physically, into an American model, all while society was becoming increasingly commoditized. The role of bands in these developments illustrates this transformation.

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<sup>39</sup> Lamar, *The Far Southwest*, 385.

<sup>40</sup> Attali, *Noise*, 4.

<sup>41</sup> *The Arizona Republican*.

<sup>42</sup> Attali's theories are described in more detail later in this paper.

One example detailed in this paper is the Phoenix Indian School Band. The school sought to assimilate Indian youth to American culture and instill them with vocational skills they would need to be productive citizens. However, Phoenixians “welcomed the opportunity to secure the Indian School from the perspective of economic gain more than any humanitarian benefit.”<sup>43</sup> The school attracted federal funding and proved an effective public relations tool in advertising the Americanization of the west to the rest of the nation. The school, particularly its band, represented Anglos’ success in Americanizing and assimilating Arizona’s Indian youth, as well as the development of Phoenix’s infrastructure, orchards, and farmland. The Phoenix Indian School Band was available for hire, earning extra income for the school while demonstrating its newfound American identity to Anglo residents. Internally, bands were used as a means to provide order and discipline to Indian students, and teach them aspects of mainstream American culture.<sup>44</sup> Ethnic, political, and economic factors defined the activities of the Phoenix Indian School Band, which in turn reflected the cultural battle that “civilized” Anglos believed they waged against “uncivilized” Indians.<sup>45</sup>

Attali writes that “music is inscribed between noise and silence, in the space of the social codification it reveals.”<sup>46</sup> Music was a means of ordering society, establishing

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<sup>43</sup> Trennert, *The Phoenix Indian School*, 19.

<sup>44</sup> Troutman, *Indian Blues*, 118.

<sup>45</sup> Troutman’s description of the dichotomous view of Indian School officials, who saw Indians as primitive, uncivilized, and in need of tutoring to adopt the Anglo American, “civilized,” way of life, aligns with Attali’s theories. *Indian Blues*, 6.

<sup>46</sup> Attali, *Noise*, 19.

Anglo musical aesthetics and American nationalism as a standard to aspire to. The dispute involving the Club Filarmonico was not about what the band was playing, but who the players were, and when and where they played. Club Filarmonico's detractors took legal action against the band's perceived effect on housing values, an economic argument that reflects the ways in which music was tied to the economic base of the community. The *Arizona Republican*, in turn, saw band music as part of the urban soundscape defended the band by comparing it to other noisy modes of economic production that were widely accepted, such as planing mills and printing presses.<sup>47</sup> In this case, Phoenix city officials decided with the band, and the case was dismissed.<sup>48</sup> Club Filarmonico's aural activities were deemed to be music, not noise.

#### BANDS IN THE PUBLIC SPHERE

“Rituals are an attempt to bring life into orderly control.” – David Wallace Adams<sup>49</sup>

The Club Filarmonico episode not only illustrates the social, political, and economic tensions of early Phoenix; but the development of a public sphere as well. As politics and capitalism took root in Phoenix and as railroads brought news and merchant goods in record time, people emerged from the privacy of their homes into an intellectual

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<sup>47</sup> *The Arizona Republican*, July 24, 1892.

<sup>48</sup> *The Arizona Republican*, July 24, 1892.

<sup>49</sup> Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 164.

arena, where they gathered to discuss everything from economics to politics. Bands were frequently involved with these public gatherings.

Jürgen Habermas claimed that the public sphere emerged in Europe in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and was a result in the rise of capitalist production and advances in long distance communication and trade. These factors encouraged people to branch out from their families and join others at public spots like coffee shops to engage in critical discussions of politics and the world they lived in.<sup>50</sup> The same process occurred in Phoenix during its early years. By the 1890s, Phoenix was connected to the rest of the nation by railroads, allowing merchants like Augustus Redewill, owner of the most successful music store in early Phoenix, to bring an influx of goods.<sup>51</sup> The railroads also allowed residents to travel between Phoenix and the eastern United States more frequently. This meant that professional touring groups could visit Phoenix, and that Phoenicians could visit their families to the east, where they often observed other bands in practice. Such developments connected Phoenix to a greater national network, encouraging the sharing of traditions, economic activity, and political discourse.

Public interaction, especially political discourse, proved a necessary activity for early Phoenix. Arizonans came from diverse backgrounds; their history (both veterans of the Confederacy and Union came west and mingled with Native American and Mexican residents), economic needs (northern Arizona was home to many ranchers and farmers, while southern Arizona was a center of mining), political affiliations (while the

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<sup>50</sup> Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*.

<sup>51</sup> *The Arizona Republican*.



Republicans gained an early foothold, the Democratic party later gained traction) all established variances in their interpretations of traditional American ideals.<sup>52</sup> As a territory, Arizona was not afforded the same rights and Congressional representation that states received. The territorial governor and senior leadership were appointed by the President in Washington; thus, many of Arizona's early governors were men from the eastern United States who had political aspirations, but little knowledge of Arizona's history and no economic experience in the territory.<sup>53</sup>

Thus, while Arizona's Anglo residents maintained a healthy political discourse, their party affiliations came second to their efforts to achieve statehood for the territory.

For many Arizonans, statehood "came to mean freedom, democracy, and home rule."<sup>54</sup> Habermas notes that participants in the public sphere saw the public sphere as a regulatory institution against the authority of the state.<sup>55</sup> In Arizona, including Phoenix, the community of local officials and citizens often put aside their differences to further the economic and political viability of the territory to become a state. Howard Lamar describes the political parties in early Arizona as "great spiritual families," similar to fraternal orders.<sup>56</sup> Political rallies and elections provided a reason for Phoenicians to emerge from the isolation of their houses to discuss collective issues in the public sphere.

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<sup>52</sup> Lamar, *A Territorial History*, 4.

<sup>53</sup> Wagoner, *Arizona Territory*.

<sup>54</sup> Lamar, *A Territorial History*, 12.

<sup>55</sup> Habermas, *Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 3-5.

<sup>56</sup> Berman, *Arizona's Age of Reform*, 11.

For Phoenix, Arizona's capital after 1889, the public sphere served as an arena for Arizonans' stand against strict federal oversight and their struggle to achieve statehood.

Habermas claimed that in order for the public sphere to successfully operate, it had to be inclusive. However, his own description of the public spheres in France and Britain limit participants to men who were literate and owned property.<sup>57</sup> In the Arizona Territory, which petitioned to become a state despite its small population, every vote counted. In 1880, Mexican Americans formed 45% of the population of Phoenix; by 1910, that number dropped to 10%.<sup>58</sup> The defining factor for inclusion in the public sphere was not one's level of education and ability to debate with reason, but one's patriotism and commitment to the American cultural and political systems.<sup>59</sup>

Bands were an important tool in the public process of unification; their music, uniforms, and legacy cultivated a collective memory of American history, which played a part in defining what it meant to be American. Arizonans could draw on music to define their individual memories and identities while viewing themselves as part of a larger movement.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Habermas, *Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 5-6.

<sup>58</sup> Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix*, 2.

<sup>59</sup> While Habermas's vision of the public sphere only included men, Arizona's small population of women also participated. Legislators feared that women's suffrage would not be welcomed by federal officials, and waited to grant suffrage until 1912, after Arizona achieved statehood. Randi Wise, "Women in Arizona Win Right to Vote in 1912," *Sharlot Hall Museum, Library and Archives*, June 16, 2012, accessed March 2, 2016, <http://www.sharlot.org/library-archives/days-past/women-in-arizona-win-right-to-vote-in-1912/>.

<sup>60</sup> Halbwachs defines collective memory as a set of knowledge shared by a group. This knowledge is based in fact or history, but can be constructed according to the political

By providing patriotic entertainment at rallies and public gatherings, bands invited people of all creeds to participate in the political public sphere and provided a social reason for Arizonans to take part in the political process.

Such discussions of the public sphere manifested in the form of celebrations, rallies, and elections. Bands facilitated such events by providing a reason for people to gather. Phoenix's early bands, entirely composed of amateur musicians, were generally equal opportunists: they accepted a variety of opportunities to perform. Bands in Phoenix were celebrated by many as representatives of national, universal patriotism, and were hired to perform at political rallies and holiday events, with minimal regard to the political affiliation of the group organizers.<sup>61</sup> The Phoenix Indian School Band, for example, was popular with nearly every political party in town. One of their more unique performances took place at a suffragette rally in June of 1912, where they performed "You Gotta Quit Kickin' My Dog Around," the campaign song of Champ Clark, a Democratic candidate for President in that year.<sup>62</sup> Two years later, in November of 1914, a patron from the Prohibition Party hired the band to storm the city's saloons carrying a banner celebrating Arizona's vote to prohibit the sale of alcohol.<sup>63</sup>

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and social situation of the individuals in the group. Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, Translated by Lewis A. Coser (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 1992, 52-53.

<sup>61</sup> *The Arizona Republican*.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, June 16, 1912.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, December 25, 1914.

Such performances encouraged public discourse, both at the site of the performance and through the headlines of the newspapers that reported on the spectacles.

In many cases, a rally would be announced in the newspaper ahead of time, with the band prominently mentioned.<sup>64</sup> The band would meet on a street corner near the middle of the town before the meeting, and play a concert to gather the public and lead them towards the meeting hall. The band then stayed to provide musical entertainment between speeches.<sup>65</sup> Bands served as a unifying entity for members at the meetings, regardless of their members' individual political persuasions. On one occasion in 1892, the Democratic minority party engaged a band, likely the Phoenix Pioneer band, to accompany their torchlight procession and play between speeches. The band performed several Civil War tunes, including Dixie, Yankee Doodle, and the Rogue's March (traditionally used to drum a dishonorable discharge out of the military).<sup>66</sup> By this time, the music of a formerly divided country had been appropriated as a locus of collective memory that helped build a public sphere. Bands facilitated this process at social and political gatherings.

The band and the bandstand served as a site of collective memory where Phoenicians anchored their national identities to their local environment. Maurice Halbwachs, in his writings on collective memory, writes that localization is a hallmark of

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<sup>64</sup> Music was used as a way to entice party members to attend political meetings and cast their votes. Figure 1 depicts one such call to the Progressive Party in Phoenix. *The Arizona Republican*.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> *The Arizona Republican*, November 8, 1892.

collective memory. Locations, or anchors, of memory, can be physical locations, a particular person, or an event that members of a group use to reassure themselves of the legitimacy and importance of their memories.<sup>67</sup> Vernacular and commemorative songs, mainstays of the American band, celebrated victories and heroes of the past, and helped to formulate a common understanding of American history. Phoenix bands, in the decades after the civil war, appear to have intentionally applied such strategies to invoke these collective memories. At a fundraising picnic for Phoenix firemen in 1897, the Phoenix Pioneer Band performed a song called “War Time Memories,” which commemorated the Civil War. As a special effect, a band member lighted firecrackers in a barrel to simulate the sounds of war. The *Arizona Republican* described the realistic effect of the performance:

Old veterans, those upon whom the leaden rain had fallen at Gettysburg and Chickamauga, those who had struggled up Lookout Mountain in the teeth of a murderous gale, and those who had cowered amid the thunders of Pittsburg Landing and Iuka, grasped each other by the hand and looked into each others’ streaming eyes. ‘That’s it!’ cried one; ‘that’s the very sound!’<sup>68</sup>

The effects of the music caused Civil War veterans, who had served in a variety of battles under differing circumstances, to unite in their collective memory of the war and imagine themselves having a shared experience. The paper’s report on this incident suggests that the other attendees of the picnic were able to participate in the commemoration, and enabled the readers of the newspaper who were not in attendance to

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<sup>67</sup> Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 52-53.

<sup>68</sup> *The Arizona Republican*, June 15, 1897.

share in the experience as well.<sup>69</sup> It is highly unlikely that the deafening sounds and traumatic experiences of the war were exactly comparable to the noise of a firecracker in a barrel, but the performance allowed Civil War veterans and younger generations of Americans to cultivate a sense of patriotism and shared experience, rooted in their modern collective memory of the Civil War.

The arenas in which bands performed, like parks, opera halls, dance halls, hotels, and city halls, were also the arenas in which Arizonans held political debates and elections. These locations served as physical anchors for the cultivation of collective memory and imagined community. Outdoor bandstands, like the bandstand at Phoenix's city hall became one such anchor, acting as a rallying point for Americans when a political leader came to town, or a national holiday needed recognition.

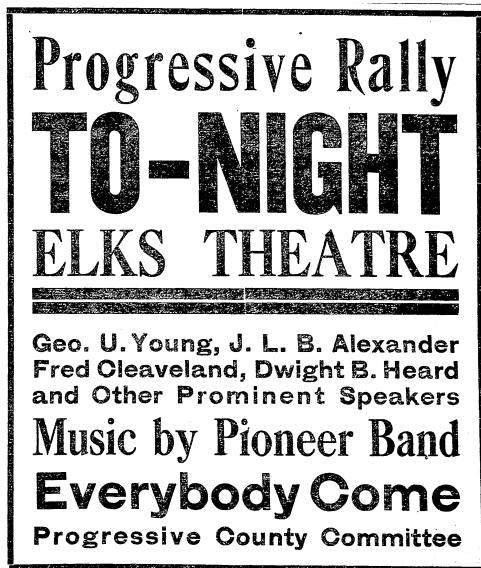


Figure 1: Progressive rally advertisement, *The Arizona Republican*, October 1912<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> *The Arizona Republican*, October 16, 1912.

Although they hired themselves out for events, bands cultivated their reputation as public servants by periodically holding free concerts that were open to the public. Following the example of other bands around the country, bands like the Phoenix Pioneer Band and the Industrial Liberty Band held public concerts once a week during the cooler months.<sup>71</sup> The Phoenix Pioneer Band held weekly concerts for decades at the bandstand in front of City Hall, and the Industrial Liberty Band vacillated between the City Hall Plaza, Court House Plaza, and the nearby Ford Hotel.<sup>72</sup> These performances proved so popular that Phoenix citizens made it a priority to build a bandstand and provide accommodations for seating at City Hall, and later at the Court House Plaza as well.<sup>73</sup> When Riverside Park was built in 1914, the park continued the tradition, and engaged a group called Alden's Band to perform frequent open-air concerts at a bandstand in the park. They proved to be more popular than the park's other features, even the beach and slide at the swimming pool, as evidenced by the Alden Band's prominent placement in ads and editorials exalting the park and its amenities.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> *The Arizona Republican* announced the time, location, and program for nearly every concert.

<sup>73</sup> In 1897, Phoenix's two bands, the Pioneer Band and Capital City Band, performed at City Hall on a "rough wooden platform." Local citizens, likely some of the musicians themselves, repeatedly wrote letters to the editor advocating for the construction of a traditional band stand, to impress winter visitors from the eastern United States. The bandstand was completed in 1902. The Industrial Liberty Band, Phoenix's Mexican-American band, later advocated for its own bandstand at the Court House Plaza in 1910. *The Arizona Republican*, 1897-1910.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., 1908-1914.

Just as earlier bands had used free performances to attract listeners, recruit economic support, and cultivate a collective social and political environment, by 1914, the backers behind Riverside Park used the same concept to advertise their enterprise.

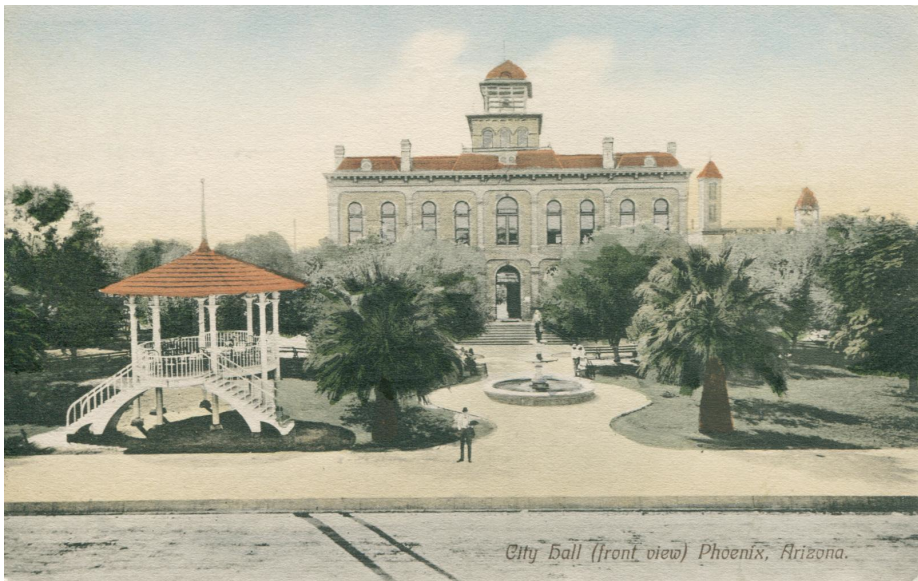


Figure 2: Postcard depicting the bandstand at Phoenix City Hall, circa 1912, courtesy of the author.<sup>75</sup>

The bandstand was physical landmark to which Phoenicians could anchor their collective memory and celebrate their nationalist sentiments. It not only helped the band to project its music to the crowd, it became a visual marker as a point at which to gather and became a landmark with social and political meaning for the audience. The bandstand was a venue for weekly band concerts, political speeches, patriotic rallies, and celebrations of national holidays.

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<sup>75</sup> *The Bandstand at Phoenix City Hall, circa 1912*, Private collection of author.



The bandstand became so important to the observance of events that temporary stands were constructed around Phoenix for the celebration of holidays and events like the annual Territorial Fair.<sup>76</sup> Constructed as a performance space for bands, the stands were also used as elevated platforms for speakers at political rallies and patriotic celebrations.

In addition to fixed locations, band linked different parts of the city through processions. Bands often met prominent visitors at the train station and escorted them to their destination. The Phoenix Fire Department held an annual Fireman's Day, at which the mayor and city council participated in an inspection of the department, followed by a fundraising ball. The inspection in 1904 consisted of a procession through the city, ending at the bandstand at City Hall, where the mayor and city council performed their duties.<sup>77</sup> Another instance occurred in 1908, when the Tempe Merchants' Band provided the music for a Republican rally at the Goodwin Opera House in Tempe. The band met the candidates at the train station as they arrived from Phoenix, and led the Republican leaders and Tempe citizens on "a great procession" to the Republican headquarters at the Casa Loma hotel.<sup>78</sup>

By providing a location and soundtrack for the meeting of the public sphere and the creation of public memory, Phoenix's bands helped many residents of the city to negotiate a social and political environment based on common concepts of democracy

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<sup>76</sup> In 1907, the Territorial Fair committee raised \$617.50. They appropriated \$45 for music and \$4.80 for the erection of a temporary bandstand at the fair. The remainder of the funds Breakdown of money spent on decorations and an "information bureau." *The Arizona Republican*, November 28, 1907.

<sup>77</sup> *The Arizona Republican*, February 22, 1904.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, October 31, 1908.

and American nationalism. It is not surprising, then, that the bands were consciously used as a teaching tool, used to instruct young, native-born Arizonans, who were removed from their eastern American heritage, as well as Native American youth, in the dominant values and ideals of American nationalism.

## RACE AND BANDS

In 1911, the Phoenix Pioneer Band and the Industrial Liberty Band teamed up to welcome Arizona Senator Ralph Cameron back from Washington DC, where he had been making arrangements for Arizona's impending statehood. Pro-statehood citizens planned a festive event with music and speeches at the city hall plaza. The Anglo Pioneer Band played at the bandstand at the city hall, while the Mexican Industrial Liberty Band paraded the streets.<sup>79</sup>

This event, unified in its celebration of statehood, yet divided by the ethnic composition of the bands, illustrates the way in which Anglos saw the structure of their society. Phoenix's Anglo residents had long believed that they had to successfully assimilate Arizona's native peoples to American culture in order to achieve political legitimacy. For example, Howard Lamar, a historian of the American southwest, contends that the chairman of the Committee on Territories, Albert Beveridge, chairman of the Federal government's Committee on Territories from 1901 until 1911, had opposed Arizonan statehood on cultural reasons. After a 1902 trip to Arizona, he returned

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<sup>79</sup> *The Arizona Republican*, September 21, 1911.

to Congress convinced that the state's Spanish-speaking population was "at best second-class citizens- passive, pliant, and uneducated."<sup>80</sup> Phoenix's Anglo community viewed the establishment of an American identity as a way to bring citizenship to Arizona's native people and the solution to uniting a community that was geographically and socially divided by ethnicity. Bands were as a locus for collective memory and a catalyst to the formation of an imagined community, an Arizonan take on American nationalism.<sup>81</sup>

Phoenix was home to a variety of non-Anglo communities that embraced the band tradition to differing degrees. While most non-Anglo bands usually performed within their ethnic communities, two bands in particular, the Mexican-American Industrial Liberty Band and the Phoenix Indian School Band, reached across ethnic lines and drew recognition and patronage from Anglos as well. These bands achieved popularity by adopting the standards of uniform, instrumentation, and music set forth by bands like those of Patrick Gilmore and John Phillip Sousa. They embraced American nationalism in its musical form and, sometimes unwillingly, sought to join its imagined community.<sup>82</sup> On the other hand, Phoenician Anglos looked down ethnic bands that did not conform or make a visible effort to adopt American values.

Bands were an Anglo-dominated practice because of their European origins. Once tied to American nationalism, they became a tool for Anglos to measure the

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<sup>80</sup> Lamar, *A Territorial History*, 427.

<sup>81</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

<sup>82</sup> For more on the recruitment of students and use of assimilation techniques at the Phoenix Indian School, see Trennert's *The Phoenix Indian School*.

acculturation of non-European ethnic groups.<sup>83</sup> 18<sup>th</sup> century American bands initially followed British tradition. Affiliated with their local militias, these early military bands were small, mobile, and featured the popular English instruments of the day. They commonly took the shape of a six to eight piece band (a combination of clarinets, oboes, horns, trumpets, and bassoons), or a drum and fife corps.<sup>84</sup> In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, new British immigrants brought the populist tradition of company and community bands to the United States.<sup>85</sup> These bands, composed of local amateurs, improved worker camaraderie and provided for competition between companies.<sup>86</sup> In Phoenix, as in England, bands became a social outlet and were a staple at every public gathering, from dances to commencement ceremonies to Independence Day celebrations. Instead of company sponsors, Phoenix's bands found community sponsors in ladies' clubs, political parties, and fraternal organizations.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> *The Arizona Republican* frequently pointed out differences in how bands were used in traditions such as funerals and at holidays like Memorial Day and Independence Day.

<sup>84</sup> Carolyn Bryant, *And the Band Played On: 1776-1976* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1975), 6.

<sup>85</sup> In England, brass bands “kept people out of trouble, and were a matter of civic pride for local communities.” Werth, Christopher, “Britain’s Brass Bands: A Working-Class Tradition on the Wane,” *National Public Radio*, March 6, 2013, <http://www.npr.org/2013/03/06/173642709/britains-brass-bands-a-working-class-tradition-on-the-wane>.

<sup>86</sup> Some southern Arizona mining communities, like Bisbee, formed successful labor bands in the British tradition. Phoenix did not have a large organized labor force, but found ways to adapt the tradition to their community. *The Arizona Republican*.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*

The American band morphed into a uniquely nationalist art form in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, when changes in technology and manufacturing heralded the introduction of the brass band. The keyed bugle, and later the valved horn, increased the tone and range of brass instruments, precluding the need for woodwinds.<sup>88</sup> The first all-brass band was introduced in Boston in 1835, and shortly after, many community bands changed their instrumentation.<sup>89</sup> By the start of the Civil War, the majority of bands were comprised entirely of brass instruments. The brass band reached its zenith during the Civil War, cementing an association between the two in the American mind. The Civil War proved to be a locus of collective memory for Arizona's early Anglo residents, many of whom were veterans of both sides of the conflict.<sup>90</sup>

The popularity of the brass band continued after the end of the Civil War. A group of enterprising musicians combined the entrepreneurial spirit of the age with the band's portrayal of nationalism, transforming the amateur, utilitarian military band into a professional, patriotic spectacle. One such person was Patrick Gilmore, an Irish-born bandmaster and author of "When Johnny Comes Marching Home," who is oft credited with transitioning the military band to a civilian format.<sup>91</sup> Bands like Gilmore's had an important role in the development of bands as popular entertainment. Leaders like Gilmore and John Philip Sousa incorporated the musical traditions of recent French,

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<sup>88</sup> Bryant, *And the Band Played On*, 13.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 52-53.

<sup>91</sup> Hazen, *The Music Men*, 18-21.

German, Italian, and Irish immigrants.<sup>92</sup> In fact, many professional touring bands, including the Canadian-Scottish Kilties and Ellery's Royal Italian Band, proudly used ethnicity to brand themselves. Their uniforms combined military culture with their unique traditional costumes, and their regional instruments and songs were added to the traditional American instrumentation and repertoire.<sup>93</sup> For example, John Phillip Sousa's instrumentation was typically about half woodwinds and half brass, a ratio still used by many ensembles today.<sup>94</sup> The change in instrumentation also reflected the change in performance venues from military battlefields and parades to bandstands and concert halls. With the audience and band seated more often, woodwinds could provide intricate counter melodies and fill out the band's sound for a concert setting.<sup>95</sup>

Sousa visited Phoenix several times in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and was known to hold matinees for children in addition to concerts for adults. The Kilties, on one occasion, even performed at the Arizona Territorial Fair.<sup>96</sup> Professional bands succeeded in integrating themselves into the imagined community of Phoenix, and in turn, introduced new standards of instrumentation and repertoire that incorporated and celebrated multiple European traditions.<sup>97</sup> The transformation indicates that communities

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<sup>92</sup> Bryant, *And the Band Played On*, 27-28.

<sup>93</sup> Hazen, *The Music Men*.

<sup>94</sup> Bryant, *And the Band Played On*, 23.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 27-28.

<sup>96</sup> *The Arizona Republican*.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*

who embraced American nationalism not only participated in the band movement, but also contributed to it and altered it in ways that were accepted by the dominant culture. This phenomenon occurred on a regional scale in Phoenix, where Anglos embraced many Mexican-American songs and traditions. While many European immigrants came to the United States with a previous understanding of the American bands' music and instruments, Arizona's long-time residents were of Indian and Mexican descent; for them, bands were an unfamiliar art form. Phoenician Anglos interpreted the successful participation of non-Anglo groups as a successful implementation of American culture in Arizona and another step towards statehood.

A band's uniforms and appearance played an important visual role in maintaining continuity to its military past and cultivating a collective memory. Bands that followed the Anglo example retained military aspects such as uniforms, marching, and conformity, using their bodies as physical manifestations of their participation in the social order.<sup>98</sup> Military-style uniforms were an essential purchase for any band starting out. Uniforms not only invoked a collective memory of the Civil War, they were also a colorful, attention-catching visual. The uniform became a locus for collective memory, akin to other national symbols like the American flag. In one telling example, the band uniform became synonymous to the American flag. In preparation for a "Loyalty Parade" held in Phoenix during World War I, members of the community-led Phoenix Pioneer Band were encouraged to march in uniform. Non-musicians "who belong to the band but are shy

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<sup>98</sup> For insight on how participants in parades represented the social order, see Mary Ryan, "The American Parade: Representations of the Nineteenth Century Social Order," in *The New Cultural History*, ed. Lynn Hunt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).

uniforms will be considered as fully dressed for the occasion if they bring an American flag with them.”<sup>99</sup> Perhaps influenced by wartime patriotism, by 1917, Phoenicians had come to consider the band uniform on the same level as the American flag.



Figure 3: A uniformed band parades in front of a temporary bandstand, 1912, Herb & Dorothy McLaughlin Photographs, Arizona State University Special Collections, Tempe.<sup>100</sup>

The leaders of the Phoenix Indian School understood the visual power of the band’s spectacle, and successfully harnessed it as a tool of acculturation, to the enthusiastic approval of the greater Phoenix community.

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<sup>99</sup> *Arizona Republican*, April 8, 1917.

<sup>100</sup> *Admission Day Parade on Washington Street in Front of City Hall, 1912*. Herb & Dorothy McLaughlin Photographs, Arizona State University Special Collections, Tempe.



The group’s participants adopted a physical appearance, dress, behavior, and musical selections that aligned with the band movement.<sup>101</sup>



Figure 4: Program for June 14, 1907 performance of the Phoenix Indian School Band at the Tempe Normal School, *The Arizona Republican*.<sup>102</sup>

The band was almost universally popular in Phoenix, where Anglo groups like the Elks Club, church organizations, and territorial government hired them to perform ceremonies and celebrations for important national holidays like Independence Day and Memorial Day.<sup>103</sup> Anglos saw the acculturation of Native Americans as an important milestone in the transformation of their territory into a state. The band’s modification of

<sup>101</sup> Uniforms were a military aspect of the band tradition that Indian schools readily embraced. Troutman, *Indian Blues*, 118.

<sup>102</sup> The Phoenix Indian School Band strove to incorporate many American styles into their repertoire. This program from 1907 includes marches, a Civil War tribute, waltzes, and folk music. *The Arizona Republican*, June 14, 1907.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*

Indian behavior and appearances spurred the Anglo imagination and convinced many of the successful integration of Indians into the American community.<sup>104</sup> When Anglo bands took issue with the existence of the Phoenix Indian School Band, they made it clear that their differences were based on funding, not race.<sup>105</sup> When the First Arizona Infantry Band filed a labor complaint against the Phoenix Indian School Band in 1914, Adjutant General Charles W. Harris wrote, “This protest has nothing to whatever to do with the fact that the Band is an Indian Band, but the same protest would be made should the students of any institution, who are educated at the expense of the Government, be allowed, as an organization, to compete with men who derive their living from their occupation.”<sup>106</sup> Phoenixians had embraced the visual and musical spectacle of the Phoenix Indian School Band and envisioned the group as a fully acculturated part of their imagined community- to the point that they placed the same economic expectations on the young students as they did on the Anglo amateur bands. They only took issue when the Indian band reached a level of success that put it in economic competition with the local Anglo bands.

Despite Anglos’ desire to believe in the complete assimilation of the non-Anglo neighbors, cultural resistance persisted. Phoenix Indian School administrators struggled in their goal to keep students from running away or returning to their reservations after

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<sup>104</sup> Troutman, *Indian Blues*, 121-123.

<sup>105</sup> The funding of bands is addressed in further detail later in the paper. Troutman, *Indian Blues*, 130.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, 130.

graduation.<sup>107</sup> Although a significant percentage of band alumni chose to remain in Phoenix, their assimilation to many aspects of American language, labor, religion, and culture was rarely complete.<sup>108</sup> Many graduates chose to continue their musical activities by participating in the Industrial Liberty Band, composed primarily of Mexican youth and former Phoenix Indian School students.<sup>109</sup> For a time, the same director, Peter Vanne, led both the Phoenix Indian School and Industrial Liberty Bands.<sup>110</sup> The Industrial Liberty Band functioned as a counterpart to the Anglo Phoenix Pioneer Band, and held weekly performances at the city courthouse or the Ford hotel. Their concerts seem to have been second in popularity only to the Phoenix Pioneer Bands concerts at City Hall. The band performed a regionally unique mix of Mexican and American popular music, and performed at Mexican and American holidays alike.<sup>111</sup> Despite this dual loyalty to Mexican and American traditions, the Industrial Liberty Band was embraced by greater Phoenix.<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Many students failed to return to school after holidays and vacations; perhaps this is a reason why the Phoenix Indian School made sure to find summer-long engagements for their band. Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 35.

<sup>108</sup> Membership in the band was considered an honor, reserved for the most coachable and brightest students. Band members, who were already success stories in Americanization, were integrated in the Phoenix community through their frequent public performances. Trennert, *The Phoenix Indian School*, 48.

<sup>109</sup> *The Arizona Republican*.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>112</sup> *The Arizona Republican* provided the Industrial Liberty Band and the Phoenix Pioneer Band equal coverage.

While Anglos hoped for non-Anglo assimilation, they compromised for acculturation, tolerating and sometimes even adopting non-Anglo traditions. Like European immigrants before, the Mexican and Indian communities found ways to introduce their own elements to the American band tradition as it played out in Arizona. For many, Mexican Independence Day was equated to American Independence Day, and was celebrated in a similar style. The Phoenix Pioneer Band, Industrial Liberty Band, and Phoenix Indian School Band all performed in honor of Mexican independence at the bandstand at Phoenix's City Hall.<sup>113</sup> Each group incorporated songs with Mexican titles and lyrics into their repertoire.<sup>114</sup> One example of the successful integration of Mexican music into American culture is evidenced in newspaper coverage of a 1907 baseball game between local Mexican and Anglo contingencies. The teams, divided along ethnic lines, brought their respective bands, also ethnically divided.<sup>115</sup> Both bands incorporated some of their traditional music into their repertoires.

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<sup>113</sup> *The Arizona Republican*, November 15, 1907.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, June 23, 1907.

**CONCERT PROGRAM**—The following program will be given by the Industrial Liberty Band tonight at the City Hall plaza: Marcha, "Porfirio Diaz" (G. Cordina); Vals "A La Fiesta," (Manuel G. Manzanares); Grand Selection, "La Traviata," (Verdi); "Intermezzo Russe," (Th. Franke); Sextette from "Lucia," (Donizetti); Grand Overture by request "Poet and Peasant," (Suppe); March "Regimental Pride," (J. C. Heed); Y. Bustos, director. The band will go to Prescott on the excursion and furnish a concert at the celebration in that city during the baseball tournament.

Figure 5: Industrial Liberty Band program, August 30, 1907<sup>116</sup>

Phoenicians embraced Mexican culture for multiple reasons. In a state with a small Anglo population, proponents of statehood needed to count every person they could towards the citizen population. In addition, the Mexican-American population played an active role in their acculturation, eventually achieving a standing within the imagined community where they could begin to shape it themselves. The Industrial Liberty Band adopted American style uniforms, instrumentation, and music. They showed a respect for the institution of the bandstand, and a desire to perform at American, as well as Mexican, holidays. The cultural exchange even delved into Mexico itself; the Mexican National Band was invited to perform at the Arizona Territorial Fair in 1907.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> While Anglo bands in Phoenix largely refrained from playing songs with Spanish titles, the Industrial Liberty Band regularly played a mix of English and Spanish language titles. This Industrial Liberty Band concert occurred on August 30, 1907, just five days after the baseball game mentioned above. *The Arizona Republican*, August 30, 1907.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, November 12, 1907.

The yearly Arizona Territorial Fair demonstrated Anglo Phoenicians' acceptance of ethnic bands that participated in American traditions. In 1907, for example, the fair's kickoff was led by the state's governor, who was flanked by the Indian School Band on one side and a Mexican band, the Fourth Regiment Band, on the other. During the program, the former played the American national anthem, while the latter played the Mexican national anthem.<sup>118</sup> Both were cheered. The popular acceptance of Mexican culture and traditions at American events demonstrates how an ethnic group could carve a unique position for itself within American culture. This happened later for Native Americans, who were under the strict tutelage of the United States government for decades. After the government relaxed its position on Native education, hybrid bands began to appear in Arizona in the 1940s and 1950s.<sup>119</sup>

Band participation was one means by which Anglos evaluated the successful integration and acculturation of non-Anglo groups to American culture. Ethnic groups who demonstrated a desire to acculturate were patronized and celebrated, and groups who did not follow form were ridiculed and ostracized by the mainstream media.

The small, mostly male, Chinese population of Phoenix stood in stark contrast to the city's Mexican and Indian residents. Many Chinese residents saw their sojourn in the United States as temporary and worked only long enough to earn some money and return home.<sup>120</sup> The Chinese showed less interest than other Phoenician groups in adopting

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<sup>118</sup> Ibid., November 15, 1907.

<sup>119</sup> Troutman, *Indian Blues*, 150.

<sup>120</sup> For more on minorities in early Phoenix, see Bradford Luckingham's *Minorities in Phoenix*.

American traditions and nationalist sentiment in regards to music. They instead retained their native traditions in regards to instruments, tonality, holidays, and ceremonies.<sup>121</sup>

The *Arizona Republican* echoed much of the anti-Chinese rhetoric that existed in western United States politics at the time.<sup>122</sup> The newspaper regularly mocked Chinese celebrations and parades, as well as the bands that participated in them. One notable comment from 1892 read, “throughout Chinatown last night, music that would drive the average mortal to the asylum was ground out from cymbals, one-string violins, and other contrivances, the manipulation of which is only known to the bland-faced Mongolian.”<sup>123</sup>

At face value the articles seem to depict an ethnic conflict between the Anglo and Chinese communities. In fact, they relay notable differences between Chinese music and American music that affected the way in which Anglos viewed Chinese loyalty to American nationalism. Although the Chinese and other Phoenicians used their bands for similar purposes (parades, funerals, holiday celebrations), the Chinese maintained a unique appearance, instrumentation, and musical selections, that differed from the bands featured in other parades and events. This differentiation was apparent in October of 1892, when the Phoenix Pioneer Band and Phoenix’s Chinese band both performed in a funeral procession for a Chinese resident. *The Arizona Republican* recounted the event from an Anglo point of view:

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<sup>121</sup> *The Arizona Republican*.

<sup>122</sup> *The Arizona Republican* was, as its name suggests, a Republican newspaper that was highly partisan at times. The Republican Party, however, had majority favor Arizona’s politics, and the newspaper reflects some very popular views in Phoenix at this time.

<sup>123</sup> *The Arizona Republican*, January 28, 1892.

(The music of the Phoenix Pioneer Band) was thoughtfully intended as an antidote for the national airs of China by which the march to the grave was made additionally mournful...next came a bus carrying the Chinese band, whose flutes and tom toms filled the residents along Washington street with a sincere regret that Chu Bok had been cut off in the prime of vigorous manhood. Many persons of American birth along the way would have made almost any reasonable sacrifice to restore Chu Bok to life, thereby stopping the music.<sup>124</sup>

The case of the Chinese community depicts how closely issues of economic, politics, and culture were intertwined in Phoenix. Anglo Phoenicians' rejection of the Chinese demonstrates why an ethnic group needed to adopt the cultural trappings of nationalism in order to be included in the imagined community.

Anglos evaluated bands not primarily by race, but by their ethnic groups' willingness to embrace American nationalism and practice the standards set by bandleaders like John Phillip Sousa. Bands that failed to prioritize their American identity over their other ethnic identities, and become a part of the imagined American community, were ostracized, and often ridiculed. Bands that acculturated to American society were embraced, and even managed to slip some of their own ethnic backgrounds into their music and celebrations. However, a band that embraced American nationalism and followed the aesthetics of the American band could still experience disapproval from Anglos. These cracks in the unified façade of Anglo-driven society became most apparent where funding was involved. In a city founded by economic boosters, money was at the forefront of many heated debates.

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<sup>124</sup> Ibid., October 8, 1892.



## FUNDING THE BANDS OF PHOENIX

Money was a primary motivation for the founding of Phoenix. The city's founders were enterprising investors who transformed the arid land into irrigated ranches and laid plans for a society and economy based on the American model.<sup>125</sup> Economics also played an important role in Phoenix's band community, despite the fact that not a single professional band operated in the city. In most cases, only the professional travelling bands that played in Phoenix included paid musicians. For celebrations, picnics, and fairs, Phoenicians relied on amateur bands.<sup>126</sup> These bands could not operate on patriotic fervor or civic support alone: they required funding to purchase music and uniforms, employ a director, and pay rent for rehearsal spaces.<sup>127</sup> Phoenix was home to few wealthy art patrons, and so bands relied on their fellow community members for financial support. Many of the bands in Phoenix relied on a mix of community subscriptions and fees for their performances in order to fund their enterprises.<sup>128</sup> The competition for funding encouraged many of Phoenix's bands to define themselves through their economic standing.<sup>129</sup> While audiences valued bands by the number and quality of concerts they produced, the bands themselves also placed value on their time spent rehearsing.

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<sup>125</sup> Boosters needed to make the assimilation of minorities a necessity if they wanted to attract investments. VanderMeer, *Desert Visions*, 26.

<sup>126</sup> *The Arizona Republican*.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>128</sup> One form of subscription was purchasing ads in the programs for free weekly concerts. See Figure 6.

**\$5 For a Set of Teeth**

**PRICE LIST**

Gold Crowns	\$5.00
Gold Fillings	\$1.50 and up
Silver Fillings	50c and up
Extracting	50c

**All Work Guaranteed.**

**DR. R. E. HOLBROOK**

Irvine Block, Next Door to Chas. Donofrio, up stairs.

---

**THE VALLEY BANK OF ARIZONA.**

PAID UP CAPITAL \$200,000. SURPLUS \$200,000.

Wm. Christy, President.  
J. C. Knapitsch, Vice-President.  
W. D. Paulsler, Cashier.  
Lloyd B. Christy, Asst. Cashier.

Drafts issued upon all the important cities of the UNITED STATES and EUROPE.

DIRECTORS:  
M. H. Sherman, J. C. Knapitsch,  
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Lloyd B. Christy.

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**POPULAR SUNDAY AFTERNOON CONCERTS**

— GIVEN BY THE —

**PHOENIX.... PIONEER BAND**

Under the Direction of  
**MR. G. E. GOLZE,**  
Conductor.

**Sunday, January 6, 1901.**

**F. J. COYLE,** Business Manager. **J. M. SHOTT,** Sec. and Treas.

**PHOENIX RESTAURANT**

SOUTH FIRST AVENUE, Opposite Courthouse.

**Best Meals in the City 20c.**

Also Good Meals **10c and 15c.**

GROCERIES and STAPLE DRY GOODS

Your Money's Worth Every Time.

The best of Coffees, Teas and fresh Cereals always on hand...

**Frank Griebel,**  
218 220 West Washington Street  
Redwell Building.  
Telephone 431.

FOR ADVERTISING SPACE LEAVE YOUR ORDER AT THE CONCERT WITH **J. BLOOMINGDALE** ADVERTISING AGENT.

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**Has Your Piano Been Tuned Lately? If Not.**

leave your order at any of Music Houses in Phoenix, or address it to P. O. Box 1283, and have your piano in good condition for the holidays. I guarantee to do strictly first-class work. High grade repairing.

**H. Zietkowski,**  
Tuner from the W. W. Kimball Co., of Chicago.

---

**A LITTLE POEM FOR EVERYBODY.**

From east to west,  
From south to north,  
Wherever you may go,  
You cannot find  
A sweeter place  
Than that of

**Chas. Donofrio.**

All of my candies are **HOME MADE** and guaranteed to be pure.

**THE FINEST PORTRAITS THE BEST KODAK FINISHING THE LATEST NOVELTIES**

**MUSSEY'S STUDIO....**

Gooding Bldg. Opp. Adams Hotel.

A set of Retouched Stamp Photo's given with every order for a dozen Cabinet Photo's.

Headquarters for **MESSINGER'S VIEWS, INDIAN PHOTOS, ETC.**

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**HOME SAVINGS BANK and TRUST CO.**

Authorized Capital \$100,000.

Chas. F. Alsworth, President,  
S. M. McCowan, Vice-President,  
R. H. Greene, Secretary.

ROBES: 9 A. M. TO 3 P. M.  
SATURDAYS: 9 A. M. TO 7 P. M.

Interest on Deposits.  
No Commission on Loans.

**HUGH H. FRANCE,**  
Cashier and Treasurer

---

**The Place**

TO BUY A BICYCLE  
TO RENT A BICYCLE  
OR HAVE YOUR BICYCLE REPAIRED. Go to

**MANSFIELD RHODES WHEEL CO.**

30-32 West Washington St.  
PHOENIX, ARIZONA.

They also keep Cameras, Photo Supplies, Guns and Ammunition.

**LADIES... The Chicago Cloak and Suit House**

The only House that carries an Exclusive Line of Tailor Made Garments. Suits Made to Order.

203 EAST WASHINGTON STREET

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**MONEY RULES THE WORLD**

You can save lots of it by buying your furniture at the Second Hand Store of...

**E. W. SPEARS**  
222 W. Washington St.  
Highest Prices paid for second hand goods of all kinds.  
Come and try our new store.

---

**PROGRAMME**

4 Waltz—"The Emmeline"  
.....W. J. Webb

5 Cake Walk—"Impetuous Davis"  
.....A. Mills

6 Overture—"The Bridal Rose"  
.....F. Lawler

---

**CLARINET and all Reed Instruments**

...by...

**O. H. HUDGEN**  
Solo Clarinetist  
Pioneer Band...

Formerly Bandmaster of the Taiman Band of Illinois. First Clarinet National Home Band at Milwaukee. Solo Clarinet with the Centennial Band of Toledo.

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**studio, Room 2**  
Demiss Block.

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**TRANSACTS A GENERAL BANKING... BUSINESS...**

**Pianos Look Alike**

But you can always hear the difference between the **FISCHER** Pianos and others. One of the first makes introduced in Arizona. No one known to give anything but satisfaction. For sale at

**W. S. Jenkins'**  
TEMPLE OF MUSIC  
35 W. Washington Street

AGENT FOR Pianos and Rollans

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**NATIONAL LAUNDRY.**

We have no saw edges on our collars and cuffs.

We make a specialty of fine shirt, collar and cuff work...

CALL OR TELEPHONE **1591.**

**H. L. PARKER**

**PLUMBER TIN and SHEET IRON WORKER**

**GENERAL JOB WORK.**

27 West Adams Street  
TELEPHONE 1231

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**The PHOENIX NATIONAL BANK**

Capital \$100,000  
Surplus and Undivided Profits \$20,000

H. B. Gage, President,  
C. J. Hall, Vice-President,  
R. H. Knox, Cashier,  
L. B. Lortzner, Asst. Cashier.

Stocked Vanita and Steel Safety Deposit Boxes. General Banking Business. Branches in all Principal Cities of the World.

DIRECTORS:  
Jas. A. Fleming, C. J. Hall,  
A. B. Richmond, P. W. Pemberton,  
B. Heyman, F. S. Richer,  
D. M. Perry, H. B. Gage.

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**Coffee Al's**

**ALWAYS OPEN**

**PRIVATE ROOMS and UP-STAIRS RESTAURANT**

ONLY LUNCH COUNTER IN THE CITY

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**Music Furnished for all Occasions**

**Band and Orchestra from 5 to 40 pieces**

For particulars and prices apply to

**F. J. Coyle,**  
Business Manager,  
Pioneer Band.

---

**PLEASE DO NOT Throw the Programs ON THE City Hall Grounds**

AS THIS IS A GAINST THE CITY ORDINANCE.

By order of the Band Management.

---

**ALTONA**

THE ONLY **Exclusive Carriage Trimming Room** in Arizona.

313 West Washington St.

---

**Money to Loan**

on collateral security, such as watches, diamonds and other valuables. 41 N. Center Street, near the Hotel Adams. Undecorated pledges for sale at exceedingly low figures.

**Arizona LOAN Office,**  
41 N. Center St., Phoenix, Ariz.  
Near Hotel Adams.

Figure 6: The patronage of local businesses was integral to the funding of local bands, as evidenced in this Pioneer Band program from 1901.<sup>130</sup> Pioneer Band Program Sheet, 1901, Hayden Arizona Collection, Arizona State University Special Collections, Tempe.

<sup>129</sup> The Tempe Merchants Band paid homage to its sponsors through its name.

<sup>130</sup> Pioneer Band Program Sheet, 1901. Hayden Arizona Collection, Arizona State University Special Collections, Tempe.

Jacques Attali dates the commodification of music to 18<sup>th</sup> century France. Attali divides the history of western music into four periods, which occurred chronologically: sacrifice, representation, repetition, and composition.<sup>131</sup> The first phase, sacrifice, represents the earliest form of music and lies outside the boundaries of monetary exchange. In this phase, humans used music as a source of political and social power, a tool used to provide order to the world. As the “quintessential mass activity,” music could be used “as a channelizer of violence...(which) creates in festival and ritual, an ordering of the noises of the world.”<sup>132</sup> This period is best exemplified by the patron-composer arrangement of European classical music in the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Wealthy and powerful patrons would commission music, and their opinions dictated the aesthetics of the time. By controlling aesthetics, these patrons could sway the musical, and by extension, cultural and political arrangements of society. Attali defines music as “noise given form according to a code that is theoretically knowable by the listener” and likens music to “receiving a message.”<sup>133</sup> Those who define and control music can also order society.

During the approach of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Enlightenment and the French Revolution contributed to a redefinition of the value of music. As aristocrats lost power and money gained in power, westerners entered a new phase of musical history, called representation. In this phase, music gained a monetary value: anyone willing to pay

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<sup>131</sup> Attali, *Noise*.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, 14, 23.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

could patronize music and participate in ordering society. Attali attests that “music did not emerge as a commodity until merchants, acting in the name of musicians, gained the power to control its production and sell its usage.”<sup>134</sup> Elite patrons no longer sponsored or controlled the production of music. Music became a spectacle which people were expected to finance. The commodification of music through the performance of professional bands and distribution of sheet music helped to standardize popular songs and uniform styles across the country, contributing to a national collective memory that Arizonans desired to join. Attali sums up this period: “as spectacle, representation is the creation of an order for the purpose of avoiding violence... (an) order society desires to believe in, and make people believe in.”<sup>135</sup> Cultural strife and discord, or violence, was masked by a musical ideal that encouraged audiences to believe in social harmony.<sup>136</sup>

The band movement in Phoenix between 1890 and 1920 fell mainly into Attali’s stage of representation. The rise of industrialization after the civil war contributed to the commoditization of music. In order to participate, any respectable band had to purchase copyrighted sheet music, obtain military-style uniforms, and use a standardized ensemble of instruments. The railroad allowed local merchants to order and sell music, instruments, and uniforms in their music stores.<sup>137</sup> Entrepreneurs opened and operated music halls,

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<sup>134</sup> Attali, *Noise*, 52.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, 59.

<sup>136</sup> Attali believes that music developed alongside the economic and political systems that emerged during the Enlightenment. *Noise*, 60.

<sup>137</sup> Redewill’s Music Store, one of the earliest in Phoenix, operated for decades. Generations of the Redewill family became respected leaders of charity organizations, fraternal organizations, and social clubs in Phoenix. *The Arizona Republican*.

where professional bands, such as Sousa's, performed. Transportation companies, first by rail and later by car, sold fares for organized excursions between Mesa, Tempe, Phoenix, and even outlying areas in order to bring audiences to concerts.<sup>138</sup> One such company, the Phoenix Short Line, dropped residents of Mesa and Tempe off in downtown Phoenix at 5:30 each Sunday night and picked them up again at 9:30 pm after the conclusion of the band concert.<sup>139</sup> Local merchants, who invested in monthly subscriptions, sponsored amateur bands.<sup>140</sup> They financed free public concerts and hired bands for promotional purposes, like the time that M. Asher and Company hired the Phoenix Pioneer Band to accompany wagons full of goods to its new storefront, turning the event into an "affair better than the circus."<sup>141</sup> Thus, the musicians, patrons, and audience all had input in deciding when, where, and what music bands performed. Amateur band members were not socially or financially autonomous; in order for them to exist, society had to value their labor and composition, and pay accordingly.

Phoenix had three distinct types of bands. Professional bands, which were not local, and amateur bands, which were local, had to generate an income to help pay for their music, uniforms, and instruments (and salaries, in the case of professional groups). The third organization, the Phoenix Indian School Band, was a unique case. As a government sponsored institution, the band was only partially funded by the community,

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<sup>138</sup> *The Arizona Republican*.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, October 29, 1898.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, April 20, 1892.

and so the group's primary goal was the assimilation of its students, followed by fundraising.<sup>142</sup> The existence of this group occasionally upset the financial exchange set into place by the first two types of bands.

Professional bands followed an economic model that many amateur bands strove to emulate. The owners of Phoenix's several music halls would contract the band to perform, and either pay them a lump sum or a percentage of ticket sales. The venue would then offer individual tickets for sale in drug stores and groceries around town. The traveling musicians were professionals and received compensation for time spent rehearsing and performing. This arrangement aligns with popular ideas of capitalism and commodity exchange, in which laborers are directly paid for their service.<sup>143</sup> Arizona's amateur musicians wished for similar considerations.

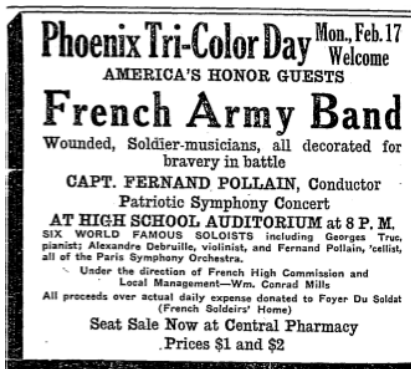



Figure 7: French Army Band advertisement, *The Arizona Republican*, February 14, 1919<sup>144</sup>

<sup>142</sup> Troutman notes that Indian schools used bands to advertise the success of their assimilation policy and convince the locals that Indians were safely contained, in addition to fundraising. *Indian Blues*, 121-123.

<sup>143</sup> Attali, *Noise*, 36.

<sup>144</sup> *The Arizona Republican*, February 14, 1919.

**DORRIS THEATER**  
 Martin & Stechan, Managers.  
**Monday Oct. 27** **MATINEE** and **EVENING.**  
 First appearance in Phoenix of  
**SOUSA**   
**AND HIS BAND**

Estelle Lieblich, Soprano; Grace Jenkins, violinist; Arthur Prior, trombone.

Prices—Matinee, 50c, 75c, \$1.  
 Evening, 50c, \$1.00, \$1.50.

Seats on sale this morning at 10 a. m. at Goodman's drug store.

Figure 8: Sousa Band advertisement, *The Arizona Republican*, October 23, 1902<sup>145</sup>

**DORRIS**   
**...THEATER**  
 F. W. STECHAN, Mgr.

The Campbells Are Comin',  
 Hurrah! Hurrah!  
 AFT. and EVG., TUESDAY, March 24.  
 Sixth Grand Concert Tour

**THE KILTIES**  
 GORDON HIGHLANDERS

CANADA'S CRACK  
 MILITARY BAND.

40 Musicians.  
 10 Soloists.  
 16 Vocal Choir.  
 6 Highland Dancers.  
 2 Bagpipers.  
 4 British Military Buglers  
 1 Giant Drum Major.  
 Boy Dancer, etc.  
 Appearing in full Kilted  
 Regimentals.



Has Created a Furore of Enthusiasm  
 in 300 American Cities.

Prices: Afternoon—75c, 50c, 25c. Evening—\$1, 75c, 50c, 25c. Reserved seats at Goodman's.

Figure 9: Kilties advertisement, *The Arizona Republican*, March 22, 1903<sup>146</sup>

<sup>145</sup> *The Arizona Republican*, October 23, 1902.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, March 22, 1903.

Despite the value that amateur musicians placed on their time, Phoenix's audiences differentiated between the labor value of professional performances and local performers, and paid accordingly. Many Phoenicians were dismayed in 1907 when they purchased tickets for a performance of the Chicago Symphony, but discovered that at the last minute, the owner of Fountain's Music Store, which sold the tickets, substituted his own local boys band, the Redbird Band, in for one of the performances. One Phoenician opined, "I do not mean to intimate that a local class of entertainment would be less attractive...yet there are many in this community, I know, who want what they are led to believe they will get."<sup>147</sup> While Phoenicians were willing to pay more for tickets for a concert by a professional traveling group, they valued their local bands differently. Audiences were willing to maintain local bands with music, instruments, and uniforms, but unwilling to pay the musicians themselves, leading Phoenix's musicians at amateur status.

Amateur musicians worked at their regular occupations during the day and squeezed in rehearsals and performances on evenings, holidays, and weekends.<sup>148</sup> This is likely why the Club Filarmonico band rehearsed so often in the evenings. Band members often poured their own funds into their hobby, and avidly fundraised as well. They raised funds in several different ways. The first step for a band was usually to garner the support of local businesses and merchants through the sale of \$1 or \$2 monthly subscriptions. When the Industrial Liberty Band, Tempe Merchants Band, Mesa City Band, and

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<sup>147</sup> *The Arizona Republican*, April 23, 1907.

<sup>148</sup> Rehearsal schedules were often announced in recruitment bids in *The Arizona Republican*.



Glendale Band all formed, their first order of business was to canvas their communities to secure the support of their local businesses.<sup>149</sup> The Club Filarmonico, founded in 1892, raised the \$756 they needed for instruments entirely through subscriptions.<sup>150</sup> Bands also supplemented their income by holding dances, which were organized by the governing boards of the bands.<sup>151</sup> Any organization wishing to engage the band at their function was expected to pay a nominal fee to secure the band's services.<sup>152</sup>

Attali asserts that "Music is inscribed between noise and silence, in the space of the social codification it reveals. Every code of music is rooted in the ideologies and technologies of its age, and at the same time produces them."<sup>153</sup> Attali defines the overlapping of these codes and their struggle for order and dominance as "violence."<sup>154</sup> Attali writes, "Charging (for the consumption of music)...presupposes sale of a service," and described that service as "the creation of an order for the purpose of avoiding (cultural and social) violence."<sup>155</sup> In exchange for the public's support, business owners, and many private citizens, expected that bands would provide a certain number of free

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<sup>149</sup> *The Arizona Republican*.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*, May 31, 1892.

<sup>151</sup> Dances would feature the music of either the sponsoring band, or another orchestra could be hired to provide music.

<sup>152</sup> Engagements were often considered legally binding. In 1891, the Phoenix Pioneer Band sued the Territorial Fair Association, which had failed to pay them for their services at the last year's fair. *The Arizona Republican*, February 7, 1891.

<sup>153</sup> Attali, *Noise*, 19.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, 57-59.

concerts for the community to attend (they usually occurred on a weekly basis at city hall or a local hotel).<sup>156</sup> In 1901, the *Mesa Free Press* advocated a subscription campaign for the failing Mesa Band. In return for a \$2 monthly subscription from businesses, the paper promised “the band will give a band concert weekly” and asserted that “in this day of advancement and progress (bands are) evidence of a wide-awake, music-loving people.”<sup>157</sup> In contrast, the Industrial Liberty Band halted its weekly public performances in 1911 because of poor public support for the band via subscriptions.<sup>158</sup> Audiences weren’t willing to sponsor bands unless they were satisfied with the final product, or the performances, they received.

Audience support was not based on musical ability (after all, most of Phoenix’s musicians were true amateurs), but the band’s success in building a public sphere and imagined community. Attali writes that in the phase of representation, audiences did not pay for music based on the musicians’ labor or the amount of time they put into rehearsal. Rather, people placed value on the resulting performance, and the performance’s ability to create reconciliation and foster a community with similar ideals.<sup>159</sup> Indeed, Phoenix audiences rewarded bands for the musical product they received and not the labor that was put into rehearsing and organizing the events they performed at. Bands like the Phoenix Pioneer Band and the Industrial Liberty Band achieved financial stability by participating in a market exchange, where they sold their services in a competitive

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<sup>156</sup> *The Arizona Republican*, April 9, 1911.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, March 22, 1901.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, April 9, 1911.

<sup>159</sup> Attali, *Noise*, 59.

marked in order to produce the necessary funding to purchase uniforms and music. Competition was friendly, as long as there were enough performance opportunities to sustain each band.

This system was disrupted by the existence of a third band from the Phoenix Indian School. The Phoenix Indian School Band, harkening back to Attali's earlier stage of sacrifice, enjoyed sponsorship by a primary patron, the United States government. The Phoenix Indian School Band was founded at the Phoenix Indian School in 1894 in order to introduce the school's Native American students to American patriotic traditions and military practices. The United States Government hired directors from the east coast to instruct students in music, and provided them with American-style instruments, uniforms, and music.<sup>160</sup> In making the band available at little to no cost for everything from church meetings and community picnics to political rallies and Memorial Day celebrations, the Phoenix Indian School strove to integrate its students into the local community, and remind the Anglo of their success in "civilizing" the people and society of Arizona.<sup>161</sup>

For the band's fellow Phoenix musicians, the greatest controversy surrounding the Indian School Band did not concern their race. Burdened with fewer financial requirements, the Phoenix Indian School Band enjoyed a financial advantage over the other bands in Phoenix. The Phoenix Indian School received most of its funding from three sources unavailable to other bands: treaty agreements, the sale of Indian lands, and

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<sup>160</sup> Handel and Humphreys, "The Phoenix Indian School Band."

<sup>161</sup> Since the 1880s, Indian policies had focused on "civilization," rather than "subjugation." Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 8.

annual governmental appropriations.<sup>162</sup> The band was often hired because it could be obtained for a much lower performance fee, leaving other bands to brood over the loss of their potential incomes. Religious and fraternal organizations were especially fond of the Phoenix Indian School Band. For example, the Elks Lodge of Phoenix beginning in 1909 routinely booked the band for everything from Flag Day exercises to welcome parties for fellow chapters when they visited Phoenix.<sup>163</sup> By 1910, many musicians were protesting the use of the Indian School Band for public functions, despite the fact that every band musician in Phoenix maintained an amateur status and did not rely on making music for a living.<sup>164</sup>

Economic disparities between the bands of Phoenix resulted in palpable tension. In 1909, the Elks Club of Phoenix invited the Phoenix Indian School Band to represent the state chapter at a national convention in Los Angeles, where each chapter was to bring a band to represent them in a parade. The band was to travel with the Elks via train to Los Angeles, where they would march in the parade and compete with other bands from around the nation in a weeklong series of performances. The Elks considered the trip to be a fun excursion for the Phoenix Indian School Band members and thought the band would provoke “interest” in their national audience.<sup>165</sup> Anglo musicians in Phoenix instead accused the Elks of cheating the system to avoid paying a fair price for their

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<sup>162</sup> Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 65.

<sup>163</sup> *The Arizona Republican*, September 15, 1909.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, July 6, 1909.

entertainment. A 1909 letter to the editor lays out the argument of many band members: in protesting the Elks' almost exclusive patronage of the Phoenix Indian School Band, he asserts that music inherently begets a financial value, which should be respected by all musical groups and their audiences.<sup>166</sup> The Elks argued that the trip would be educational for the Native American students, and to engage one of the other bands would be to remove a considerable number of white musicians from their day jobs.<sup>167</sup>

This particular performance was an opportunity for financial gain and national exposure that Phoenix's Anglos did not want to miss out on. The Anglo musicians brought their grievance to the attention of the American Federation of Musicians, a union founded in 1896 and based in the American mid-west.<sup>168</sup> Even though Phoenix did not have an AFM chapter, and there were no alternative choices of professional bands to hire, the union took up the Anglo musicians' cause and petitioned to block the Indian School Band from performing in the parade. They argued that by engaging the Indian School Band for free, the Elks were avoiding having to pay for a band's services, and therefore were using the Native American youths as scabs.<sup>169</sup> The Elks national organization considered the petition, and ultimately rejected it as without merit.<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>166</sup> *The Arizona Republican*, July 6, 1909.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, July 7, 1909.

<sup>168</sup> "History of the AFM," *American Federation of Musicians*, accessed January 12, 2016, <http://www.afm.org/about/history>.

<sup>169</sup> The American Federation of Musicians waived all claims to stop the band in a telegram. *The Arizona Republican*, July 8, 1909.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*, July 8, 1909.

The episode laid bare a tension between white and Native American amateur musicians in Phoenix that was defined by economics, rather than race.

In 1912, 50 musicians in Arizona formed an official union chapter under AFM, and created a union band called “Alden’s Band,” after its first director.<sup>171</sup> The union members, still mostly Anglo amateur musicians who earned their primary income through non-musical occupations, rallied for their right to be compensated not only for performances, but for the time they spend practicing as well. They dreamed of a commodity exchange in which the band would be fully funded and the individual members of the band compensated. While unions were strong in Southern Arizona, where the primary economic activity occurred in the mines, Phoenix did not have a strong labor movement.<sup>172</sup> Alden’s Band enjoyed some support in the community but did little to dampen the popularity of non-union groups like the Indian School Band or the existing Pioneer and Industrial Liberty bands. Musicians believed their work had financial value; others saw their product as a public asset that belonged to the community as a whole. As Attali wrote, “we pay for musicians’ labor, but the use of music is in the community.”<sup>173</sup>

In territorial Phoenix, bands and the markets they operated within helped to create a popular consensus of patriotic and cultural ideals. Phoenicians harnessed the burgeoning industry of published sheet music and manufactured instruments to “make

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<sup>171</sup> *The Arizona Republican*, June 1, 1912.

<sup>172</sup> Berman, *Arizona’s Age of Reform*, 19.

<sup>173</sup> Attali, *Noise*, 59.

people believe (in their American identity) by shaping what they hear.”<sup>174</sup> The Anglo community, who primarily funded the bands, used their financial support of local music to present the ideology of what they viewed to be a necessary social order.<sup>175</sup> As bands became associated with a particular ideology of American nationalism, they became a tool for Anglo Americans to instruct non-Anglos and Anglo youth accordingly.

### THE PHOENIX INDIAN SCHOOL BAND

Despite the existence of numerous Anglo bands, Phoenix residents also chose to support the youth band from the Phoenix Indian School. Their patronage of the Phoenix Indian School Band was founded in the cultural, political and economic ideals by which the school was founded. The Phoenix Indian School fed Phoenix’s desire for inexpensive labor and provided citizenship and vocational training for native youths.<sup>176</sup> The visual and aural spectacle of the Phoenix Indian School Band assured Phoenicians of their success in the quest to make Arizona a culturally and economically American entity and advertised that success on a national level, boosting Arizona’s tourism.<sup>177</sup>

The federal government’s Indian policies in the period between 1880 and 1920 were designed with civilization in mind. Like many Americans of the time, officials from

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<sup>174</sup> Attali, *Noise*, 61.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*, 32.

<sup>176</sup> Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 58.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*, 62.

the Office of Indian Affairs believed in a dichotomy between “civilization” and “savagery.” They believed that Indians were not racially inferior, but culturally deficient and fully capable of developing citizenship with a singular loyalty to the United States.<sup>178</sup> Although schools existed on reservations, the boarding school was championed, especially in the American west, as a win-win situation for the students and their host communities. Students acculturated more effectively when integrated into their local communities, and the host community benefited from increased funding from the federal government as well as the students’ labor.<sup>179</sup> As one 1915 Indian School graduate said, “The whole object of the school was to turn out loyal Americans.”<sup>180</sup> Phoenix especially benefited from their Indian school. The school boosted economic production, attracted federal funding, provided a landscaped locale for Anglo and non-Anglo residents to gather, and served as a public relations tool in broadcasting the “taming” of the west to the rest of the United States.

In 1889, the federal government authorized the closure of the reservation-based Fort McDowell Indian School and its relocation to the young city of Phoenix.<sup>181</sup> Phoenix boosters were building a city in the desert, and needed labor to construct canals and maintain their orchards. The school not only provided the requisite labor, but also attracted federal investments that benefited local merchants and allowed for the

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<sup>178</sup> Troutman, *Indian Blues*, 6.

<sup>179</sup> Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 13-54.

<sup>180</sup> Troutman, *Indian Blues*, 114.

<sup>181</sup> Trennert, *The Phoenix Indian School*, 14.



construction of a school campus that also served as a social and cultural community center.<sup>182</sup> Considering Phoenix's entrepreneurial origins, it is of little surprise that the school's curriculum, normally split 50/50 between academics and vocational training at most Indian schools, was almost exclusively vocational in Phoenix.<sup>183</sup> Instructors also sought to teach American religion, language, and family structures. Students who returned to the reservations rarely had a chance to use their vocational training, but they usually retained some aspects of their cultural and religious education.<sup>184</sup> Bands proved to be an effective vehicle with which to deliver patriotic music and citizenship in a format that students could retain after graduation, whether they moved back to the reservation or stayed in Phoenix.

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<sup>182</sup> The Phoenix Indian School campus rivaled university campuses of the day, sporting fountains, lawns, and shade trees. Phoenixians who wrote to their friends and families on the eastern coast sometimes sent back postcards depicting the Phoenix Indian School. See Figure 10.

<sup>183</sup> Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 315.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*, 281.

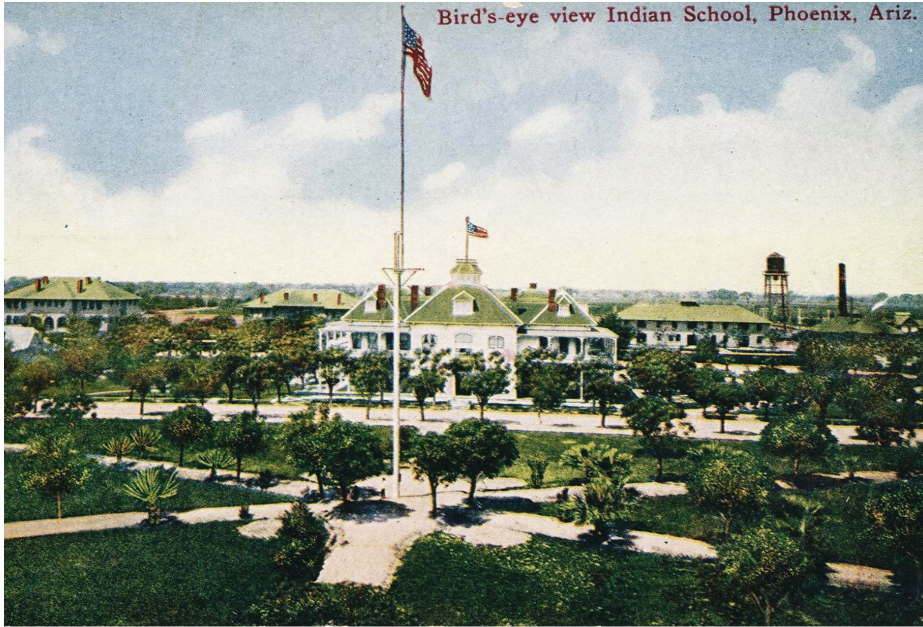


Figure 10: Postcard of the Phoenix Indian School, early 20th century, courtesy of the author<sup>185</sup>

Records indicate that the Phoenix Indian School had a band as early as 1894, if not earlier.<sup>186</sup> Indian school officials championed the idea that Native American youth were not inherently or genetically lazy, and could be trained as productive citizens through methodical discipline, and music was a vital part of that regimen.<sup>187</sup> The band was composed of several dozen male students outfitted with a complete range of instruments and military-style uniforms.<sup>188</sup> Members often practiced twice a day, six days a week, and were expected to pass their discipline on to their audience of fellow students,

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<sup>185</sup> Author's personal collection.

<sup>186</sup> Handel and Humphreys, "The Phoenix Indian School Band," 22.

<sup>187</sup> Troutman, *Indian Blues*, 118.

<sup>188</sup> *The Arizona Republican*.

who woke, drilled, ate, and slept to their musical strains.<sup>189</sup> The band was mobilized to assist with military drills and daily routines at the school, and performed public concerts to raise awareness and support for the school.<sup>190</sup> In one student's words, "It was a military school. We marched to the dining room three times a day to band music. We arose to a bell and had a given time for making our beds, cleaning our rooms, and being ready for breakfast. Everything was done on schedule, and there was no time for idleness."<sup>191</sup> The student participants were introduced to American style popular music, including marches, waltzes, and polkas, and participated in American patriotic traditions such as the territorial fair and parades on Independence Day and Memorial Day.<sup>192</sup> Students were strictly forbidden from practicing or performing their traditional songs and dances; they were still considered dangerous, even when performed in the "safe" context of the boarding school.<sup>193</sup>

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<sup>189</sup> Troutman, *Indian Blues*, 118.

<sup>190</sup> *The Arizona Republican*.

<sup>191</sup> Michael C. Coleman, *American Indian Children at School, 1850-1930* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2007), 84.

<sup>192</sup> *The Arizona Republican*.

<sup>193</sup> Troutman, *Indian Blues*, 12.

(P. A. Venne, Bandmaster.)	
March, the Sousa Swing.....	Brown
Medley Overture, War Songs of the Boys in Blue.....	Laurendeau
Waltz, When Knighthood Was in Flower .....	Gustin
Cornet Solo, the Troubadour...Liebert Thomas Valenzuela.	
Meditation .....	Morrison
The American Patrol.....	Meacham
Cornet Solo, In the Shade of the Old Apple Tree.....	Van Alstyne
Ernesto Rodriguez, age 9.	
Intermission.	
Medley Overture, Blue Bell...Chatway	
Hearts and Flowers.....	Tobani
Waltz, Wedding of the Winds....	Hall
Selection from Musical Comedy, King Dodo .....	Mackie
Spanish Serenade, La Paloma.....	
.....	Yradier
The Indian War Dance.....	Bellstedt
The Star Spangled Banner.....	
.....	Laurendeau

Figure 11: Phoenix Indian School Band program, The Arizona Republican, June 4, 1907<sup>194</sup>

The Phoenix Indian School Band performed this program at the Tempe Normal School in 1907. The Phoenix Indian School Band performed a variety of popular and patriotic selections, several of which came directly from the Sousa Band’s repertoire. The last two selections are especially telling of the Indian School’s mission of assimilating its students. “The Indian War Dance,” which was recorded by Sousa Band in 1902, featured the trilling whoops and low, rhythmic drums that many Americans associate with Indian music.<sup>195</sup> The song’s placement before the ubiquitous “Star Spangled Banner” finale tells the story of assimilation as Indian school officials wished to tell it.

<sup>194</sup> Arizona Republican, June 4, 1907.

<sup>195</sup> Sousa’s Band. “Indian War Dance 1902 Arthur Pryor.” Original recording 1902. Youtube video, 2:36. Posted May 13, 2014. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DFn0e-UvCRk>.

The Phoenix Indian School Band held special meaning for many Phoenix residents because of the school's high profile status and the role it played in visually exemplifying the transformation of Arizona into an American state. Bands were more than a disciplinary tool: they proved an invaluable public relations tool for the school and Phoenix in general. The band performed extensively around Arizona at resorts, school fundraisers, private events, and holiday celebrations.<sup>196</sup> The band traveled as far as California and New Jersey to perform at events ranging from Elk's Lodge conventions to world fairs.<sup>197</sup> Each performance was calculated to raise public awareness of the school's advances in its mission of Americanizing the people and land of Arizona.

John Troutman notes, "boarding schools generated a national profile and entered the public consciousness through the musical performances of the students."<sup>198</sup> The Phoenix Indian School band regularly played for Indian School functions and held some public concerts on the school grounds.<sup>199</sup> The group rarely turned down an opportunity to perform, especially if it promised economic opportunity as well.<sup>200</sup> The Phoenix Indian

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<sup>196</sup> This was a musical extension of the outing system that was popular at the Phoenix Indian School. Students were contracted to work for Anglo businesses and households, providing labor and further immersing the students into the community they were expected to emulate. Trennert, *The Phoenix Indian School*, 53.

<sup>197</sup> *The Arizona Republican*.

<sup>198</sup> Troutman, *Indian Blues*, 121.

<sup>199</sup> The Phoenix Indian School Band had such a following that even the *Los Angeles Times* reported on its concerts. *The Los Angeles Times*, December 4, 1898.

<sup>200</sup> Another example of the band as an outing program: the group once spent an entire summer in residence at Iron Springs, a resort-like complex north of Phoenix where Arizonans would travel on vacation to escape the heat. *The Arizona Republican*, July 28, 1901.

School band was available for hire, and was engaged to perform at political rallies, balls and dances, parades, and many other social gatherings. The band became a staple at the Arizona Territorial Fair, where it occupied one of the central bandstands for the duration of the fair each year.<sup>201</sup> Another example of the band as an outing program: the group once spent an entire summer in residence at Iron Springs, a resort-like complex north of Phoenix where Arizonans would travel on vacation to escape the heat.<sup>202</sup> The band performed at Democratic and Republican rallies alike, and, in 1914, even rushed several taverns at the request of a Prohibitionist patron.<sup>203</sup> The Phoenix Indian School Band proved to be a weapon in the silencing of cultural strife both within the boarding school and the Phoenician and Arizonan communities, and worked to gain economic and political power for the Phoenix Indian School on a regional and national scale.<sup>204</sup>

These internal and external functions of the Indian School band align with the first two stages of Jacques Attali's theory on the economy of music: sacrifice and representation. During the period of sacrifice, music was used concurrently as a form of violence to tear Indian youth from their cultural heritage, and as a rhetoric presented to Anglo Americans in order to mask the violence.<sup>205</sup> Musical instruction in the Indian Schools served to tear Indians from their families, homes, and musical traditions, all in a way that made it seem like they were learning positive values, masking the cultural

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<sup>201</sup> *The Arizona Republican*.

<sup>202</sup> Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 35.

<sup>203</sup> *The Arizona Republican*, December 25, 1914.

<sup>204</sup> Attali, *Noise*, 19.

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid.*, 23-26.

violence of the Indian School. Next, during the period of representation, the Phoenix Indian School Band became integrated in the cultural and financial economy of Phoenix. The band's presence at American political rallies and patriotic holidays encouraged Phoenicians to believe in the harmony of their society: that no matter their race, they all practiced the same traditions and held the same values. The band became a spectacle, which Anglo Phoenicians could purchase in order to celebrate the American nationalism and cultural harmony in which they believed. In Attali's words, "the loudest voices used (this arrangement) to make themselves heard...exchange appeared for what it is: a mask for possession and accumulation."<sup>206</sup> Indeed, the Phoenix Indian School Band was accepted by Anglo society until its economic independence threatened the Anglo advantage in this system.

Attali describes music as "noise given form according to a code."<sup>207</sup> Indian school officials recognized the power of music and gave it political meaning. As John Troutman notes, "Every expression of music was politically charged, because the civilization agenda of the OIA depended on the close monitoring of every musical utterance...in the boarding schools."<sup>208</sup> The boarding schools were a safe, controlled environment where dangerous cultural differences could be contained and civilized. Students were not trained in music for vocational reasons; their instruction in European-style arts was seen as a vehicle by which this program of assimilation could be implemented. In Attali's terms,

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<sup>206</sup> Attali, *Noise*, 68.

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>208</sup> Troutman, *Indian Blues*, 12.

music was used in the Indian Schools as a form of cultural violence to assimilate students to and assert the political dominance of the government and culture of the United States.<sup>209</sup> Indian schools also sponsored choirs and string, harmonica groups, and mandolin orchestras, but only the band held a dual meaning in the realms of art and citizenship. Students were introduced not only to patriotic music, but were required to answer to bugle commands for daily functions like waking up, going to sleep, and eating meals.<sup>210</sup> The band occupied a dual role for the school in teaching students military-style discipline along with Anglo style music. The band served a practical internal function for the students of the Indian School and also took on a larger, more symbolic meaning to the Anglo community surrounding the school.

Attali writes of the *economy* of music. Anglo Phoenicians generally patronized the Phoenix Indian School Band in the same ways that it patronized Anglo bands: by engaging the band and compensating their performances at leisurely outings and patriotic celebrations. It is the reasons behind that patronage that makes the Phoenix Indian School Band unique. Anglo Phoenicians embraced the Indian School Band as a symbol of their advantage in the Arizonan cultural and economic exchange. Whenever a non-Anglo band threatened this Anglo position, it lost their support. Between 1890 and 1920, the Office of Indian Affairs and American society, embraced a position of total assimilation for the

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<sup>209</sup> Attali, *Noise*, 28.

<sup>210</sup> Troutman, *Indian Blues*, 117.



Native American.<sup>211</sup> The Phoenix Indian School's band reflected this attitude through its strict military composure and dress, and selection of American and European songs.

While the staff of the Phoenix Indian School strived for assimilation, the Indian students achieved acculturation.<sup>212</sup> After 1920, Americans realized the failure of assimilation policy and embraced a national wave of romanticism surrounding Native American heritage.<sup>213</sup> Tourism boomed in Arizona. Americans began to embrace more Native American traditions, and began to visit the southwest to see Native American culture first-hand.<sup>214</sup> The Phoenix Indian School relaxed its policies, allowing for increased hybridization of American and Indian traditions. Although Indian School alumni continued to use many of the same instruments and songs, they modified their uniforms, behavior, and repertoires to reflect their native cultures. What began as an Anglo quest for complete Indian assimilation ended up being an acculturation of two cultures that met somewhere in the middle.

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<sup>211</sup> Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 18-58.

<sup>212</sup> Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 336.

<sup>213</sup> *Ibid.*, 330-332.

<sup>214</sup> Troutman writes of an all-Indian pow wow that took place in Arizona yearly for decades in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. *Indian Blues*, 3. Pow wow programs are available for viewing via the Arizona Memory Project website.

## PROFESSIONAL BANDS IN PHOENIX

On October 23, 1902, several days before John Philip Sousa's first performance in Phoenix, the *Arizona Republican* declared that Sousa's band "has done more to promote the cause of good music throughout the length and breadth of the land than all of the erudite symphony orchestras combined, for Sousa reaches the great body of the people who love music for its inherent attractions rather than for its classical aspects."<sup>215</sup> The article continues to laud private professional enterprises such as the Sousa band as providers of an essential good that the government fails to fund and promote.<sup>216</sup> Professionally touring bands produced a brand of music and image that Americans, including Phoenicians, came to see as their national art form. Sitting (literally, bands played military-style marches while seated) in between a military or street band and a classical symphony, these bands established a unique aural and visual American spectacle.<sup>217</sup> Commercialism and industrialism made it possible for professional bands to travel across the country and, in later years, to sell recordings of their music for home consumption. Through extensive travel and careful marketing, bands raised the standards for musicianship, professionalism, and patriotism in Phoenix.<sup>218</sup>

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<sup>215</sup> *The Arizona Republican*, October 23, 1902.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>217</sup> Patrick Gilmore's band regularly performed while seated in a bandstand. Hazen, *The Music Men*, 19.

<sup>218</sup> While several bands, including the Kilties and Ellery's Royal Italian Band, performed in Phoenix, Sousa's performed the most times and received the most media attention, which is why this paper focuses on Sousa's example. *The Arizona Republican*.

Following the example set by his predecessor, Patrick Gilmore, Sousa married the high caliber talent and composition of classical music with the popular appeal and nationalism of brass bands.<sup>219</sup> Early street bands featured mostly woodwind instruments, before innovations in manufacturing, transportation, and instrument design popularized brass instruments in the mid-1800s.<sup>220</sup> The first all-brass bands appeared in the United States in the 1830s, and by the conclusion of the Civil War, the brassy sound became a unique American tradition. Sousa took that patriotic tradition and combined it with the established performance tradition of full-length concerts in established concert venues like opera halls and outdoor amphitheaters.<sup>221</sup> This new arrangement brought large groups together to experience a common spectacle and build an imagined community.<sup>222</sup> In this American musical iteration, audiences were encouraged to participate in the spectacle. One audience member wrote of Sousa's 1902 performance in Phoenix, "Again and again the program was interrupted with demonstrations of approval, and as each of the famous Sousa marches was begun the opening bars were drowned by the applause of the approving crowd." The performance was lengthened by several encores.<sup>223</sup>

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<sup>219</sup> Gilmore passed away early in his career and never traveled to Phoenix. His death allowed Sousa to dominate the national band scene. Hazen, *The Music Men*, 20.

<sup>220</sup> Bryant, *And the Band Played On*, 10-14.

<sup>221</sup> Hazen, *The Music Men*, 19.

<sup>222</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

<sup>223</sup> *The Arizona Republican*, October 28, 1902.

Neil Harris notes that Sousa regularly encouraged his audiences to sing, clap along, and demand encores, making a Sousa concert “part ritual, concert, and church meeting.”<sup>224</sup>

In addition to moving his concerts to recognized performance spaces, Sousa reintroduced woodwinds to his instrumentation, recruited some of his best musicians from Europe, and diversified his repertoire to include everything from marches to Wagner.<sup>225</sup> Sousa took the march, which had been generally defined as any song that one could walk in step to, and gave it a definite form.<sup>226</sup> The new format changed the march from a song meant to be heard only in passing as a band marched by, to a song with a narrative that required the audience’s attention from the first to the last note.

Sousa was one of the first bandleaders to make his name a household one. Before the rise of professional American bands, conductors and composers were relatively unknown and faceless to the public. Sousa carefully built an image and reputation for himself as a composer and bandleader.<sup>227</sup> Maurice Halbwachs’ theories on the formation of collective identity postulate that people form collective identities around common understandings and memories of cultural landmarks, such as people, places, and events. These specific landmarks both add to the perceived legitimacy of the memory and create

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<sup>224</sup> Harris, “The Culture of Reassurance.”

<sup>225</sup> The same article referenced the remarks above on Sousa’s unique take on Wagner. *The Arizona Republican*, October 28, 1902.

<sup>226</sup> Norton, Pauline Elizabeth Hosack. "March Music In Nineteenth-Century America." (dissertation, University of Michigan, 1983), 45.

<sup>227</sup> Harris, “The Culture of Reassurance.”

a singular rallying points around which people place meaning.<sup>228</sup> Phoenicians, perhaps subconsciously, associated their individual and regional identities with the patriotic persona of Sousa's band, thus securing, in their collective memory, Arizona's place in the American national heritage. Attali explains the phenomenon in an economic context: the conductor, as a leader of men, represents financial and cultural power in the financial, and therefore, cultural, system.<sup>229</sup>

Sousa and his band became a communal landmark in Arizona. Sousa sold a carefully organized and marketed spectacle. He hired famous manager David Blakely to secure performances on national tours; the band traveled the United States and Europe almost nonstop for decades.<sup>230</sup> Sousa catered to national sentiment regarding an event that affected every American's memory: the Civil War. He played off his own military background with the Marine Band, dressed himself and his band in uniform, and refined the format of the march. In a move to raise the performance level of the American band, Sousa recruited elite musicians from both the United States and Europe, added classical pieces in with his repertoire of original popular music, and held concerts in seated venues such as opera houses. His goal was not to educate or condescend to the public, but to entertain audiences in a manner that would make them proud to be Americans.<sup>231</sup>

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<sup>228</sup> Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 52-53.

<sup>229</sup> Attali, *Noise*, 67.

<sup>230</sup> Harris, "The Culture of Reassurance."

<sup>231</sup> Newsom, Jon, "The American Brass Band Movement," *Library of Congress*, <http://www.loc.gov/collections/civil-war-band-music/articles-and-essays/the-american-brass-band-movement/>.

Experiencing a patriotic concert together made Phoenicians feel unified. Neil Harris notes, “Sousa realized that his strength lay in the close connections forged between performance and social confidence in Victorian America...Sousa’s domestic appeal built upon the appearance of unity.”<sup>232</sup> Sousa catered to his audience without condescending to it, which made Americans feel as if they were active participants in the band movement.

Arizonans, including the residents of Phoenix, embraced Sousa. In October of 1911 when Arizona was on the cusp of statehood, John Philip Sousa wrote to territorial officials to express interest in composing a song commemorating the Salt River Valley.

The officials enthusiastically suggested a theme:

Putting into music the subjugation of the desert, the impounding of the great waters, the developing of rippling canals, the disappearance of the thorny, harsh, odd, weird, desert vegetation; the advent of smiling green fields, groves of oranges, olives, peaches, and pears, and all over the blossom of the rose, would seem to be a most appropriate theme for one of your next musical creations. Surely such a theme... would be tribute from one worthy, to a worthy cause: “Irrigation!”<sup>233</sup>

Arizona’s territorial government deemed Sousa an ideal spokesperson to promote the state’s economic and cultural growth to the rest of the United States. These early Arizonans wanted to insert their state’s narrative into the imagined community and collective memory of the United States, and thought band music an ideal avenue by which to do so.

When professional bands won over the public, local bands lost ground. Attali writes, “the loudest voices (used bands) to make themselves heard...exchanged appeared

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<sup>232</sup> Harris, “The Culture of Reassurance.”

<sup>233</sup> *Arizona Republican*, Oct 24, 1911.

for what it is: a mask for possession and accumulation.”<sup>234</sup> Professional bands like Sousa’s had advantages over local bands in terms of economic power and cultural influence. Although Sousa’s band didn’t visit Phoenix until 1902, Phoenicians had long been aware of Sousa and his band.<sup>235</sup> The *Arizona Republican* reported regularly on the activities of Sousa and his band. The frequency with which local music stores published advertisements for band uniforms, instruments, and sheet music relays the influence of professional bands on the visual and aural identities of Phoenix’s amateur groups. Sousa himself endorsed Conn brand instruments in his concert programs when he performed in Phoenix in 1902.<sup>236</sup> The Alden band in 1914 boasted of their new Sousaphones, a tuba invented by Sousa and popularized by his band.<sup>237</sup> Sousa’s music was a staple in nearly every program presented by local amateur bands. His success in simultaneously cultivating American nationalism and promoting the economic success of his band inspired Phoenix’s local musicians to attempt a similar model. By 1912, Phoenix’s amateur musicians began to unionize, following the progression of representation described by Attali. The demonstration of economic and cultural prowess by professional bands inspired Phoenix’s amateur musicians to assign a monetary value to their services and seek compensation for their musical production.

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<sup>234</sup> Attali, *Noise*, 68.

<sup>235</sup> Although Sousa did not perform in Phoenix until 1902, the Phoenix Pioneer Band was playing his marches as early as 1893. *The Arizona Republican*, April 2, 1893.

<sup>236</sup> *Sousa Concert Program, 1902*. Arizona Historical Society.

<sup>237</sup> The United States Marine Band had adopted the Sousaphone only six years earlier, in 1908. *The Arizona Republican*, June 23, 1914.

As Sousa set the economic and cultural standard for American band music, recording technology also advanced, making his recordings financially attainable and widely popular. This was bad news for Phoenix's local amateur bands, which were beginning to demand even higher compensation through their unions. Local music stores turned from selling band instruments and sheet music to Edison and Victrola players and recordings.<sup>238</sup> The recordings eliminated the need for people to gather together to listen to live music. This destroyed the visual and aural spectacle that Sousa had worked so hard to build, and broke down the unified audience he had used music to build around a set of social values and historical memories. As mass production and prosperity continued to rise in the United States, people found more options by which to diversify their leisure time.<sup>239</sup> Sousa and his contemporaries built empires in Attali's period of representation, but their bands proved so successful that they began to stifle the voices of local bands and forged their way into a new period called repetition.<sup>240</sup>

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<sup>238</sup> The content of the advertisements stores placed in the *Arizona Republican* tell of what the store was primarily selling at the time.

<sup>239</sup> Harris, "The Culture of Reassurance."

<sup>240</sup> Attali, *Noise*, 52-85.



## BANDS IN DECLINE

The technology that allowed for the mass production of sheet music and band instruments eventually gave way to the technology that mass-produced phonographs and records.<sup>241</sup> As professional bands gained fame through record sales and national tours, Phoenix's local bands began to fade away as their funding dwindled. Subscriptions by businesses and paid gigs had always been limited in number. The Tempe Merchants' Band disbanded and regrouped three separate times between 1903 and 1914 because of low funding and poor leadership.<sup>242</sup> By 1913, financial support had diminished to the point that the Phoenix Pioneer Band, one of the oldest bands in Phoenix, petitioned the city council to provide a regular stipend to support the band.<sup>243</sup> In addition, the unionization of many musicians limited the opportunities of both the union and non-union members. Unionized musicians had to receive their union's approval to participate in amateur groups.<sup>244</sup> In 1913, the Mesa Auto Club Band could not accompany the club's excursions north until three of their musicians received permission from the American Federation of Musicians to participate.<sup>245</sup> Bands were still associated with American nationalism and were expected to participate in public performances and parades, but at

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<sup>241</sup> Attali attributes this change in technology as the cause for the period of repetition. *Noise*, 87-130.

<sup>242</sup> *The Arizona Republican*.

<sup>243</sup> *Ibid.*, May 12, 1913.

<sup>244</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>245</sup> *Ibid.*, June 26, 1913.

the same time, new technologies changed the listening habits of Phoenicians, siphoning the community's financial support away from live music to recorded music. These new technologies included the automobile and the phonograph.

Aural historians have recently started to conduct studies of how the sounds of industrialization affected the everyday lives of urban Americans.<sup>246</sup> While territorial Phoenix cannot be considered an urban landscape in the same way as larger cities like New York City, it nonetheless experienced significant changes to its soundscape in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. One of the most ubiquitous was the rise in popularity of the automobile. Car enthusiasts founded Phoenix's first auto club in 1907.<sup>247</sup> In earlier years, Phoenicians took excursions to locales like Tempe or Mesa via train: they pre-purchased their ticket, met at the station at an appointed time, and travelled en masse, often with a band in tow.<sup>248</sup> As automobiles became affordable and accessible, Phoenicians found they could now drive anywhere, at any time, in their personal motorized vehicle. By 1909, automobile excursions to Mesa and Tempe were so popular that even the Southern Pacific Railroad considered entering the auto excursion business.<sup>249</sup> Automobiles became a part of many activities involving bands, including excursions and parades.<sup>250</sup>

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<sup>246</sup> One influential historian is Emily Thompson, who expanded her study New York architecture in her book, *The Soundscape of Modernity: Architectural Acoustics and the Culture of Listening in America, 1900-1933*, into an interactive website exploring the acoustics of 1920s New York City, <http://vectorsdev.usc.edu/NYCsound/777b.html>.

<sup>247</sup> *The Arizona Republican*, December 4, 1907.

<sup>248</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>249</sup> *Ibid.*, August 23, 1909.

<sup>250</sup> *Ibid.*

Phoenicians struggled to adapt their band practices to this new form of transportation. Before the advent of automobiles, bands would provide entertainment at the train station for visiting groups, or entertain riders on the train to Tempe or Mesa.<sup>251</sup> Automobiles were not as conducive to such communal practices, even though Phoenicians tried to replicate them in new ways. George Redewill, co-owner of the Redewill Music Company store and member of the Maricopa Auto Club's directory board, gathered a special band in the summer of 1913 to accompany the club's excursions to Northern Arizona. Although the band could not entertain drivers while the automobiles were in motion, Redewill carefully orchestrated each stop, ensuring that every hotel the club stayed at along the way would engage the band for the night.<sup>252</sup> As the summer ended and vacation season came to a close, demand for the Maricopa Auto Club Band faded. Redewill reorganized the group into the first National Guard band in Phoenix.<sup>253</sup> As Phoenix's first military-affiliated band, the function of the group changed from popular entertainment in social settings to mostly patriotic parades and celebrations. This decline in the use of bands for non-patriotic gatherings was symptomatic of the general decline of bands in Phoenix.

The automobile did more than individualize the traveling habits of Phoenicians. This new form of transportation fundamentally altered the aural soundscape of

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<sup>251</sup> Ibid.

<sup>252</sup> *The Arizona Republican*, July 1, 1913.

<sup>253</sup> Ibid., April 17, 1913.

Phoenix.<sup>254</sup> Automobile and motorcycle engines were loud and often drowned out music of bands marching in parades. In 1913, the Maricopa Auto Club Band, led by Eugene Redewill, attempted to march in a parade prior to a motorcycle race in Phoenix.<sup>255</sup> The *Arizona Republican* reported that the 200 motorcycles and over 200 bicycles that participated in the parade muffled the musical strains of the very band that was created to support the auto clubs.<sup>256</sup> While the memories of the Civil War and the images projected by bandleaders like Sousa ensured that bands remained an essential staple in patriotic celebrations and parades, bands found themselves excluded from activities involving automobiles. Bands ultimately found they were better suited to outdoor venues that did not involve automobiles, like baseball and football games. Athletic events also suited the growing network of high schools in Phoenix, many of which were highly interested in adding band as an extracurricular activity.<sup>257</sup>

Technology not only changed the environment in which Phoenicians experienced bands, it changed the nature of band music itself. Jacques Attali terms this process as the transition from representation to the next phase of repetition. Before the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Phoenix's amateur musicians interpreted a coded piece of notation (sheet

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<sup>254</sup> R. Murray Schafer, one of the founding theorists of acoustic ecology, coined the term "soundscape" in *Our Sonic Environment and the Soundscape: The Tuning of the World*. He identified three elements of sound in the environment: keynote sounds, sound signals, and soundmarks. In many urban areas, traffic has become the keynote sound: a sound that defines the character of the area, but is listened to unconsciously.

<sup>255</sup> The Redewill family owned one of the oldest music stores in Arizona. They outfitted bands, sold pianos, and later sold Victrolas and record players as well.

<sup>256</sup> *The Arizona Republican*, September 12, 1913.

<sup>257</sup> Humphreys, "American Public School Bands," 51-53.

music) to render a live representation of the composer's intentions to the audience. The musicians and their audiences gathered in collective appreciation of local labor, preserving and distributing regional and national memories and histories.<sup>258</sup> The advent of recorded music marked the end of collective consumption and the spectacle of the band concert. The affordability and portability of recordings encouraged Phoenicians to purchase their music and consume it individually in the privacy of their own homes. By consuming a nationally produced repertoire of music, Phoenicians lost their local identities. Attali contends that in the period of repetition, "one consumes in order to resemble and no longer, as in representation, to distinguish oneself."<sup>259</sup> Music became another segment of the economy, and power shifted away from regional locales to national production and distribution centers.

The phonograph was first introduced to Phoenix around 1890 and became commercially available around 1908.<sup>260</sup> Music stores, which previously relied on their sales of sheet music, pianos, and instruments, quickly focused their marketing efforts on the sales of player pianos, phonographs, and music rolls.<sup>261</sup> They held monthly "concerts" at their stores, where Phoenicians came to hear the latest phonograph and Edison

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<sup>258</sup> Attali, *Noise*, 88.

<sup>259</sup> Attali, *Noise*, 110.

<sup>260</sup> The first ad for a phonograph for sale in Phoenix appeared in the *Arizona Republican* in 1899. This 1902 article reprinted from the New York Sun described for readers how phonograph records were recorded and produced. *The Arizona Republican*, July 13, 1902.

<sup>261</sup> Advertisements for music stores in the *Arizona Republican* shifted from the sale of pianos, sheet music, and brass instruments in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, to phonograph players and records in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Pianos, a domestic and often feminine form of music making, continued to remain popular.

records.<sup>262</sup> These gatherings had an advantage over the weekly band concerts at city hall in that listeners could purchase and take the music home with them.<sup>263</sup> However, audiences interacted differently with the music at these events. Instead of supporting the band in its efforts, they were invited to judge the performance and select their favorite songs to purchase and take home.<sup>264</sup> They could control what they listened to, when, and where.

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<sup>262</sup> *The Arizona Republican*.

<sup>263</sup> Manufacturers advertised phonographs as the “leading form of entertainment in the home.” *The Arizona Republican*, April 30, 1910.

<sup>264</sup> Attali notes that while concerts continued to occur in the age of repetition, the power dynamics were skewed. *Noise*, 118.

**SPRING AUDITORIUM MONDAY, JANUARY 9th**  
 Management Redewill Music Co. Matinee at 3:00—Evening at 8:30

The World's Most Popular Musical Organization  
 Now in its 29th Year

# SOUSA AND HIS BAND

LIEUT.-COMMANDER JOHN PHILIP SOUSA, CONDUCTOR  
 A NATIONAL INSTITUTION  
 WITH TWO BRAND NEW PROGRAMS

COMPLETE CHANGE AT MATINEE AND  
 EVENING CONCERTS

**HEAR THE NEW MARCHES**  
 "Keeping Step With the Union"  
 and "On the Campus"

And In Addition Many of the Following:

"Camera Studies" New	"U. S. Field Artillery"
"Comrades of the Legion"	"Bullets and Bayonets"
"Who's Who in Navy Blue"	"Solid Men to the Front"
"The Last Crusade" Vocal	"Anchor and Star"
"Sabre and Spurs"	"Semper Fidelis" (March of the Devil Dogs)

AND Specially Featured in Honor of the  
 25th and Silver Anniversary

**"The Stars and Stripes Forever"**  
 With the Famous Front Line of

12 CORNETS	6 PICCOLOS
6 TRUMPETS	6 SOUSAPHONES
8 TROMBONES	4 DRUMS

AND 58 OTHERS

THE BAND THIS SEASON NUMBERS NEARLY 100 OF  
 THE BEST MUSICIANS IN AMERICA

Matinee Prices: \$1.00, \$1.50, \$2.00, war tax included  
 Evening Prices: \$1.50, \$2.00, \$2.50, war tax added  
 Mail order reservations now being received by  
**REDEWILL MUSIC CO.**  
 222 W. Washington St., Phoenix

Figure 12: Sousa concert advertisement, *The Arizona Republican*, December 25, 1921.<sup>265</sup>

<sup>265</sup> The Redewill Music Company supported Sousa's live music while selling recorded music, as evidenced in Figures 12 and 13. *The Arizona Republican*, December 25, 1921.

Headquarters for Victrolas and Records

**Redewill Music  
Company's  
Victor Service**

A complete stock of VICTROLAS always on hand for your inspection—fresh, clean, new machines just out of the box. Mahogany-oak, in every style you can think of. We make terms on all of them—terms that you can meet easily.

The prices range from—

**\$15.00 to \$200.00**

**A Victrola Makes the Most  
Delightful Christmas Present**

imaginable. Come in and listen to the new records and you will think so too. We have the COMPLETE STOCK of records that are made ESPECIALLY for CHRISTMAS TIME and will gladly play any of them for you at any time.

**Perfect Records**

A defective record is not accepted by us. YOU get the benefit of this. We have no USED or SECOND HAND records. WE want you to have the BEST YOUR MONEY WILL BUY and we want you to know that we are trying to serve you, intelligently and sincerely. That's

**Our Record Service**

We have BY FAR, the largest and most COMPLETE stock of VICTROLAS and RECORDS in the state of ARIZONA. Try us ONCE and you will come back for MORE. That's

**Satisfaction**

The NOVEMBER RECORDS are on sale today. Come in and hear them.

**Redewill  
Music Co.**

The Firm That Made Arizona Musical  
Leo E. Weaver,  
Mgr. Victrola Dept.

Figure 13: Victrola advertisement, *The Arizona Republican*, October 29, 1916<sup>266</sup>

<sup>266</sup> *The Arizona Republican*, October 29, 1916.



A reader of the *Arizona Republican* complained about this polyphony of individual musical choices in 1906. He wrote,

A few doors below me a gentleman owns a phonograph. Directly opposite live two families, each possessing a phonograph or gramophone. In the block above there is another machine and around the corner still another. From the sounds that reach me there seems to be one or more machines in each succeeding block. As soon as supper is over the man down the street moves his machine to the front porch and starts "The Star Spangled Banner." Now I am always ready to applaud as soon as the finale is reached but here comes the rub. Before the "Star Spangled Banner" man is half through the man opposite has his phonograph out on the front porch and has started off on "Dixie." Then the "Banner-man" follows with "Ben Bolt" and the "Dixie-man" comes back at him with "Old Black Joe." About that time the man up the street chimes in with a rendition of selections from Carmen by Sousa's band. By this time the folks in the next block and the family round the corner join their musical neighbors but their machines are just far enough away so the result sounds just like a charivari...<sup>267</sup>

This author's letter to the editor demonstrates a process of isolationism, where the music of bands, which had served to cultivate a communal spirit and collective memory among Phoenicians, were replaced by recorded technology, which provided convenience and choice within the home but discouraged communities from gathering together.<sup>268</sup> As Attali notes, the technology of music reproduction and distribution accelerated the decentralization of music. By listening individually, the community loses the sense of ceremony and spectacle that came with musician and audience participation. With the loss of this public sphere came the loss of power in local institutions: noise becomes subversion, a tool of silence rather than persuasion.<sup>269</sup>

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<sup>267</sup> *The Arizona Republican*, June 11, 1906.

<sup>268</sup> *Ibid.*, April 19, 1910.

<sup>269</sup> Attali, *Noise*, 120.

Local music, left without social meaning, became an imitation of their recorded competition: a quest to master acoustic sound, or as Attali puts it, a “regime of nonsense.”<sup>270</sup>

Mechanical relatives to the phonograph also reduced opportunities for bands to secure paid engagements. Player pianos, mechanical organs, and phonographs could provide entertainment at dances, political meetings, and other social gathering spots. For example, the mechanical organ installed at the Phoenix Airdome in 1910 singlehandedly replaced the parts of 18 individual musicians.<sup>271</sup> The German Wurlitzer organ installed at the new skating rink in 1913 came pre-programmed with 20 different songs, selected by a faraway manufacturer in Europe.<sup>272</sup> Mechanical instruments could play a variety of music at a high level of quality for much less than it would cost to equip and maintain a live band. They put Phoenix’s local musicians out of business by providing a consistent product at an effective price.

By the 1920s, the musical programs of visiting bands to Arizona had changed from advertising manufacturers of musical instruments to producers of recorded music.<sup>273</sup> While professional bands initially benefited from such endorsements, they ultimately faded away as opportunities dwindled for “cultural salesmanship” through the spectacle of live music. Although his band was one of the most prolific recording groups of the

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<sup>270</sup> Ibid., 114.

<sup>271</sup> *The Arizona Republican*, August 20, 1910.

<sup>272</sup> Ibid., November 16, 1913.

<sup>273</sup> “Sousa’s Concert Tour,” band program. Dorris Theater, Phoenix, AZ, October 27, 1902 (Arizona Historical Society).

day, Sousa himself expressed his dislike for the phonograph and its successor, the radio.<sup>274</sup> The declining cultural and social influence of bands became apparent by the end of World War I. Arizona's First Regimental Band, called to Paris in 1917 as the 158<sup>th</sup> Infantry Band of the United States Army, initially received an enthusiastic welcome that quickly faded; the band disbanded within two years of returning home.<sup>275</sup> Although champions of local band music, like the Redewills, later tried to reincarnate the tradition of the free public concert, no band would regain the success that earlier ones had enjoyed.

The band's reign over American popular music had been in decline for over a decade by Sousa's death in 1932. None of his successors managed to achieve his level of popularity in the realms of live or recorded music. Sousa's departure left a void in the professional band circuit that was never filled.<sup>276</sup> Local bands maintained a role in political rallies, patriotic celebrations, and athletic games, but after the 1920s, such groups were increasingly composed of high school students.<sup>277</sup> Live music among adult Anglos in Phoenix became more of a domestic affair, frequently centered in female music societies that encouraged singing, piano, and violin playing over wind instruments.<sup>278</sup>

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<sup>274</sup> Newsom, "The American Brass Band," 2-4.

<sup>275</sup> *The Arizona Republican* did not mention the band again after 1918.

<sup>276</sup> Although most historians date the close of the band's reign over American popular music to Sousa's death in 1932, they note that the band phenomenon had already been in decline for a decade. Richard Hansen, *The American Wind Band: A Cultural History* (Chicago: GIA Publications, 2005), 62-73.

<sup>277</sup> Humphreys, "American Public School Bands," 53.

<sup>278</sup> After 1920, the collection of musical programs held the Arizona Historical Society mainly consists of professional, national tours of big band and jazz acts, and local performances by amateur, female piano players.

## CONCLUSION

Jacques Attali writes, “The world is not for the beholding. It is for hearing. It is not legible but audible.”<sup>279</sup> This statement stands true for early Phoenix, where band music was the soundtrack for the arenas in which many residents negotiated their ideas of politics, race, economics, and culture.

The band movement in Phoenix coincided with an Anglo effort to culturally and socially prepare the Arizona territory for statehood. Bands’ audiences and financial backers recognized the spectacle’s strong aural and visual aspects and employed the practice in order to build a collective memory of American history, often centered on the Civil War.<sup>280</sup> The band movement in Arizona began to decline when changing technology modified consumers’ listening habits and discouraged public congregation. These innovations reduced performance opportunities for local amateurs, and limited local authority when listeners homogenized their listening habits with those of the rest of the country.<sup>281</sup> After achieving statehood, there was less pressure for Arizona’s residents to project a strong sense of belonging to the American imagined community.

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<sup>279</sup> Attali, *Noise*, 3.

<sup>280</sup> Places and events are important anchors for the localization of memories. Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 193-235.

<sup>281</sup> Attali, Fennell, Harris, Humphreys, Newsom, and VanderMeer each speak to ways in which innovations like phonographs, radio, automobiles, and film changed the way in which Americans spent their leisure time.

At the same time, Phoenix's urban environment and population continued to grow and Phoenicians' leisure activities diversified, reducing the opportunities for large gatherings that bands had performed at.

John Troutman writes, "music... has meaning not only through its listeners but also through those who refuse to listen. If we understand music in this way, as an action over an artifact, then our interpretation of music goes beyond a lyric descriptive or notational analysis and towards the context that produced and contained it."<sup>282</sup> For musicians and their audience, the act of participation: actively watching, listening, and imaging themselves as an American community was more important than the band's talent or virtuosity. In many instances, newspapers would publish a program for an event that included titles for the speeches and other music performances, but simply note band performances with the generic term "music."<sup>283</sup> The success of the band movement in Phoenix was due not only to its artistic qualities, but also to the political, economic and cultural contexts it represented. Who performed, along with when and where, was just as important as what they performed. Music was in the ear of the listener; in order to be accepted by American society, a band needed to fulfill the agenda of its audience.

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<sup>282</sup> Troutman, *Indian Blues*, 11.

<sup>283</sup> *The Arizona Republican*.

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