"Banding Together": Power, Identity and Interaction within the Concert and Contest Performance Contexts of the Brighouse and Rastrick Brass Band

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In fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Music, University of Sheffield

September, 2007

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Summary

The Brighouse and Rastrick Brass Band has played an important role in local, national and international activities since its inception as an all-brass instrument ensemble in 1881. During its existence the band has established a concert tradition that has both consistently attained critical acclaim and achieved every competitive award available. The purpose of this dissertation is to investigate the position, status and relationships of individual band members in relation to the principal performance contexts in which they partake.

In the opening chapter I introduce my own personal experience of brass banding, discuss existing literature on the subject and provide a discussion of my dual role as both ethnomusicologist and player. Having established this role I then offer a general historical account of the brass band (Chapter 2), including its changing instrumentation, before presenting a detailed account of the origins and subsequent activities of the Brighouse and Rastrick Band.

In Chapter 3 my study turns from the presentation of historical data to the construction and maintenance of the brass band as a field where tension and conflict occur over the accumulation of specific types of performance capital, resulting in a hierarchical division of labour. Both of the chapters that follow (Chapters 4 and 5) involve the description and discussion of processes involved in the concert and contest contexts, highlighting similarities and differences that shape the perceptions of all involved. Finally, in the concluding chapter I explain the importance of the performance contexts not only in regard to the overall existence of the band but also to the individuals who comprise the band itself.

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Acknowledgements

I wish to thank the past and present members of the Brighouse and Rastrick Brass Band whose participation made this study possible; my parents for their continued belief and support in my abilities; the advice and tireless effort of my supervisors, especially Jonathan Stock; Derek Rawlinson for his help in recording and filming events; and the two people who encouraged my initial decision to undertake a PhD, my grandmother and Eddie Noble, both of whom I dearly miss.

Chapter 1: "Welcome to the Band": An Introduction

> Individuals operating within tradition continually appropriate their cultural practices, give them new meanings, and create their own sense of "being in the world". (Rice 1994:8)
>
> What am I doing here? Why do I do this? It's a Saturday afternoon and I'm in Harrogate! (Matthew Hilton, Harrogate, 13 December 2003)

These quotations provide an ideal introduction to my research since they represent on the one hand a description of the processes and meanings that accrue through experience as discussed and theorised by an ethnomusicologist, and on the other a description by a player who is already participating in the process. The first quotation also introduces the idea of a construction of "the self" or autonomous identity that shares characteristics and meanings with other individuals within the same cultural field. In developing an understanding of the self through the acts of appropriation, participants often become immersed or experienced in their specific cultural practices to such an extent that they exceed any need for either thought or explanation of something that is to them a natural disposition or acts that are "taken for granted". Bourdieu (1993b:2) would say that the players have, through inculcation, developed their own habitus experience, the habitus being a system of generative schemes adjusted objectively to particular conditions or situations that are originated and constructed from the perspective of those participating.

The second quotation is from Matthew Hilton, an informant or a fellow participant (depending on the perspective). Each year the Brighouse and Rastrick Brass Band is contracted to participate in two or three concerts in the International Conference Centre in Harrogate. These concerts are in collaboration with the Gilbert and Sullivan Society of Harrogate and, always held in December, are advertised as Christmas concerts. Unlike the concerts in which the band participates on a regular, if not weekly, basis, these concerts involve an afternoon and an evening performance. Since there is a significant period between the performances, so that both the instrumental and vocal performers may rest, the band has always supplied the players with an evening meal of fish, "mushy" peas and chips from a local fish café. Although the meal

manages to occupy or distract most if not all the players from the lengthy period experienced between the performances, as soon as they return to the concert venue, usually an hour and a half before the next performance, some become despondent about "losing their Saturdays to a silly concert", complaining "Why does it seem like such a long day?". After the meal Hilton, Ian Dust, Sheridan Fryer and a few others, including myself, were relaxing in the changing room when Hilton began bemoaning the amount of time until the second performance. Throughout my involvement with the band I had rarely heard him say anything of this nature and I replied to his comment by stating that he would be bored at home if he had not come to the concert. However, when I approached him in the next rehearsal about his pessimistic, negative attitude in the changing room he explained that it originated from the combined effect of his favourite football team (Manchester City) not playing particularly well, the Harrogate concert always being a long day and his feeling under the weather.

Although the relative merits and perspectives of both Rice and Hilton are considerably different in their terminology, language and delivery (as would be expected) and perspective, they each have an understanding of the situations in which they find themselves (either as observer, participant or participant observer). Rice describes the actions, processes and "truths" in a general style from the perspective of an outsider, admittedly accumulating insider understanding through the actions represented by both his hermeneutic arc theory and the specificity in the choice of informants. Hermeneutic arc theory in this instance "begins with pre-understanding, moves through explanation of the structure –or what he calls the 'sense' – of music, to arrive at an interpretation and new understanding of the world referenced by music acting as a symbol" (Rice 1994:4). Thompson (1981:163) commented that the movement in perspective experienced in the process introduced above was in effect "interplay between participatory belonging and alienating distanction". In contrast the quotation by Hilton is from a personal rather than a general perspective, originating from his inculcated experience and exposure to the particular activities undertaken by the band. These individual perspectives and also that represented by my own combination of participant and ethnomusicologist, are, as Rice demonstrates in this quotation, similar in that

they result from a "complex world of multiple meanings opened up by the symbols and symbolic behaviours and available for interpretation by all who have the opportunity to experience them".(1994:7) The experience that is available to both the observer (in his various guises and disguises) and the participants (informants), according to Rice, is acquired through "the history of the individual's encounter with the world". From this perspective, to fully understand their relative positions, whether physically or geographically within the band or as an ethnomusicologist, their musical experience and its various attributes, for example venue and repertoire, need to be a fundamental consideration, as I shall demonstrate throughout this thesis.

"To Band or not to Band?": A Question of Personal Experience

To underline the importance of experience in the construction of both an identity and field I shall now discuss a few aspects of my own experience both within the Brighouse and Rastrick brass band and pre-understandings that were constituted from previous banding experience (an aspect that is important in the hermeneutic arc theory discussed by Rice (1994)).

In many areas of the country brass bands are an important feature of the education processes of both primary and secondary schools. However in others the encouragement and maintenance of bands are a responsibility of the community and the many peripatetic teachers involved with the local education authority. This was the situation in my particular area, the town of Aberystwyth and its districts on the west coast of Wales. Although the "town band", as I would later call it, became an important feature in my musical and general life, my first experience of ensemble interaction and participation occurred in a brass quintet comprised of students from my peer age group at primary school. The development of my individual musical competence together with that of the group soon impressed the teacher and so we were invited and encouraged to attend the local town junior band (players ranged from 6 to about 14 years of age) where we all huddled on the back row of cornets often too scared to talk because no one else seemed to!

Many years of experience in the junior band were followed by inevitable incorporation into the youth and eventually senior bands, occupying positions ranging from principal cornet to bottom third cornet. In retrospect, during this period the most enjoyable moments were perhaps not the performance of the music itself but rather the company of fellow players, whether musically, socially or in terms of shared experiences and emotions. Of course not everyone wished to become a musician or continue their interest in music beyond a certain standard, and so with my acceptance onto both the courses for the National Youth Brass Bands of Wales and Great Britain I escaped the closed social field of the "local" to the entirely bigger social field of the "national". It was at this level that I first acquired knowledge and experience of a bigger banding culture, especially that outside Wales. The standard of playing, both technically and musically, was far superior to anything that I had earlier encountered, and the rehearsals were far more intense, with higher expectations placed on each individual player. Those I met on these courses had more experience of the "contesting" scene not just in the lower sections, but knowledge about the best bands in the country and, according to them, in the world. So when it came to the latter years of my secondary education the knowledge that I gained from my experience with those within the National Youth Brass Bands was a central and important influence on my choice of a tertiary educational establishment.

Eventually, this choice became far easier when I visited the University of Huddersfield and completed an audition with Phillip McCann, who would later be an important influence on my musical development. The university itself was welcoming and on the induction or "freshers" week I noticed that quite a few of the players whom I had met in the aforementioned youth bands were also studying there. In the university there was a brass band that included many of the older undergraduates and some postgraduates; it was here that some players had the opportunity to have contact with both members and bands outside the university. Having been to a few rehearsals with several bands I received a phone call through the university from Jim Davis. an esteemed and highly regarded cornet soloist who was also the principal of the Brighouse and Rastrick Band. This band, situated between Huddersfield and Bradford was, as those in the National Youth bands described it, one of the

best bands in the country. Disregarding my final performance exam in university, the audition to become a member of the band was the most nerve-jingling performance situation that I have ever known. On that day I was collected from my student accommodation by a member of the band and taken to the band room half an hour early. When we reached our destination I noticed that, instead of the customary ten or twelve cars, there were only two, one of which belonged to Jim Davis and the other to the resident conductor David Hirst. Having entered the building I was invited to go downstairs, where there are rooms specifically designated for uniforms, the library and, at the end, the committee room where my audition was to take place. The auditioning process involved playing a pre-rehearsed programme of music followed by a series of sight-reading exercises that included famous cornet solos and cadenzas. Following the completion of the performance aspect of the audition I was then told what to expect: for the first year I would be on trial, a similar approach to that used by top symphony orchestras to assess whether players have progressed or not. Returning upstairs, I was unsure as to whether I had passed this audition, but when Jim Davis appeared he said that I had done enough to persuade them of my competence on the cornet and that I had the job if I wanted it. Playing with the band was certainly an unbelievable experience. Even after a few rehearsals and concerts I was still desperately trying not to make a mistake and be singled out by the conductor. There was a particular piece that I found difficult to play, the transcription of Berlioz's *Carnival Romain*. Although there were a few fast passages that were noticeably difficult the quiet passages were most problematic. A mistake in any of these and everyone would notice. Recently a new player in the band commented that he did not feel any fear of playing in the wrong place since he felt that no one was actually getting into trouble for doing so, even soloists or those who occupied positions of competency, authority or responsibility who should be able to play their parts with ease. Both my personal experience and this observation concerning the new player demonstrate that through musical performance behaviour can be constructed, learnt and eventually become an expectation that the individual may have of the behaviour of other participants.

Although I have these pre-understandings and experience from my history within brass bands this research is not to be taken as a form of

autobiography, a series of personal conclusions or, as Rice (1994:8) puts it, the self (my own historical experience) immediately becoming the object of the enquiry. My motivation is therefore the exploration of others to understand the self or my position, although I have found that during fieldwork my historical personal experience of certain situations has meant that I have understood what questions to ask the players in the most appropriate situations.

Understanding Existing Literature: Who, How and Where?

Many countries have either their own brass band tradition or have bands that take part in a range of rituals important to their own cultures. Although these bands vary in their instrumentation, geographic location and range of rituals in which they participate, there are similarities in some of the characteristics which they demonstrate as will become evident in subsequent chapters. There is a growing number of research papers on these bands and some have subsequently been published. These include articles and books by Herbert and Sarkissian (1997), Simonett (2001) and Booth (2005). In their article Herbert and Sarkissian discuss the dissemination of the brass band into the colonies, looking how they (and the military bands), "transcended their cultural origins" and influenced the performance practice of non-Western music cultures (1997:167). Additionally they discuss the issue of symbolism, in particular that associated with aspects of the colonial empire. Meanwhile, in her book Simonett discusses the Banda music performed in rural and urban Sinaloan brass bands in the northwest of Mexico, with a focus on how expressive culture both generates and reflects intersecting social identities. The brass band tradition in India has been documented by Booth in his book *Brass Baja, Stories from the World of Indian Wedding Bands*. In this book Booth describes the involvement of brass bands in the wedding ritual, especially in the procession that welcomes the arrival of the groom.

As I shall discuss in forthcoming chapters, there are similarities between these bands and the Brighouse and Rastrick Band notwithstanding the difference in their geographical locations, for example, the military-style uniform and aspects of the repertoire performed. The burgeoning movie industry in India has also allowed bands the opportunity to establish their

credentials as part of the accompanying soundtracks, resulting in the popularity of the Bollywood Brass Band, as discussed by Charlton.[1] Le Brass Band du Val de Saone, based in France, is discussed by Sothier,[2] especially its origins, repertoire and the issue of sponsorship. During the research for his book, *A Day for the Hunter, A Day for the Prey*, Averill (1997) observed that brass bands in Haiti were also a feature of both military and civic parades. Turino (1993) briefly acknowledges the existence of brass bands in the Conima festivals in Peru, although these are very much an accompanying ensemble. Due to the popularity of brass bands on a global stage Boonzajer Flaes (1998) published a book on the various types of brass bands, including a CD that offered examples of each of these groups in live performance. Rumbolz (2000) researched the history of brass bands in Ghana, discussing the participants and their general activities. There are other papers printed in periodicals, for example the issue of gender in a previously all-male military environment as discussed by Bannister (1996:131-146). Whilst the Boonzajer Flaes book offered a CD of samples of the variety of band performance from around the world, these were part of a larger collection accumulated by Flaes, Gales and Kleikamp called *Frozen Brass*, which has a number of volumes.[3] Although ethnomusicology and other disciplines are now focusing more attention on these brass bands, for example in a number of papers given at the International Council for Traditional Music in 2005, it is only recently that this information has been made available to the general banding enthusiast in Britain, a situation which I am sure will change in time.

The existing literature specifically written about British-based brass bands has mainly concerned biographical accounts of prominent soloists, conductors and adjudicators. For example the inspiring story of Harry Mortimer (*On Brass*, 1981); the history and stories associated with the Dobcross Silver Band written by Henry Livings (1975); the biography of Dr Denis Wright written by Roy Newsome (1995) and the account of adjudicating at brass band contests written by David Read (2004). The remaining literature

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[1]Charlton, Kay, *Bollywood brass band*, http://www.bollywoodbrassband.co.uk/why.htm (Accessed on 17 July 2004)

[2] Sothier, Isabelle, *Les Brass Bands*, http://membres.lycos.fr/bbvs/dossier/ (Accessed on 17 July 2004)

[3] Kleikamp, Bernard. 1995. *Pan Records Catalogue*. Leiden: Pan Records

produced by individual bands, the second regarding general interviews about contemporary issues and the third concerning aspects of historical sociology and musicology.

Most bands have an illustrious history and celebrate certain dates by having specially-arranged concerts or, more importantly, by producing brochures to document landmark events, such as their first contest win or their first professional conductor. The standard of the band is not reflected by the production of such brochures, since a wide range of documents can be found on famous bands (such as Black Dyke Mills and the Brighouse and Rastrick), whilst information on other not-so-famous examples (such as Shrewton Town and Newtown) is also available through their internet websites.

Books regarding contemporary issues written in the style of a set of interviews, although less freely available, are accessible to those wishing to research the topic in detail. The books written by Taylor (1983) and Howarth and Howarth (1988) are however a curiosity since they deal with a cross-section of banding characters, from famous composers to those important in their local brass band circles. Both books do approach key issues that continue to be problematic in contemporary banding; however, few manage to escape stereotypical responses and perhaps lack an objective perspective on the problems that occur around them.

The third category, concerning aspects of historical sociology and musicology, contains the majority of the existing literature. Scholars such as Herbert (2000), Newsome (1998), Taylor (1979) and Brand (1979) have all written or edited books concerning the social and musical ancestry of brass bands. These books play an important role in many modules on brass band history and repertoire in universities such as Salford, Huddersfield and, most recently, Durham and the Birmingham Conservatoire.

Whilst existing band literature has been of help in regard to the historical aspects of banding, as demonstrated in particular in the second chapter, there have been particular ethnomusicology texts that have influenced the information accumulated during my fieldwork. The work of Small (1998) in regard to the definitions of musicking and listening has been important in framing what happens in concert and contest performance activities, whilst the book by Cottrell (2004) concerning professional music-making in London has

been influential in my thinking of these occasions as ritualistic events. Other scholars who have influenced my approach are Turino (1993), Foucault (1977), Bourdieu (1993a), Rink (2002) and Averill (2003).

In his work on the urban migration of members of the Peruvian Altiplano Turino discusses the creation, maintenance and experience of identities in situations where multiple identities exist. This issue has particular association with the brass band movement, specifically in the contest context which will be discussed in Chapter Five.

Although Foucault has written on many subjects that may have particular interest or association with the various processes involved in a brass band, I have chosen to concentrate on the construction or creation of routines in all performance contexts, and social behaviour through disciplined bodies. In this sense I have applied the theories that he originally applied to school and army situations, for example the use of specific regulations (even those that are taken for granted by the players) and the various uniforms that have their own particular meaning and position, and applied them to banding processes.

The ideas proposed by Bourdieu in *Sociology in Question* (1993a) and *The Field of Cultural Production* (1993b) have been influential on my consideration of the Brighouse and Rastrick Band as an established field and habitus. These have been particularly influential in defining the position and actions of individual players and therefore creating the possibility of comparison not only with members of their own band but also with others in rival bands.

Rink and all the other contributors to his book (2002) examine in detail the psychological processes that are entwined with the issues of performance. These issues include the development of performance ability, rehearsal techniques and performance authenticity, each essential to the understanding of the actions of performers and the various performance contexts. The chapter that was influential in my observations was that written by Reid (2002:202-12), who discussed the types of rehearsal techniques employed by different performers and conductors, in particular the use of repetition and "chunk" methods.

Whilst reading about the Barbershop tradition in America (Averill, 2003) I realised that there were several similarities with the brass band in the

types of contexts and performance techniques. Historically both share similar internal debates regarding performance authenticity, for example the type of repertoire to be performed, the sense of communitas that is felt at specific moments in a piece (a topic also discussed by Cottrell (2004:155)) and activities associated with competitive musical events, such as adjudication and criticism.

Although this existing literature is important in establishing the theories that help to substantiate my fieldwork observations, the methodology that I shall utilise in accumulating these observations is equally important. In the next section I shall discuss the advantages and disadvantages of being associated with the band before beginning my research and how this has consequently affected my observations.

The literature that I have discussed above contributes only a fraction of what arguably could be a large area of research yet to be explored. Before beginning this thesis there was little written on the behaviour, actions and belief relating to the often misunderstood or stereotyped British brass band and its players. Therefore in deciding to undertake this thesis I hope to develop a better understanding of the characteristics of those who perform within brass bands and dispel many of these stereotypical aspects commonly presented by those ignorant of the true nature of brass band participation.

As I shall discuss towards the conclusion of the second chapter the all-male membership of the Brighouse and Rastrick Band is another characteristic which makes this study an addition to the literature on both brass and other types of band. Brass bands in Britain are now almost exclusively of mixed-gender membership and therefore opportunities to observe an ensemble of this type are rapidly diminishing. In this sense I hope this thesis may be a good historical account of the tradition of all-male brass bands. As for the characteristic in relation to non-brass band literature, it certainly provides an interesting comparison to other traditions and genres, specifically when considering that some cultures have strict gender role separation in musical performance practice.

This thesis may also be equally significant in relation to the fieldworker and informant dichotomy and how this has been influenced by my participation in the Brighouse and Rastrick Band for a considerable period

before my fieldwork began. During my research I explored several studies where fieldworkers had studied and participated in fieldwork situations to which they were already accustomed. However, many if not all of these were studies where the fieldworkers were returning to a place or group in which they had either participated or followed in the past. My study obviously differs to this and provides an interesting arena where the fieldworker and informant boundaries have often become blurred and situations have developed where I have felt that I as the fieldworker have become subsumed completely in the activities, almost becoming lost in the action.

"Are You Playing that Part or What?": The Position and Influence of the Participant Observer in my Fieldwork Methodology

The position and role of the ethnomusicologist in a specific fieldwork context has been discussed in great detail by many scholars. Periodicals, including the British Journal of Ethnomusicology (2003), and conferences organised by the British Forum for Ethnomusicology have been important in highlighting the issue and have offered those present a broad appreciation of the various perspectives and methods available to fieldworkers. During 2004 I presented a fieldwork retrospective at a conference held at Aberdeen, again organised by the British Forum for Ethnomusicology, entitled "We can't go on together with suspicious minds!" In this section I shall introduce the examples and arguments that I discussed in this paper, since I believe that the role of the observer within the field ultimately defines their influences on both the fieldwork notes and any subsequent theoretical conclusions.

My initial transition from participant to participant observer was fairly uncomplicated. Many who were initially suspicious became accustomed to my frequent enquiries and only portrayed unease either when they were interviewed separately or when stating some opinion on one of their fellow players. I believe that my acceptance as an observer or "spy", as one of the players once stated, was significantly facilitated by my previous experience as a participant with the band. This was also an advantage found by Jones-Bamman (2003:35-6) (although indebted to the work of Tiren), where he

realised that, by playing the banjo and guitar with his Sami musicians, he had moved into a new role that actively engaged with his informants. Bithell (2003:67-96) and Kisliuk (1997:23-44) both advocate that the opportunity for "real" participation or "becoming actors in our own object study in the most direct way" is achieved by experiencing the field as an integrated participant. In her article Bithell states that, through the relationships and friendships created during the accumulation of fieldwork, informants became more than simply a source of knowledge and actions that an ethnomusicologist would use and then discard. Kisliuk commented that the friendships created in these fieldwork situations often reflected the depth of commitment demonstrated by the ethnomusicologist and that this was itself influenced by the similarities that existed between the life stories of those involved. As discussed earlier, and indeed in following chapters, the similarity between my previous experience and that of those whom I study is quite close, for instance in the progression from local junior bands through to a position within the Brighouse and Rastrick Band, and consequently the depth of my commitment to the band and the activities in which they partake is also similar. Unlike that in the article discussed by Bithell and in many other ethnographic studies, this commitment in the field is not delineated by a set period of fieldwork activity. In this regard I am attempting to demonstrate that my participation in the band both occurred before my emergence as an ethnomusicologist and hopefully will continue following its conclusion.

The friendship model is also discussed and theorised by Code (1991:102), Titon (1992:321) and Jones-Bamman (2003:35-54). Code, for example, stated that this type of model involves the possibility of a responsive relationship between observer and informant especially where understanding was "neither distanced nor purely intellectual, yet neither is it irrational". However, Code does not want the friendship model to "dissolve" the dichotomous relationship between the observer and informant, but to be used to gain an understanding of their comparative field or worlds in which they share experiences and meanings. This is also the position held by Titon, who concludes that these shared meanings and experiences lead not only to an understanding but towards a fieldwork method that results in a "shared work" relationship. There are many ingredients in developing a friendship model, the

first of these being the importance of developing a strong or rather individual personality. Jones Bamman (2003:35-54) found that his predecessor Karl Tiren developed a friendship model with his informants by having a friendly personality. It is reasonable to expect that my personality has evolved during my involvement in the Brighouse and Rastrick Band, this being particularly noticeable to those who were existing members of the band when I joined. Once I had become a member of the band I began the process of moving from being an outsider to being an insider, the same process that many ethnomusicologists face when beginning their fieldwork. However, by developing both my playing technique and responsibilities, the other participants have grown accustomed to my presence, so that I am to a certain extent "taken for granted", much as certain behaviours are described in Bourdieu theory (1993b:2). The improvement on my instrument and responsibilities also developed respect from the other players. Over time networks of friendships began to develop through sharing meaningful experiences which subsequently influenced the research that I was to undertake.

The work of Kisliuk quoted earlier demonstrates the positive aspects of the participant/observer friendship method. However, there are scholars, such as Aspen (1991) and to a lesser extent Cooley (2003), who have voiced some concerns about this form of absolute engagement method. One of these negative criticisms concerns the possibility of the exploitation of informants by the observer. Of course, in a band environment where working as a team is a high priority, each player works hard towards a common goal or common enjoyment. In my position as a participant observer there is no particular need to be exploitative since both friendships and an element of trust have already been established. Although the pre-fieldwork period established such relationships, it does not necessarily guarantee that exploitation is impossible. Those who enter the field early, before the need for taking notes or observations etc, do not have to remain in that situation after they have completed their research. This may then allow a situation to develop where an observer may exploit informers (or friends) in the full knowledge that they could utilize any information given without a thought for their sources, as they would not necessarily be immediately returning to that situation. However,

this consideration does not feature in my methodology since, as I stated in an earlier discussion, I hope to continue in my role as participant within the band.

Whilst an ethnomusicologist who may exist already as a participant may require less time to acquire the terminology necessary for his research, the opposite is true for the "outsider". Ó Laoire, in discussing the importance of the knowledge and recognition of specific linguistic terminology on Tory Island, believed that it was enormously helpful as a method for being accepted into their culture (2003:113-36). Although most banding terms are universal in their recognition and acceptance, the autonomous and almost tribal nature of the identity of individual bands promote certain symbols and meanings that are strictly confined within their own band rooms. These symbols and meanings may only become clear to the outsider after he has either spent sufficient time or gained the confidence of at least a fraction of the informants. In the past newly appointed players have often enquired about some of the terminology used, mainly that regarding non-musical events and people, and I have explained to them their significance. There are words such as "syrup", a slang term that is used to describe fellow players and often committee members' hair styles. Knowledge of these types of terms is, as Sugarman (1997: 29) suggests, implicit to those within that specific society and so those who require a period of adjustment need to acquire the terminology not only to facilitate interaction but also to recognise explicit activities that occur within performance and non-performance contexts.

Had I chosen another brass band that was perceived as being of a similar standard or a "rival" from either the same town or village, I believe I would have been treated with far more suspicion and may have been perceived or labelled as being a "spy", "scout" or even being there to "poach" their players. Other occasions give rise to similar suspicion. For example, when the Brighouse and Rastrick Band has organised an open rehearsal[4] and members of opposing bands appear in the audience the players become suspicious of their motives. On one occasion two players from a rival band were spotted in the audience listening to our final preparations for the National Brass Band

[4] Open rehearsal:- a rehearsal open to the general public that often occurs in the week preceding a major competition

Championships of Great Britain, and Andrew Kenyon and Matthew Hilton commented:

> M.H:- "What are they doing here?"
>
> A.K:- "I don't know. Who are they?"
>
> M.H:- "They play for Grimey."
>
> A.K:- "Ah, they must be here to listen to the piece….because they didn't qualify!"[5]

Being identified as a member of a specific band not only attaches aspects of prestige but also a stigma of being "one of them" rather than "one of us" (an aspect that I shall discuss in a later chapter). Similarly, when Ó Laoire began his research on the musicians of Tory Island, he found that those from the particular area in question and its historically established local hierarchies were often categorised or classified according to the status, prestige and social position of their particular family. Compare this observation with the example that I have given above. The players from the rival band, Grimethorpe, although from a similar geographical and performance standard family, were immediately categorised as being "them" or as in the case of O Laoire, "so and so's son or daughter" and are not a part of the perceived family picture. The identification of "them" and "us" can also be attributed to the position of an observer within the field, especially when there is a significant distance between the fieldworker and his informants.

Another negative aspect of the participation model is the utilisation of fieldwork techniques, specifically taking notes or recordings in certain performance contexts, hence the title of this section, "Are you playing or what?" Stopping in the middle of a band rehearsal to jot down a few notes would not be acceptable as it would distract fellow participants from concentrating on their roles in the performance context. Being a participant does inhibit the ability of the observer to be fully aware of all the happenings in the various performance situations. There are possible methods to resolve

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[5] p.c. Matthew Hilton and Andrew Kenyon, rehearsal at Central Methodist Church Brighouse, 16 October, 2003

this issue, one of which is the use of recording equipment, either audio or visual, and in some situations the benefit of a helper who is on hand to operate the equipment. The use of recording technology is particularly useful since it enables an accurate account of the events that happen during a rehearsal or performance context. This process also allows the observer to concentrate both on observing (as much as possible) players on the other side of the band visually and also on my own performance. Taking notes is also problematic in non-musical contexts, particularly in areas that are normally designated as "social", for example in the post-performance contest setting, normally a local bar. In one contest I approached a few members of the band at the counter of the Queen's Mews pub in London. As the pub was fairly busy with other bandsmen it was quite difficult to find any time or space to take notes and it was even harder to establish a conversation that could be audible on a minidisk recording. Although this was problematic, there was the added complication that these players seemed more interested in buying drinks for themselves and other players, including me. Declining the offer of a drink from any of the players may have caused some suspicion and theoretically would have distanced me from the normative behaviour that the others would have expected. Altering my behaviour to note and observe others successfully from an objective position would, in the words of Ó Laoire, over-scientize the situation, may lose the human contribution or even alienate my position to the extent that my role as an ethnomusicologist becomes less effective. It is strange to consider that, unlike many ethnomusicological fieldwork studies, it is I the observer who has had the most difficulties in adapting to my role rather than encountering any problems from the perspective of those whom I observed.

"Remember Who You Are and Who You Play for": The Organisation of Chapters in "Banding Together"

This introductory chapter has highlighted many of the issues and processes that have been influential in the construction of this thesis, for example the insider/outsider paradigm that has allowed access to information and areas of discussion that would be blocked to others. In addition this chapter also introduced a semi-autobiographical account of my own interest in being both a

member of the banding culture and more specifically the Brighouse and Rastrick Band. Whilst this personal introduction is representative of the backgrounds of many if not all the players in my study, as I shall discuss in a later chapter, I shall begin the next chapter by introducing a historic account of the origins of the band and the special events that have marked its rise to being accepted as one of the leading all-brass ensembles in the world.

Having introduced these historical aspects I shall then discuss the motivations, sets of beliefs and other important issues that influence not only the behaviour and attitudes of the players but also their position in the hierarchical structures that exist within the band. These positions are both determined and defined by a combination of the reproduction and communal understanding of social function and musical performance. In this sense I shall present examples and discuss how the players are able to classify themselves, distinguishing and positioning themselves according to instilled beliefs and attitudes of what is acceptable and what is less acceptable within the performance contexts. As I shall demonstrate in the third chapter the understanding of playing positions within the band enables, conscious or not, predisposed ideas that, similar to those proposed by Bourdieu (1993:2), legitimate social and, in this case, musical function. Issues such as power, an integral part of both of these functions, are perceived as being diffuse and hidden in the taken–for-granted, accepted and unquestioned world of the participant players. My use of the Bourdieu concept of fields and habitus (1993b:3) in this particular instance, highlights the players as examples of the Bourdieu "agent" whose actions and behaviours are largely based on their objective social and musical relations. I believe that the topics and issues discussed in this third chapter are a good introduction to what Bourdieu would describe as "the representation which individuals and groups inevitably project through their practices and properties" (1993b:4) that I shall describe later in Chapters Four and Five as the social reality experienced by the players within those particular performance contexts.

The topics and issues discussed in Chapters Four (concerts) and Five (contests) are the performance contexts which enable the players to construct and understand accepted practices, what Foucault defined as "docile bodies" (1977:135-69). Both of the contexts discussed in these chapters are

predominantly structured around the concept of each being a specific ritual with particular attributes (as proposed in relation to the symphony orchestra concert by Cottrell (2004)), encompassing several performance stages (pre-liminal, liminal and post-liminal (2004:154)) and the description and discussion of the participation in these events through the definition of "musicking" by Small (1998:4). Both of these particular definitions enable the concert and contest to be described as highly specific contexts which also share a number of similarities. In the discussion of both contexts I shall contend that the preparation period before the main stage (or liminal) performance has an influential role on the shape of the performance. I believe that the characteristics that I introduce in both of the preparation periods consequently affect the behavioural and musical characteristics of the performances itself.

In the final chapter I shall present my conclusions on some of the issues that I have explored during this thesis, and I have categorised these into four specific sections. The first of these sections is entitled 'Participation and Participant Observation' and will include the issues involving my own position as fieldworker and participant and how these have consequently changed during my fieldwork period. I answer questions on how my methodology had changed, whether my position as fieldworker had changed my perceptions of my participation and also whether my position as fieldworker encouraged a different reaction from my fellow participants.

In the second section, entitled 'Repertoire and Shared Beliefs', I shall offer conclusions on why players participate in the Brighouse and Rastrick Band. These conclusions will include themes associated with community and participation, especially in regard to the development of the band away from traditionally local performance contexts and the increasing trend of "musicking commuters" (a personal definition that will be introduced later) from outside the geographic boundaries of the Brighouse and Rastrick villages. Having discussed the type of participant I shall then offer a conclusion in regard to the repertoire and the pre-disposed expectations of players when participating in the Brighouse and Rastrick Band. This issue will incorporate the enjoyment derived from preparing and performing a specific type of repertoire, in this instance the repertoire for concerts and contests, and

how this influences the shape of the behaviour, expectation and community shared beliefs. Another topic that will be discussed in this section is the shared or collective beliefs that are developed through the inculcation of performance contexts. The inculcation of these beliefs also enables the participants to create specific performance practices that lead to a collective understanding of authentic procedures which encourage taken-for-granted behaviours and attitudes that are, consciously or not, transferred to new members during their initial experiences with the band.

In the third section of the conclusion I shall compare and contrast the concert and contest contexts. This will include issues relating to the struggle between both individual and band prestige, which is influenced by the immediacy of other participating bands and bandsmen, symbolic use of uniforms, public reception and location and perceived status of venues. Following these I shall propose a "band performance continuum" that defines the differences between the performance contexts and the type of behaviours that are believed to be authentic for that particular event. As I shall demonstrate in the concluding chapter, the performance contexts involved are not isolated on separate poles of the continuum but have intermediary contexts which have a combination of expected behaviours, often creating confusion in the behaviours exhibited.

In the fourth and final section I shall give a concise conclusion on what I believe is meant by players "banding together". The topics involved in this conclusion include the expectation on individuals to "fit in", creation of identities, friction between individual and group aspirations, and finally how I have personally come to understand the meaning of the phrase.

Many people have asked me about my motivation in writing a thesis about a brass band. Some have offered their own answers, Matthew Hilton for instance believing that it is a way to avoid "the working life", and others outside the band commenting that I am a "tax dodger". My reasons are far more personal. As stated earlier, brass playing and brass banding in particular has played a significant role in both my everyday life and academic career. It has shaped the person that I have become today and no doubt will continue to do so in the future. With banding being such a significant factor I felt that a study of those with whom I have developed would highlight processes that

many may recognise and affirm. This thesis is therefore an exploration of the world, or field in this particular case, in which I endeavour to understand my own position, attitudes and actions through the behaviour of my fellow participants.

Chapter 2: An Introduction to the Brighouse and Rastrick Band within the History of the Brass Band Movement

> By the end of the 1890s, there could have been few towns or villages, whether in the remoter parts of the British Isles or even the most far flung corners of the white dominions, where some kind of brass band did not add its distinctive tones of the annual cycle of formal and informal events which made up their community's social calendar. (Bythell 1997:151)

The villages of Brighouse and Rastrick were examples of the "few towns and villages" discussed by Bythell that, during the late nineteenth century, included a brass band as an integral part of their community activity. During this chapter I will discuss the origin and subsequent development of formal and informal activities of the Brighouse and Rastrick Brass Band within the wider context of the banding movement. Existing literature on this subject matter has increased in the last quarter of the twentieth century in particular through the work of Herbert (1991, 1997, 2000), Newsome (1995, 1998, 2006) and Taylor (1979). Whilst a definitive history is beyond the parameters of this particular study I will nevertheless introduce a number of significant factors and events, that occurred both before and during the existence of the Brighouse and Rastrick Band, that have helped shape the consistency of its musical practices. These factors and events include a brief account of the development and standardisation of instrumentation, origins and arguments involved in the identification of early brass bands, the position of band performance within broader social contexts and the role that repertoire played in establishing traditional attitudes (including issues relating to taste), topics related to what Herbert has described as "the 'standardisation' of musical identity" (2000:11).

Another significant factor in the perception of banding, from its origins to the present day, concerns the association between gender and the wider social context. While the Brighouse and Rastrick Brass Band is currently an all-male performance group, the banding tradition more generally has often seen a fraught relationship between male and female musicians, with the latter struggling to gain acceptance in the sector. As such any understanding of gender in the Brighouse and Rastrick Brass Band has to be seen in the wider

context of the tradition as a whole.

Whilst the performance contexts within the Brighouse and Rastrick Brass Band are exclusively male, female participation both in terms of the infrastructure of the band and in the support of individual players are essential to its continued success. Their importance within the infrastructure of the band primarily involves their participation on various sub-committees, the most important of these being the supporters committee. The supporters committee has twelve members, eleven of whom are female with the remaining male, presently Andrew Wilkinson, reporting the issues raised to the main decision making committee (the membership of which is discussed in chapter 3). Those who participate on this committee are not elected, unlike those on the main committee or board of trustees, and their connection to the band is often through the participation of their partners. Mary Fryer, for example, has been a member of the supporters committee for over a decade, whilst Pam Evans has been a member even though her partner has not been a member of the band since the late 1980s. Their responsibilities on this committee will be discussed in greater detail later but their primary role is to raise funds for use by the main band.

Support for the main band is also represented by the efforts of several committee members in preparing hot food for players, promotion of band merchandise and ticket and programme sales at local concerts and social events. This support is not just practical, in the sense that food is required by players who are dedicating their whole day to the band, but contributes to the idea that there is a sense of family or community involvement (see figure 2.1). As the latter chapters of this thesis demonstrate, the absence of this particular support structure from the majority of the performance contexts (and the fact that where it occurs it arises from a specialist group) contributes to my conclusion that the Brighouse and Rastrick Brass Band has become a self-contained community largely isolated from the wider community from which it originated.

Female participation and influence is also found beyond the supporters committee. Ethnographic examples provided later demonstrate there is a mutual understanding generated between the players and their respective partners involving commitment to the band. Some have supported and even

Figure 2.1: Members of the supporters group preparing food before a Huddersfield Town Hall concert (March 2007)

encouraged their husbands to commit fully to the band, whilst others have expressed concern about the pressures that banding brings to their partners. The contrast of support and understanding from one perspective and criticism or lack of support from the other influence the motivation and attitude of the players involved and, in effect, maintain or alter the social dynamic experienced. This indirect influence is therefore an important factor in band participation, a subject addressed in chapter three.

In discussing this topic I will not only refer to the academic texts introduced above but also to examples derived from my own ethnographic fieldwork. These include photos, observations and comments from both the players and female participants.

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first is the development and standardisation of instrumentation, the second an introduction to the history of brass bands, the third a discussion on the development of concert and contest contexts, and the concluding section presents the Brighouse and Rastrick Brass Band as it exists today. By discussing the Brighouse and

Rastrick Brass Band in relation to its social and historical context, I hope to present the basis for the observations that I made during my fieldwork and the attitudes, interaction and performance contexts that are discussed later in this thesis.

The Development and Standardisation of Brass Band Instrumentation

The standard instrumentation of the British brass band has been, as Myers states, "crystallised" since the late nineteenth century (2000:182). This standardisation has been the result of several key factors including the input of individuals such as Adolphe Sax, the instrument manufacturing business and the repertory associated to the various band performance contexts. However, before discussing these factors I will briefly outline the instruments that constitute the Brighouse and Rastrick Brass Band as it appeared during my study.

The current contesting brass band comprises of six sections and these can be seen in figure 2.2 below. Five of these sections are brass, letters A to E, and the remaining one, the percussion, represented by the letter F. Issues relating to the membership and stratification of these sections, and also the percussion section (F), are discussed in forthcoming chapters. This particular chapter discusses how the number of instruments or players within a modern section emerged historically.

Until the standardisation of brass instrumentation towards the end of the nineteenth century brass bands varied in both the number of instruments and instrumentalists. Both Newsome (1998:72-83) and Myers (2000:172-4) present detailed information on some of these early bands, in particular those involved in the contests at the beginning of the 1860s. Whilst the example given by Myers from the 1860 Crystal Palace contest outlines the average number of players on each instrument, Newsome gives a detailed account from three individual bands (the Black Dyke, Besses o' the Barn and

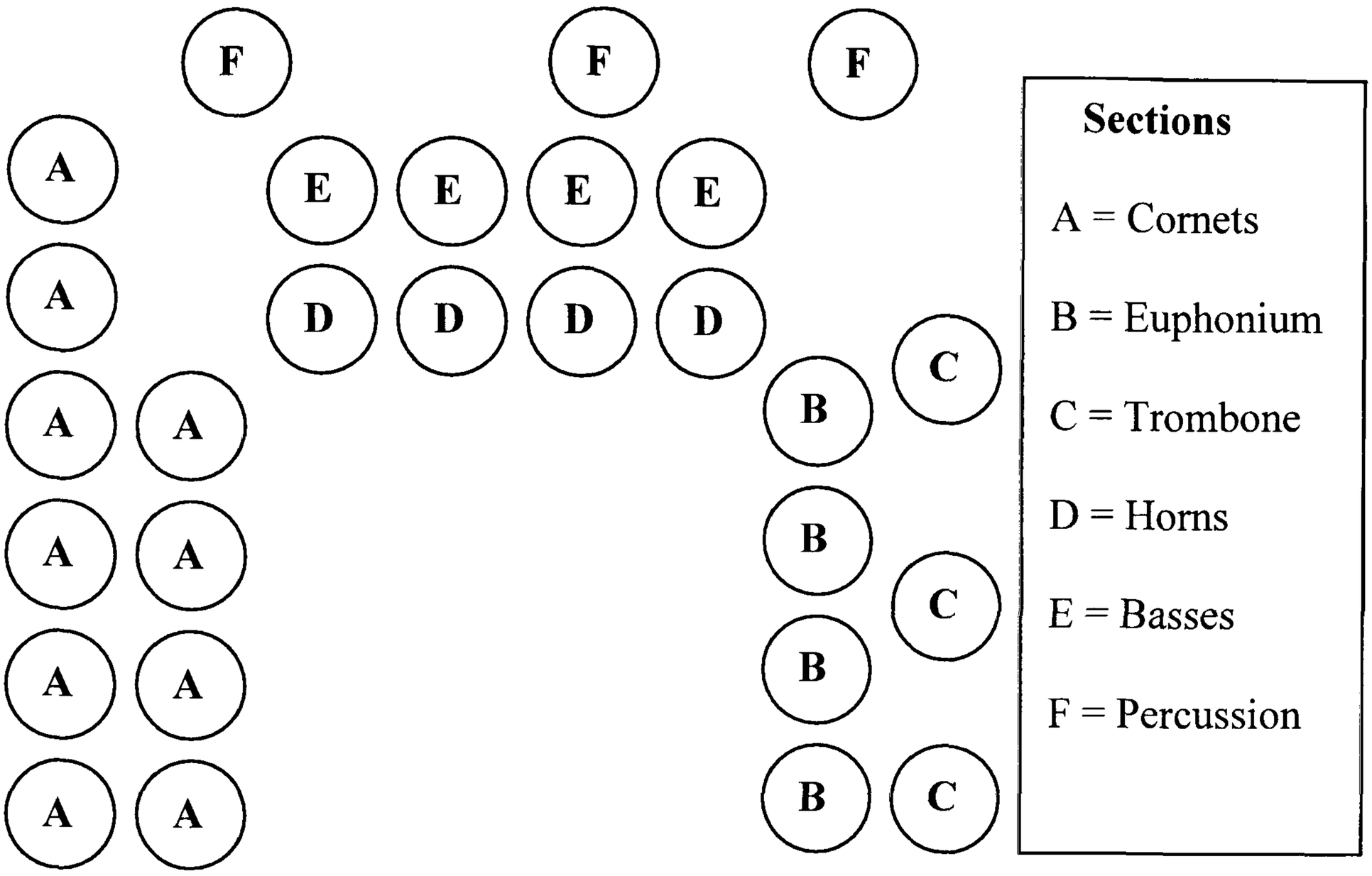

Figure 2.2: The formation and sections of a contesting band

Stalybridge brass bands).The data produced by both of these scholars, in particular Newsome (1998:84-113), highlights the variety of instrumentation that existed even in the initial stages of contesting and attests to the fact that the influence of contesting (including the repertoire performed) on the standardisation of instrumentation was a prolonged rather than abrupt process. A further clue on the numbers of instrumentalists participating at these band contests is provided by Scott (1970:155), who states that before 1873 the playing membership at contests was restricted to nineteen players. This consolidates information provided by both Newsome (1998:79) and Myers (2000:164 and 172), although the Scott data primarily relates to the Belle Vue contest and not to all contests of the period. However, following the 1873 Belle Vue Championship, the maximum number of players allowed to participate in the event was increased to twenty-four. Bands were therefore allowed to utilise extra players; according to Newsome (1998:86) this involved an increase in the number of solo cornets and basses and encouraged the emergence and "standard practice" of a band having at least one flugel horn (though at this point printed music rarely accommodated this change).

This increase also moved the number of brass instrumentalists towards the standardised configuration that exists in contesting bands today.

The current Brighouse and Rastrick Brass Band has twenty-five brass players, the additional player being either an extra third cornet or second euphonium (a decision dependant on the preference of the specific bandmaster; Newsome 1998:220). Percussion instruments were omitted from the contest contexts but bands often employed two percussionists, playing side and bass drums, for their concert work (Newsome 1998:86, 140 and 186). The first mention of an augmentation to this restricted percussion configuration, according to Newsome (1998:88), was the addition of a handwritten timpani part to an Alexander Owen arrangement based on the music of Weber (including *Oberon* and *Euryanthe*) in 1889. However, percussion instruments were not fully utilised in band contests until the Belle Vue Championship in 1969 when the test piece was *Spectrum* by Vinter (see figure 2.3). In the paragraphs that follow I discuss the development of the individual instruments that constitute the modern contesting band, beginning with the cornet.

In modern brass band scoring the melody lines generally appear in the cornet parts. However, according to Myers, before the appearance of all-brass bands in the 1830s, this function was performed by woodwind instruments with brass instruments confined to providing accompanimental harmonic parts (2000:155). As the increased preference for the all-brass sound emerged the cornet began to displace the woodwind instruments as the main melodic instrument. To enable the cornet to successfully achieve this new role it had to be fully chromatic. Prior to the introduction of the piston valve, the importance of which is emphasised shortly, the soprano brass instruments were initially dependant on length of tubing (the natural trumpet, clarino, post horn or bugle), the addition of a slide (the slide trumpet), hand stopping techniques and the application of keys (in particular the keyed bugle following the Halliday patent in 1810; Baines 1993:194) as well as embouchure. Typically, the natural or baroque trumpet was relatively high pitched, in modern E flat, F or C pitches (Baines 1993:124). The addition of the slide to such instruments is introduced by Baines as a possible continuation of a tradition that developed from continental Europe during the early fifteenth century (1993:94). Performance on this slide instrument was similar to that of the trombone

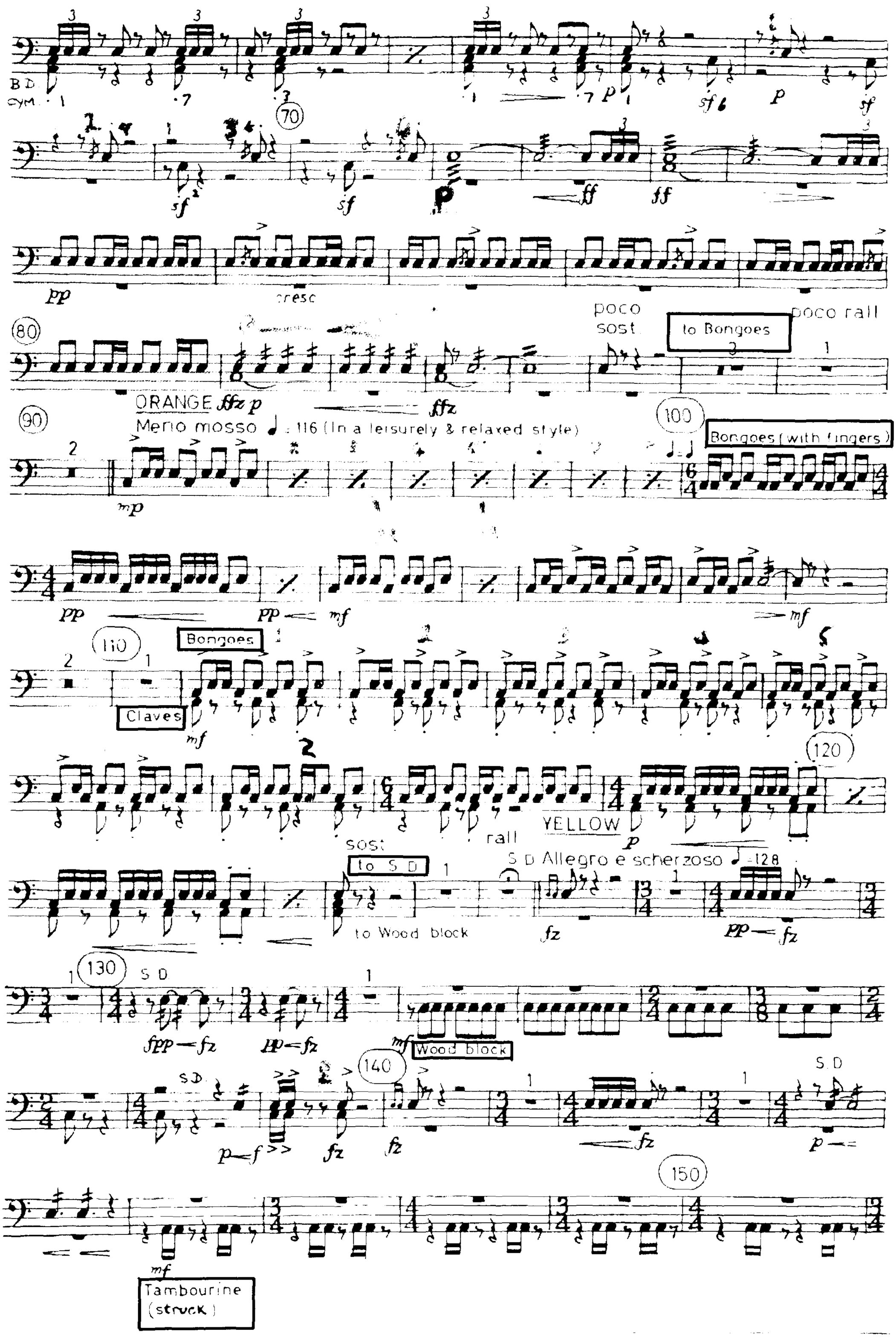

Figure 2.3: An extract of the percussion part of *Spectrum* (Vinter),

(discussed later), which may have formed the source of this technology. Hand stopping in the instrumental technique of the modern cornet player is often discouraged though in rare instances some composers require its use. This discouragement primarily relates to the intonation problems that arise due to the different distances that the hand may occupy in relation to the end of the bell. In a modern band situation this would mean that the tuning, not only between instruments within a section, but between all instrumental sections would be difficult to control.

The introduction of keys to brass instruments towards the end of the eighteenth century was an important development towards the full chromatic, piston-valved cornet. Experimentation by a number of players and inventors during the 1790s resulted in a keyed instrument capable of performing such compositions as the *Concerto in E flat* by Haydn, possibly written for the Viennese trumpeter Weidinger (Baines 1993:192). The keys themselves were not only used on trumpets, they were also a feature of the majority of early nineteenth century band instruments, including the serpent and ophicleide (Myers 2000:157-61). They were similar in construction to the keys utilised on woodwind instruments, "mounted on brass saddles, two of them usually on cross-struts, and are heavily sprung to close with flat spring rivets to the levers" (Baines 1993:192). The keyed bugle, assumed forerunner to the modern cornet, was patented by Halliday in 1810 and immediately gained acceptance as the only soprano brass instrument with full chromatic capabilities (Myers 2000:158). The pitch of these instruments was dependent on their manufacture, the most widely used being those in C or with an additional crook in B flat, E flat and D flat. These pitches, with the addition of A flat, continued to be used in brass bands even after the addition of the piston valve, as demonstrated in the list of instruments from the Crystal Palace contest in 1860 provided by Newsome (1998:79) and Myers (2000:172), as introduced earlier. Before discussing the introduction of the piston valve, I will outline the non-valve developments that also influenced both the modern cornet and the remaining instruments that constitute the contesting band instrumental configuration.

The cornet has changed in a number of significant ways since it first appeared circa 1828, the most important of which being the breadth of tone

produced. Whilst the addition of the piston valve also influenced this development, it results primarily from alteration in the size and shape of the instrument's conical bore. The early cornet had a bore that was more conical than that of the trumpet but narrower than that of the keyed bugle, this resulting in a sound that was both brighter than the keyed bugle but mellower than the trumpet (Newsome 1998:24). During the twentieth century the sound of the cornet, and of the brass band generally, was developed to become, as Myers observes, "louder and thicker" as compared to the lighter, brighter sounding Victorian brass bands (2000:174). Exact comparison of both sounds is difficult due to improvements in sound recording but (and bearing in mind also an alteration in pitch in the 1960s), a recording of the Black Dyke Brass Band performing *Moorside Suite* at the National Brass Band Championships at Crystal Palace in 1928 is significantly different from that by the same band in 1995.[6] This difference in sound has been achieved by widening the diameter of the bore, not only on cornets but also on all brass band instruments. The current instrumentation of the Brighouse and Rastrick Brass Band for example, is exclusively large bore, although many instrumental manufacturers produce instruments with differing bore sizes for players and bands of all standards.

The sound produced on brass instruments is also influenced by the size of the hemisphere cup within the mouthpiece against which the player places his or her lips. Baines explains the workings as follows:

> Against the lips is placed the mouthpiece of the tubular resonator [instrument], the air in which will, through reflection and superposition of waves of local oscillatory motion, vibrate as a standing (or 'stationary') wave with nodal and antinodal conditions at certain points along its length … Between air-pressure supply and tube-air, the lips are held partially closed so that their central surfaces will vibrate by yielding to pressure and rebound as they impede the dissipation of the air pressure into the tube. On their first tremor the corresponding tremor in the force of emergent wind is instantly sensed by the tube-air, which will then resonate at whichever of its potential frequencies most closely matches that of the lips at that very moment. (1993:19)

A player who has accumulated experience on a particular mouthpiece can

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[6] *Moorside Suite* (Holst). Black Dyke Mills Brass Band, cond. Arthur Pearce. Edison Bell LP 4850; *Moorside Suite* (Holst). Black Dyke Mills Brass Band. cond. James Watson. Doyen Records CD 050.

exert a high degree of control over the frequencies produced, and the specificity of the mouthpiece to a particular instrument is important since, like bore sizes, there are several different sizes, each producing a different tone quality. Mouthpieces used on cornets (15-18mm; figure 2.4) are smaller in cup diameter than those used on, for example, euphoniums (24.2-26.26mm) or basses (29-33mm).

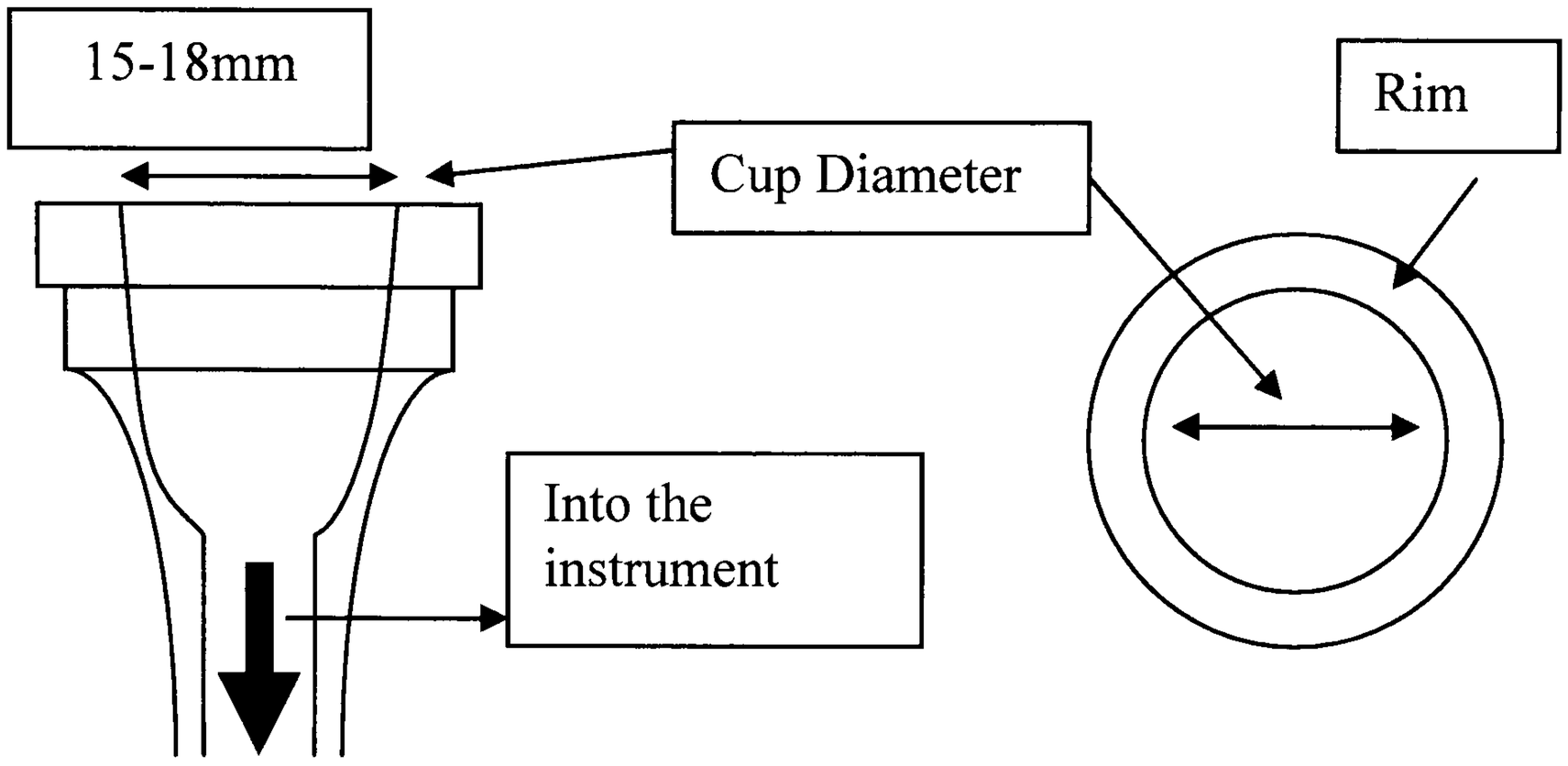

Figure 2.4: Diagram of a cornet mouthpiece

The dimensions of the mouthpiece are not related to the overall pitch of the instrument alone: the deeper cup size of the cornet mouthpiece gives a "flexibility of execution and relatively unfatiguing nature" and a "rounder and more velvet sound", as opposed to the harder sound derived from the shallow trumpet cup (Baines 1993:228). These characteristics played an important part in the preference of both bandmasters and players for the more homogenous cornet over the brighter-sounding trumpet.

The use of different cup sizes also impacts on the ability of players to swap instruments. Whilst the invention of the piston valve simplified the education of players in regard to the standardisation of fingerings on all brass instruments other than the trombone, this does not mean that band musicians can exchange instruments with total ease. A player accumulates experience on a particular mouthpiece forming an understanding of how best to use the lip muscles to produce the desired note; no players in my fieldwork regularly played more than one instrument in this way, though a former cornet player with the band, Michael Morris, now plays E flat bass with a rival brass band.

an observation that suggests not only a considerable level of specialisation among performers but also that the addition of valves did not necessarily simplify the performance of brass instruments generally. Performance practice issues relating to the cornet, for instance the use of hand stopping, bore and mouthpiece size, have been equally influential with regard to the remaining band instruments. Therefore in the presentation of details that follow I only highlight issues that are explicitly different to the developments of the cornet.

The emergence of lower brasses in the 1840s and 1850s saw the introduction into brass bands of the euphonium and the development its role there. Most academic texts conclude that the euphonium appeared as a rival, then companion and eventual successor to the ophicleide in both position in the band and its use within the scoring. Whilst the invention of the piston valve eventually diminished the use of keyed or rotary valve cornets in brass bands from an early stage, the ophicleide continued to be part of the instrumentation until the beginning of the twentieth century. According to Newsome (1998:25) and Myers (2000:170) the first euphonium with piston valves was developed by Sommer around 1843, but in his account on upright tenor tubas, Baines (1993:253) describes an instrument that was shaped as an ophicleide but had two piston valves developed by Uhlmann in 1839. Like the ophicleide, the role of the euphonium was to provide an "independent melodic line at tenor pitch" and not, as commonly misunderstood, to provide a bass line (Myers 2000:170).

The other instruments that complete the euphonium section are the baritones. These instruments were initially conceived as alto ophicleides, developed around the same time as the piston-valved euphonium in 1837. The most popular models of these were those used by Wieprecht in the Jäger Guards, called alt horns, and the clavicorn, patented in 1838 by Guichard (Baines 1993:253). From 1839 these instruments, and later the instrument Sax called the Baryton, were constructed with their valves lined up vertically, similar to the position that they now occupy. Sax developed a series of tenor and bass instruments during this time. The main difference between these and other inventors' instruments was the size of their relative bores. Sax's B flat basse (later to be called euphonium) had a wide flared bore, while his baryton (now called the baritone in modern brass bands) was designed with narrow

bore (Baines 1993:253). This distinction continues to separate the modern euphonium and baritone, although the later addition of a fourth valve of the euphonium further extended the possibilities of that instrument.

The modern horn section also includes two types of instrument, the flugel horm (originating from the valved bugle in Austria, Myers 2000:170) and the tenor horn. These instruments differ in many ways, including physical appearance, mouthpiece size and pitch, but when played together in a section they produce a broad, warm sound. In the 1870s many brass bands included three flugel horns, one doubling each of the repiano[7], second and third cornet parts.[8] The present-day section has one flugel horn, held in a similar posture to a cornet and is pitched in the same octave as that instrument. In the brass band score the flugel appears between the cornet and horn section, often doubling the part occupied by the repiano player. Although the flugel is now considered a part of the horn section, some bands still seat the flugel between the repiano and second cornets within the cornet section formation.

The tenor horns, three of which appear in the modern brass band, are pitched in E flat and are shaped in a similar way to the aforementioned baritone and euphonium. These characteristics differ from those of the flugel horn and indeed the mouthpiece used for the tenor horn in diameter is significantly wider. Early tenor horns were not dissimilar to the clavicors or alt horns, instruments also associated with the development of the baritone. However the popularity of the tenor (sax)horn in E flat increased following the emergence of the saxhorn family and their use by touring musicians, in particular the Distin family (Myers 2000:169). Newsome (1998:81) suggests that British bands continue to call their horns tenor rather than alto due to the influence of Sax's terminology, where the instrument in question was the third in a set of instruments that covered the range of soprano to bass. The early horn section consisted of two of these tenor saxhorns and two further E flat horns. possibly including french horns (Newsome 1998:82), and it was not until after World War I that the present standard configuration of three tenor

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[7] Repiano: Although this term is in general use today a further investigation reveals that it may have derived from the Italian term "ripieno" which means "stuffing". In the brass band the repiano part is a combination of solo and lower cornet parts, therefore providing the "stuffing" required to link the cornet section together.

[8] Contest pieces such as *Dances and Arias* (Gregson 1984) and *Between the Moon and Mexico* (Sparke 1998) have been scored for two flugels and no repiano player.

horns appeared.

As mentioned above, bass instruments were added to early brass bands in the 1840s and 1850s. The instrument that initially fulfilled this function was the serpent, made from wood but with crooks and a mouthpiece made of brass. Serpents used in these bands had three keys, though as the instrument developed fourteen keys became common (Myers 2000:158). Often grouped in combination with ophicleides, by the 1870s the majority of these serpents had been replaced by basses, though ophicleides continued to be used until the end of the nineteenth century. The standardised bass section during this period included the B flat saxhorn (forerunner of the euphonium) and one bombardon (in effect an E flat bass). In time the section was increased to include a further bombardon in E flat, a narrow-bore B flat version and one BB flat bass. The current bass section configuration of two E flat and two BB flat instruments emerged around 1875, though Newsome states that the standardisation process had begun before this date with the Meltham and Meltham Mills Brass Band under the direction of John Gladney (1998:83).

All of the instruments introduced so far share certain characteristics. These include the adoption and subsequent development of the piston valve, the use of crooks and the widening of bore sizes. Among these, the development of the piston valve has been the most significant step. The exact processes that occur when valves are adopted have been assessed in detail by Baines (1993:206-66). In brief, the invention and application of the valve to all brass instruments had broad significance for those involved in bands. Keyed and slide instruments during the early nineteenth century, especially the slide trumpet, required a high degree of proficiency, which meant that only a limited number of people could play brass instruments well. Now, and notwithstanding the differences in bore or mouthpiece outlined above, the fingerings required to play each band instrument became universal for the valved instruments (with the exception of some being pitched in B flat and others in E flat). This simplification in teaching and learning these instruments was reinforced by the growing availability of relatively inexpensive instruments, mass produced by manufacturers from the mid-nineteenth century onwards (Myers 2000:175-7).

The boom in bands and instrument sales during the latter decades of

the nineteenth century is by no means a coincidence. Marketing and advertising of instruments became an important part of the music business, especially as the concept of contesting gathered popularity. As individuals and bands endeavoured to improve themselves—and an integral part of the Victorian perception was that music making was "an 'improving' activity" (Herbert 2000:5)—they required improved instruments. A smooth and light valve-action and a clear passage of the air through the valves were the improvements that most manufacturers endeavoured to explore and apply (Herbert 2000:177).

Manufacturers also sought to resolve intonational problems, an issue which is particularly noticeable when valved instruments play notes with a first and third or all three valve combination, which sound sharp. Early additions to the cornet to resolve this included the addition of a ring pull on the third valve tubing (called slides by band participants). This extended tubing flattened the resulting pitch bringing it closer to being in tune. During the late 1980s and throughout the 1990s manufacturers like Besson produced cornets with triggers on both the first and third valve slides. The addition of these triggers successfully addresses this problem. During recent years a trigger has been included on the main tuning tube (slide) instead of the first valve trigger, an innovation which has simplified the action required to improve tuning. In fact, an additional use has been found for this trigger. Passages written in music that were previously difficult or impractical, for example the tremolo A required at pp at the beginning of the final movement of Arnold's *Cornish Dances* (in the second cornet part) are now easier to play. By fully extending both the tuning slide and third valve triggers a player is capable of playing a tremolo between two fingerings in an ergonomically convenient manner (see figure 2.5).

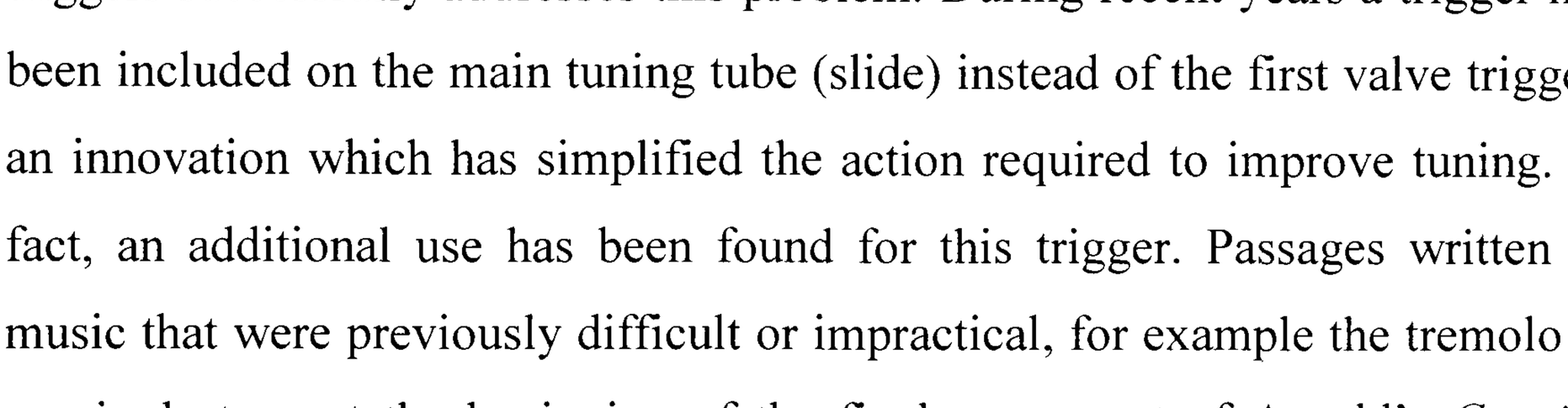

Figure 2.5: Passage from Arnold's *Four Cornish Dances* facilitated by use of the main tuning slide on a cornet

For the both the cornet and flugel the addition of triggers was the simplest way to improve tuning. However for the larger brass instruments the problem of tuning was resolved by the addition of a fourth compensating valve system, the addition of which predates the use of triggers. Euphoniums and basses require this extra valve since the additional length used in certain combinations of the standard three-valve system leaves some notes sharp (Myers 2000:179). Even with the addition of the compensating valve certain combinations of fingering are still poor in intonation. Bass instruments with five valves were suggested by Besson and Higham, but have failed to maintain a position within the brass band instrumentation, even though they were economically viable (Myers 2000:179).

My introduction to the instrumentation of the modern brass band has so far concentrated on those instruments with piston valves. The remaining brass section to be discussed, the trombones, differs from these. Trombones, unlike the other brass band instruments, do not have piston valves and produce their notes by extending a length of tubing called a slide. Of the instruments that appeared in early brass bands the trombone is recognised as the one that has been in existence the longest (Myers 2000:156 and Baines 1993:107-19). The effectiveness of early forms of the instrument has resulted in there being little need for major technological development (Myers 2000:156). Perhaps the most significant development during the nineteenth century was the addition of a tuning slide. The early trombone sections within bands and orchestras included an alto, tenor and bass trombone. These instruments were often pitched in F, C and G or E flat, B flat and F, though as Myers states these combinations rarely cohered into any standard pattern of use (2000:156). However by the middle of the nineteenth century, the alto, which produced less volume and not as full a tone as the valved horns, began to be replaced by the tenor trombone, and the bass G trombone, standardised in bands and orchestras, was superseded by the German type trombone. This latter development eventually led to the emergence of the B flat bass trombone, which included a thumb or rotary valve that enabled extra tubing to alter the pitch to F (Baines 1993:245). The two tenor trombones, together with the addition of this B flat bass trombone form the configuration seen in modern

brass bands.

The percussion section which completes the instrumentation of the modern brass band did not become a standard feature of contest repertory until the 1960s. The side and bass drum were almost certainly present in early bands (Newsome 1998:83), but these were confined to concerts and marches. Timpani parts were often optional, and a range of other instruments including castanets, triangles and tambourines were added primarily for novelty items. As this implies, percussionists rarely had anything substantial to play in the early repertory. The first major contest to use a test piece with a substantial amount of percussion was the Belle Vue (now British Open) Brass Band Championships in 1969. The scoring for the test piece, *Spectrum* (Vinter), calls for the instruments mentioned above with the addition of bongos, claves and wood block. Since that contest the percussion section has been expanded to include all types of tuned and un-tuned percussion, including all those used by orchestras and big bands. Modern percussion sections have two to four players, depending on the number of players required for a specific concert or contest piece. These players often specialise on one type of instrument, for example there will be a designated kit, timpani and tuned percussion player.

Before leaving the issue of instrumentation I will discuss changes in pitch that affected all brass instrument and instrument production in the 1960s. In 1964 the instrument manufacturers Boosey and Hawkes and the Salvation Army announced that they would stop producing high pitch instruments. Early brass band instruments probably played at a pitch similar to those that exist today, the A4 = 440 Hz international standard. However during the nineteenth century the brass band movement followed several other musical genres and rose in pitch to A4 = 452.5 Hz (Myers 2000:183). The higher pitch caused problems to vocalists, however, and by the end of the nineteenth century most of the top orchestras had returned to a lower pitch. Military bands followed this movement in pitch in 1929 which left the brass band movement isolated. By the 1960s instrument manufacturers were beginning to pull out of the high pitch instrument market, and bands shifted to low pitch by either inserting an extended slide or buying completely new sets of instruments (Myers 2000:183). The cost of adapting or purchasing these instruments was substantial and many bands spent several years raising funds. According to

Newsome some of these bands were initially resistant to the change, thinking that bands were losing the "brightness" of their sound (2006:62). However when the Black Dyke and CWS Manchester brass bands won first and second prizes at the National Brass Band Championships of Great Britain in London (1967) on low-pitched instruments many of the doubters were finally convinced.

In the next section of this chapter I will discuss the history of brass bands, discussing the difficult issue of early bands and additional developments that have shaped the current brass band movement.

The Historical Development of Brass Bands

> … for anyone who takes more than a glance at it [brass bands], the compelling vision of the brass band is one of consistency and continuity. The standard instrumentation has remained more or less intact for a century, and many of the core musical and organizational practices for just as long. (Herbert 2000:2)

The latter chapters of this thesis look more closely at the core musical and organisational practices that exist in modern brass bands. By discussing the history of brass bands here, in particular their position in a broader social context, I hope to establish the origins of some of these core practices. As Herbert also notes, the influence on brass bands of their creation during Victorian period remains all-pervasive (2000:2) and therefore an understanding of the reasons behind the rise of bands is significant in determining what exactly has been inherited from the earliest years and what has developed or emerged subsequently.

The origin of early brass bands is a difficult subject to approach in that numerous kinds of wind bands existed before the all-brass configuration that appeared in the 1840s and 1850s. Although some writers have claimed that brass bands emerged from one or another ancestor among these ensembles, Herbert sees the evidence for a direct relationship between the early wind bands, whether wait, church, circus or military, and the brass bands that developed later as circumstantial at best (2000:11). These wind bands do, however, deserve some attention, even though the information presented should be treated, as both Taylor (1979:23) and Herbert (2000:15) suggest,

with "appropriate scepticism", this in reaction to claims that extrapolate national trends from very limited local situations (for example, Eggleton 1999, Johnson 2003).

According to Herbert (2000:14) the town waits were the chief provincial employers of trombonists until the early nineteenth century; their main function within these organisations was to perform at civic events, like fairs, plays and weddings (Taylor 1979:15). Having become employees of the city with official and semi-official duties in the fifteenth century, some of these bands restricted access to the trade by establishing a guild-based system. These players also worked, either individually or in groups, as freelance musicians (Weir 1981:3). These wait bands are the possible origin of a number of characteristics that are still in use today, including the use of badges (officially called either chains or chaynes; see figure 3.1) and "signature" tunes as symbolic identification markers (*ibid.*:3)—the Brighouse and Rastrick Brass Band's signature tune, *West Riding* (Wood), is on track 1, CD 1 in appendix 2.

Another potential place of origin for the early brass band was found in the instrumental groups employed by churches where their main function was to accompany the congregation (Herbert 2000:17). These bands particularly flourished between 1780 and 1830 but there is evidence that there were church bands in Britain as early as 1532 (Le Huray 1978:125) and as late as 1896 (Taylor 1979:16). A commonly cited theory suggesting that the Puritan edict of 1644 encouraged the mass adoption of church bands has, according to Taylor, two fundamental problems. First, he suggests that there is sufficient doubt as to how effective the Puritans were in extracting organs from churches in the years following the edict. Second, he notes that many churches continued to install new "magnificent" organs (*ibid.*:16), mostly sponsored by rich local gentry, throughout the Puritan period. Additionally the limited participation of brass instruments in the overall church band ensemble suggests that any link between these bands and early brass bands is rather tenuous (Herbert 2000:17).

The groups that are most frequently linked with early brass bands are those originating from the regular or auxiliary (volunteer) army (Farmer 1912:108 and Herbert 2000:15). According to Herbert, the military bands that were in existence at the beginning of the nineteenth century originated in the

latter decades of the eighteenth century, rather than from the "band of sorts" associated to the military that began a lot earlier. The relative popularity of the military band during the Napoleonic Wars (1790-1815) confirms the observation made by Newsome (1998:1) that "wars have often acted as a spur to bands". Whilst these bands were an integral part of the military regiment they also functioned as the private bands of their commanding officers, giving concert, dinner and processional performances as required. The number of instrumentalists involved in these private bands was supposedly restricted to ten players but international rivalry encouraged by the public display performances of European bands, led to a gradual increase in size of the better military bands, which were also eventually subsidised by the government rather than the commanding officer (Newsome 1998:1). Following the peace that followed the battle of Waterloo, the British army was downsized, a process which returned numerous trained regimental band musicians to civilian lives.

Regular army brass bands were only one type of group associated with the military. Militia (1757) and Voluntary (ca.1790) bands were distributed throughout the country and were primarily funded by subscription, as well as by the government and, like the regular bands, by their commanding officers (Herbert 2000:15). These groups, usually amateur with the addition of a few professional players, contained between six and twelve players and performed from a repertory that included national and patriotic melodies. The standard of the volunteer bands, as Taylor (1979:17) suggests, is difficult to establish since there are few detailed accounts of their performances. Again, and as with the church bands, these volunteer bands did not simply disappear following the emergence of civilian brass bands. Herbert highlights that bands with volunteer in their title appear in contests from the 1860s, this possibly representing a resurgence in the popularity of the volunteer bands and military in the face of increased tension in the Franco-British relationship in the 1850s (2000:36). The primary function of these volunteer bands, both early and midway through the nineteenth century was to "provide music for training sessions and parades, and occasionally as an added attraction to special local events or celebrations" (Newsome 1998:2) and to provide "an air of authenticity" to those who wanted to assimilate a "serious military image"

(Herbert 2000:37). The "volunteers" in these bands were a mix of professional and amateur players, though as both Herbert (2000:38) and Taylor (1979:17) note, many commanding officers employed civilian individuals and bands for these duties. Herbert's discussion of the volunteer bands identifies expectations in regard to the behaviour of individuals and bands representing the corps. Whilst some of the players took their duties responsibly, others abused their position and were often drunk and aggressive (2000:39). In many respects the stereotypical image of brass bandsmen today may have been inherited from groups such as these. The dual identity of brass bands as centres for both disciplined and ill-disciplined group behaviour is a key factor assessed later in this thesis. Another, stronger connection between the volunteer bands and brass bands can be seen in the latter's military-style uniforms (figure 3.1). Herbert contends that:

> It was in the economics of banding in the nineteenth century that the volunteer force had its impact. It provided a ready source of financing for instruments and bandmasters; drill halls very often doubled as band rooms, and the provision of uniforms was an additional bonus. (2000:42)

Volunteer bands, then, provided a model in terms of repertory, function, group conduct, economics and overall organisation.

Each of the groups discussed generically so far is likely to have had an impact on the emergence and consequent growth of the early brass band. Some books have suggested a rather convenient history that links one of these groups to the origins of a particular brass band (for example, Eggleton 1999:1; Taylor 1979:15-21). However, as Herbert concludes, claims as to which group was the most influential miss the "infrastructure" created by the combined activities of all three bands. Several characteristics of this infrastructure have been described already, but looking in greater musical detail we see:

- evidence of amateur instrumental performance;
- a performance convention that was primary literate and text based, as opposed to improvisatory (though aurality was to remain fundamentally important);
- "audiences" who often comprised of the peer groups of the performers;
- evidence of supporting services (music shops, instrument repairers, teachers and arrangers);

- evidence of cultural crossover between art/middle-class music and lower orders (Herbert 2000:18).

The practical implementation of this infrastructure also influenced thinking in regard to brass bands being collectively known as a "movement", a term that gave players and bands alike a sense of identity and belonging.

The indistinct origins of the band movement have hampered attempts to identify the first brass band (see further, Taylor 1979:22-31; Newsome 1998:5). As an example of the problems involved, Herbert (2000:19) cites nineteenth-century musician Enderby Jackson's claim that a band from Pontybydyran, near Blaina in Monmouthshire, converted to an all-brass configuration in 1832. Yet, and as Herbert notes, the information presented is considerably flawed. There does not appear to be a village called Pontybydyran near Blaina, or even in Wales, and the ironworks near Blaina was not called Brown Brothers. Again, identifying the first all-brass band is actually secondary to understanding the social trends and emerging practices that enabled bands to develop and become an important part of nineteenth-century entertainment.

The movement toward all-brass bands was encouraged by the increasing availability from the 1830s on of families of instruments, as already mentioned above. Sets of instruments like these were not only relatively affordable and sounded uniform, but were also easier for band members to learn, improve their skills on and to maintain.

During the 1850s brass bands also began to explore the possibilities for improvement by employing expert or virtuosic players. The best example of this "head-hunting" type of band employment occurred in the now defunct Cyfarthfa Brass Band (Herbert 1990:118). Whilst many early brass bands, like the Black Dyke Mills Brass Band (1998:75), were community based and tutored by local musicians, Cyfarthfa Brass Band was started in 1838 by Robert Crawshay, the owner of a major ironworks near Merthyr in Wales primarily for use in relation to the ironworks' events. Crawshay enticed players from all around the country, a tendency still employed by many brass bands today. The players with the Cyfarthfa Brass Band were offered work at the foundry and paid an additional retainer to participate in the band (Herbert 1990:118).

1990:118).

The Cyfarthfa Brass Band, however, was an almost unique organisation, and more commonly bands were funded in one of the following ways at this time. The first category of bands had direct patronage or sponsorship, as exemplified by the formation of the Black Dyke Mills Brass Band. A band of sorts existed in Queenshead (now called Queensbury), a village based around a mill in the West Riding of Yorkshire. The mill itself was financially supported by John Foster, who, in 1855, equipped the band with new instruments, a room to practice, a band teacher and uniforms (Newsome 1998:3). Having established and financed the development of the band, however, the only remaining provision that Foster required was that it be called the John Foster and Son Black Dyke Mills Brass Band, a name dropped only in the 1990s.

The second type of organisational funding involved the participation and influence of the wider community, a process later called public subscription. These bands, including the Brighouse and Rastrick Brass Band, relied on financial assistance donated by members of the community and their own entrepreneurship. Local institutions, such as the mechanics institutions, were also a part of this wider community influence, as were national forces including the temperance movement. The Brighouse and Rastrick Temperance Drum and Fife Band, for example, first appeared as part of a procession around the Brighouse and Rastrick villages in 1856.[9] This was considerably before the formation of the Brighouse and Rastrick Brass Band (then called the Reed and Brass Temperance Band, although the word "reed" was quickly dropped) in 1881. The Drum and Fife Band was still active in 1883 when it appears in a list of bands attending a Crystal Palace contest. At around the same period, a Brighouse Subscription Band was established, and all three Brighouse bands (Reed and Brass Temperance, Drum and Fife Temperance, and Borough) appeared in the Whitsuntide celebrations in 1883.[10]

The Temperance title in two of these bands was significant since it provided the players strict guidelines concerning their behaviour in their

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[9] Rawlinson, Derek. 2006. *History of the Brighouse and Rastrick Brass Band*. Photocopy. Brighouse and Rastrick Brass Band Archive.
[10] Ibid.

founded the Temperance movement in 1832 when he and several others from the Preston area took a pledge to abstain from alcoholic beverages. Due to the popularity of this pledge with the general public the British Association for the Promotion of Temperance was formed three years later. Initial bands that took the pledge were primarily situated in rural areas, for example Wyke and Rothwell in Yorkshire. Many in these villages believed that establishing a temperance band would restrict the number of people frequenting local taverns after work. The typical rules of a temperance band included:

1 That any person wishing to join the band must be a total abstainer.
2 That any person who is deemed by the bandmaster to be qualified for the band on being proposed and seconded by two members, become a candidate for election by the band.
3 That the entrance fee be one shilling and a weekly subscription of one penny to be paid quarterly, both of which shall go to the band fund.
4 That the majority of the band shall have power to transact all business.
5 That the band being entirely self supporting it is therefore expedient, that all new members provide themselves with clothing and uniform of the band.
6 The members of the band shall meet not less than two evenings a week for practice, the nights to be decided by the majority of the members.
7 Any member absenting himself from the practices for two successive nights shall be fined two pence, unless he can produce a reasonable excuse to the band through the secretary.
8 That it is strictly to be observed that the sounding of instruments between the time of playing is prohibited.
9 That smoking and indecent language be not allowed in the practice room.
10 Any member breaking either of the above rules shall be fined one penny.
11 That any member entering a public house while under control of the bandmaster be fined two shillings and six pence.
12 That any member not being at the stand after the time allowed be fined six pence.
13 That any member leaving the band at an engagement without permission be fined two shillings
14 Any member of the band wishing to bring a friend to the practice room can do so, but on no account can any non- member be allowed in the room during the conducting of business.
15 That the bandmaster shall be chairman of any and all the meetings that are held, and also to have sole control of the music and playing in every sense of the word, and he will also see that the

above rules are strictly adhered to.[11]

These rules, although strictly administered (Wade 1981:12-4), were popular with those who attended, and even after a band had ceased to be formally associated with the movement (1928) some of the rules were still applied, for instance those pertaining to the exclusion of non-members from any business matters to be discussed (14) and the authority of the bandmaster (15).

A final organisational model for bands in the nineteenth century is that presented by the history of brass banding in the Salvation Army (see further, Boon 1978, Herbert 2000, Holz 2006). The first appearance of grouped brass instruments at general public events held by the Salvation Army occurred in 1878 when Charles Fry and his three sons appeared in a public meeting playing two cornets, valved trombone and euphonium (Boon 1978:1). The appearance of the Fry family at this event was not part of any pre-conceived plan on behalf of William Booth, the Commanding Officer, or a directive from the London Headquarters. As Boon asserts, the true significance of the event was not so much the appearance of brass instruments but more importantly how the leader of the meeting used them to promote their cause and to quell verbal and physical disturbances from the local citizens (*ibid.*:2). It was decided to trial the "family band" in a few more events around the country and Charles Fry and his eldest son, Fred, were appointed the first bandmaster and bandsman respectively (*ibid.*:3). Throughout 1879 the Fry family toured the country, playing in Portsmouth, Manchester and Bolton, the use of the same players in all venues suggesting that local areas had yet to encourage the formation of their own groups.

By 1880 many villages and towns with Salvation Army associations were prompted to organise their own version of the Fry family band. Amongst the first areas to incorporate the band concept was Consett (County Durham) and Northwich and the members of these bands purchased their instruments through weekly instalments for a period that often lasted six months (*ibid.*:12). This financial arrangement and many other institutional rules and regulations were by no means unique to the Salvation Army brass band. The Minutes

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[11] Gavin Holman, *Rules of the South of England Temperance Brass Band*, http://www.harrogate.co.uk/harrogate-band/indexlk3.htm (accessed April 23, 2003)

produced by the Chief of Staff in 1893 (*ibid.*:30) are similar with regard to expected behaviour and commitment of the playing membership to those associated with the Temperance movement that I introduced earlier. One difference appears in the formal organisational responsibilities of the Salvation Army band leader. Whilst the secular brass band conductor concentrated primarily on performance related issues, such as contest success, the Salvation Army band leader was expected to have a greater input on the type and number of concerts, organise meetings, maintain player morale and welfare, and, finally, control issues pertaining to discipline and deportment. The popularity and consequent national (and eventually international) growth of the Salvation Army brass bands resulted in the establishment of an International Headquarters Music Board in 1896 (*ibid.*:163). This board regulated issues such as the appropriateness of music for public performance, the appointment and evaluation of tutors and leaders, and whether or not music and musical practices could be brought in from secular or "outside" brass bands. In many respects the control asserted by this board resulted in the standardisation of musical practices among Salvation Army bands, at the same time establishing significant differences to those in the secular domain.

The isolation of the Salvation Army bands from their secular counterparts may also explain why women, featured in Salvation Army bands since the 1890s did not appear in secular bands until the 1930s. This difference in attitude and opportunity stemmed from a Mission statement by William Booth which stated that "every office [within the Salvation Army] should be equally available to women as to men" (Herbert 2000:196). In secular bands, meanwhile, women remained an important part of the supporting community throughout the Victorian and Edwardian periods, even though in certain other musical genres female participation was encouraged. Choral societies, a genre that also developed during the same period as brass bands, were open to female participants, as might have been expected—although evidence collected by Russell suggests that there were almost certainly twice as many men in these societies (1997:255). Female participation was also frequent in the composition and performance of drawing-room ballads (Scott 1994:91). Here again, however, women were largely restricted to genres that were deemed acceptable for female participation. Herbert (2000:65-66), however,

has highlighted one example where these restrictions were tested in practice. John Alvey Turner, the publisher of Turner's Cornet Journal, dedicated an issue of his journal to Miss Beatrice Pettit, who appeared on the cover playing the cornet.

Overall, the participation of a relatively small number of women (in comparison to men) suggest that there were cultural ideals that were being actively contested, at least by some women musicians at this time, even while many faced restricted choices of recreation. These patterns were often regional in application, with distinctions emerging between north and south or provincial and metropolitan areas. For instance, the success of women within the music hall genre predominantly occurred in London, with the likes of Marie Lloyd, but even there it remained contested, not only by male performers but also by attitudes to masculinity more widely (Russell 1997:135, Scott 1994:95). These same attitudes would almost certainly have played into the gender construction of early brass bands as well.

Whilst female brass players did not feature prominently in British contesting brass bands until the 1930s they did appear in small numbers in other types of band and countries, including America (Hazen and Hazen 1987:55-7) and France. In an article on Alphonse Sax Jr, Ellis discusses how, from 1862 to 1865, Sax began an experiment to demonstrate the benefits of brass playing to the health of females (1999:221). Sax aimed to challenge the blind prejudices that restricted female performance on brass instruments and gathered a group of women to learn brass instruments which they then performing to audiences in both concert and contest around France. The response to this experiment was entirely hostile, but the female musicians were derided and mocked in local Parisian papers (*ibid.*:224). Many critics preferred to comment on the musicians' upper body attributes, undermining the social and moral topics proposed by Sax. These types of comment continued to be used in describing the emergence of all-female groups in the 1870s, which according to Ellis, were a growing phenomenon in northern Europe (*ibid.*:231). Institutionalised discrimination of this kind meant that women auditioning for positions in mixed bands could only be successful if the men already their allowed them to be. I will return to this issue later in the chapter when discussing the present gender construction of the Brighouse and

Rastrick Brass Band.

The discussion above has highlighted how female participation developed in a number of genres that can be compared to the situation of the early brass band in England. One of the main reasons why these latter bands remained all-male in their performance personnel was due to the type of companies that became involved in the formation of brass bands. The predominant employers, not only in the north but throughout Britain, were those within the coal and textile industries. The organisation of this labour predominantly along gender segregated lines meant that the bands subsequently supported were entirely male in membership. As Russell states, "many bands started with half a dozen men who worked in the same pit, stone-dressing shop, weaving shed or engineering workshop" (Russell 1997:212). This comment also illustrates how gender division relates to class identities and perspectives. Bandsmen during the late nineteenth century described themselves as "working men" from skilled and semi-skilled sections of the working class. Very few lower-middle-class figures appeared as performers in bands at this time, and those that did were those who had earned enough money to become members of that class (*ibid.*:214).

Female participation has gradually increased over the past century. A significant spur was offered by the participation of Gracie Cole and three other female players in the National Solo Championships in 1938 (Bainbridge 1980:92), and the large-scale drafting of men during the Second World War provided further impetus (Russell 2000:81). However, as Howarth notes, there was by no means a smooth path of increase in female participation; following the conclusion of the conflict many women gave up their industrial work and, in doing so, released their brass band positions for men returning from abroad (1988:201). It was not until the 1960s and 1970s that female participation became particularly evident once again.

Restrictions on female involvement were often reinforced through the brass band or bandroom environment. Russell (1997:225) described the environment as displaying an atmosphere of "masculine gaiety" whilst Betty Anderson, one of the first successful female conductors, commented that parents thought that "the environment was not right for girls" (cited in Bainbridge 1980:94). In addition she commented that the average age of brass

band members, essentially all-male, was mid-thirties (so making it more difficult for her as a younger female) and that rehearsals were often held in public houses (not always a welcoming environment for a single woman). Nevertheless, Anderson also stated that she encountered little direct prejudice involving her participation in a previously all-male environment, an experience shared by Barbara Stone. During the 1950s Stone became a member, at the age of 14, of the National Youth Brass Band of Great Britain, occupying the position of deputy principal cornet. Membership of this band offered her the opportunity to play alongside the best male performers. In this period, according to Howarth, the National Youth Brass Band of Great Britain became the best vehicle through which female players could develop (1988:201). Yet women players still faced opposition from some in the most prominent brass bands. Even those who took up positions in lesser brass bands found that they had to accept male values, learning to perceive themselves as "exceptions" and to not require male members "to change their ways" (Bainbridge 1980:94). Both Anderson and Stone demonstrated that female participation was on the increase, but equally that their new position remained contested and constrained by male values.

Of the bands that currently occupy the top two hundred positions in the rankings only two (1%) remain all-male, these being the Brighouse and Rastrick and Grimethorpe brass bands.[12] The decline of all-male brass bands makes this particular thesis an important "snap-shot" of a musical entity that could in time disappear altogether. A comparison of the social dynamics within the Brighouse and Rastrick Brass Band and that (or those) found within mixed gender brass bands would elicit major interest in itself. Nevertheless this particular study highlights a number of issues that continue to exemplify the kind of "masculine republic" outlined by Russell (2000:80). Many, including Howarth (1988:201), see these bands as maintaining a combination of male chauvinism and "entrenched" traditional values. Nevertheless, it would be foolish to believe that all individual members of these bands subscribe directly to these views. Raising this subject with the Brighouse and Rastrick Brass Band players myself on several occasions, band members

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[12] Banwell, Anthony and Iwan Fox, *World Rankings*, http://www.4barsrest.com/rankings/default.asp, accessed 22nd April 2007

commented that many of their respective partners play in championship section brass bands. Most of them have played in bands which included equal numbers of males and females. Many players within the band that have occupations within the educational establishment, including teachers in schools, universities and in various peripatetic systems. They all acknowledge that they have talented female pupils, and in some instances they have assisted them in becoming soloists in rival bands. There are no rules or regulations that specifically exclude female applicants (or those of any ethnic minority).

There is however no doubt that the players in Brighouse and Rastrick Brass Band enjoy the haven of masculine gaiety or the masculine republic that it presently provides, and band records appear to show that no woman has applied for a position within the band. As such, the Brighouse and Rastrick Brass Band could be accused of not encouraging female participation. Notably, when a position has become vacant in recent years members of the band have approached males to audition for the role but apparently have not offered the same opportunity to females. This action definitely suggests that there remains a conscious strategy not to include female players in the band.

Performing, Listening and the Brass Band Concert Context

During this section I will discuss the development, in relation to broader social and musical contexts, of the repertoire performed in band concerts, including its origins, functions and role in brass band development. Early brass band repertoire can first be understood in the broader musical context of the nineteenth century. As Newsome (1998:7) and many other music historians have highlighted, the early nineteenth century saw many innovative steps taken in public large-scale music making, with new styles of symphony, opera and choral music all emerging. Some of this repertoire, such as the operas *Maritana* (1845) (see figure 2.6) and *Lurline* (1860) by Wallace (1812-65) and *The Bohemian Girl* (1843) by Balfe (1808-76), were arranged in selections and subsequently used by brass bands in contests (Newsome 1998:231). According to Russell (1997:228-30), art music like these sources

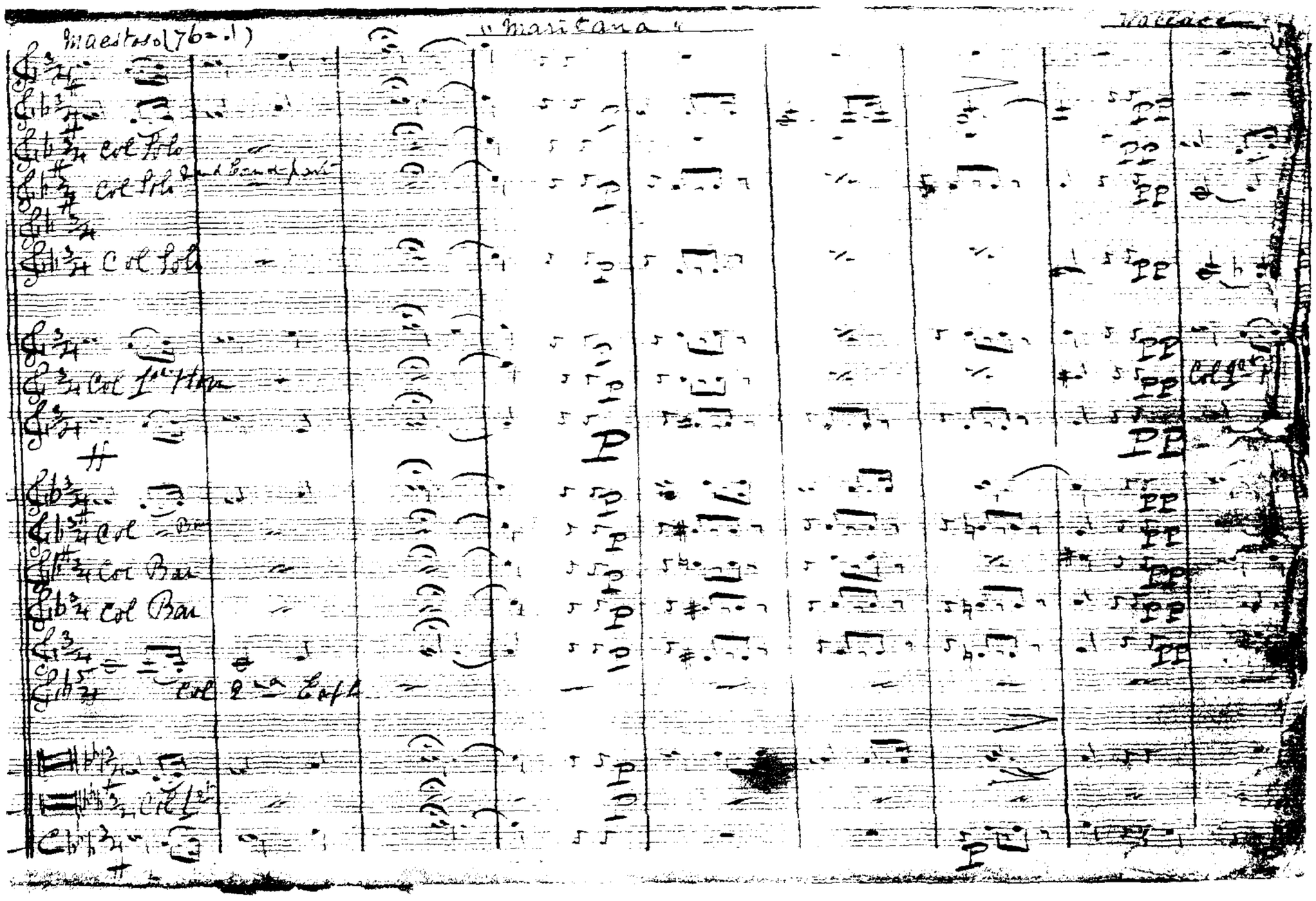

Figure 2.6: The opening page of the score for *Maritana* (Wallace) selection (Used with permission from the Brighouse and Rastrick Brass Band)

were the most influential and frequent pieces absorbed by the embryonic brass band movement. However both Newsome (1998:10-1) and Gammon (2000:124-30) give a slightly broader explanation, highlighting the role played by street musicians, the popular music theatre and the ballroom dance tradition. Indeed, Gammon points to a whole "plebeian musical tradition" (*ibid.*:124) that includes ballad sheets, psalms, popular songs, popular church music, military music, popular dance tunes and other oral traditions.

Selecting two of these traditions as examples, we see that up to the 1860s, musicians on street corners performed marches, hymn tunes, dances, operatic songs and overtures, pieces similar in style to those that appeared on early brass band programmes (Newsome 1998:10). The success of these musicians during the 1850s (Russell 1997:73) resulted in calls for more organised forms of entertainment. For example, public houses hired some of these street musicians, a model that may have influenced the development of the music hall tradition (Newsome 1998:11) as well as of brass bands. Meanwhile, in relation to ballroom dancing, brass bands were often asked to play for local functions, including dances, and therefore the development of a

dance repertoire was of particular significance. The most important dances to develop during this time were the waltz, polka and quadrille. Whilst both the Strauss family and their contemporaries composed significant and popular waltzes throughout the nineteenth century, their efforts did not achieve success within the brass band movement in Britain through transcriptions until much later (Newsome 1998:11). Instead, local composers provided the bulk of this repertoire, frequently simplified or arranged to suit the quality of players in their respective band.

There are a number of issues associated with these various plebeian traditions that were particularly evident in shaping early banding. The most significant of these was musical literacy. Gammon (2000:130) proposes that musicians in the first third of the nineteenth century were predominantly taught by ear rather than by printed notation; however, as the century progressed the call for notation-based literacy increased, this being associated with the pursuit of performance excellence. This pursuit of excellence in the brass band movement was undoubtedly reinforced by the emergence of contesting, which encouraged rehearsal from carefully prepared notated parts.

The rise of musical literacy, in conjunction with the increased availability, quality and cost of printed notation, gradually resulted in a reduced dependency on individually copied out manuscripts, although much music was still copied out by bandmasters until standardisation of band instrumentation occurred in the latter years of the nineteenth century. The written out copies and part books also offer the best evidence as to the types of repertoire performed and the standard of brass bands. Collections associated with the Cyfarthfa and Black Dyke brass bands from approximately the middle of the nineteenth century have been discussed iby Newsome (1998) and Herbert (2000). These collections show that repertoire included a mixture of dances (quadrilles, polkas and waltzes), functional pieces (carols, national anthems and pieces with local significance), arias and other pieces of music transcribed from vocal western at music, specifically from opera. Most of these pieces were transcriptions from other genres, but, as Herbert highlights (2000:55), this does not mean that early band repertoire was all-embracing. In fact, there were very few transcriptions or arrangements made of music hall songs (except minstrelsy tunes) or domestic songs, although some like

Sullivan's *The Lost Chord* did (and still do) figure in band programmes (see figure 2.7). In this particular example the melody line, beginning with the section marked solo, accurately reflects the phrasing of the original lyrics. Ord Hume successfully achieves this effect with the introduction of a crotchet rest as an indication of both a phrase ending and as a place to breathe (see bar two, beat three of figure 2.7). The treatment of music hall songs, and indeed, dances and polkas, were important in recreating authentic performances that followed pre-existing conventions. Looking at the large numbers of dances and pieces intended for public functions, Herbert suggests that bands were "in effect, dance bands dedicated to this purpose". As such, it is not surprising that, at least until the late 1840s, middle-class tastes remained a predominant influence (*ibid.*:58).

Nevertheless, there are also signs of the emergence of what might be called a new banding repertoire and style in these early collections. For example, the Cyfarthfa Brass Band collection shows that they performed what is widely accepted as the first original substantial piece for brass band, the *Tydfil Overture* by Joseph Parry (1841-1903), later Professor of Music at the University of Wales, Aberystwyth (Newsome 1998:76). Likewise, aspects of the dance repertoire were transformed into purely instrumental music. This music, specifically the polka, was developed into virtuosic cornet solos by applying decorative and technical embellishments, including double and triple tonguing (*ibid.*:11).[13]

The Lost Chord (1851)

Seated one day at the organ,
I was weary and ill at ease,
And my fingers wandered idly
Over the noisy keys.

I know not what I was playing,
Or what I was dreaming then;

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[13] Double and triple tonguings are techniques exercised by individuals to allow faster passages to be played with greater ease. For double tonguing the player must pronounce certain syllables, da ga ,da ga, da ga, which represents the performance of six quavers. For triple tonguing the player must pronounce da da ga, da da ga, which again represents six quavers. The pronunciation of the syllables varies according to the method books used in tuition. (For an alternative pronunciation see Arban 1907:154.).

But I struck one chord of music,
Like the sound of a great Amen.

It may be that death's bright angel
Will speak in that chord again,
It may be that only in Heav'n
I shall hear that grand Amen.[14]

Adelaide Anne Procter (1825-64)

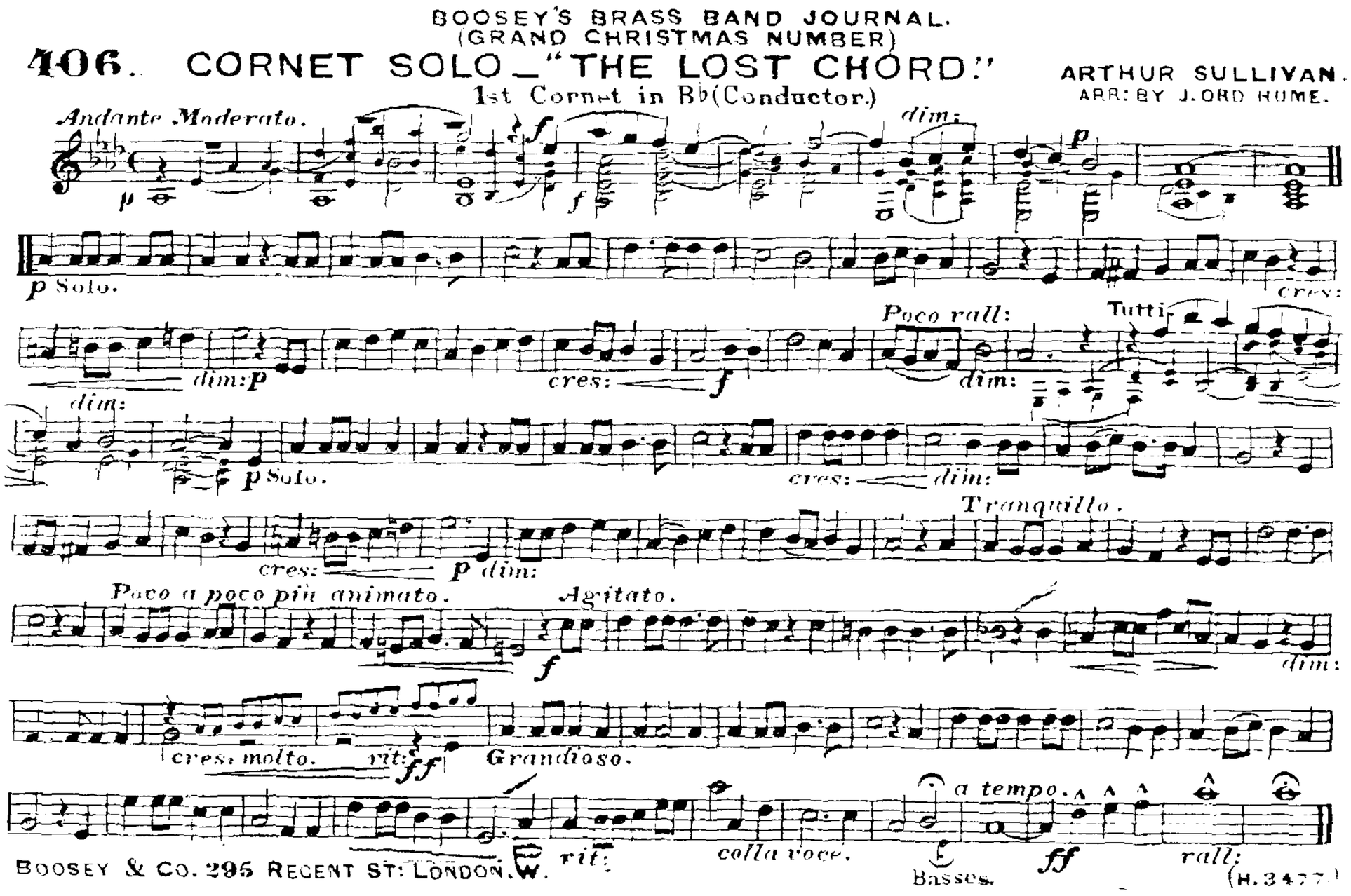

Figure 2.7: The original lyrics (Procter 1851) and Sullivan arrangement of *The Lost Chord* (the lyrics begin at the passages marked Solo)

From the 1850s the influence of external, middle-class taste on repertoire was equalled, if not surpassed by other types of control that emerged within the movement itself. The three primary controllers in the performance of a specific repertoire were the bandmasters, music publishers and, later, contest organisers. Bandmasters like James Melling, the conductor of the Stalybridge Old Brass Band, influenced the development of repertory by producing his own set of manuscript pieces. This process was later utilised by "The Great Triumvirate" of John Gladney, Edwin Swift and Alexander Owen,

[14] Massey, Gerald. *Adelaide Anne Procter*, http://www.gerald-massey.org.uk/procter/index.htm, accessed on August 21 2007.

who played an important role in the standardisation of instrumentation, contest success and development of the repertory (Newsome 1998:48). As Herbert highlights, the bandmasters at the 1860 Crystal Palace contest included an innkeeper, heald knitter, woollen spinner, miner and several other occupations that originated from the skilled working class (2000:59).This same class was also the occupational basis for many of the composers, arrangers and publishers. Enderby Jackson (1827-1903), best remembered as the promoter of early contests, was also a composer of dances for bands and a member of a candle-maker's family. Others who originated from the skilled working classes included Edward Norton, a composer and publisher of over 300 marches, and Richard Smith, publisher of the *Champion Brass Band Journal* (*ibid.*:61). These examples demonstrate that although early brass bands received influence from the middle classes both in regards to finance and behavioural expectations, these impacts were absorbed and altered by working-class brass band participants as the nineteenth century developed.

During the middle decades of the nineteenth century new functions emerged beyond the important role of early bands as accompanists to important local events, galas, feasts and dances. Foremost among these was the rise of the concert context, where audiences who had previously used music as the accompaniment to their dancing or as part of scene-setting in the music theatre tradition were now asked to concentrate primarily on listening. The promotion of the early concerts was frequently undertaken by music publishers for whom it represented an ideal commercial opportunity to showcase their products. Certain publishers even concentrated on a specific type of concert: Novello concentrated on oratorio concerts, Boosey on ballads and Chappell promoted "Monday popular concerts" (Newsome 1998:12). Purpose-built concert halls emerged in provincial cities during the 1850s (the Royal Albert Hall was constructed in 1851), offering an increased opportunity and cheaper tickets for those wishing to participate in musical events, and outdoor concerts remained popular. Seaside resorts around the country built pavilions and bandstands to provide entertainment for tourists. The development of the promenade-type concert in both France and Britain, initially by Philippe Musard, influenced the concerts that were performed in these seaside locations. As Newsome highlights, promenade concerts were

originally organised as musical entertainment between two otherwise unrelated acts but later the music again became of central significance (1998:12). Early repertoire in these concerts resembles the type of music represented in the Cyfarthfa and Black Dyke music books from the 1850s, and the musicians hired were those from the most successful brass bands, those consistently occupying high positions in contests and those from the best military brass bands, sometimes giving two or three concerts a day (*ibid.*:12).

Late nineteenth century brass band repertory and concerts provided a financially and musically viable way for many in Britain to hear and perform western art music. Tickets for open air concerts and contests were consistently low in price, being similar in this regard to other working-class defined leisure activities, and the brass band movement provided an ideal vehicle for a broader class base to participate in playing and listening to this music. Within months of the original orchestral premiere band journals produced their own transcriptions, frequently in short or piano score, which were then re-arranged by bandmasters for local bands. Quantifying the popularity of these pieces is difficult since such sources as concert programmes only offer a limited amount of information (Herbert 2000:59). Nevertheless, it is clear that the most common type of transcriptions for brass bands derived from the opera tradition and to a lesser extent, complete overtures. As a musical genre the opera, specifically the Italian style, suited the brass band since it demonstrated a preference for melodies. In their transcriptions bandmasters frequently designated these melodies to solo instruments, to the cornet in particular, a scoring style that spread in latter years of the nineteenth century to regularly include other solo instrumentalists. These selections from operas continued to be of central significance to brass band concerts, and particularly contests, until the 1920s, although bandmasters like Nicholl attempted to challenge this orthodoxy with the Black Dyke Mills band in the opening decade of the twentieth century (Russell 1997:234). During his tenure with that band Nicholl arranged and transcribed contemporary compositions, developing the virtuosic or technical skills of all players not just the soloists. Russell suggests that he was also the first conductor to have arranged Bach for brass band and significantly his new arrangements involved entire pieces and movements rather than the "pout-pourris", selection-style characteristic of the late

nineteenth century (*ibid.*:234). A comparison between concert programmes of the Black Dyke Brass Band under Nicholl on 26th June1911 (Russell 1997:233) and the Brighouse and Rastrick Brass Band on 13th October 2001, confirms that western art music continues to play an important part in modern concerting. In 1911 the Black Dyke Brass Band concert programme was:

March	*Pomp and Circumstance*	Elgar
Selection	*Gems of Schubert*	Rimmer (arr.)
Largo	*New World Symphony*	Dvorak (arr. Nicholl)
Overture	*Magic Flute*	Mozart (arr. Nicholl)
Fugue	*Fugue in G Minor*	Bach (arr. Nicholl)
Tone Poem	*Finlandia*	Sibelius
Selection	*L'Africaine*	Meyerbeer
Scotch Patrol	*Jamie*	Dacre
Fantasia	*Rossini's Works*	Round

The Brighouse and Rastrick Brass Band concert programme in 2001 was

Overture	*Carnival Romain*	Berlioz (arr. Wright)
Cornet Solo	*Charivari*	Iveson
Cornet Feature	*Buglers Holiday*	Anderson
Transcription	*Carnival of the Animals*	Saint-Saens (arr. Langford)
Euphonium Solo	*Carnival Cocktail*	Sykes
Euphonium Feature	*Allegro Spiritoso*	Senaille (arr. Renton)
March	*Crown Imperial*	Walton (arr. Wright)
March	*Pomp and Circumstance*	Elgar (arr. Ord Hume)
Elegiac Melody	*Spring*	Grieg (arr. Ryan)
Dance Music	*Four Cornish Dances*	Arnold (arr. Farr)
Song	*The Girl with the Flaxen Hair*	Debussy (arr. Brand)
Overture	*1812*	Tchaikowsky (arr. Wright)

Both programmes demonstrate high western art music content (sharing Elgar's *Pomp and Circumstance*), although the 2001 programme includes more of what Russell describes as "light" music (1997:228). However, encores were often expected in earlier concerts, and stylistically these could well have been lighter pieces similar to those now written formally into the printed 2001 programme. In fact, even here the performance of at least one further encore,

usually the *Floral Dance* (Broadbent), is still commonplace.

The mixed repertoire illustrated through this comparison demonstrates a considerable degree of continuity in concert design through much of the twentieth century. Russell has looked at this in more detail and suggests that the order of pieces in concerts up until the 1950s "reflected faithfully the shape and pattern that had been established by the Victorian bands" (2000:94). These concerts involved a degree of flexibility in the latter part of the programme but the opening pieces inevitably followed a set or traditional pattern. Concerts opened with a march which was followed by an overture and selection. These were followed by another selection, a shorter piece like a tone poem, a cornet solo and then to complete the programme, a vocal item like a hymn. If neither example above exactly complies with this particular model, each includes those types of music. Use of a relatively standardised programme structure resulted in audiences knowing what content to expect from brass band concerts, inculcating a number of other expectancies, including the length and type or mood of pieces. It also had the effect of creating what can be described as a ritual structure in regard to the players, a topic discussed in later chapters.

Not all was static, however. In the 1920s and 1930s a number of new currents emerged. The most prominent of these was a decline in use of Italian opera and the emergence of symphonic and romantic repertories. In addition, new pieces reflecting musical comedy and show music appeared, showing the continued ability of brass bands to adapt their programming to current musical tastes (Russell 1997:233). There were, however, significant and ultimately critical omissions in relation to these trends, in particular to dance music where the various jazz styles were treated with scepticism by many within the movement (Russell 2000:106). This scepticism resulted in new forms of music being ignored, players and conductors believing that they were passing trends and that brass band music would return as a significant part of popular culture. Consequently dance music events located in parks and bandstands replaced brass bands with specialist dance bands, military bands or "canned music"

(*ibid.*:108, 86).[15] By the 1960s the popularity of these alternatives, in particular the substantially cheaper canned music, had led to a decline in most forms of live bandstand entertainment. Brass bands were alert to the problems caused by the emergence of these forms of entertainment but had little option, in the face of dwindling and inattentive audiences, other than to find alternative locations for their concerts. The one obvious alternative available was to move the majority of their concert activities indoors and in the process attract a more "serious" audience. Appendix 3 presents a list of events completed by the Brighouse and Rastrick Brass Band in 1936. These activities still include a significant number of outdoor concerts, but also an emerging number of indoor concerts. This attempt to reach a more serious audience may have influenced brass bands to change their repertoire and also attempt to cross class and cultural boundaries (as in the nineteenth century).

In establishing regular concert bookings, bands have since the latter quarter of the nineteenth century attempted to create "concert circuits" (Russell 2000:87; see also Appendix 3). These circuits are essentially venues to which the band returns again and again, sometimes more than once a year, so cultivating recognition and a local following. Of particular significance to the Brighouse and Rastrick Brass Band in the 1930s were events in the Tower Ballroom, Blackpool and the Drill Hall, Brighouse. Both these bookings continued throughout the 1930s and, to a lesser extent, in the period following World War Two. For comparison, during my fieldwork between 2002-06 the band regularly participated in concerts at:

Venue	**No. of Concerts**
Huddersfield Town Hall	12
Brighouse Methodist Church	9
Festival Hall and Conference Centre, Harrogate	7
Buxton Opera House	6
Royal Northern College of Music, Manchester	4
Durham Gala Theatre	3

[15] Canned music involved the playing of current hit records over an amplification system (Russell 2000:88).

Concerts at Brighouse Central Methodist Church and Huddersfield Town Hall were organised by the Brighouse and Rastrick Brass Band themselves primarily to raise finance. The Buxton Opera House events involved the participation of the band with a stand-up comedian and were the only non-brass band collaboration in the Brighouse and Rastrick Brass Band concert circuit. The concerts at both the Durham Gala Theatre and Royal Northern College of Music were organised by educational establishments (University of Durham and the RNCM) as part of two brass band contemporary music festivals.

As these examples suggest, the development of indoor concerts covered a range of the older entertainment functions of brass banding but also offered a platform for the performance of serious or specialised brass band music, a repertoire excluded from outdoor concert events. An additional expression of this new trend was the appearance of brass bands in the Henry Wood Promenade Concert Series in 1974 and 1975. The main proponent for the participation of brass bands in these concerts was Elgar Howarth, musical adviser for the Grimethorpe Colliery Brass Band. During the 1970s Howarth was responsible for the commission of music for both the proms and other high art music festivals, including *Grimethorpe Aria* (1974) by Birtwistle and Henze's *Ragtimes and Habaneras* (1975).

Whilst the brass band movement strived to promote a "serious" repertoire, it is ironic that the Brighouse and Rastrick Brass Band in 1977 achieved success in the pop music charts with a traditional dance. Although the association between the performance of brass bands and dance had declined in the 1930s, the *Floral Dance* arranged by Derek Broadbent gave brass banding, if only for a short period, a position once more in popular music culture. The up-beat charm of the piece, according to Newsome, made audiences clap their hands, tap their feet and dance in the isles (2006:159). It was first recorded and performed in concerts in 1975, but it was not until it received the benefit of promotion by, then Radio 2 disc jockey, Terry Wogan that it reached second place in the pop charts. The band had to add extra concerts to its events calendar and, for the first time, were unable to compete at the 1978 Yorkshire Area Brass Band Championships due to these extra

bookings. The success of the *Floral Dance* did not meet with universal acclaim across the brass band movement as a whole; Elgar Howarth, for example, believed that the success of the piece confirmed brass bands as "an old-fashioned irrelevance" and reinforced traditional "cloth cap" stereotypes (Howarth 1988:117). This reaction shows just how quickly some in the banding movement had taken on art music ideologies.

With the exception of the *Floral Dance* and the film *Brassed Off*,[16] however, it is notable today that brass bands and their repertory remain largely isolated from both the elite art music culture on the one hand and mainstream pop culture on the other. This has resulted in bands becoming what Herbert described as a "more or less self-contained cultural ghetto" (2000:65). The special nature of this "cultural ghetto" is what this dissertation analyses. However before doing so it is first necessary to describe the development of contests and their significance in shaping contemporary brass band activities.

The History and Development of Brass Band Contests

> It [contesting] has often been referred to as the "lifeblood" of the banding movement. Though some would take issue with this, there can be little doubt that it has helped keep brass bands at the forefront of amateur music making, providing the incentive to strive for higher standards and spawning the extended skills of players while making ever-increasing musical and technical demands. Success in contests has also helped public relations, either in the community to which the band belongs or with the sponsoring company. (Newsome 2006:xiii)

My fieldwork confirms the centrality of the contest in relation to the motivation and goals of both individuals and bands today (see chapter five). Existing literature on contests suggest that there were contests organised from the beginning of the nineteenth century. For example both Taylor (1979:32-3) and Brand (1979:12) highlight that there were contests held in Sheffield (1818) and at the royal coronation events in London at 1821 and 1834.

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[16] *Brassed Off*, VHS, directed by Mark Herman (Channel Four Films and Miramax Films, London, 1996). This film highlights the social anxiety felt by the fictitious Grimley community as their coal mine and brass band are threatened with closure. Although the film primarily highlights the social factors inherent with the pit closure, some of the images perpetuate age-old stereotypes. For example, brass band members were portrayed as being uncouth or unruly, and the featuring of an all-male band encouraged the perception that the brass band movement was still primarily an all-male activity. Also, the repertoire played in the film consisted only of orchestral transcriptions.

Nevertheless the most significant nineteenth century contest was that held in Burton Constable in 1844.[17] This contest was inspired by the Ladies Chichester[18] who, having seen such an event in France, persuaded their brother-in-law, Sir Clifford Constable, to arrange an "afternoon's rivalry of brass bands" during the Magdalen Feast, an annual agricultural show (Brand 1979:13). George Leng was employed by Constable as both a bandmaster and as the head organiser for the contest. As organiser, Leng was involved in the decision-making processes that resulted in the format of the event. This format included a restriction on the number of participating players to twelve per band, the exclusion of percussion instruments, the performance of an "own choice" test piece, the appointment of an independent adjudicator (Richard Hall) and prize money of twenty pounds for the winners (Gammond 1980:14). One of those who participated in this contest was Enderby Jackson, where he appeared as a flute player, an experience which may have encouraged his involvement in the organisation of contests during the 1850s and 1860s, specifically the influential Belle Vue contests.[19] Jackson left an unpublished account of his influence on the early Belle Vue contest which is discussed in detail by both Taylor (1979:36) and Herbert (2000:6). It seems likely that Jackson emphasised his own role in the event but it is nevertheless true that the implementation of rules at his contests (indebted to a great extent to those of the Burton Constable contest) created a prototype for all those that followed.[20] Additional rules, arguably introduced specifically at this Belle Vue event, included a space for the name, occupation and instrument of each individual performer as a means of ensuring the sole participation of amateur players. This particular rule was revoked only in the early 1990s and even then

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[17] The date supplied for this event differs in existing literature. The 1844 date is suggested by Herbert (2000:6), while Brand (1979:13) gives 1845 and Gammond (1980:14) gives no date at all. Of these three scholars Herbert appears to be the most reliable in his checking and treatment of sources.

[18] The Chichester, Tunstall, Sheldon and Clifford families owned land in the Burton Constable area and had the custom of adding the name of this area to their own surnames. Sir George Clifford therefore became Sir George Clifford Constable. Marriage between the families was also prevalent, and one of the Ladies Chichester was a member of the Clifford family before marriage (Kent 2002:129-37).

[19] These Belle Vue Brass Band Championships were later moved to the Free Trade Hall in 1996, by which time it was re-named the British Open Championships and in 1996 it was re-located once more to the Symphony Hall in Birmingham. The title and location of the contest remains to the present date (2007).

[20] For a list of rules and regulations see Herbert 2000:320-6.

encountered substantial resistance by those wishing to retain the existing orthodoxy.

A second event during the early development of brass band that assumed national significance was the Crystal Palace contest established in 1860. This also featured Jackson, at the request of the Crystal Palace Company (Herbert 2000:7) who saw the contest as the ideal mechanism to commercially promote the Crystal Palace site at Sydenham. Although this contest, the first of its kind in the south of England, successfully drew thousands of people it was only held for four consecutive years. In comparison the Belle Vue Championships, barring 1859 when too few bands entered, continued until the end of the nineteenth century, developing a reputation as being the foremost national brass band contest. In 1900 the Crystal Palace contest was re-instigated by John Henry Iles under the new title, the National Brass Band Championship of Great Britain. Under the guidance of Iles and his successors the competition began to develop a high status. Following the fire that destroyed the Crystal Palace in 1936 the contest was initially moved to the Alexandra Palace and then after the Second World War to the Royal Albert Hall, its current residency.

Both of these major events developed "knock-out" or "elimination" competitions, enabling a standardisation of the number of bands that could qualify for the respective main contests. The prototype for this form of pre-qualifying event could well have been the original Crystal Palace contest in the 1860s. Those contests were held over two days, the first day featuring six qualifying contests, from which twelve bands were chosen for a final "play-off", including the eventual winners, the Black Dyke Brass Band playing "Gloria" from the *12th Mass* (Mozart) conducted by Samuel Longbottom. Winners and second-placed bands on the first day were barred from entering the contest on the second day, offering other bands the opportunity for success (Newsome 1998:38). The National Championship of Great Britain that began in 1900 followed a similar principle by dividing the bands into sections to ensure that brass bands of the same approximate standard would contest with one another. In 1902 an additional three sections were added to the contest, the highest section, representing the best or "crack" bands was entitled the Championship Section and the lowest the Fourth Section. The division of the

bands into sections of technical competence was also accompanied by the implementation of a promotion and relegation system, ensuring that bands retained their standards of performance or risked being relegated to the section below. This system emerges from a widespread Victorian ideology of self-improvement and achievement, requiring the players to push their technical and musical abilities to the limit even in an ostensibly leisure activity.

In 1886 the Belle Vue Brass Band Championships inaugurated a July pre-qualifying contest that was created "to cater for bands of a slightly lower standard" and the winner of this event was given a place in the main contest (Newsome 1998:15). The format was further altered, initially by the introduction of a May contest in 1922 and then by an expansion of the number of sections in 1931. Sections were organised by the following criteria:

1. bands that had won a prize of £5 or over, but not exceeding £10, during the past two years.
2. bands who had won a prize below £5.
3. bands who had won no prize at any contest.
4. small bands of not more than twenty players and not less than sixteen. (Brand 1979:81)

The May and July qualifying contests survived until 1953 when they merged to form the Spring Festival, which included six sections: the Grand Shield, Senior Cup, Senior Trophy, Junior Shield, Junior Cup and Junior Trophy. The winner of each section moved up to the next level and the winner of the Grand Shield was invited to the Belle Vue contest in September. Extra contests were periodically added to the events, like the march and school band championships, but none have survived the movement from the Belle Vue location to the Free Trade Hall. In 1929 the Brighouse and Rastrick Brass Band became the second and last band to win both the July qualification contest and the September Belle Vue Championships in the same year.[21] According to Derek Rawlinson, the band archivist, Brighouse and Rastrick Brass Band's success at both of these contests was, the "catalyst for the band's greatest achievement, the 1932 to 1936 Belle Vue Championship wins".[22]

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[21] The only other band to achieve this success was the Batley Old Brass Band in 1890 (Newsome 2006:33).
[22] Derek Rawlinson, p.c., Huddersfield, 16 November 2005.

Qualification for the main Belle Vue Championships in 1929 also established the Brighouse and Rastrick Brass Band amongst the banding elite, a position it has held ever since.

The format of pre-qualifying contests adopted by the Belle Vue Championships in 1931 was used as the model for the Area Contests established by the National Brass Band Championships of Great Britain in 1945. The owner and controller of this championship, John Henry Iles, had financial difficulties following the Second World War. In 1944 he had been responsible for the organisation of a patriotic display entitled "March to Freedom" at Belle Vue, including the participation of ten brass bands, a thousand-voice choir and various other ensembles, an event financially supported by the *Daily Herald*. The success of this event encouraged Iles to approach the newspaper as a permanent sponsor for the National Brass Band Championships of Great Britain (Newsome 2006:89-90). Early in 1945 the *Daily Herald* agreed to sponsor the event and in collaboration with the successor of Iles, Edwin Vaughan Morris implemented an area qualifying contest (Taylor 1979:149). The eight area qualifying contests were held in the Midlands, North West (and North Wales), Scotland, North East, North, South Wales, London and Southern Counties, and the West of England. Since then the geographical boundaries covered by each area have changed. In 1946 the Brighouse and Rastrick Brass Band would have appeared in the North East Area Contest but in 2007 they appeared in the Yorkshire Area Contest. The early area model also had disparities in the number of bands that could automatically qualify for the final in London. In the North East Contest four bands could qualify, in South Wales three bands could qualify and the remaining areas were offered two qualification places each (Newsome 2006:90). The number of qualification positions in each area has changed a number of times in the last thirty years. When I first participated in the Yorkshire Area Contest (1997) a number of bands automatically pre-qualified for the finals by being placed in the top four prize winning positions the previous year. In recent years this system has changed and pre-qualified bands are now required to participate in their respective area contests, a change that brings a larger paying audience to the area competitions.

The contest repertoire before the introduction of both the Belle Vue and 1860s Crystal Palace event involved the performance of locally significant melodies, the national anthem, hymn tunes or pieces with other religious associations. At the coronation contests in 1821 and 1834 the winning band, the Besses o' th' Barn Brass Band, performed the British national anthem, *God Save the King* (Brand 1979:13). The influential Burton Constable Hall contest, described earlier, had a number of bands playing traditional local anthems like *Hail, Smiling Morn*[23] (the Hull Flax and Cotton Mills Brass Band) (see figure 2.8 below) and others performing sacred music like Handel's *Hallelujah Chorus* (Wold Brass Band) (Newsome 1998:29).

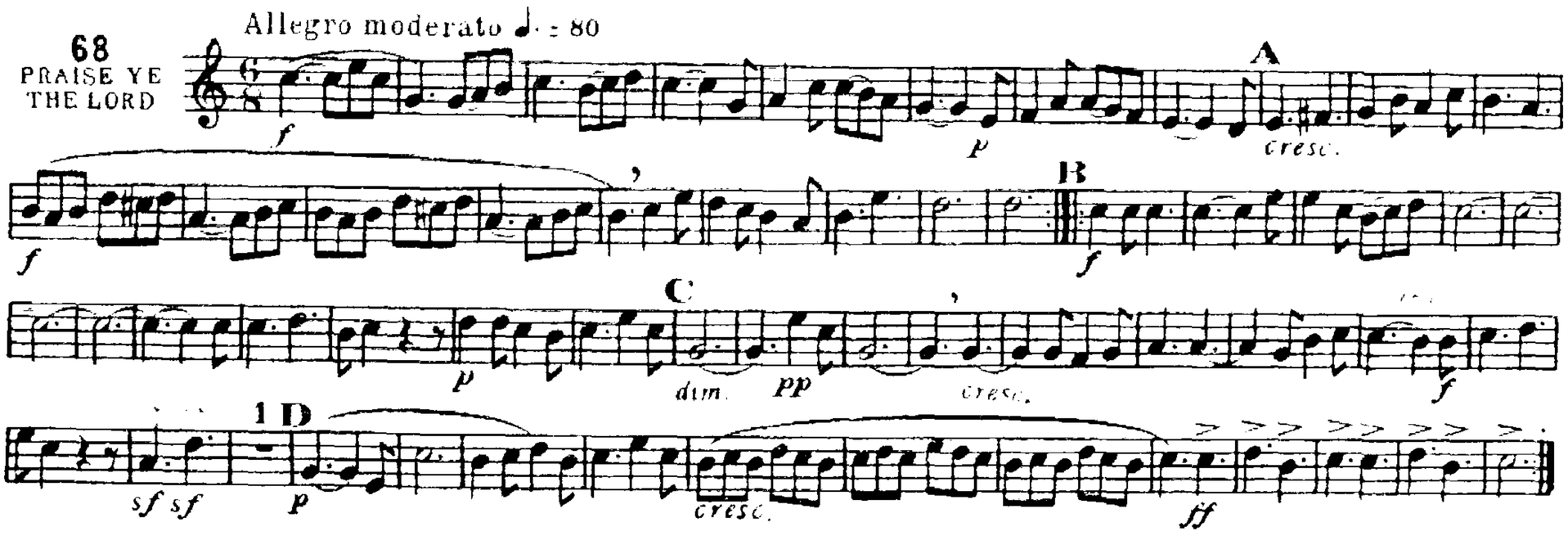

Figure 2.8: The version of *Hail, Smiling Morn* (Spofforth) currently used by the Brighouse and Rastrick Brass Band

Another significant feature of this contests repertoire was the appearance of the pot-pourri, extract or selection style piece of music. The Lord Yarborough's Brocklesby Yeomanry Brass Band performed *A Selection of Sir Henry Bishop's Works* and in the first round of the contest the Wold Brass Band performed Extracts from *The Barber of Seville*. From 1855 to 1857 the Belle Vue Brass Band Championships incorporated a two test piece requirement, one "set" test piece and one "own" choice selection. Amongst these test pieces was *Orynthia* (1855) by James Melling, thought by many to have been the first original composition for brass band contests (Newsome 1998:32). The use of selections at this contest was mirrored in later events organised by Jackson, specifically the Hull (1856) and Crystal Palace (1860-3)

[23] *Hail, Smiling Morn* is also occasionally entitled *Praise Ye the Lord*.

events. According to Brand (1979:224) and Newsome (1998:42), from 1867 the Belle Vue Championships changed this policy and incorporated a single test piece, the first being a selection from *Der Freischütz* (Weber). The Belle Vue Championship used this system until the 1920s with the majority of their selections being arranged by Winterbottom, Waterson and, from 1872, Godfrey. Through their positions as bandmasters in London-based military bands, these arrangers were in an ideal position to survey musical taste. Since military and secular brass bands played in parks and entertained the general population, as discussed earlier, the use of selections as test pieces was logical. Herbert comments that entrepreneurs like Jackson first conceived the contest as a form of leisure or rational recreational entertainment (2000:49). By using music that appeared in general concert programmes, and to a lesser extent situating the contests in similar outdoor locations, organisers were encouraging similar audience demographics. In addition the repertoire in live performance was expected to reflect modern tastes, and, as noted, the brass band was established as a vehicle through which people could hear western art music at affordable prices. Brass band selections were often arranged soon after the original setting had been premiered in concert. The opera *L'Africaine* by Meyerbeer was premiered in April 1865 and seventeen months later it appeared as a brass band arrangement at the Belle Vue Championships (Newsome 1998:42). Selections continued to be the main repertory of the contest until the mid-1920s, additionally the first dozen years of the Crystal Palace National Brass Band Championships used the same format.

John Henry Iles was involved in both the Belle Vue and Crystal Palace championships during the first quarter of the twentieth century. Having been the organiser of the National Brass Band Championships of Great Britain in Crystal Palace since its creation in 1900 he then became the sole owner of the Belle Vue Championships and Showground in 1925 (Newsome 1998:190). His role in the National Brass Band Championships included the commissioning of original compositions from non-band associated composers, the first of these being Percy Fletcher, a composer of light orchestral, choral and military music, who, in 1913, offered his piece *Labour and Love*. Iles published the piece and set it as the test piece for the National Brass Band Championships that same year. Newsome analyses the piece, noting its

accessible musical language and its images of the "labour" and oppression of a mining husband and the "love" of his wife. Five distinctive themes appear in the music, each representing a different stage in the story (Newsome 1998:178-82). Fletcher also used thematic material derived from a singular musical "cell" throughout the differing sections, therefore creating what Newsome described as a musical "cross-referencing" (*ibid.*:182). Whilst this composition led brass band contest away from the conventional repertoire of selections it still shared some of the characteristics of those pieces, most notably the use of solos, recitatives and a cadenza.

Encouraged by the immediate success of Fletcher's composition, Iles commissioned a second original piece for the 1914 National Brass Band Championships of Great Britain. Welsh choral composer Cyril Jenkins wrote the piece *Coriolanus*, which was not used until the 1920 contest due to the intervention of the First World War. Since then, the National Brass Band Championships has continued to encourage the commissioning and performance of new test pieces, including those by mainstream western art music composers like Holst (1928), Elgar (1930), Ireland (1934) and Bliss (1936), a phase now often referred to as the "first golden era" of contest repertory. If the engagement of these mainstream composers lent the brass band movement a perceived increase in status it is also noteworthy that these composers did not continue to write for bands, and so the flow of status was clearly a primarily one-way movement. Contest repertory consolidated somewhat between the 1940s and 1970s, with transcriptions and arrangements being once again used throughout the 1950s, including arrangements of *Frogs of Aristophanes* (Bantock) and *Le Roi d'Ys* (Lalo) by Frank Wright for the 1952 and 1959 contests respectively (Brand 1979:234). An exception to this policy was the commissioning of *Variations for Brass Band* by Vaughan Williams for the National Brass Band Championship of Great Britain in 1957.

Increasingly, both the National Brass Band and Belle Vue Brass Band Championships encouraged composers who had developed their skills within the brass band or light entertainment genres. Eric Ball, the conductor of the Brighouse and Rastrick Brass Band in their National Brass Band Championship of Great Britain success in 1946, composed a considerable

output for brass bands, including test pieces.[24] However, the most significant musical developments of both the National Brass Band Championships and the Belle Vue Championships occurred in pieces by Gilbert Vinter. Music Director of the BBC Midland Light Orchestra, Vinter became affiliated with the brass band movement during the early 1960s. In successive test pieces throughout this period he encouraged a gradual increase in the use of percussion instruments. This culminated in the composition of *Spectrum* for the 1969 Belle Vue Championship, a piece that transformed the scoring and sound of the brass band contest repertoire. Hindmarsh commented that these compositions made a lasting impression because they represented new varieties of harmonic colour, increased use of syncopated rhythms, extension of the range of instrumental effects and an "organic strength" of structure (2000:265). The absorption of these pieces into the contest repertoire encouraged both the further exploration of the brass band sound and the emergence of a new group of composers.

During the 1970s there was an escalation in the amount of new music and new musical languages within the brass band movement, both in concerts and contests. Robert Simpson, a mainstream western art music composer with a substantial symphonic output was commissioned by the National Brass Band Championships of Great Britain in 1971 to write a piece, later entitled *Energy*. Malcolm Arnold expanded his brass band compositional output with his *Fantasy for Brass Band* for the same contest in 1974. However the most prominent figures to appear as composers of contest repertoire were Edward Gregson and Elgar Howarth. Gregson began his association with the brass band movement by writing over a dozen brass band pieces for R. Smith and Co music publishers, including *Essay* (1971), *The Plantagenets* (1973) and *Patterns* (1974) (Brand 1979:140). He was first commissioned by the National Brass Band Championships of Great Britain in 1977 when he wrote *Connotations*. His compositional output for brass bands has continued throughout the latter quarter of the twentieth century, producing a number of successful contest and commission pieces. His music, like that of Vinter,

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[24] *Festival Music* (1956) and *Journey into Freedom* (1967) were written for the National Brass Band Championships of Great Britain whilst *Salute to Freedom* (1946), *Resurgam* (1950) and five other pieces appeared as test pieces for the Belle Vue Brass Band Championships (Brand 1979:228-34).

involves the intricate use of rhythms and the introduction of frequently changing and irregular time signatures. Other contemporary music devices that appear in *Connotations* and his latter works are chord clusters, mirrored harmony and polytonality (see figure 2.9)[25] In *Connotations,* the chord clusters are built on successive intervals of fourths rather than the traditional triadic model. A closer inspection of the harmony in the boxed section of figure 2.9 demonstrates this particular effect, the first beat consisting of a chord of F#, B and E. Whilst the fourth interval appears in a number of the parts, the sense of a chord cluster emerges from the single tone intervals, for example those that appear in the lower solo cornet, repiano and flugal parts.

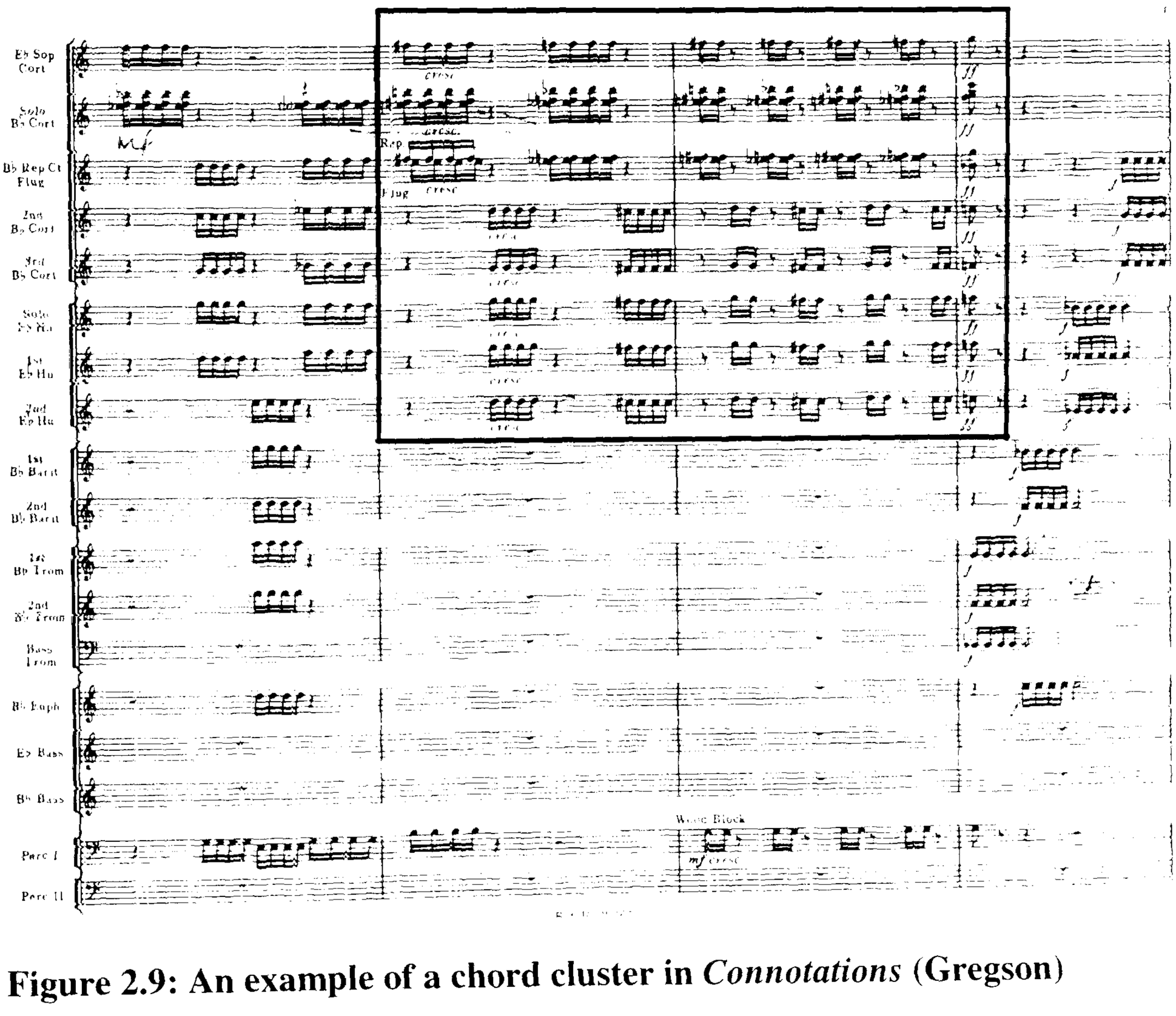

Figure 2.9: An example of a chord cluster in *Connotations* (Gregson)

Elgar Howarth has had an equally long association with the brass band movement, both in terms of compositional output and through his work promoting bands to broader audiences. His breakthrough composition was *Fireworks*, commissioned by the 1975 Belle Vue Brass Band Championships.

[25] For a definition of these terms see Newsome 2006:123.

This piece was modelled on Britten's *Young Person's Guide to the Orchestra*, offering individual and sectional solos, each a variation of an original theme, and a loud tutti conclusion. Use of an expanded percussion section, introduced throughout the 1960s by Vinter, was pushed even further by Howarth in this work (see figure 2.10). Amongst these additional instruments were four bongo drums, four suspended cymbals, four temple blocks, three wood blocks, xylophone, glockenspiel alongside several other more conventional instruments like timpani, side and bass drum (Newsome 2006:65). The piece also included the introduction of a spoken narrative, another similarity to the Britten, although in the competition this was omitted. Newsome recollects that the increased percussion instrumentation and the omission of the narrative caused controversy for bands and audiences alike. The bands participating at the contest had initially complained about the number of changes of time

FIREWORKS

for Brass Band

(Variations on a Theme of W. Hogarth Lear)

by ELGAR HOWARTH

BRIGHOUSE & RASTRICK BAND

NOTES FOR PERFORMANCE.

1. For contest purposes a cut should be made from the 3rd bar before [19] to the 5th bar after [22] - marked in the score ⊕ to ⊕

2. The opening solo cadenza-like section though marked ♩ = 120, may be treated with a certain, though not excessive licence. A *sense of bravura* should highlight each solo.

3. It is the composer's specific intention to demonstrate the 'colour' of different types of mutes. All muting (straight, cup and harmon mutes) plus hand over bell effects must be executed as written.

4. In the section beginning at figure [4] for three bars, the players with fast scales should make no attempt to synchronise with each other. On the contrary, a shifting haphazard texture is desirable. In the parts the scales are written out a specific number of times, but this is only to act as a guide and is not to be strictly adhered to. The number of times each scale passage is played can *be more or less times* than written, depending on the player's technique, or the general interpretation of these three bars by the conductor. Similarly the following bars (𝅗𝅥 = 60 'beat in one') may be rather faster or slower (i.e. more flexible) if desired. The percussion solos must be clear, but not over-emphasised.

5. *For concert performances where the narration is used a short-score complete with narration will probably be necessary.* Amplification of the speaker may be necessary.

For contest purposes the narration is NOT used.

6. The percussion writing has been carefully graded in dynamics. The percussion throughout should be properly balanced against the brass and never allowed to dominate.

Percussion Instruments Required.

(Two players)

3 Timpani	3 Wood blocks (Low to high)	Clashed Cymbals
Tambourine	Xylophone.	Triangle
Maracas	4 suspended cymbals (Low to high)	Tam Tam
4 Bongos (Low to high)	Snare Drum	Glockenspiel
4 Temple blocks (Low to high)	Bass Drum	1 Sizzle Cymbal (if possible).

7. There are, obviously, three performing *possibilities for Fireworks*.
   i) Complete with narration.
   ii) Complete without narration.
   iii) Shortened versions for contests.

It is therefore difficult to give durations. As a guide the contest version should approximate 13 minutes.

PAXTON
Borough Green, Sevenoaks, Kent.

Figure 2.10: Performers notes that appear at the beginning of the score to *Fireworks* (Howarth)

signature in the music and the amount of percussion instruments that each band had to purchase. In addition, audiences were confused by the lack of information regarding the various sections of the music which resulted from the omission of the narrative (*ibid.*:108; see further Howarth 1988:150). The controversy involving *Fireworks* led to changes in the Belle Vue Brass Band Championships music policy, and a conservative policy which included the use of transcriptions and old test pieces was reaffirmed.[26] Howarth suggests that this policy was implemented by the organiser of the Belle Vue Brass Band Championships, Harry Mortimer, as a result of the fear expressed by "senior bandsmen" that modern brass band music was "sacrificing some of their traditional qualities, lyricism above all" (1988:151).

Both leading contests have, since the latter years of the 1980s, developed a new music commissioning policy. Several composers have emerged during this period, among them Phillip Wilby. Until 2006 Wilby had been a composition lecturer at the University of Leeds with an interest in projects outside the brass band movement, especially repertoire for the organ. His brass band compositional style has drawn on genres including jazz (*Jazz* 1997), antiphonal neo-renaissance (*Revelation* 1995), sacred (*New Jerusalem* 1992) and the classically influenced *Paganini Variations* (1991). These works have taken bands into several aspects of contemporary music performance style, such as the redefinition of space by locating players in new places on stage and requiring some of them to move from place to place during the piece (*Revelation*) (see figure 2.11 and compare to the standard configuration in figure 2.2) and also by the use of electronic recordings (an example being the bird song found in *Dove Descending* of 1999). All of Wilby's pieces, like those of such contemporaries as Bourgeois (*The Devil and the Deep Blue Sea* 1993) and Sparke (*Between the Moon and Mexico* 1998), require a high degree of musical and technical ability, which can, of course, be seen as a continuation of a long-standing feature of the contest aesthetic. If early brass band contests were organised as entertainment events, the performers in these bands already had the opportunity to develop their own profiles. As Herbert

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[26] For a comprehensive list of Belle Vue (British Open) Brass Band Championship and National Brass Band Championships of Great Britain test pieces see Brand 1979:224-35 and Newsome 2006:350-7.

comments, the virtuoso performers that emerged in both concert and contest performance contexts "became musical heroes", who were often the focus of community pride and also exemplified the possibilities available to working-class achievement (2000:65).

Alongside personal virtuosity, the use of slower passages as the primary vehicle for musical expression and the musical discipline achieved in playing together and balancing all internal parts are values that remain fundamental in the judgement of performances by journalists, audiences, players and adjudicators. These values, and the contest context within which they are often expressed, act to encourage brass bands to retain a high degree of performative conformity. Contesting reinforces the standardisation of instrumentation across the movement, and has resulted in the restriction of

The composer suggests the following seating plan
Percussion 1 & 2 should use separate equipment. Solo Stands A & B are to be used with solo players standing. Dedicated Solo Stand music is provided.
Players should not move their music from stand to stand.

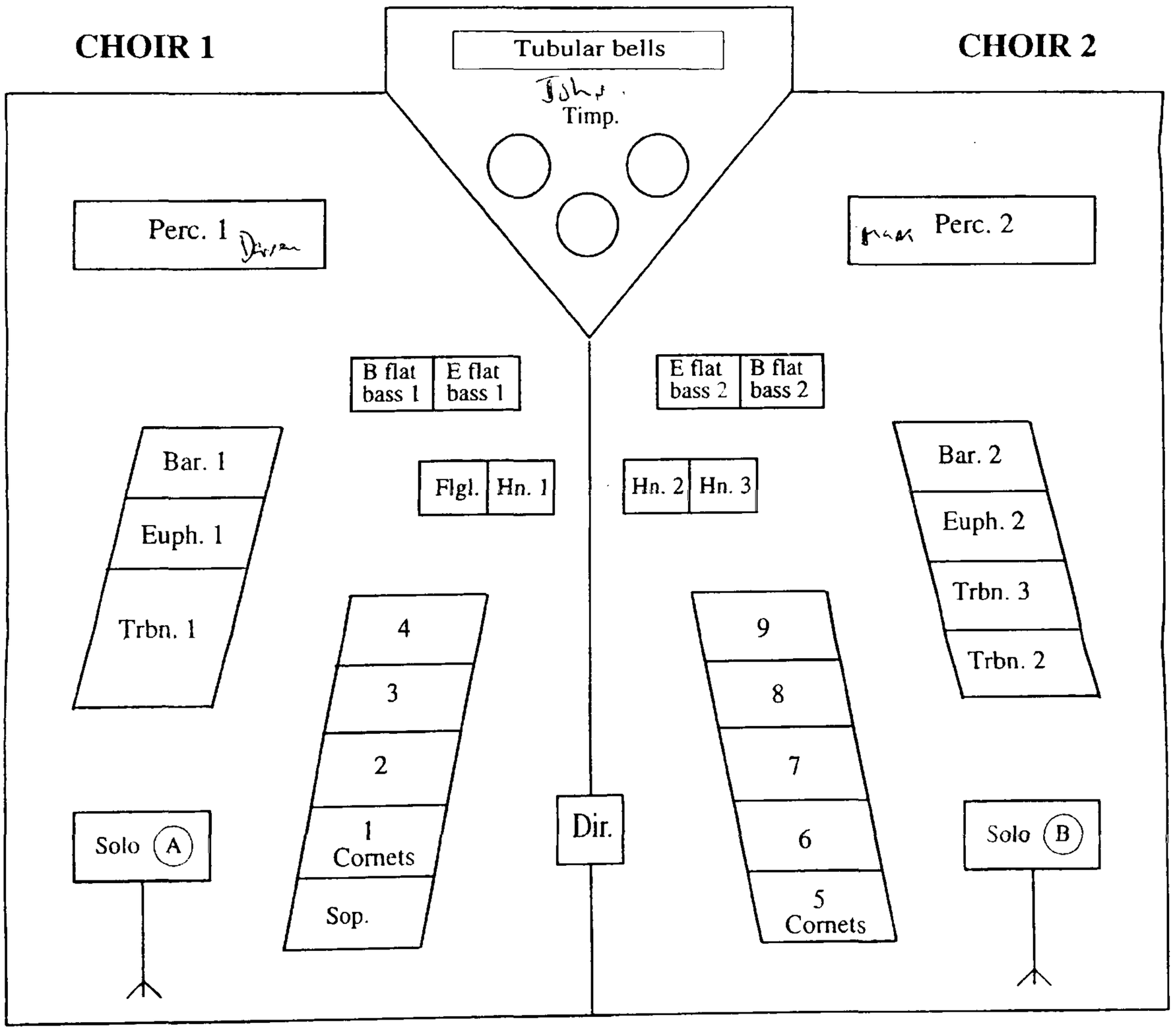

Figure 2.11: The relocation of players in order to perform the test piece *Revelation* (Wilby)

both new repertoire and other potential manners of performance practice. This underlies what Herbert defines as the two broad parameters that were, and still are, "key identifiers of the British brass band idiom", homogeneity of sound and discipline of musical practices (2000:287).

Nevertheless, contesting is not an entirely static procedure, since bands need to strive to distinguish themselves from their rivals in order to stand out in the contest environment. Contesting thus drives certain kinds of channelled innovation as well as musical conformity. Moreover, what is at stake in a contest has varied over time. In the nineteenth century the brass band contest offered financial assistance, whether through the presentation of money or instruments, to bands and their players. This success equally elevated the importance and status of brass bands in their local and regional communities. By the early years of the twenty-first century, the direct financial rewards of contest success are negligible but the national status achieved through success in competitions is believed to increase the number of paid bookings that bands can receive and players are motivated by a personal sense of accumulating a kind of musical capital through their roles as performers.

Studying the Brighouse and Rastrick Brass Band Today

This chapter has highlighted significant factors that have contributed to the rise of bands such as that focused on in this dissertation. Many of these conventions are both inherently musical and at once inseparable from issues of identity, status and behaviour, aspects followed up in the chapters that follow.

Some matters, however, remain more specific to individual bands or only parts of the banding sector. As Herbert mentions, many studies of banding focus on the best or crack brass bands (2000:278). This study is no exception, the Brighouse and Rastrick Brass Band being in this sense representative of only a small number of bands. Even though the banding movement shows a "downward flow" of influence with many bands in lower sections imitating the repertoire, style, sound and performance conventions of the top bands, as far as they are able, an accompanying study of one of these lower section brass bands would be of considerable complementarity to this

dissertation. Certainly my own experience of participation within contesting and non-contesting brass bands suggests that there can be significant differences in approach. In each instance, ethnography provides a means of gaining access to the particularities of experience and understanding involved, not a means of reducing these to averaged-out typicalities.

A second characteristic that makes this study and the Brighouse and Rastrick Brass Band unique relates to gender. As one of very few remaining all-male bands, the atmosphere and human interactions that occur at band events are at least partially distinct from those across much of the rest of the banding sector. Again, a study of a mixed gender band would provide valuable complementary material to that included here, particularly if it was to focus on inter-gender dynamics. Although the present study is less rich in this sense, it seeks to provide greater depth on other topics through the inclusion of ethnographic and interview-based observations gathered through several years of full participation as a regular member of the band. This particularity should be kept in mind in the remaining chapters, which discuss the beliefs, attitudes and behaviours that combine to make the Brighouse and Rastrick Brass Band what it is today.

Chapter 3: "Why Do I Play in the Band?": An Introduction to the Social Construction and Maintenance of the Brighouse and Rastrick Band

"Why do I play in the band?" is a phrase that I have heard many times from individual players in varying performance contexts. In this chapter I shall endeavour to discuss the issues concerning the particular nature of the band habitus and consequently produce an accurate description of and motivation for player participation. The historical contextualization of the Brighouse and Rastrick Band in Chapter 2 does not in itself introduce the reasons why successive generations of players have committed themselves to this particular ensemble. Amongst the topics that I shall explore are the shared concepts of identity, motivation, expectation, capital and stratification. These topics are not only representational of the current participants but are the collective accumulation, through the repetition of processes, of the actions and experience of previous generations of players.

This is demonstrated most notably in situations where the players are in public view and the elder or more experienced players remind the youngsters to behave by saying "Remember who you are and who you play for!" The contemporary player is expected to adhere to the behaviour demonstrated in particular contexts by previous generations of players. At one contest a player was reprimanded for his appearance and drunken behaviour by a band official, who stated that Eddie, a former long-standing official with the band, would "have turned in his grave". This reference to the past is also seen in the performance context, where the success of previous generations is retold to the younger players so that they understand both the importance of success and the significance of the occasion. Players in the current band often remind younger players about "the band of '98" which achieved a hat-trick of competition wins in one season. By reminding current players of this success there is a belief that it may encourage them to acknowledge that there is an expected standard they must achieve and to perform better.

In this section I briefly expand on the information introduced in the opening chapter, specifically on the influence of what Bourdieu defined as "field", a term I associate with the band (1993b:6). Whilst reading Bourdieu,

specifically *Sociology in Question* (1993a) and *The Field of Cultural Production* (1993b), I realised that a number of clear comparisons can be made between the field and the band. The first definition of a field is that of a social arena that consists of struggles or manoeuvres, through either personal conflict or group competition, which take place over either specific resources or stakes. These resources and stakes predominantly concern the capital involved in bands, this being the differing ability of players on their specific instruments, the motivation to improve or maintain this capital and the resultant position which they hold within the hierarchical performance structure. Within this Brighouse and Rastrick Band field there is a preoccupation with the maintenance of both individual and group capital, demonstrated by the discussions that occur following concert and contest performance. For example I once recorded a Brighouse and Rastrick Band concert in Yeadon and on the way back one of the players asked whether he could listen to one or two of the pieces. Having listened to the performance a number of others asked whether they could also listen. As more people listened more comments about the playing began to surface, some being of a jocular nature but others being rather cutting, especially in regard to players who were not present on the bus. These comments demonstrate that the players are required to be motivated to perform to the best of their ability in all performance contexts and if they fail, their motivation, ability and ultimately position are questioned. This is particularly important in the contest context where bands are compared directly with each other, playing the same test piece at the same venue for the same audience. Bourdieu saw these kinds of comments as producing a lucidity that shaped the actions and attitudes of those participating, including their motivation in future performance contexts, and the field itself. Within this definition of field there are several other stakes and issues that affect the social arena and performance contexts. These stakes are defined by Jenkins (2003:84) and include lifestyle, cultural goods, education, employment and power, all of which are discussed in this chapter.

The field may also involve processes of imposition that influence the occupants, agents or participants by the institutional or cultural situation. Imposition in this instance is the influence that the field imparts through actions, attitudes, meanings and symbols on the participants which through

inculcation become legitimate and specific to that field, in this case the Brighouse and Rastrick Band. These impositions are often a direct result of the competitive environment that exists between bands and the recognition of bands through the results that they achieve in contests. Bands that achieve regular competitive success are those that have a greater imposition of certain stakes on their participants which also shape the nature of their field. These particular stakes are similar to those mentioned in the last paragraph, these being lifestyle, education and power (a feature discussed in greater detail later in this chapter). In this particular instance, the band requires players to have a degree of conformity in lifestyle, especially in the performance contexts. This conformity is highlighted to a large extent by the specific time and venue of rehearsals. Before the recent Yorkshire Area competition (2005) the band required the players to be available for a whole weekend of rehearsals and also every night in the working week until the contest day. When the band enters a competition all the players are automatically expected to keep these dates free for rehearsal and so their general lifestyles are shaped by the band. Some players have become unsettled with the amount of time that is required by the band, especially before a contest, and so have decided to leave the band to concentrate on other aspects of their lives such as their family. On a number of occasions during my fieldwork players have considered leaving or indeed left the band due to family commitments. Darren Roe, a regular member of the band when I first joined, now only participates in contests and prestigious concerts due family and work commitments. Similarly, David Hebb contemplated leaving the band. When I asked a fellow player the exact reason why Hebb was leaving, the player commented that Hebb had told him that extra responsibilities in his new employment together with his commitment to the band did not allow him enough time to be with his family. In this particular example Dave Hebb remained with the band for a further year before leaving to take up a position as the conductor of a local village band.

Since attending a brass band is a voluntary decision, the motivations behind an individual's attendance are particularly relevant to their subsequent behaviour and actions in certain situations. Amongst the most important motivations associated with playing in a brass band are the shared goals of the participants. However, it has to be remembered that although the band may

have set goals which are understood by individuals before their participation, the motivations that guide individuals may be quite diverse. This diversity was discussed by Argyle (1988: 20-9) who proposed, in relation to social situations, that there were eight goals concerning participation in an activity. These were biological needs, dependency, affiliation, dominance, sex, aggression, ego-identity and other motivations which affect social behaviour. Not all of these categories are relevant to participation in a musical ensemble and so I shall consider only those with a clear association.

"Dependency" is the first of these goals and it relates to those who join an activity for help, support, protection, and guidance, initially from parental figures and then later from people in positions of power or authority. This goal is particularly relevant to young participants who join the band since older players or committee members will give them support and make them feel part of the "team". For example, when I first joined the band an elderly committee member took me to one side and said "If you have any trouble in band or in university come and talk to me and I'll help you and if you call before band I'll make you some tea." In the performance context the position of this helpful authoritative figure was taken by the principal cornet player at that time, Jim Davis, who said that he would help me develop my playing, and who eventually became one of my cornet tutors. On other occasions several established bandsmen invited new members for an evening out in Huddersfield where they would introduce all the members whilst having a few drinks. Later in the process, following their absorption into the collective group, these newcomers are guided in both the musical and non-musical contexts by the authoritative figures, either the principal players or the conductors. These dependency goals are an important factor in a player becoming accepted by the membership and even, as I shall discuss later, in the perception of their playing capabilities.

"Affiliation" has similar features to dependency but refers specifically to the interrelationships established between participants who perform in close proximity to each other and consequently influence continuing participation. In his definition Argyle describes the process as the acquisition of warm and friendly gazes usually shown by those peers in close physical proximity. This is demonstrated in bands by the encouragement given to new participants

during their initial period of integration. Usually the friendly gazes are given by those players who, sharing their musical parts, are likely to be their partners in future activities, for instance Alan Morrison and John Lewis, the current principal and assistant principal cornet. However, as I shall discuss later, this process can also be used to make new participants feel uncomfortable, especially when the established participants believe they have had enough time to "settle" into the section.

The next goal, "dominance", can be defined in a variety of ways. In the Brighouse and Rastrick Band I have observed that dominance has primarily concerned the influence that some players have over others through their positioning in the section and the subsequent acceptance of this dominance as legitimate. Alan Morrison, who is the principal cornet, is in a position of dominance over all those within his section. However, if he did not maintain this dominance through his performance as section or task leader his position would be questioned and so too the acceptance of his dominance. This was one of the considerations when the band chose to replace Nicholas Payne as principal. Following the National Brass Band Championship of Great Britain of 2003 the players within the section had lost confidence in his performance capabilities and so his dominance and ability to command the other players decreased, ultimately affecting the function of the section and the band. Both of these examples demonstrate that dominance is an important function in the band field but also that such positions are motivations for the participation of certain individuals who aspire to the principal positions.

One of the most important goals associated with participation in the band is the need for elevated self-esteem or the creation of an ego-identity. In accepting the guidance (dependency), friendly gazes (affiliation) and dominance of fellow participants, individuals derive confidence and an identity which they are unable to present in their external lives. By performing well and acquiring the praise of their fellow players this identity is boosted and ultimately develops both the players' ego and in some cases their performance ability.

The final goal introduced by Argyle was that associated with social behaviour, for instance the need for achievement, money, interests and values. Since the Brighouse and Rastrick Band is a successful competitive band the

opportunity for achievement at the highest level is considerably greater than that found in many other bands in the same geographical area. The financial incentives to join the band are less of a motivation since there is no significant sponsorship and so other bands may be more attractive. Many players who have played in the band have left to join other bands, of a similar standard, for the significantly increased financial benefits they are able to offer.

As for interests and values, these could include personal motivation to play for the band because of its reputation, the opportunities to improve one's individual personal ability, to play to larger audiences in bigger venues (also defined as extrinsic motivations) or even to accumulate higher levels of prestige and status among peer associates.

As I have previously stated there are significant similarities in the musical backgrounds of the players, and this point will be discussed here through what I define as "taste". In this section taste will be used to define the motivation of individuals to participate in the band because of enjoyment rather than the aforementioned goals. My definition of taste here derives from two particular sources: one is the work of Bourdieu (1993b:2) and the other an encounter I had during my fieldwork. Bourdieu found that aspects of taste occur "in virtually all areas of cultural practice" (*ibid.*:2) and include preferences in issues such as dress, sports, food, music, literature and art. He commented that within specific fields aspects of taste classification are social identifiers and assist in forming collective beliefs and in legitimising social reproduction. My use of taste as a classifier also originates from a conversation with a member of the public following a concert in High Wycombe. Whilst enjoying a drink with fellow band members I was approached by a gentleman who said that he was surprised by the standard of entertainment offered by the band and that before the concert he had always thought that brass bands were an "acquired taste". This comment stuck in my mind and on the way home I thought about the implications of this for players within the band, resulting in its use in this section.

There are two specific forms of taste as motivation, as introduced by Bandura (1977:24-8), these being extrinsic and intrinsic. Extrinsic motivations are activities that are established and promoted by the field, for instance in the Brighouse and Rastrick Band these activities involve the expectation that

players should play in all contests and the majority of concerts and rehearsals. Intrinsic motivations are those established by the participant, personal goals and challenges, for instance overcoming the challenge that a particular situation or piece offers. Argyle (1988:19) also believed that people who enter a known field do so because they were certain that they had the opportunity to achieve their desired goals. For example in the Brighouse and Rastrick Band this could involve gaining recognition as a soloist, winning the major brass band competitions and playing at important venues. All of these goals have been mentioned in the profiles given by the players. For example, several players wanted to win either the British Open Brass Band Championship or National Brass Band Championship of Great Britain titles. Both extrinsic and intrinsic motivations are influenced by the educational opportunities in the Brighouse and Rastrick Band, which includes the quality of the conductors provided and that of fellow participants. Both of these are defined by Argyle as being either diffuse or institutionalised educational processes, the diffuse concerning the influence of existing members on newer members and the institutionalised as the influence of the whole band on an individual.

Historically there have been many similarities between amateur choirs and brass bands, and in his case study of nine choirs Molteno (2002: 4-6) proposed a series of motivations which can be adapted to the brass band situation. These motivations include the enjoyment of playing, of familiar repertoire, of different repertoire, of entertaining an audience, improving on an instrument, the opportunity to perform as a soloist, to play with a band with a big reputation, to create friendships and competitive achievement. Some of these will be discussed now; others are addressed later in this or subsequent chapters.

Many participants enjoy attending the band because, due to their lifestyles and responsibilities, it is their only opportunity to play their instruments and their contribution to the musical whole provides them with satisfaction. This was also found by Durrant and Himonides in the choral tradition, where singing during rehearsals and other contexts had the ability to create a positive mood in the participants (1998:62). On a bus journey to the

All England Masters Championship in 2004[27] I asked Mike Norton, who plays Bb bass in band, about this positive change in mood and he admitted that sometimes when he attended rehearsals the last thing he wanted to do was play his instrument. However, during the rehearsal he often felt his mood change as his thoughts were distracted from issues that affected his everyday life, this all being achieved through the satisfaction derived from collective performance.

Both the process of imposition and that of motivation are contributing factors to the set of beliefs that are demonstrated by individual participants. These beliefs may include aspects concerning the shared value of what I am here labelling capital, especially in contest situations, and the expectation of a high degree of performance skill in all other playing contexts. Although I have concentrated my research on the Brighouse and Rastrick Band, I have had the opportunity to perform with other bands that demonstrated a varying degree of capital ability. One particular non-contesting band in Sheffield demonstrated a different approach to this shared value of performance. The imposition on their beliefs by their specific field concentrated on aspects of fun and enjoyment rather than the "perfectionist" belief inculcated in the rehearsal process of the Brighouse and Rastrick Band. On attending their rehearsal I was introduced to the players and was told that one of the younger members had Downes Syndrome. During this rehearsal I was surprised to note that this member frequently changed instruments. First of all he was on cornet, then, after a succession of brass instruments, the percussion section. Another element of humour within this group was the dual role taken by the conductor, who tried to play tenor horn as well as lead the ensemble. In this dual role he held the horn in one hand and conducted with the other, sometimes missing a beat or a change in time signature, a feature that was not missed by the players. This does not happen in the Brighouse and Rastrick Band performance-related contexts, where the aforementioned "perfectionist" approach would not allow this flexibility of movement and role. There have been a number of instances where players have vocalised their discontent at another player. Andrew Kenyon often demonstrated a degree of frustration in situations where a mistake was repeatedly made. His reaction ranged from a

[27] p.c, Mike Norton, 29 May, 2004.

shake of the head to a number of phrases along the lines of "Come on" or "What's he doing?" These examples clearly demonstrate the importance of the field on the imposition of beliefs that the participants acquire over time.

Field beliefs are also imposed on individuals through the repetitive processes involved in discipline. Rehearsals are the most obvious contexts where this discipline takes place and they play an important role in the production of public performances. The conductor is an important figure in this process since he is responsible for shaping the rehearsal and later for the expected behavioural disposition. In a rehearsal before the National Brass Band Championships of Great Britain competition in October 2004, James Gourlay, the professional conductor, instructed the percussion section that he did not want them talking whilst he was instructing the band on a performance-related issue, even if it did not directly relate to their particular part. Two days later the same players were involved in a similar incident and were again criticised by the conductor, who stated "I shall continue to pick you up on that until you do as I ask." By the rehearsals before the Area competition of March 2005 both these players and the rest of the band had learnt not to talk at the same time as the conductor.

Even though I have represented the field in a singular band situation, it can also be used to describe the relationship and actions that occur both within a section and possibly between two or more autonomous bands. In his definition of field Bourdieu highlighted that

> any social formation is structured by way of a hierarchically organized series of fields (the economic field, the educational field, the political field, the cultural field, etc.), each defined as a structured space with its own laws of functioning … (1993b:6)

I believe that these sub-fields within the Brighouse and Rastrick Brass Band relate to players that share a piece of music or a specific section of the band, for example the trombone or euphonium sections. The participants involved in playing the same piece of sheet music, for example those playing the second and third cornet parts, are in an ideal situation to exemplify the struggles and manoeuvres that are characteristics of the field. In these smaller fields or

situations co-operation or conflict can arise when either has an opinion on the capital value of the other, since each is aware of exactly how the music should sound. There have been a few occasions where enquiries have been made to players regarding those sharing their part, especially in relation to their performance capital. In a few instances these enquiries have resulted in the player in question being asked to leave, or, in one example within the cornet section, the player being asked to move down. An understanding and acceptance of the relative strengths and weaknesses of each individual in this situation therefore develops their performance relationship and establishes a field within which there are processes which are continually inculcated and monitored. In performance this is exemplified when one player is playing a particularly long and quiet passage: the other player observes his progress and introduces himself at the end of phrases, enabling the initial player to breathe. This is particularly evident in the quiet passages at the beginning of the band transcription of Tchaikovsky's *1812 Overture* where the second cornet has repeated quavers for six bars pianissimo followed by two bars of semibreves with a crescendo. In the last two bars of this phrase the additional player introduces himself and is able to crescendo effectively whilst allowing the other player a break.

Conflict in this type of situation is rare since each individual understands his specific role through either verbal communication or repetition of process. However, conflict within a section is more likely since there are both more players and more opinions involved in the evaluation of performance capital. When a player is either promoted or relegated within a section, (in my fieldwork, exclusively within the cornet section), it causes an unsettled feeling in others in the section, especially if there are no vacancies for those promoted. The section is therefore another example of a field, encompassing that created by the basic shared stand units but being only one of the individual fields that represent each section. The whole band field is therefore based on a series of units which when networked become a section. Subsequently each of these sections networks together, ultimately representing the field. Since each band has the same number of players, the same instrumentation and so the same sections in its constitution it is possible to say that a network of these can be defined as another type of field, this being a

"cultural field", as understood by Bourdieu (1993b:7). Although this demonstrates shared characteristics, the generative processes involved in the creation of the habituses (1993b:5) within each band field may differ in their functional success, this becoming obvious in both successful and not so successful bands through competition.

Those participants who exist within the field have specific identities. These identities are developed through a number of processes including the use of uniforms, individual background, experience and competence in participatory situations. Each band has an individual uniform that is clearly defined by the colours of their stage blazers. Since the 1930's the Brighouse and Rastrick Band have played in purple stage uniforms which have gold braid across the shoulders, gold coloured buttons and a gold fringe around the collar. They have an outdoor uniform, also purple, used primarily in the Whit Friday march competitions, whilst the blazers in which they travel, called "walking-outs" by the players, are black with a gold braid B and R logo on the front pocket. Both the marching and travelling uniforms can be seen in figure 3.1 (below)

Figure 3.1: Marching uniform (centre) and walking-out uniform (right).

The presentation of a particular behaviour or identity through the use of individual or cultural values, abstract ideals or occasions that hold a particularly affective meaning may be defined as "symbolic representation". In this case these values are represented by the blazers and uniforms that the band utilises to symbolise their distinctiveness from other bands, especially in contest situations where numerous bands participate. Molteno observed that uniforms were also used for this function in choir competitions and that the "expense spent on maintaining concert uniforms is in part an indication of the value placed on belonging to the group" (2002:43) or specifically their particular identity. All playing participants wear the same uniforms, meaning there are no ranking markers as displayed in the armed forces, so principal players are not distinguished by their uniform, only by their performance role. Foucault (1977:135) connected the issue of uniform to that of discipline, posture, honour and prestige, all of which are clearly evident in brass band fields. A situation that promotes a single uniform for all may also promote the illusion of equality and lessen the influence of positional hierarchies. In schools, students have a single uniform and in theory all exist equally under the guidance of their superiors, the teachers. This situation also occurs within the band where the illusion of equality, especially in responsibility and expectation, is supported by the use of a singular uniform, this being particularly evident in the contest context. Another particular role of the single uniform is to remove the distinctiveness of individuals, not only to create a level of equality between participants but to support the idea of togetherness. The continuous use of uniforms also imposes a shared meaning to the participants through processes of inculcation that eventually over time become accepted as part of a natural disposition. Therefore the use of uniforms has become a part of social and musical behaviour and a method through which an individual may communicate more about the self to others who are either members of their specific field or to other brass band players or followers.

The identities that are demonstrated by the participants within a band are also a product of their relative backgrounds and experience. The profiles in the annual band patrons' newsletters provide detailed player backgrounds, including previous banding experience. The information supplied there

supports the theoretical findings of Bourdieu (1993b:5), who believed that the characteristics and identities of individuals who felt at home in a certain field were a product of an early access to that particular or similar environment. Players often participated in brass bands at an early age, for instance through school bands or local junior bands, and accumulated both capital and experience through different bands until they reached the Brighouse and Rastrick Band. An early involvement in banding subsequently began the processes that have inculcated over time and so shaped the identities that the players in my research now exhibit. Bourdieu described these processes through the actions of an agent, who learns and acquires a set of practical cultural competencies (*ibid.*:5). In the band field, players acquire a set of practical rules or competencies that result in personal and musical growth, a process that results in a greater understanding of the role and identity that they must present in their own particular fields. The range of roles utilised by a participant ultimately governs the type of identity that they acquire. By acquiring the necessary experience in previous bands, a player will approach the role in which they are employed with a different attitude and identity. Alternatively, a player may be identified as being important in a playing role but also acquires an even greater importance through being identified as a committee member. The combination of role identity, uniform and experience signifies what Jenkins (2003:75) describes as a "hexis", i.e. the deportment, manner and style that signify an identity within a habitus or field. During the repetitive processes involved in the field, this hexis may become permanent or at least durable, so that wearing a specific uniform in a particular situation or standing in a particular piece becomes a natural disposition, for instance in the *Floral Dance* (see appendix 2 CD 5 track 7) played at the end of concerts.

Expectation and Membership of the Band

When an individual becomes a member of a band there are requirements that are expected from both the whole field and those who already participate. Expectancy is an important facet in the motivation of both new and established participants and is a form of reinforcement of behaviour controlled by possible future outcomes. These are particularly relevant to the

expectancies concerning success at future competitions and the role that the participant will have in that process. Bourdieu (1993b:4) defined this belief as the subjective expectations of objective probabilities, where the players' expected perceptions are controlled by the possibility of future success in the objective structure of the contest. Principal instrumentalists within the band, the principal cornet, soprano cornet, flugel horn, tenor horn, solo euphonium, solo trombone and Eb bass, obviously have a different level of expectancy due to their prominent roles in performance contexts. These players are expected to perform several roles, including performing solos (as seen in figure 3.2 and also appendix 2 CD 2 track 6), being able to lead other members of their section, resolving any player conflict and being a professional example to others.

Figure 3.2: The principal trombone, James Stockdale, playing a solo in a concert

The expectancy associated with their respective positions is defined by a number of factors that develop over a specific time. These include the difficulty of the targeted tasks, the perception of the importance of the task, the interest shown in the task and the importance of the task for future goals. Expectation, the perception of the importance of the task and subsequent interaction and roles are issues that are not only intrinsic but are also defined

by the perception of others in the field. Congruence between the expectation of both soloists and non-soloists is important in standardising the expectation concerning the importance of their roles. This however can be determined by the individual's self construction and their predetermined interpretation of situations and events based on their previous experience in the field.

Although tutti players do not have the same level of expectation as the soloists there are certain playing participants that do take on extra responsibilities, such as committee work, and subsequently are expected to perform both roles to an agreeable standard. The band constitution and rules dictate that a set number of players are asked to join the committee and assist in making decisions that impact on the daily running of the field. Both Ian Dust and Sheridan Fryer have been participants in both the playing and committee memberships of the Brighouse and Rastrick Band and so have had dual roles and expectations placed upon them. As the band librarian, Fryer is expected to perform several duties, including the distribution of music to all the players and conductor, stamping new pieces of music with the band logo, collecting existing music and replacing it in a specific order in the band library, and the ordering of new compositions for both concerts and contests. All of these tasks are important in the daily running of the band, but the expectations of others are primarily targeted at the distribution of the music, the process that is immediately visible to all the other participants. This observation can also be utilised in respect of the work of Dust, as band secretary. He has a multitude of tasks to perform, but the expectation demonstrated by his fellow participants focuses on the organisation of concerts with promoters from the venue. However, as they have performed these roles for so long there is no pressure of expectancy and their processes are generally taken for granted, the exceptions being the occasions when they are absent (a matter I shall discuss in a subsequent chapter).

Expectation also plays an important role in commitment. The Brighouse and Rastrick Band, although being a hobby to its players, demands a high level of commitment due to the expectancy of competition success. This level of commitment has meant that there has been a relatively high turnover of players in the band during my participation. Over a nine-year period the players within the cornet section have changed numerous times and only two

players, Matthew Hilton and I, remain from those who participated in my first contest success in 1997. Other sections in the band have remained consistent as far as participant stability is concerned but there have been a number of instances where a player has missed a succession of rehearsals and some of the other players have criticised his level of commitment, believing that if they are expected to turn up at every rehearsal so should he. Steve Miles and Alan Morrison, for example, stated that amongst their main dislikes in band were "empty seats" in rehearsals whilst others sarcastically commented that "it was nice to see a full band" when at least six people were absent.

Punctuality is another issue which is closely connected with attendance. Attending a rehearsal late on a consistent basis disrupts and antagonises other participants, an issue found also in other musical genres and approached by Loft (2003) when he stated:

> Whether the lateness is random or the consistent fault of one or more of the players, it wastes the time and patience of those who are prompt. It is also a bad sign if one of the parties is clearly ready to leave the rehearsal before the agreed ending time. This reflects either on the seriousness of the player in question or worse, on the musical interest of the rehearsal itself. (Loft 2003:178)

During the early stages of my fieldwork a certain player arrived at each rehearsal at least five to ten minutes late, and even when the start was altered to a later time he persisted in arriving late. This, and the attitude he demonstrated when confronted on the issue, antagonised the other participants. On another occasion a player had just changed his employment with the result that he had to work until later in the evening and so regularly arrived late at the rehearsal. Each time he entered the band room clear gestures and comments were made. On a particular journey from a concert I began a conversation with this player and he explained that the comments made by some players had led him to consider resigning. In this particular situation the player later changed employment and was able to attend the band at the set time. This example again demonstrates the level of conformity that is suggested already through the use of uniforms, a specific rehearsal venue and a fixed time schedule.

Membership of the field has so far concerned identity, processes of imposition, expectation and commitment. By collectively associating these issues we now arrive at the position where an understanding of the group mentality or ethos becomes increasingly important. In the Brighouse and Rastrick Band this group unity and membership is best demonstrated in post-competition situations, when the majority of the band players convene at one particular public house. Following the announcement of the results, whether successful or unsuccessful, the players gather informally and sing songs that are traditionally associated with or created by the band. The melody lines of these songs are usually taken from well-known football-related songs, in recent years those specifically associated with Manchester United supporters. Meanwhile, the lyrics are created by individual members of the band and generally involve either a member of the band or important figures associated with rival bands (an example of such a situation can be seen in figure 3.3).

Figure 3.3: The band celebrating and singing after success at the 1998 National Brass Band Championships of Great Britain Finals

One of the songs involves Matthew Hilton, the third cornet player, and has the lyrics (sung to the tune of *My Old Man's a Dustman*):

Matthew Hilton's magic
He wears a magic hat,
He was asked to sign for Briggus and Rastrick
And said I fancy that,
He wouldn't sign for Mossley
Or Dobcross because they're shite,
He signed for Brighouse and Rastrick
Because they're bloody dynamite.

These songs demonstrate a form of bonding and membership that is a focus of the work of Fisher and Strauss (1978:465). They propose that the membership of a specific group is generally based on a number of key issues; amongst these are a sense of community, "natural affinities" with other participants, a biological kinship and the general shape and size of the group as determined by environmental and social factors (as discussed below).[28]

Creating friendships or natural affinities is an important process in the development of band membership. As I discussed earlier, the level of commitment expected by the band has resulted in a high turnover of players in certain sections. However, a number of individuals have been in the band for a long period of time. These are Sheridan Fryer, Ian Dust, Leigh Baker and Matthew Hilton.

Sheridan Fryer, who currently plays second baritone, has been associated with the band since the late 1960s and is featured in photographs of the band that won the World Championships in 1968 and 1969 at the Royal Albert Hall. During his time in the band he has won all the major competitions and was also involved in the band which in 1977 reached number two in the pop music charts with the piece *Floral Dance* (Broadbent). Although there was a period during the 1980s when he took a sabbatical from playing he rejoined the band towards the end of that decade. Over the last ten years, as the band librarian, he has taken on the duties outlined above. He has recently become a trustee of the band, meaning that he has the responsibility to supervise the distribution of assets should the band become financially bankrupt. His long-term participation has meant that he has both played with

[28] For further information on natural affinities see Bottomore and Nisbet (1978) and my conference paper on Instrumentation (Horniman Museum, December 2004)

and associated with successive generations of members and created friendships that have extended in some cases for a decade and beyond.

Ian Dust, the current band secretary and second horn player, has been associated with the band for twenty-five years and in 2005 was presented with an award for his continuous commitment to the band. His association in the band has also meant that he has created associations with many players who have now either moved on to other bands or in some cases stopped playing altogether. In my participation with other bands I have been approached by a number of individuals who, identifying themselves as former members of the Brighouse and Rastrick Band, enquired about the continuing participation of both Dust and Fryer and offered interesting and often humorous anecdotal information about their participation. Their enquiries suggest that the friendships created are indeed an important feature associated with the membership of a specific field.

Although my research will concentrate on the playing membership, those who are primarily associated with the band through their role on the committee also demonstrate that friendships are an important feature of their association. Both Andrew Wilkinson (patrons' secretary) and Derek Rawlinson (band chairman) have been associated with the band for a considerable period and regularly convene outside the normal band contexts (rehearsals and the monthly committee meetings) to discuss band related issues. The associations created through the membership of both the playing and committee situations sometimes result in players, upon their playing retirement, remaining with the band as non-playing members of the committee. This process was most recently taken by Andrew Naylor, who prior to his semi-retirement from playing became band treasurer. Membership is therefore a means of establishing friendships and associations on a number of levels and may even perform the role usually given to that of extended family.

Friendships are a positive feature of band participation capable of strengthening a section or band, but they can be equally destructive. Players may use the strength of a particular network of relationships to change or direct decisions, especially in situations concerning player movement. In one specific example I witnessed a soloist who was put under increasing pressure,

every mistake he made being put under intense scrutiny. When the player split or missed a high note, or missed an entry, for instance in the bass solo *Largo al Factotum* (Rossini), certain individuals looked at each other and grinned. This process continued with other individuals even after the player in question had left the band. These groups of friends may be defined as "cliques" and in the band they cause a rather uneasy coalition. This is a direct result of the clique attempting to gain mastery in the symbolic struggles and specific activities that occur within the band including economic, educational and social capital. When the band was debating the position of resident conductor at the end of 2004 and beginning of 2005 a number of individuals believed that the existing occupant, David Hirst, was not introducing enough new music and that the band was not being rehearsed hard enough. As a result both the shape and the processes involved within the band habitus began to change and what may have been a stable field quickly became unsettled, hence the unease of coalition.

The issue of friendships created through field membership can also be applicable to the family. Brass bands, of all standards and geographic locations, have had a strong element of family association. The most famous examples of individual members of the same family participating in an individual band are the Mortimer and Childs families. From the beginning of the twentieth century the Mortimer family developed their interest in banding from their participation in the Hebden Bridge brass band and the role undertaken by Fred Mortimer playing cornet. Through his enthusiasm for the brass band, he encouraged his children, Harry and Alex to participate and through his role as bandmaster he was in a position to encourage their improvement. In later years the family was again united in performance in the Foden's Motor Works band during one of the most successful periods in the band's history. In the quotation below the importance of family participation is exemplified by Alan Lynton (1981:179-80) in his observation of the Mortimer family when Alex Mortimer left the Fodens band to join a symphony orchestra:

> "Our Harry" and "our Alex" he [Fred] idolised. Alex, one felt, had let him [Fred] down by taking up the tuba and the symphony orchestra. Harry was different because although he had "given up" at Foden's he

> still had the band "at heart" and would, by implication, one day come back. "Our Rex" was of course still with us, and therefore taken for granted. His day was still to come, but the "Old Man" [Fred] didn't know that.

The Childs family could be described as the modern-day equivalent of the Mortimer family. John Childs, like Fred Mortimer, began the family association with the Tredegar band in South Wales. Both of his sons, Robert and Nicholas, have played in the very best bands in Britain, with Robert being principal euphonium with the Brighouse and Rastrick Band during a period in the 1980s. Subsequently their own families have also become involved with bands, first of all with the East Yorkshire Motor Service band and in recent years with the Buy As You View band, again in South Wales. Both of Robert's children, Lisa and David, now play in the band and occasionally his wife Lorraine also participates. On her initial participation with the Cory band, Lisa commented that:

> It's great to get back in a band full time, especially playing under my dad and alongside my brother. The band is in great form and I'm really looking forward to performing with such a class outfit.[29]

Although there has as yet been no similar family-based participation during my fieldwork period at Brighouse and Rastrick, other family-related influences have been demonstrated. In both previous and current playing memberships there have been separate generational involvements by both father and son. These include the aforementioned Robert and David Childs and, more recently, John and Alex Francis and Andrew and Mark Wagstaff. When I asked Mark about the role that his father had played in his decision to join the band he stated that he was told what to expect and that he wanted to match what his father had achieved, especially since he played the same instrument and was applying for the same position. This demonstrates, as well as the involvement of whole families, that generational involvement and influence is another factor in attending a specific band.

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[29] Childs, Lisa. *Band Profiles*, http://www.buyasyouviewcory.co.uk/members/, accessed on 26 May 2004.

Acceptance into the official playing membership requires the prospective candidate to fulfil a number of predetermined standards through a variety of processes. During the initial period of acquaintance the prospective candidate is asked to attend a rehearsal where he is seated in the vacant position. During a succession of rehearsals the applicant is assessed by adjacent players and the conductor. This assessment is discussed informally by the relevant parties, usually the principal of the section, adjacent player and conductor. If they believe that the player has fulfilled the required performance standards, he is then requested to play in a private audition. When I joined the band, a private audition involved the participant attending a rehearsal at least half-an-hour early, performing one or two contrasting pieces and sight-reading a further test piece extract in front of the conductor and section leader. Over the last few years the audition process has altered and may now be dependant on either the position available or the reputation of the player involved. Once the applicant successfully auditions with the conductor and relevant principal he is then welcomed to the whole band by the conductor, shortly followed by applause from the existing membership as a sign of collective acceptance. Although this signals the conclusion of the audition process, new participants are still under a form of informal assessment by the whole band until gaining performance-related respect or social acceptance, a similar process to that which occurs in the appointment of players in professional orchestras, as discussed by Cottrell (2004: 36).

There have been instances during my research where this probationary period has proven useful in exploring whether a player has "fitted in" musically or socially with their section or the whole band. In one particular instance a player had successfully auditioned on tenor horn, but over the initial period of membership certain existing players expressed concern about his suitability for the band. This concern was duly expressed to the principal horn player, who then forwarded the matter to be discussed by the committee at their monthly meeting. In this particular instance performance was not the main concern but rather the behaviour exhibited in both the playing and non-playing contexts. There were players who were "unnerved" by his tendency to stare whilst they were playing and by an irksome sense of "cockiness". As usual a warning was issued with an expression of hope that an improvement

would soon be seen. Following a period of assessment and evaluation both by those players on the committee and other players within the section it was reported back that he had not met the requirements requested by the band, and he was informed that his services were no longer necessary. This demonstrates the need shown by existing players to maintain a certain environment that is conducive to the production of their collective labour.

In recent years, would-be principal instrumentalists have been asked to perform a solo with the band in both rehearsal and concert as part of their audition, mainly so that those concerned could assess their ability under pressure. This again has a certain degree of flexibility in its implementation since the reputation of the player involved may be influential, especially if those involved in the decision fear that the player would be offended if they were asked to audition in front of the whole band. This policy of flexibility was demonstrated when the current principal cornet was chosen. Since his performance portfolio included a significant number of solo appearances, not only in live performance but also on disc, it was agreed by the committee that he had already fulfilled the requirements expected by the band.

On becoming a member of the band an applicant will experience a number of behavioural processes that introduce and establish the player within the band. In his research on behavioural processes in group settings Tuckman (1965:384) categorised these into four generic stages that overlap significantly, which he defined as "forming", "storming", "norming" and lastly "performing". These stages enable the individual participant both to fully interact and to gain acceptance with the existing membership. In their first official rehearsal a successful applicant is introduced to the whole band by the conductor, even though they may have played with the band for some time during the audition process. Nick Jackson and Jamie Cooper were introduced to the band by David Hirst at the beginning of the rehearsal, an example of a process that had occurred throughout the first two years of my fieldwork. However, when the band parted company with David Hirst, the person involved in the introductory process changed to Leigh Baker, the solo baritone player and the person who performs a number of roles that in other

bands are associated with a band sergeant.[30] Following the verbal introduction of a player the whole band applauds and the individuals who occupy the seats adjacent to the new member give their personal congratulations. This is the very first stage of the forming process and is important in establishing initial relationships by exploring and defining the nature and boundaries of the task, in particular what is to be accomplished and how much cooperation is demanded. In the Brighouse and Rastrick Band this stage encompasses what is expected from the player, especially in regard to his performance, both in concerts and contests. Existing members play an important role in communicating this expectation specifically in the performance of what they perceive as particularly difficult pieces. For example, when I joined the band Matthew Hilton would highlight certain problematic passages in a piece of music in a manner that was encouraging rather than dismissive. In this sense the boundaries of performance, cooperation and expectations are set, whilst what Tuckman (1965:390) defined as the discussion of "irrelevant and partially relevant issues" and also "peripheral problems" (specifically in relation to the repertoire) are also incorporated. In the latter stages of forming, the player continues to find acceptance through preliminary enquiries and information about those in their section, for example their names or information concerning their families.

In the storming process the player centres his continuing search for acceptance on areas of conflict and emotional responses to tasks and goals set by the field, for example over pieces, venues and competitions. Whilst initial relationship communications involve the predictable "Hello" and "How are you", the storming process involves comments like "What are we playing that for?" or "Is that on the programme for Ipswich or that recording?" This stage also involves information concerning personal values, opinions, attitudes and issues that are beyond the superficial information given in the forming process. The relationship between Nick Jackson and Matthew Hilton is an ideal example in demonstrating this kind of acceptance. Hilton continually asks Jackson how his studies are going and often follows up any response with

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[30] Band sergeant is a role that concerns the organisation of pre- and post-performance activities, for instance in what order the players enter the stage, and who assists the percussionists at the conclusion of the concert.

a humorous retort such as "Had a busy day in bed?" or after a mistake, "Bloody student!" In another example Andrew Kenyon asked me details about the composer of a piece of music, and when I said I was not familiar with the name, he said "Aren't you a music student, Rich?" When I attended the next rehearsal with some information on the subject, he quipped "Ah, it's too late now!" Tuckman (1965:391) commented that the combination of the communication established in both the forming and storming process of behaviour can result in players being given informal titles, referring mainly to their lifestyle or appearance. Some of the titles initiated at this early stage remain with the players for the duration of their membership of the band. For example Simon Martindale is referred to as "Tack" because he resembles the character "Tackleberry" from the film series *Police Academy*. Lifestyles, specifically those related to students, are also a topic of some humour, as can be perceived in the comments made above by both Matthew Hilton and Andrew Kenyon. These comments are not only used for humour but are a feature that assist in making the individuals involved feel part of the membership.

The next stage, norming, involves the repetition of the storming processes that ultimately results in an improvement in group cohesion in both performance and non-performance contexts. Through interchanges like the examples given above, the players arrive at a situation which enables a mutual acceptance, a feature that is then translated to the performance itself. In this context individual idiosyncrasies are accepted and become part of the natural disposition. For instance, when Matthew Gledhill played a quiet solo passage he leant forward, meaning the bell of the instrument was close to the seats in front, hiding the sound. I noticed that after a while everyone along the section began to demonstrate this characteristic. This stage also encourages a deeper relationship between group members. In the Brighouse and Rastrick Band this involves an increase in socialisation away from the performance context, especially for those who live in the same town or area. The interaction between these individuals then develops to such an extent that players discuss or confide personal information, in particular good news, for example members becoming engaged, or problems relating to their work or lifestyle. Whilst examples of some of these situations or communications would be

ideal in exemplifying this particular issue I feel that my relationships with the informants, many of whom are close friends, would be strained and that their particular instances would not be something they would wish to be made public. However the communication between players involving the performance contexts are relevant to my study and as Tuckman (1965:391) commented "exploring the dynamics at work within the group" is an essential feature of the "norming" process. These discussions generally involve the capability of the players or conductor in performing their specified roles, the types of engagement undertaken (including venue and audience) and issues relating to repertoire.

The final stage is termed as performing and here the person, in this case the player, becomes an established fixture within the band having achieved an adequate level of functional relatedness, social penetration and interaction exchange. These characteristics are associated with those who have been in the band for some time, for instance Hilton, Dust and Fryer. By interacting through participation in the performance contexts these players gradually move towards deeper areas of personality (the norming process), ultimately achieve mutual understandings (the performing process) and have attained the majority, if not all, of their desired goals. The three players that I gave as examples above have developed unique identities within the band, firstly through their involvement with and consequent development of mutual understanding with all the other players through continued participation, and through their attainment of their goals, consciously or not.

The latter half of this section has highlighted that even those who are successful in their auditions and are invited to become members of the band undergo a long process in order to become accepted by those existing members who share specific beliefs and actions.

Performance Roles

The roles into which players are assigned are of great significance to my research into the interacting processes, especially those that shape the band field. Stratification, ranking and status are all determinants of the type and

effectiveness of a specific role. Roles are performed by actors and in a band these are represented by the individual players and the conductor. When a specific role is assigned to an individual player, the field expects that individual to fulfil that role in the manner in which they are accustomed rather than in the manner associated with the belief or preconceptions of that particular individual. Alan Morrison, for example, brought a level of organisation and performance ability that was familiar to the functional success of the cornet section and also fulfilled the expectation of all the players. Alternatively, if we return once more to the example of Nick Payne, we can see that the band expected a certain approach and level of performance that ultimately they felt he had not displayed in the principal role. Both of these examples highlight the success or failure of players to adapt to performing a role within the band. The processes in which acceptance, success and failure appear are of course dependent on the interaction between players and an exploration of the expectation of others. Interaction is subsequently a method that enables a participant to see role behaviour as an important feature in structured systems that exhibit a compromise between formalised field rules and a more flexible interaction between individuals.

Although each individual participant occupies a position that demonstrates different status, rank or role attributes, the most distinguishable positions are those of section leaders and their subordinate players. The picture in figure 3.4 shows the cornet section performing in a concert. The principal cornet is on the front left of the picture. Power and reputation as well as ability are influential in determining the difference between positions, and especially their acceptance by others, within this cornet section. There have been a number of principal cornets that have initially found acceptance due more to a pre-disposed understanding of their reputation and power than to a demonstration of their ability during the audition period. When the role of principal became available following the departure of Nick Payne, the band appointed Alan Morrison on the basis of his reputation as soloist and principal with the Grimethorpe band. Since he had an established reputation there was expectancy regarding his soloist performances and his acceptance was enhanced even further by his initial performances. However, Graeme McCulloch was accepted as principal through his performances with the band

rather than through any former positions or solo performances with other bands. These examples demonstrate that the general acceptance of a leader happens through the processes involved in the initial demonstration of high levels of performance capital in the band in which they have been made participants.

Figure 3.4: Principal and Tutti players within the cornet section

As I stated in the opening chapter, there are five specific section leaders: the principal cornet, solo euphonium, trombone, horn and bass, followed by two further soloist positions, the soprano cornet and the flugel, the rest of the participants being supporting performers. The principal cornet is the main decision-maker, whilst the other leaders offer opinions and advice. This system is similar to that observed by Waterman (1990:154) in Yoruba popular music bands, where each semi-autonomous section, for instance the guitar and drum sections, has a designated role leader. The semi-autonomous leadership within a brass band originated to a certain degree from the repertoire that was performed towards the end of the nineteenth century. The predominant contest test pieces during this period were those specifically transcribed for brass band from various forms of art music. Selections or transcriptions from Gilbert and Sullivan, Tchaikovsky and Beethoven often appeared. Although the contest arena was predominantly transcription-based, according to Herbert (1991:2) there were also original compositions available, this perhaps being exemplified by the *Tydfil Overture* as composed by Joseph Parry for the

Cyfarthfa band. These original compositions did however follow the same composition style as the operatic highlights transcribed for the contests. The repertoire, as it does today, had certain requirements or characteristics, or what Herbert describes as "pragmatisms of contesting", which test the ability of both individuals and bands (1991:2). These characteristics through inculcation develop pre-disposed ideas on test piece length, dynamic and tempo change and on which particular instruments, solo passages or cadenzas should appear. The influence of repertoire and its consequent performance on leadership roles is also demonstrated in string quartets, where the first violin takes the melody line and so is assumed to be the leader of the group, even though the other three players have equally autonomous parts. Part assignment is also responsible for the additional responsibilities of the leadership role, for instance being figureheads for their respective bands. The more exposure a participant has through the repertoire that is played, the more recognisable the participant becomes and consequently the more respect is earned (from both fellow participants and external audiences).

The appointment of an individual to a leadership role is the most important decision a band can make. When there have been leadership role vacancies it has influenced not only the section concerned but more significantly the whole band. During the period between the resignation of Nick Payne and the appointment of Alan Morrison the band was expected to fulfil its concert obligations and to maintain the standard of its performance. The maintenance of this standard was difficult since individual players were asked to guest or audition, and so were not particularly vocal in any instruction to the rest of the section. Therefore the section appeared leaderless and a sense of uncertainty and unease was demonstrated in the existing participants. At a few concerts the guest principal cornet compounded this feeling by appearing uncertain himself. Following one particular concert a solo cornet player commented that he didn't really know what was happening in some of the pieces because he was not sure what the principal was going to play and what he was going to leave out. When Alan Morrison played in his first couple of concerts I observed that he knew what he was doing and I could hear that he was instructing the others on the front row before each piece on where he was going to play, whilst also instructing the soprano player on which high register

passages he wanted playing. These examples demonstrate that the leadership of a section plays an important role in the overall mechanical functions of actual performance, for instance in the organisation of individual players and consequently its effect on the performance.

The theory and method concerning participant leadership roles have been discussed in great detail and demonstrate a broad range of techniques that are utilised in the control of certain performance contexts. Leadership roles, once established, are maintained by the field through the reproduction of privilege. The reproduction of this privilege is often reflected in the pedagogic action of the conductor. This action tends to inculcate a specific distribution of cultural capital, including prestige and status, which inhibits the movement within the social space or field and so reproduces social structure.

However, in the Yoruba popular music group, Waterman (1990:161) demonstrated that although both the principal and the various semi-autonomous section leaders occupied important roles, their success was dependent on mutual responsibility concerning performance-related values. This mutual responsibility involved the monitoring of individual participants and the maintenance of adequate performance standards that was itself dependent on an adequate working relationship. The length of association between participants is also an influential factor in the type and quality of leadership. Berliner (1994) found that players who performed together regularly were able to discuss and resolve decisions in a facile way through their shared or joint experience. He stated that:

> cumulative experience and long time association with other artists enhance the ease of negotiating their interplay and musical conversations. (Berliner 1994:364)

Players who have accumulated the necessary degree of performance capital do not necessarily have the requisite skills to lead a section of players. During my period in the band I have encountered successful and not-so-successful leadership characteristics in a number of principal players. When Graeme McCulloch became principal he accumulated acceptance through his outstanding concert and contest performances. However, his leadership skills were not as successful as those demonstrated by former or existing principals.

For example, when there was a series of mistakes in a single rehearsal or a number of poor rehearsals he would vent his frustrations in a physical gesture, in one case kicking a mute across the band room. During this period the organisational aspects concerning the cornet section were informally assigned to Nick Payne, the assistant principal, who vocalised any instructions to the rest of the section. Payne later became principal of the band and continued using this organisational method through his verbal communications and an authoritarian style features that later weakened his position. Conversely Alan Morrison, the current principal, fulfils both of these roles, receiving a standing ovation for his performance whilst also resolving any issues within the section, for example encouraging individual players to play with more confidence. His leadership skills demonstrate a mixture of authoritarian and democratic approaches that have earned the respect of his fellow players. This approach allows the subordinate or tutti participants to feel appreciated and part of the team. Murnighan and Conlon (1991:165-86) defined this approach as "espoused democracy", the method whereby a leader (in their case the first violinist) demonstrated some aspects of dictatorship or authoritarian leadership skills, but was able to make the other players aware of the importance of their contribution.

Tutti players have an equally important role in the function and shaping of a field although their consciousness of this importance is limited since they mostly take their social world for granted. These tutti players occupy certain positions within the band, for instance the second and third cornets, first and second horns, second baritone and second trombone. In many ensembles the technical capital demonstrated by these participants may contrast greatly, resulting in differences in rank and status (as I discussed earlier in this chapter) and role. Since strength and weakness is defined by others within a field, its influence on the tutti performer may establish the nature of their continued role and subsequent development. Those players who are categorised as being strong grow in confidence and gain a higher acceptance by their fellow participants, as demonstrated in my fieldwork by Sam Fisher. In successful chamber groups the tutti performers' confidence was not only acquired through their ability but also by the encouragement given by their participant colleagues. Such confidence enables the participant in

question to improve his performance competency and ultimately defines or shapes the importance of their specific performance and non-performance roles. An increase in recognition concerning these roles also develops the possibility of promotion within a section, especially if the participants in that section are particularly observant in the performance context. The possibility of role promotion is particularly noticeable in the cornet section, since it has the most participants. Many cornet players have joined the band in the past and have through the recognition of their increased performance ability been promoted through the section. In a number of instances players have joined the band on third cornet and have progressed through the section to become either a principal cornet or flugel horn soloist. Although the promotion of an individual to a higher position may conceivably improve the performance of the section it is also possible that it could have the opposite effect. Murnighan and Conlon observed that in string quartets where the second violinist was ambitious to become leader there was an undercurrent of conflict and antagonism (1991:170). A participant in a band who is initially positioned in the lower tutti parts may have ambitions to play higher parts and so may openly express these views and encourage a degree of antagonism towards the existing holder of that position. Should the situation become increasingly tense then the functionality of the section will be disrupted and resolution is needed so that the section can regain its fluency.

Murnighan and Conlon (1991:170) observed that second violinists were equally valued for their role within a string quartet. They believed that the role of the second violinist was predominantly to support the melodic line, especially in regard to any counterpoint or harmonic feature as well as in the exact imitation of the vibrato produced by the first violin in the group. In a brass band supporting tutti players are often encouraged by the conductor to play more loudly or with more vibrato so that they are able to support the melody or solo lines. When Russell Gray conducted the band in preparation for a concert in Huddersfield Town Hall, he was particularly keen to maintain a balance throughout the whole section and band, for example asking for more from the back row cornets and second and third horns. Occasionally the melody lines appear in the tutti parts and in these instances the conductors instruct the players to lead. In a performance this is characterised by an

upward palm movement understood by the players as a sign to play louder or be more prominent in the texture. The importance of these supporting roles was also discussed by Davis (1988:8) who highlighted several attributes that were necessary for the successful accompaniment of the principal melody players. He categorised these into seven distinct characteristics: unanimity of tempo, perfect ensemble, stable rhythm, uniformly true intonation, intelligent phrasing, unified bowing style and balance. When James Gourlay began taking the band as professional conductor he emphasised each of these features. For instance, in relation to uniform intonation he commented that the band sounded like the "Dagenham Girl Pipers' Band" and remarked to the basses "Don't rush. There seem to be three tempos here, none of which are mine, gentlemen" Further examples will be introduced in the forthcoming chapters. Nicoll (2001) demonstrated that these characteristics were also a feature that represented the intentions which occur within an orchestral woodwind section. She stated that:

> …the willingness and ability to meet with the characterised musicality of the existing section was expressed by several respondents to be a crucial talent. This 'natural tone' of individual instrumentalists had to exhibit an adaptability to … 'gel with the rest of the section' … The skill of blending with, and complementing the established musical character of the woodwind section was stressed frequently by the respondents to be the essence of a fine orchestral woodwind player. (2001:29)

Whether the player is a second violinist or second cornet player their role in adapting to their relative soloist counterparts is an important factor in their continuing success as a participant in a group. Davis identified the importance of the continuing presence of those who occupy these supporting roles by stating that:

> The really musical chamber music player unselfishly realises that 'the tunes', no matter which instrument plays them, belong to the quartet … participating in and contributing to them in the knowledge that those who provide the non-thematic material into which they are set have it in their power to either enhance or ruin the solo line. It is impossible to thus participate in and identify with the melodic line successfully and yet be bored. (1988: 9)

These players generally occupy these supporting roles for a number of years and in a brass band this is no different. As I discussed earlier, players like Matthew Hilton and Sheridan Fryer, who have been members of the band for a considerable time, have during my fieldwork rarely complained about their relative tutti positions. The acceptance of this subordinate role by these participants is an example of what Bourdieu (1993b:4) described as the influence of the habitus and its legitimising power on the individual. Their reaction to the influence of the habitus is directly associated to the very definition of habitus as described by Bourdieu in this quotation:

> [the habitus as a system of] durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them (1993b:5)

In these situations the disadvantages of being tutti performers, for instance the lack of solo possibilities, are reinforced by the inculcative processes that are experienced by the participants. These inculcative processes enhance the legitimisation of the inhibition experienced by these particular players. When these same players are faced with the possibility of role movement they do not believe that they have the ability to be successful and some comment that such a promotion would be "not for the likes of us".

Whatever the method or reality of the positions demonstrated by both the leaders and tutti players their basic positions remain constant. The consistency of these positions plays an important role in sustaining both the habitus and, more importantly, the quality and quantity of the end product, the performance, through the collective efforts of a united and self-supporting labour force.

Ability as Capital and its Influence on Organisational Structures

JG: - Erm….Let's try the solo cornets on this bit.

[The cornets play the whole passage]

JG: - That was all very nice, but it could have been better if it had been balanced, in tune and together!

[Cornets play the same passage]

JG: - That was a bit better, but guys do you think you could get it balanced? I could do with a lot more from you Jamie [turns page on score then leans over the music stand and puts his hand out as if wanting something] Can I have your ticket, because no one has a free ride in this team.[31]

In the previous section I discussed the motivations and processes involved in gaining acceptance into the Brighouse and Rastrick Brass Band. In this section I shall continue by highlighting the importance of organisational structures and divisions of labour that subsequently influence these same individuals and shape their participation in the band. Capital is an important feature of this organisation and is defined in my research as the personal ability of individual players that is accumulated and used through its association with the means of production. Therefore the inequality exemplified in stratification through the distribution of individual capital is an essential factor in the organisation into functional groups and fields that are able successfully to achieve their set goals and tasks.

Any band must have an element of organisation to function successfully and achieve the goals and tasks that are important to its players. In brass bands this order is constructed from sections of individuals who are ordered in respect of their ability in performing a specific task in a particular position. As demonstrated in the fieldwork extract above, the band clearly recognizes that there is a value on every position and that this value is performance related. This capital is mutually understood by all the players. For example, when Brendan Wheeler auditioned for the principal euphonium position, Craig Gaskell said "That was pretty good. Are we signing him?" and

[31] p.c. James Gourlay, band room, 4 March 2004

Andrew Kenyon said "That's good enough for me!" In contrast, another player auditioned for the soprano position but failed to achieve the particular capital expected and drew less acclaim from the players. This consensus also allows the band to be organised into specific ranking systems and ensures that as a social system, a field and its participants share certain functional prerequisites that must be successful so that they can operate efficiently. Through the inculcation of these processes it becomes evident that the organisation of capital into specific rankings and positions, defined as the division of labour, is essential in structuring the actions that are observed, imposed and experienced through the legitimization of the activities inculcated in the field and its habitus.

There are many organisational models that are particularly pertinent to the organisational structure of the Brighouse and Rastrick Band. The consensus concerning capital, as introduced above, is a feature of the rational model of organisation discussed by Cotgrove (1967:262-3). This model also advocates that the division of capital is also due to the recognition and understanding of hierarchical offices and roles. When a player enters the band he understands that there are certain positions which are more important in function and that these are occupied by players who have a higher degree of capital. When I joined the Brighouse and Rastrick Band in 1997 I understood from previous banding experience and knowledge that the principal, repiano and soprano cornets were the most important positions within the cornet section. Players within each section must recognise this inequality and accept the role they have to play in the collective goals of the group. This feature is even more prominent in the second organisational model proposed by Cotgrove (*ibid.*:263), the natural system or his centralisation dimension. Centralisation involves the prerequisite understanding of the physical positions of authority or the recognition of these through musical performance. The acceptance of hierarchical positions as a natural disposition is also important in establishing legitimate communicational pathways. During my fieldwork there have been a number of examples where this communication pathway has been highlighted. The first concerns Alan Morrison and the second Nick Payne. When Morrison joined the band he had a reputation as being one of the best cornet players in the country and, following his performances as a soloist

in concerts, the cornet section had little difficulty in accepting both his position as principal cornet and the advice and communication that he gave. However, when Nick Payne was principal, his performance both as a soloist and within the band drew a mixed reaction. Since his performances were not always of top quality, when he turned around to tell the back row players to play better he was met with more indifference, one player even telling him to "Turn around you fool", (admittedly after he had turned back to face the conductor). Both these examples demonstrate the organic and mechanistic structural model and specialisation dimensions developed by Cotgrove (*ibid.*:261-3). In his organic structural model Cotgrove described the successful leader as being able to use a lateral as well as vertical authority and communication method within a "complex network of control" (*ibid.*:261). This organic model specifically relates to the leadership behaviour exhibited by Alan Morrison, where players are treated as both equals and subordinates. The mechanistic structural model relates to the leadership behaviour exhibited by Nick Payne, whose leadership behaviour involved communication and authority being enforced only in a vertical method. This method involves communication and authority being strictly directed down at the players, not by suggestion or advice but by orders, such as the relationship between a sergeant and a private in the army.

The leadership descriptions of Morrison and Payne can also be defined through the use of the specialisation dimensions proposed by Cotgrove (1967:263). He suggested that there were six primary dimensions: specialization, standardization, formalization, centralization, configuration and flexibility. The specialization dimension, as the term suggests, involves the number of specialisms and the degree of role specialism involved. In this case the degree of specialism is high since the performers are expected to play solos and be figureheads for the band. The standardisation dimension involves authoritative processes becoming experienced as legitimate by both the leadership and subordinate positions. The differences that are observable in the leadership process in my example above can therefore be traced to this particular dimension. For example the players accepted the authoritative role position of Alan Morrison through the inculcation of his behaviour but became frustrated and in some cases irritated by the leadership behaviour of Nick

Payne. My observations of the leadership behaviour differ to those defined by Cotgrove (*ibid.*:262) in relation to his discussion of formalization. The formalization of the authoritative process, defined by Cotgrove in relation to the depth to which the authoritative rules are written, is different in brass bands since legitimisation is experienced through performance contexts. Centralization however is a significant factor in the leadership behavioural process, since it involves the location of the decision-making process in the authority hierarchy. When Nick Payne was assistant principal cornet he issued the same instructions in the same authoritative manner as he did when he became principal, however these were accepted more readily. This suggests that the position of the decision-making process, together with the degree of specialisation of position does have a significant role in the legitimization of authority. Both of the remaining dimensions, configuration and flexibility, have strong associations with each other. Configuration, as defined by Cotgrove (*ibid.*:262), involves the specific characteristics associated with the role and position of principal players whilst flexibility is associated with the degree to which these characteristics alter when changes in the organisational structure occur.

Although the players understand and accept the hierarchical roles and positions demonstrated in the organisational models, they are also aware that the occupants of these positions may change. The consensus amongst the players regarding capital is an issue which allows the players to evaluate certain positions and notice any changes that are either beneficial or detrimental to the overall band performance. An example of this idea of consensus and change in capital occurred when Sam Fisher was promoted to a solo cornet position and later from solo cornet to flugel horn. In the latter example, a consensus as to whether Fisher could adequately play the flugel was reached after he was asked to perform on that instrument at a concert in Harrogate (December 2004) when the regular player who occupied the position was unavailable. During the rehearsals before the concert most of the players were impressed with his sound, and when the band played the piece *Gaelforce* (Graham), he stood up and played the solo without music, convincing everyone that he had the necessary capital for the position. Within this player consensus there is also a flexibility that allows for debate and

sometimes conflict over an individual's capital. When the band attended the European Brass Band Championships in 1998 the solo Bb bass player struggled with a particular passage (seen as Bb Bass 1 in Figure 3.5 below) in the test piece *Variations on an Enigma* (Sparke). During the rehearsals that led to the competition the player became increasingly agitated about his performance and this concern was subsequently translated to the other players who also became worried.

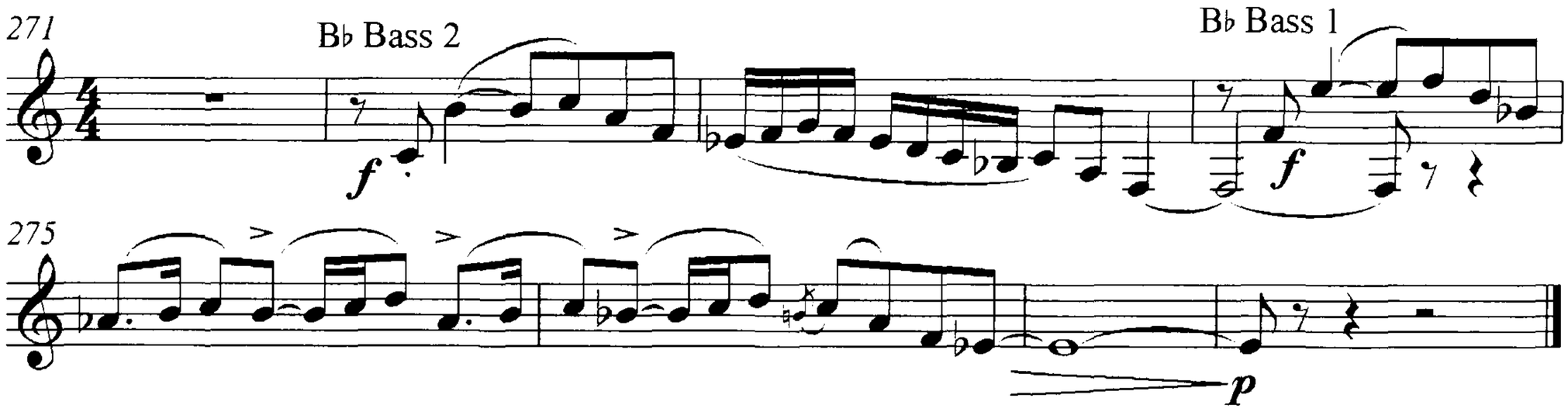

Figure 3.5: The Bb Bass solo in the test piece *Variations on an Enigma* (Sparke) in the European Brass Band Championships of 1998

In recent years there was a situation involving a first horn player who caused some debate between the players since he was described as a "good lad" but his sound did not fit that of the section, one of the requirements concerning capital for that position. This effect was also seen in string quartets, where Loft observed:

> an inept player at best muddies the sound of that voice in the composition. In the one-player-per-part world of the chamber ensemble, the unfit instrumentalists stick out like a sore thumb.(2003: 179)

The nature of capital categorisation conflict and its influence on the whole group performance can also be demonstrated by the slightest alteration to the positioning of an individual player. Whilst the group may have a mutual consensus on the capital demonstrated by a player sitting in one specific position they may not have such an agreement should that player occupy a different position, whether within the section or band. The change of roles, in most if not all situations, involves a different expectancy on the capital

demonstrated by the individual. When Nick Payne was positioned as second man down or assistant principal he was expected to be a strong player (dynamically), who demonstrated a high degree of technical competence and was able to organise, transfer and process information given specifically from the principal (who may or may not have had instruction from the conductor) and directed towards other players in the section. However, when Payne became principal he transferred the capital he had demonstrated in his previous position to his new role, a process that caused some concern to some of the players. Before the band played *Masquarade* (Wilby) for the National Brass Band Championship of Great Britain in 2002, Matthew Gledhill observed that Payne was playing too many of the tutti passages and turned to me and stated, "Why is he playing all that loud stuff before N? He's knackered by the time he gets to his solo!" Whilst being a strong player dynamically was a requisite of the capital of an assistant principal, it was clearly not the most important requisite of being a principal. However, when Alan Hobbins left the soprano position to join another band, Alan Morrison suggested that he would consider moving to that position. Many, including John Ingman, stated that we would need a strong replacement on the front row because Morrison was such a loud or strong player. Alex Francis later stated that the main difference between the situations, apart from the fact that Morrison was a better player, was that the latter knew whether or not to play before important solo passages, another feature important to the capital of that position. This demonstrates that field expectation also has a role in the overall processes that may result in capital conflict.

Although technical competence is the primary issue concerning capital-related categorisation within a band, there are other issues that may determine the positions of individuals. The most prominent of these other issues are the debates concerning the volume produced by an individual. In many band positions the volume produced is important in achieving an all-around balance or homogeneity of sound (for example, the back-row cornets need to balance those on the front row). When Chris Houlding took a number of rehearsals in May 2005 he suggested that the back row needed to play more loudly to support the sound of the front row. The players on the back row are then expected to have the technical capital but also an equal sound capital to

all the other players. However, if the sole organisation of capital were based on volume produced then the shape and structure of the sections would differ substantially. Those who differ in volume and are seated adjacent to each other often adapt their own playing through the repetition of performance processes. In a quiet passage the player who is evaluated as being the quieter of the two plays and the other waits for a louder tutti part. When the band accompanies a soloist, for instance an air varie like *Rule Britannia* (Hartmann) performed by Steve Miles, I have observed that in the third cornet part Matthew Hilton plays all the quiet parts and rests while Nick Jackson then plays the louder passages (a process that occurs throughout the rest of the cornet section). Whilst playing quietly is a virtue in this circumstance, in others it may be labelled as being weak. In 2002, Nick Payne informed me that a number of players were concerned that I was playing too quietly in quiet passages, and that these same people felt that it would be better to swap my position with that of Andrew Kenyon, who shared the same music stand. The borderlines that define strength and weakness as desirable or undesirable capital are therefore indistinct and open to as much debate as capital ability.

As demonstrated throughout this section there are many issues which could be included in the term 'capital' and consequently its influence on the division of labour. This division of labour enables the band to function as a field, whilst the mutual consensus of the roles undertaken allows players to function successfully as individuals and as a band. Divisions such as position and authority (as I discussed above) both define and are defined by the processes in which they occur, in this particular case the inculcation of the end product, the performance. This performance involves the allocation of parts to individuals with specific roles who understand their own position in the overall labour process. This is a perspective that is comparable to the mutual understanding of hierarchical positions and is exemplified by comments regarding the relative technical difficulty of a particular tutti part, for instance a back row player saying something along the lines of "This looks more like something that they [solo cornets] should have!" This is maintained through the processes of inculcation and eventually the division of labour and its influence becomes part of the taken-for-granted or self-evident world, defined by Bourdieu as being the "doxa" (1993b:3).

The acceptance of positions within the division of labour can also be discussed in relation to social stratification. Social stratification involves the hierarchically-organised structures of social inequality, for example ranks and status groups, or the ranking of units in a social system in accordance with shared value systems which exist in any society. Those who continuously perform well according to these shared value systems are those who are placed in higher-ranking positions and are likely to receive a variety of rewards.

Within the Brighouse and Rastrick Band players are rewarded for success in the various performance contexts in a number of ways. These include promotion (within the cornet section in particular), exposure as a soloist, prestige, recognition and, in some cases, financial incentive. After joining the band on third cornet I was later promoted to second cornet because of the observations made by Matthew Hilton about my overall performance, a situation that also occurred with Sam Fisher. This player movement can also be compared to the observations made by Haralambos (1985:30) regarding the Sioux Indians. He stated that the Sioux Indians placed a high value on the capital of bravery and generosity and so those who demonstrated a high degree of these attributes received a higher rank in the stratification system. A warrior who successfully attacked the enemies of the Sioux, the Crow or Pawnee, received the reward of promotion to a seat on the tribal council, a position that also represented more power and prestige. These attributes are also a feature demonstrated when a player is promoted or occupies a high position in the band. As a soloist a player is expected to play pieces accompanied by the band in most if not all concerts. Through this repetitive process the player achieves a level of recognition and prestige from both his fellow participants and others with influence, for example the audience and brass band media. Since the advent of the internet, contest performances and results are now available to a larger band audience more quickly than when reviews were presented in weekly or monthly periodicals, such as *The British Bandsman* or *Brass Band World*. Discussions of individual and band performances at contests are also immediately available on internet forums, in particular the web forum called themouthpiece.com, where there is a particular section entitled "Adjudicators' Comments". There are other sections on this web forum, in particular the "rehearsal room", where an individual's prestige is expressed through the

discussion of a single performance or more generally, as in "Who are the best euphonium players today?" Through this exposure an individual player can gain recognition on a large scale and in the case of some players this results in worldwide fame and opportunities. Melvyn Bathgate, the solo horn player, frequently travels to foreign countries and over recent years has performed annually at venues throughout Japan. This worldwide exposure has also been experienced by Steve Miles and Alan Morrison who have both performed and adjudicated in Australia and New Zealand in recent years. Recognition, in rare cases, has also resulted in players being "poached" and asked to join other bands for better financial rewards. When Graeme McCulloch became principal cornet he received plenty of plaudits from the band media, and following a gala concert at the European Championships he was approached by a rival band, Yorkshire Building Society. A few weeks later it was announced that he had joined that band. These examples and many others demonstrate that positions within the division of labour do have associations with certain rewards and are indeed features that are important in the motivations of specific individuals.

In relation to the Brighouse and Rastrick Band, musical stratification is essential in developing an ordered system whereby players are placed in the correct order so that they function to the best of their ability. The successful function of a player in a particular position is also influenced by the degree of difficulty demonstrated in the piece of music they play. In one rehearsal Alan Morrison, who normally plays principal cornet, suggested that he should play third cornet because he would miss a series of concerts and John Lewis, who was the assistant principal, required the rehearsals to adapt to the role of principal. At the end of one rehearsal Andrew Kenyon asked him whether he enjoyed the "back row experience", to which Morrison replied "Yeah it felt like I'd been warming up for two hours!" Since he normally played parts that were higher in the cornet register, included most of the melodies or countermelodies, and had rest periods controlled by his own judgement, he was unaccustomed to playing parts that had lower notes, fragmented accompaniment patterns and rests.

Another term associated with social stratification is status. In its common use status represents an attribute which can be attached to an

individual, group, position, occupation or office and these are demonstrated in a band through individual reputation, group competitive success and reputation and importance of position (soloist). Status is also an attribute that is conferred on an individual or group by others, whilst it also involves practices which emphasise and exhibit cultural distinctions that are crucial features of all social stratification. Although each participant is dressed in the same uniform and set the same goals by the band, each has a different status, a feature that is defined by Jenkins as lifestyle (2003:130). The band is responsible both for the positioning of individual players and their consequent status, whilst the player who has already been designated a position may alter the situation by changing his behaviour in both performance and non-performance contexts. Status is also influenced by the commitment expected by the field. Kelsall and Chisholm (1984: 61) believe that an individual's status is influenced by the amount of time spent doing the activity. Since the Brighouse and Rastrick Band is a leisure or part-time activity the status of those individuals within the band is different from the statuses assigned to them in their full time occupations. For instance Matthew Hilton, who plays third cornet, is an executive in a steel company. Alternatively, an individual may be given a soloist's position yet acquire little if any significant status in their external life, for instance Graeme McCulloch did not have a job when he became principal cornet of the band.

The status given or acquired by an individual may also imply a particular type of social relationship, specifically those that demonstrate an element of deference. In the Brighouse and Rastrick Band the acceptance of hierarchical positions within the division of labour, accentuated by the example of the attitude of tutti players towards principal positions, is a form of social interaction that is formed in the processes involved with traditional authority. These interactions allow the ordered participants to acknowledge a natural order through issues of either superiority or inferiority. When I asked Andrew Kenyon if he fancied playing on the front row he replied, "Nah Rich, I'm not good enough, and I wouldn't want to be one of them!" This shows an element of understanding in regard to where he expects to play in relation to his belief in his own ability, but the latter part of the quote is a humorous attempt at an "us" (the back row cornet section), and "them" (the solo cornet

section) perspective. Martin Gill, Simon Martindale and Sheridan Fryer have accepted their tutti positions within their specific sections and have performed in these roles for a significant period, demonstrating a key amount of deference. The soprano and flugel positions within the band earn particular deference because they are unique and functionally more important to the means and ends of production. Players demonstrated significant amounts of deference when Alan Hobbins played soprano cornet with the band, since the instrument is accepted as one of the hardest instruments to play. There have been instances when the band has been without an established soprano player and, since there are not many players with the requisite amount of capital to fulfil the band's expectations, the process of finding another player has been lengthy. However, when Alan Hobbins left the band, Alan Morrison suggested that he would change instruments and play the soprano cornet, a suggestion that was not dismissed immediately since the other players had a significant amount of deference for his abilities. This issue of the importance of deference in relation to uniqueness of position is supported by Davis and Moore (1967:48) who believe that the amount of deference shown by players is directly related to the uniqueness of the role or position performed by an individual. By implementing these different theories concerning deference, the field becomes an arena where the supervision of all workers simultaneously becomes possible. In this arena the conductor can supervise the principal and tutti participants but principals are also able to supervise their own section members (the physical positioning of participants is discussed in the introductory chapter). Status therefore plays an important function in controlling activities as well as offering individuals the possibility of rewards and prestige.

Rewards, Costs and Position

At the end of the last section I introduced the issue of player movement and rewards regarding position within the division of labour. In this section I shall discuss the various forms of reward and punishment that are responsible for these changes. Although the band collectively requires the individual

participants to achieve mutually-accepted set goals, for instance contest success, they also have their own personal goals and associated rewards and costs. Thibaut and Kelley (1959:12-3) believe that these personal rewards include a range of emotions, specifically those relating to pleasure, satisfaction, gratification and self fulfilment. The amount of emotion demonstrated following the completion of a task is increased by the difficulty of the task that is undertaken, for instance the satisfaction gained from a concert is less than that gained from success at a contest. In their profiles most of the players commented that their most satisfying moments concerned success in the contest situation. For example, David Hebb said that his most memorable moment was the winning performance of *On Alderley Edge* (Graham) at the National Brass Band Championships of Great Britain in London. The satisfaction gained from a winning contest performance, like the one above, is similar to that described in the following quotation by Reimer:

> The power of such experience is so great and its satisfaction so deep that those who have shared it are likely to be changed fundamentally in their relation to the music. For such people music inevitably becomes a source of some of life's deepest rewards. (1970:131)

In 2003 the band was preparing the test piece *Prague* (Bingham) for the Yorkshire Area contest, and many of the players were complaining that the piece was "rubbish" and a "waste of time". However, the band was victorious on the day of the contest and those who formerly had disliked the piece suddenly found that it was one of their favourites. This demonstrates, along with the memorable moment presented by Dave Hebb earlier, that when achieving this satisfaction a fundamental change does occur between the player, the experience of the event and the music performed. Winning at a contest also encourages satisfaction in relation to victory and consequent recognition of dominance over rival players and bands. Much of this satisfaction is created by an acute sense of achievement, similar to that observed in choirs by Durrant and Himonides (1998:67), and appears to be more influential if received from fellow players, similar to the process that occurs within orchestral woodwind sections (Nicoll 2000:74). The "internal" sense of satisfaction that is demonstrated by the players generally involves

congratulations in the changing room following the performance and to a lesser extent when travelling back to the band room on the bus. Mixed amongst these congratulatory comments are those relating to rival bands, for example “At least we beat them black dogs” or “Where did them green 'uns come?” Although the contest represents the context with the highest degree of satisfaction it must not be forgotten that it can also be provided by the concert. Opportunities for satisfaction are therefore a means of personal goal achievement and not related to context-specific events.

Although there are rewards for personal and group goal achievement within the Brighouse and Rastrick Band, there are also costs that may be applicable in the event of failure. These costs include forms of chastisement, relegation within a section or, in extreme situations, dismissal. As the reward for a successful task increases so does the cost in the event of failure. In one particular situation a soloist was discussed in relation to his performance on the contest stage and although he did not perform badly other players commented that he “didn’t add points on the performance”. Meanwhile, poor performance at contests, recognised either through the adjudicators’ comments or the opinion of fellow players, often results in that particular participant being criticised and his position becoming under increasing pressure. The costs (and rewards) of an event that requires a higher degree of physical and mental effort are greater, especially if there is the chance of embarrassment or anxiety. In their definition of rewards and costs Thibaut and Kelley (1959:9-27) introduces three specific factors that influence the reactions acquired from certain factors and situations, these being interpersonal, personal and situational.

In the following paragraphs I shall address each of these situations, beginning with ‘interpersonal’. When John Rudkin left the band he did so because there was some concern from the players and conductor that his sound did not fit in well with that of the section. Since Rudkin had been both my friend and housemate for some years I felt that the relationship that had been created was becoming strained because of his situation and the opinions that I was hearing. In that particular situation Rudkin did not know that there were major concerns over his playing and so I discussed the matter directly with him and he stated that he was thankful for my candidness. Although my

relationship with Rudkin developed outside of the band context there were other relationships that were strained by the situation, especially those within the horn section. In these interpersonal factors the rewards and costs are intrinsic to the social relationships developed in the field and so to the means and ends of production. In these relationships the rewards and costs include the increase or decrease in the bonds of friendship between participants, the power distribution given or taken from individuals and its resultant effect on social status. When this is applied to a band situation the bond of friendships between players may be strengthened or weakened by a series of good or bad individual performances.

The personal factor concerns the issues that are important to the personality and character of the participant involved. These may include the gratification felt by an individual who has personally played well or achieved a personal goal, satisfaction at the successful result of a contest or many other personally-related factors. In the period following public performances there is often some post-mortem by the players regarding the success of either their individual or band performances. After a concert in High Wycombe, I felt that I had played very well, only to hear once I was back in the changing rooms that Martin Gill felt that the performance was rubbish. This is also a feature in contest situations where players often discuss both their own playing and that of the band. After the National Brass Band Championships of Great Britain in London in 2004 Andrew Kenyon stated that he thought the performance was good only to hear Mark Wagstaff and the other percussionist say that there were far too many mistakes.

Relationships that are established between players are determined by situational or environmental factors rather than those of individuals. The performance of a specific participant in one of these situations may warrant a change in position, whether this involves promotion or relegation, a feature that I discussed earlier. Therefore rewards and costs are open to both positive and negative experiences and consequently affect immediate and future relationships and participation. These features are also influenced by the cumulative acquisition of rewards and costs over time. For example, positive remarks made in adjudications in a number of contests may promote a sense of security in their immediate environment that enables individuals to feel

comfortable and unhindered in their performance. The rewards and costs that influence the participants and their subsequent rank and status are dependent to a large extent on a series of communications and interactions, a subject that will be discussed in relation to performance contexts in forthcoming chapters.

Conclusion

So why do we play for the Brighouse and Rastrick Band? Is it the prestige or reputation that is accumulated through individual and group success, specifically in the contest context or as a soloist? Is it the expectation of playing a complex repertoire that will develop the individual's capital? Is to play in an ensemble that promotes the importance of individuals, notwithstanding their capital and consequent role and position, in creating a successful, and what Bourdieu (1993b:1) would define as, functional field of cultural production? I suggest that playing for the Brighouse and Rastrick Band involves aspects of all of these and many other motivations which I have discussed in this chapter. However I believe that these players take all these motivations, rewards and costs, lifestyle patterns and interrelationships as given or taken-for-granted processes. This observation can be identified with the definition of habitus that I introduced earlier and also in the following quotation by Bourdieu,

> The habitus is sometimes described as a "feel for the game", a "practical sense" that inclines agents to act and react in specific situations in a manner that is not always calculated and that is not simply a question of conscience obedience of the rules. Rather, it is a set of dispositions which generates practices and perceptions. (Bourdieu 1993b:5)

In this sense the players experience the hierarchies, leadership and legitimization of behaviour, role and position within the Brighouse and Rastrick Brass Band through their inculcation in performance contexts, and therefore these become unthinking processes or second nature. For example, decoding the leadership directions given by the principal cornet Alan Morrison becomes second nature to the players in his section while all members of the

band understand what is meant by James Gourlay's comments like "You sound like the Dagenham Girl Pipers' Band".

The examples given above represent only one of the characteristics that define the Brighouse and Rastrick Band habitus and field. By reference to Sheridan Fryer and Ian Dust I showed that the length of participation is also influential. Inculcation of the processes of imposition forms what Bourdieu above labels a "durable disposition" such that the longer a player participates in the band the more legitimate he believes his actions become in relation to his fellow participants, the performance contexts and the field.

The hierarchies, stratifications and division of labour are understood by the participants as being linked to the amount of capital demonstrated by players who occupy specific positions. This understanding generates practices that are adjusted to particular performance contexts (as will be observed in the forthcoming chapters) and are representational of the disposition which Bourdieu defined as "structuring structures" (1993b:5). These structuring structures help define the Brighouse and Rastrick Brass Band as a specific field where players act and behave in concrete social situations governed by a set of objective social relations, in this case their playing position. Like Bourdieu, I believe that these objective positions are influenced by the interrelationships that are established with other players, as exemplified by the comparison between the leadership styles of the two principal cornets and the reactions of the rest of the section. Whilst players through inculcation see these structures as legitimate and taken–for-granted they do occasionally cause an element of conflict. This again is a significant property of the field, where players occupying the various positions within the band engage in competition for control of the interests or resources which are specific to the band, its performance capital. Before his promotion in the cornet section Sam Fisher, who was on third cornet at the time, expressed his ambition to perform in a higher position to several other band members. Consequently he was promoted when a position became available, therefore expressing a conscious calculation, differing from the theory expressed by Bourdieu (*ibid.*:7). However, my own promotion in the section was not something I had consciously planned for, resulting instead from the evaluation of my performance by Matthew Hilton, this time conforming to Bourdieu's theory.

The example of my promotion is an illustration of my acquisition of cultural capital, another important aspect in the distinction of position in a hierarchy. Cultural capital represents the cultural knowledge, competences or dispositions that are understood by the participants through their appreciation of internalised codes, specifically those concerning individual performance capital. Bourdieu describes these internal codes, with reference to the appreciation of art in the following quotation: "A work of art has meaning and interest only for someone who possesses the cultural competence, that is, the code, into which it is encoded" (1993b:7). In this sense the players within the Brighouse and Rastrick Band posses their own set of competences, including knowledge and understanding of performance capital. These codes allow for the assessment of both their own ability and position and those of other members. I have exemplified this particular feature throughout this chapter, examples being the self-assessment of ability and position by Andrew Kenyon in his comment concerning promotion to a higher position and the assessment of the leadership skills imparted by the different principal cornets. These instances show also how these codes are internalised and replicated in practice by players within the band.

An understanding of cultural competency is also helpful to an analysis of the relationships between those in principal positions and those in the band more widely. The principal instrumentalist in a section has responsibilities determined by the competency which they demonstrate specifically through their performance, as discussed earlier in the chapter. The individuals concerned understand the interests at stake in their performance. For example, in the Yorkshire Area contest in 2006 Alan Morrison felt he had not played sufficiently well and in the bar following the performance he was noticeably quieter than usual. In the weeks that followed some players explained this behaviour by commenting that he was upset at his own playing and felt he had let the band down. In publicly, if implicitly, acknowledging the problem, Morrison was giving due regard to the "investment" he and other band members had collectively made in his role, prestige and legitimacy:

> The relationship between positions and position-takings is mediated by the dispositions of the individual agents, their feel for the game … the

> characters' habitus shapes their inclination to play the game to win or lose, to augment, preserve or squander their inherited capital. Strategies [agents' feel for the game] also account for agents' trajectories in the field. (Bourdieu 1993b:16)

His action is at once one which recognises his higher degree of capital (symbolically and in performance) as a section principal, and shows an awareness of the increased risk that stake involves when performance does not match his position in the hierarchical structure of the band. It reveals how musicians negotiate between what is demanded of them and what they deliver: the quieter-than-usual behaviour is thus one of the rules of the game, one that may stave off other players' competition for the principal position, at least in the short term.

This chapter, like the whole of this study, has explored processes that I have experienced throughout my participation in the Brighouse and Rastrick Band. Through analysing the behaviour of my fellow participants as well as my own, I have realised that the structures and relationships maintained and developed in the band are essential to its functionality. This kind of social inequality, in effect, is an unconsciously-evolved system that allows the band to fill positions with the most qualified players. That the band nevertheless remains a tight-knit social unit, receiving great loyalty from its members, shows the strength of the field, the relationship it instils among players and their collective investment in an overall system of belief. In the following chapters I shall introduce more thoroughly the contexts in which these characteristics and issues are based, beginning with the concert context and moving on to the contest context.

Chapter 4: The Structure and Meaning of Concert Musicking in the Brighouse and Rastrick Band

> The act of musicking establishes in the place where it is happening a set of relationships, and it is in those relationships that the meaning of the act lies. (Small 1998:13)

> Musical performances were an accepted part of the local social activity. (Finnegan 1989:144)

As these quotations suggest, in this chapter I shall discuss the relationships which are created through ritual and social interaction within the concert context. The Brighouse and Rastrick Band participates annually in approximately thirty-five concerts, geographically dispersed across the United Kingdom, and in rare circumstances on foreign tours. Concerts therefore play a significant role in the financial, social and musical functions of the band. Since the Brighouse and Rastrick Band is not sponsored by, for example, a bank, building society or construction company, its main income comes from the resources accumulated through participation at these concerts.

The number of concerts undertaken directly influences the amount of time that the players spend together. For example, a concert in Ipswich means that the players are on the bus for many hours before and after the performance. A number of concerts involve this kind of journey. For example, a concert held in South Wales in collaboration with the Parc and Dare band took seven hours to reach and another six hours to return. Since the concert began at half past seven and finished at approximately ten o'clock, the band was asked to start from the band room at 10 a.m. so that they could reach the concert venue in time for a rehearsal and some food. After the concert the band had half an hour for refreshments, and were then on the bus again for six hours, arriving at the band room at four o'clock on Sunday morning. (One of the players stated rather humorously as he left the bus "The rest of the weekend is your own!")

The musical function of concerts also plays an important role in the musicking involved in a band. Different players have the opportunity to perform as individuals within concerts and so accumulate higher levels of prestige, whilst the tutti players achieve a level of satisfaction or gratification

through the production of a product channelled at the general public through shared cultural values and experiences. Each of these roles will be discussed in greater detail later in this section and by the end of the chapter I shall have produced an accurate description of the processes and participants which represent the ritual that is the brass band concert.

Since the number of concerts in which the band participates is so large it would be a lengthy and ultimately futile exercise to describe each and every one of these in any great detail. However, as was the case in the ethnographic study by Cottrell (2004), the majority of activities and processes which occur in these concerts are repeated over and over and as such may become considered meaningful. Conversely, not introducing an example of what I have observed as a typical concert might alienate those readers unfamiliar with the processes involved in a western concert. Therefore in this chapter I shall attempt to produce a balanced introduction which will inform the unfamiliar and yet not discuss in great depth features which may be seen as obvious or self-explanatory.

I shall begin with a concise description of the types of concerts in which the Brighouse and Rastrick Band perform, for example those concerts which are representative of the theories proposed by Small (1998), Finnegan (1989) and Cottrell (2004). Following this initial introduction I shall discuss why I believe that these band concerts are examples of specific rituals, and include a series of definitions which I believe fits my particular observations of the events. My main use of 'ritual' in both concert and contest contexts is based on that highlighted by Small (1998:94). This means I see the combination of band rehearsal and concert primarily as one continuous ritual process that is defined by the inculcation of "organised behaviour" (Small 1998:95) which never becomes meaningless to its participants. As I shall discuss later, this ritual process involves the individual players within the band affirming, exploring and celebrating gestures, actions and communication which influence their perception of the relationships' established field. In Chapter 3 I discussed the inculcation of these processes in relation to their involvement in the formation of relationships which shape both the structure and experience of the field (or band in this instance) as natural dispositions by those who participate.

There are several other characteristics and definitions which are associated with ritual and these again are introduced by Small (1998:94-6) and Cottrell (150-3). During this chapter I shall highlight a number of these characteristics, specifically those involving what Small defined as the players' "heightened intensity of experience" (1998:96) and also the concert as a regularly followed and experienced procedure, as proposed by Cottrell (2004:151). Many, if not all, musical cultures have some form of ritual within their musical performance. For instance, in the barbershop traditions in America the singers begin their performance by an individual singing a single note (the root) or by the collective singing of a preparatory chord (Averill 2003:161). This kind of ritual is comparable to the "tuning-up" note, given by the oboe in an orchestral concert, and in the rehearsals of the Brighouse and Rastrick Band given by the principal cornet playing a C, or concert Bb.

Since I believe that the execution of a concert performance is the end product of a long and repetitive process rather than a single isolated event I shall take the opportunity in this section to discuss the concert rehearsal. There have been many research papers and studies regarding the issue of concert preparation and the activities which are both utilized and accumulated in this process and which affect the behaviour of the participants in the concert ritual itself. The research that I found particularly useful on this topic is that of Brendell (1996), Finnegan (1989) and Hallam (2002), whilst Cottrell (2004) offers an interesting account of the events which occur within professional orchestras. Although the ethnographic observations of those above have offered interesting insights into rehearsals, the observations accumulated concerning the actual processes in these rehearsals during my fieldwork are underpinned by a variety of theories, including those proposed by Bourdieu (1993b), Foucault (1977) and Rink (2002). Within these processes there are also issues concerning communication and interaction, factors which are important in establishing ritual behaviours and activities which influence not only the means but also the eventual ends of concert production. The discussion regarding communication, for example, is divided into two specific types, verbal and non-verbal, and each plays a prominent role in the rehearsal, for instance in the application of musical directions by both the conductor and

principal players. Communication is also a fundamental aspect of interaction, for example a player may signal to another player that he may need a mute in a passage by using an open handed gesture close to the instrument bell. There are many more examples of communication and interaction which will be introduced later in association with rehearsals and concert performance.

Having identified the processes involved in rehearsals I shall then proceed to the actual performance ritual within the concert context. Amongst the considerations discussed in this section will be the processes which occur within concerts, ranging from a concise appreciation of those responsible for lighting to a deeper understanding of the players themselves. These specific participants will be introduced in the order in which they function within the context, utilising the processes proposed and developed by van Gennep (1960) in relation to the cycles involved in life patterns, and later by Cottrell (2004:152) in relation to orchestral concert participation.

In the conclusion I shall present the issues concerning concert-related performance, for example performance as cultivated by rehearsal, the appreciation of concert music as a form of commodity and the importance of the repetition of the process in establishing the expectation concerning overall ritualized behaviour.

Since the concert is a major part of the activities associated with the Brighouse and Rastrick Band I hope by the end of this chapter to demonstrate the importance of the event as a ritual for the participants. During the process of this demonstration I also hope to present an accurate image of these participants, in particular snapshots of their behaviour, attitudes and motivations which were discussed in greater detail in the previous chapter. Having now introduced the complete structure of this chapter I shall begin my detailed observations on the various types of Brighouse and Rastrick Band concert.

"Variations on a Concert": The Types of Concert in which the Brighouse and Rastrick Band Participates

As I stated earlier the band performs at a number of concerts during a calendar year and amongst these there are significant and subtle variations. In 2005 the

concerts were spread over the whole of Britain but were categorised by the players in order of importance, according to the venues and the prestige of the "job".

The reference to the term "job" in this particular context is significant since most of the players refer to the concerts in this manner. For instance, players often received phone calls or text messages asking "What jobs have we got next weekend?" In the financially unstable world of professional musicians, concerts and, to a lesser extent, rehearsals are often defined as "work" since they are the events which offer financial benefit to individuals. Although the Brighouse and Rastrick Band is an amateur organisation the players are remunerated to some extent for the level of their commitment. Some of those holding principal positions accumulate further financial benefit from both the prestige of their position and from their solo performances. There is therefore a link between the definition of work as used by professionals and that of 'jobs' as used by the band players. Further evidence of this association was also apparent in some concert situations throughout my fieldwork, especially in venues that were acoustically difficult or had a non-responsive audience, where the players came off the stage looking tired and stating, "That was hard work!" In her research on brass bands in the Milton Keynes area, Finnegan (1989:52) found that members of the Woburn Sands Band described their experience of their activities as almost being "like a job", later adding that these same players "felt less guilty taking a holiday from their paid employment than from the band". These are also features consistent with the views I have documented from the participants of the Brighouse and Rastrick Band. In busy periods many of the players, including myself, have felt that the concerts had almost become a chore or menial job lacking in the compensations of "good humour and fun", discussed in Finnegan (1989:52) and also in earlier chapters concerning enjoyment. When I discussed this topic with Jayne Sadler, a member of the Sellers International band, she stated that it didn't matter whether her band was busy or not because being in concerts was a "way of life" for a brass band player, as it most certainly is for the professional musicians mentioned in Cottrell (2004:85). The definition of concerts as work or jobs, especially concerning the payment of participants, deviates at this point from the thinking of Cottrell, who believed that payment

was an important feature concerning the sense of group identity. In the Brighouse and Rastrick Band payment to all the players does not play such an important role in sustaining a group identity as it does in the financially-based professional music community, as I discussed in the previous chapter.

The types of concert work undertaken by the band are dependent on a number of organisational and musical issues. Referring again to the 2005 band calendar, there were twenty-four concerts. Of these two were for music festivals, three were arranged by the band, one was arranged by the Hollybank Trust Charity, one was arranged by a local band association near Bournemouth, a further two were arranged by a gentleman in Canada and fourteen were a mixture of Rotary Club and independently-organised events. The concerts organised by the band are held annually towards the latter half of March and October and in these one other band is invited to attend to form a massed band.[32] These concerts and the one annually held at Christmas at the Central Methodist church in Brighouse are examples of what Chanan (1994:139) describes as "Benefit" concerts. Benefit concerts are those which are organised and promoted solely by the band for their own financial gain. For example, in 2005 the band accumulated over five thousand pounds from these concerts. Another aspect of Benefit concerts is their localised target audience. The concerts which are organised by the Hollybank Trust, Rotary clubs, music festivals and band associations are examples of a second type of concert witnessed by Chanan. These concerts are organised by permanent organisations or professional musicians. For example, the brass band festivals are generally organised by a mixed proportion of professional musicians, usually connected with academic institutions such as the University of Durham or the Royal Northern College of Music, or professional event organisers like Biggs and Franklin.

The musical issues which influence the type of concert work undertaken by the band are normally controlled by either the status applied to a particular event or the musical needs of the organisers. The concert work associated with the festival performances at Bridgewater Hall, Royal Northern

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[32] The idea of massed bands can be traced to a number of events at the beginning of the nineteenth century, whilst the massed bands organised by the Brighouse and Rastrick Band began in the 1940s.

College and Durham share similar functions to those held at Disley, Batley and Huddersfield Town Halls. However, the festival concerts do allow the participants a vehicle for the expression of particular ideas and emotions which are not evident in other concert situations. They are also an example of an "uptown" category of the sub-worlds discussed by Gilmore (1988:210). In this uptown sub-world the concerts are primarily organised by academics who are committed to retaining standard instrumentation whilst also promoting interpretation, technical virtuosity and contemporary compositions. The repertoire in these festivals gives players the opportunity to test their musical and technical skills in a quasi-contest context, for instance in the performance of a series of former contest or large-scale pieces. When the band performed at the Festival of Brass at the Royal Northern College at the beginning of 2005 most of the players looked forward to the event, seeing the music as a personal challenge rather than the "same cheese" they usually had to perform. However, not all players enjoy these events due to the music performed. For example, in a rehearsal before the Durham Contemporary Band Music Festival in 2005, Nick Jackson asked me, having just finished playing a piece called *Altitude* (Butterworth), "Do you really like pieces like that?" The difference between these concerts in regard to the type of repertoire performed can be heard through comparison of tracks one to seven on CD 2 and the opening tracks on CD 5 (see appendix 2).

A similar incident occurred before the same event in 2004 when the band was rehearsing a piece called *Aubade* (Aagaard Nielsen). Andrew Kenyon and Matthew Hilton believed that there would be only ten people in the audience by the end of the piece. In reality about a third of the audience remained. Following the concert, I was approached by a member of the audience who stated that he had spent the whole of the second half in the bar and that "he had never heard so much garbage" even though he had attended Brighouse and Rastrick Band concerts since they had won the National Brass Band Championships of Great Britain in 1946.

Both of the examples discussed above are also applicable to another of the "functions" discussed by Merriam, that of positive or negative aesthetic enjoyment (1964:225). This function involves the contemplation of music in terms of its beauty, meaning or power to promote a specific response. For

instance, when the band performs *Pageantry* (Howells) it evokes strong associations with previous contest success (at the All-England Masters Championship in 2001) and the performers who played a prominent role in that performance. This is demonstrated in a conversation with members of my section in 2005 :

Richard: "I love the second movement of this piece. I remember when [Phillip] McCann played it at the Masters."

Craig: "McCann played with the band?"

Richard: "Yeah … it was awesome … the piece really suited his sound. [turning to Matthew Hilton] Do you remember the sop player at the end of that second movement … on that high note and making that face."

Nick: "What did he do?"

Matthew: "That crazy Jock finished playing and then pulled his tongue out for the audience."

[Craig and Nick laugh, whilst Matthew blows air through his instrument]

Aesthetic enjoyment is also exemplified in concerts outside the festival context and in recent years this has been particularly evident when Alan Morrison plays a specific cornet solo which the players enjoy. This solo is entitled *Satchmo* (Baker) and towards the end of the piece the soloist has a cadenza passage reminiscent of the player to whom the piece is dedicated, Louis "Satchel mouth" Armstrong (see appendix 2, CD 2 track 4). In performing this cadenza, Morrison needs to use the full notational range of the instrument and in this particular process he turns a dark shade of purple as both the notation and dynamic increases. Many of the players enjoy this specific moment, especially when the audience may only be a couple of feet away from the stage and in the proverbial "firing line". In one concert a

member of the audience noticeably winced and at another an elderly gentleman clearly adjusted a hearing aid of some kind. Whilst the players understand this discomfort, they also find the reaction humorous, some of them nodding and laughing whilst others simply look at his back and then to the audience members. At one particular concert Nick Jackson noticed that I was nodding my head as Morrison was playing. He nudged Matthew Hilton who looked over, rolled his eyes and shook his head. The piece itself has subsequently become a favourite for the players, for instance players commenting positively or negatively as to whether Morrison will be playing *Satchmo* at the next concert; this of course will be discussed in due course in relation to the influence of repertoire on musicking. A similar example occurs when David Hebb plays a solo, *Teddy Bears' Picnic* (Bratton). In this situation Hebb moves to the front of the stage, hiding a teddy bear (attached by string to his fourth valve finger) from the audience down the bell of his tuba. During the process of playing the cadenza in this piece the teddy suddenly appears out of the bell as the player uses multiphonics[33] to create bizarre Yogi Bear sounds. A similar reaction is derived from the performance of another bass solo, *Czardas* by Monti, and can be heard in the reaction of the audience in CD 4 track 7 (see appendix 2). The players look forward to the solo features performed by Hebb and through their inculcation of this process it has become known to the players as "comedy bass". In concerts which do not include Dave Hebb and have not been received well by the audience, Andrew Kenyon has frequently said to Matthew Hilton and the rest of us "What we need is some comedy Dave!" The reaction to the pieces I have introduced above is similar to that experienced by Cottrell (2004:160) when he was playing in a tour of Prokofiev's ballet *Romeo and Juliet*. He found that once he became familiar with the whole score he would look forward to certain points in the music and this heightened his enjoyment of the performance, much as the players in the band enjoy the contributions of both Morrison and Hebb in the programme. This demonstrates the aesthetic enjoyment that accrues to the participants through the choice of specific programming and also is associated with several other musical functions discussed by Merriam, including

[33] Multiphonics: a technique used predominantly by the euphonium and bass families that involves a player singing and playing at the same time.

entertainment, communication and contribution to the continuity and stability of the band concert, aspects which I shall discuss in due course.

The various types of concert, including their particular musical function, as described earlier can also be ascribed to specific categories or "sub worlds" (Gilmore 1988:210). Those concerts which are held in town halls, theatres or community centres and are organised using beneficial methods (as defined earlier), for instance those organised by the band in Huddersfield Town Hall, can be described as being "midtown" concerts. In the Huddersfield example the band manages to attract a large audience, often achieving a sell-out of between 1,000 and 2,000, ultimately fulfilling a requisite feature of a midtown concert. These concerts also fulfil this requisite through their formal organisational methods. For instance, Andrew Wilkinson promotes the concert in the Huddersfield Examiner, other brass band media and by notifying the patrons, whilst David Howe, another member of the band committee, produces posters which are placed in local shops and outside the Town Hall. This is also a feature discussed in relation to the examples of classical recitals observed by Finnegan (1989:146). Another feature of midtown concerts represented by this concert is the understanding of both the specific target audience and their approximate musical taste. In one massed bands concert at the Town Hall the band performed a piece called *Journey into Freedom*. This was a test piece composed by Eric Ball, a leading brass band composer, and was first used in a contest during the 1970s. During the period preceding the Huddersfield concert the piece was performed at a number of concerts and received a good reception from the audiences. However, at a committee meeting following this particular concert, the patrons officer, Andrew Wilkinson, commented that he had received a few complaints from members of the audience stating that the programme was "far too heavy" for their liking and that the piece by Eric Ball "went on a bit!" The repertoire in midtown concerts is primarily taken from well-established popular or classical pieces: the transcription of the *1812 Overture* (Tchaikovsky) is the most commonly played music at these massed bands concerts. Since this music is regularly replayed there is little opportunity for the serious works of contemporary composers, as demonstrated in the example above. Examples of the midtown concert in the orchestral world also involve the hiring of

particular soloists. However, in these concerts the band employs another band and only occasionally adds a well-known soloist (the last soloist being Rod Franks, the co-principal trumpet of the London Symphony Orchestra). Although these concerts do not always hire an instrumental soloist they do require "guest conductors". For instance, Derek Broadbent was invited to conduct at the concert celebrating the twentieth anniversary of the original chart success of the *Floral Dance* (Broadbent) at Huddersfield Town Hall.

Each individual concert has its own characteristics which enable comparison and differentiation, and during this chapter I shall present my observations on these and their consequent effect on the generation of sound and performance structures and relationships. As Small highlighted, there is a temptation to offer a blanket description of all concerts as being identical and this is something of which I have been wary (1998:15). Equally, as I aim to demonstrate shortly, there are structures which are present in each concert and demand to be examined in greater detail, but before I do this I shall discuss the period of preparation which precedes the stage performance.

The Rehearsal and its Influence on the Preparation of both Ritualized Behaviour and Concert Activities

Ethnomusicologists regularly say that ritual plays an important part in the activities of a specific musical tradition. In these opening paragraphs I shall introduce a number of definitions and examples of ritual, from the orchestral performance as highlighted by both Small (1998) and Cottrell (2004), to those in the steel band and barbershop traditions as discussed by Dudley (2004) and Averill (2003). Having established the various definitions concerning ritual in the study of ethnomusicology I shall then discuss its application to the band concert processes.

In his book Small introduced ritual as "a form of organized behaviour in which humans use the language of gesture, or paralanguage, to affirm, to explore and to celebrate their ideas of how the relationships of the cosmos (or of part of it), operate, and thus of how they themselves should relate to it and to one another" (1998:95). Earlier in this chapter I introduced a number of characteristics which define how both Small and Cottrell see the ritual. The

main connection between these was the concept of relationships, in particular those which existed between participants, the various social groups to which they belonged and the other groups who participated in the event. These relationships quickly established specific types of organised behaviour which according to Small were affirmed, explored and celebrated through the activities that occurred with the performance contexts (1998:77). In exploring and affirming their behaviour, participants experience and learn certain actions or gestures and so re-enact particular relationships which ultimately shape their own understanding of how the world is imagined or how it should be (ideally). Small (1998:95) listed a series of events which included Coronations, Olympic Games, elections and family dinners, and claimed that, irrespective of the size or formality of these events, participants articulate the concepts of how their world is structured and how they should interrelate by means of their patterns of gesture. The familiarity that the participants demonstrate with these gestures shows a definite sense of community, something that the participants affirm, explore and celebrate and a feature of the organised behaviour involved in ritual, as I explained earlier. My use of affirmation in this context is similar to that defined by Small (1998:95) especially in relation to the definition of community. The affirmation of the self or a specific identity is essential in sustaining and maintaining the structure of behaviour within a community and consequently its ritual activities. This affirmation was presented to a certain extent in both the discussion of uniforms and its influence on the distinction between different bands, as I introduced in the previous chapter. Affirmation in concerts can also be achieved through the use of either a specific repertoire or a standard piece of music played at each concert. In the Brighouse and Rastrick Band this is achieved through the performance of the *Floral Dance* (Broadbent) and *West Riding* (Wood) (see appendix 2, CD 1 tracks 1 and 17), whilst in the barbershop singing tradition some groups affirm their identity through the use of specific styles of pieces or performance (Averill 2003:158), or the specific style of the tunes produced by the band arranger affirms the identity of a particular steel band (Dudley 2004:84). Both these examples describe identities created by the performance of pieces in certain styles rather than by the performance of specific pieces each time they perform. In this sense the

pieces fulfil the same function as a national or unifying anthem that promotes a singular identity, exemplified in the comments made by David Hirst in describing the march *West Riding* (Wood) as "where we come from".

The second feature of this definition of ritual is that which concerns the exploration of the activity through involvement, experience and communal understanding. Through their participation in the processes which collectively represent the concert the players initially explore their specific role, influence and position in search of what Small describes as a process of "trying on identities" to see who they actually are (1998:40-1). This is particularly evident in the player membership of the Indian wedding bands, where they all gather in the back room of a music shop at the beginning of the wedding season and some individual players explore their role through their performance, which consequently draws the attention of the Maliks (managers) who appoint to them a position and therefore an identity (Booth 2005:92). However in the Brighouse and Rastrick Band this communal understanding and trying on of identities is different from that in the Indian wedding bands. The main difference is in the method of player appointment. Whilst the Mailks appoint players with an identity specifically through their performance in the group context, in the Brighouse and Rastrick Band this is initially done through the audition process, either in private with the conductor and principal or by performing a solo in front of the band. Following their appointment, their identity and position are established.

In exploring their position through experience of the activity they are consequently in a position to be able to celebrate this role, this being the third feature of the definition of ritual as discussed by Small (1998:95). This act of celebration is demonstrated in several musical societies, for example in Mexican Banda tradition the participants celebrate their collective identity through sharing drinks following the performance (Simonett 2001:187), much as the players do in the Brighouse and Rastrick Band where they share drinks in a bar near the venue, or in some cases on the band bus. The celebration of individual identity in the Brighouse and Rastrick Band has far more association with the processes involved in the stage or liminal performance

(Cottrell 2004:153)[34]. For example, the soloists stand up at the end of a concert, just like the process following a Symphony Orchestra concert, often triggered by a sense of communitas and the sustained applause from the audience (Cottrell 2004:165-67). In affirming, exploring and celebrating the act of ritual as organised behaviour, Small has identified that experience in the event is an important issue. Cottrell developed this idea further and believes that the patterns of behaviour experienced within a specific cultural sphere are important in its overall structure, later defining the process as "ritualising". He believes that the effectiveness of this ritualising was dependent on the activity or event in question, for example the behaviour experienced in a concert, either in the pre-liminal, liminal or post-liminal stages (2004:152) was different from that behaviour experienced at a contest. An example of this was shown in a rehearsal before a festival concert at the Royal Northern College of Music, where the band was performing the piece *Severn Suite* (Elgar), a former competition test piece, and it was clear that everyone was concentrating on his individual part. After finishing one particular passage James Gourlay looked around the whole band and said "God, you lot look so miserable. Come on. This isn't a contest rehearsal!" At this point various members of the band laughed and the previously intense atmosphere became more relaxed and to a certain extent improved. This example clearly demonstrates that Gourlay recognises a perceived difference in the ritualized behaviour represented in concert and contest contexts. Throughout this chapter I shall describe the concert and demonstrate how the players in the band individually and collectively affirm, explore and celebrate this activity through the act of "ritualising".

Another aspect of ritual tentatively discussed by both Small (1998) and Cottrell (2004) concerns the position of the ritual itself as an "artificially ritualised oasis outside normal life" (Small 1998:94), being situated in a separate world that demonstrates different gestures and relationships, a social vacuum that advocates that music is an individual matter or, as Finnegan suggests, an event that is set apart and "framed" in some way (1989:153).

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[34] The Liminal stage of concert performance is defined by Cottrell as a transitional phase that has specific characteristics which make it significantly different fromfrom those which it both follows and precedes. Further, he comments that this liminal phase is most important because it is totally integrated into the whole social process (2004:153).

Framing is defined by Finnegan as the use of a series of conventions. These conventions include those who participate in the event (the performers, audience and others), the type of event (gig or concert) and the venue where the event is held (church, town or concert hall). Finnegan uses these conventions to delineate the various performance contexts so that they appear both unique and isolated from other events and aspects of what Small defines as "normal life" (1998:94). In many ways these framed conventions are concepts which are created and consequently sustained by what Hobsbawm and Ranger describe as networks of convention within the larger discussion of tradition (2005:3). In their definition they state that these conventions

> … are designed to facilitate readily definable practical operations, and are readily modified or abandoned to meet changing practical needs, always allowing for the inertia which any practice acquires with time and the emotional resistance to any innovation by people who have become attached to it. (2005:3)

Conventions such as the dress and behaviour of the participants are important therefore in defining individual contexts and as Hobsbawm and Ranger later suggest, they are essentially processes of formalization or ritualization of a specific and isolated nature (2005:6). Within these framed conventions, the ritualization of processes becomes an essential part of individual and group identity and behaviour, aptly defined by Hobsbawm and Ranger (2005:11) as the invention of "emotionally and symbolically charged signs of club membership".

This perception of the concert as a different world is equally applicable to the band concert, especially in considering the similarities in the physical architecture of the venues, for example the separate doors for entry and the back stage and foyer or bar areas. The separation of performer and what Baumann defines as "others" (1992:113)[35] continues within the concert hall, where often the stage forms a barrier between the performers and audience. The ability to play the required instruments means that participation has a high

[35] Baumann believed that rituals were "crystallizations of basic values uniformly endorsed by communities" and that the affirmation of these was complicated by "others". These others have an ambiguous position, in that they may appear as essential or non-essential to the ritual (Baumann 1992:113)

degree of exclusivity and, most of all, the participants are isolated from the relationships established in their everyday lives. The exclusivity of participation or attendance in the concert is not only related to those labelled as musicians and non-musicians, performers and listeners but to those who have been paid to play and to those who have paid to attend. In either case those who are not being paid to play or have no interest in paying for a ticket do not have entry to the event. This exclusivity therefore influences the construction, affirmation, exploration and celebration of the relationships between all the people responsible for the event in its totality. Having discussed the nature of the ritual and its exclusivity or isolation I shall now describe the activities and participants which constitute the processes involved in band concerts.

Many of the activities and behaviours that influence the performance are established in the rehearsal processes. Finnegan commented that rehearsals were "often a necessary compliment to that [context] of performing" and that it was "an essential preliminary to, and condition for, the final performance" (1989:153). Since the Brighouse and Rastrick Band endeavours to sustain a high level of both technical and musical standards, rehearsals are amongst other things an essential period for the introduction of new repertoire, its suitability for concert performance and its subsequent preparation to an adequate performance standard. The number of these rehearsals undertaken by the band is directly proportional to the number of jobs which appear on the annual calendar. In the past the band has had relatively quiet periods of concert activity and in this situation the conductor, usually David Hirst, has suggested that we restrict the rehearsals to one a week instead of two. During 2005, when the band found itself without a resident conductor, these periods of concert inactivity were used for the introduction of guest conductors or, in some cases, an informal "look" at possible future conductors. One of the reasons the band had for parting company with the previous resident conductor was the nature of the weekly rehearsals, the repertoire and the preparation for the concerts. When using one conductor for such a long period (ten years in this case) both the band and conductor become familiar with each other, with the repertoire often being repeated, sometimes for over a year, in a series of concerts. Quite a few of the players found the repetition of repertoire

frustrating and boring and this is demonstrated in the following diary extract from Mike Norton:

> Attendance good. Started late bad. *On the Quarterdeck* is not one of my favourites. Have to read everything down the octave. Dave seemed to be a bit more committed tonight. *Jubilance* is a new piece for me, not even heard it. Nicely played by John but a bit tricky sight reading. Band sounds well. Play *Zeibekikos* and *Solitare*. Don't know why. Practiced them enough. Steve OK, Alan's intonation a bit out. Played *Carnival Romain* (again!!) for front row on Saturday. To say we did it at the massed bands 3 days earlier, it was crap.[36]

The players continued to find the rehearsals repetitive until the committee suggested that the introduction of different conductors would provide the opportunity for the band to play different repertory. For example, one of the conductors, Chris Houlding, brought along a transcription of a piece by Michael Tippett, although this did not convince the players of its suitability for concerts. However, an example of the success of this process occurred when James Gourlay, the professional conductor, was asked to do a concert in Ipswich and he brought along a tuba solo entitled *Alpine Tuba*, an entertaining solo item that he had arranged for another tuba soloist some years earlier. In the last rehearsal before the concert Dave Hebb performed the piece and was met with the customary amount of applause. Gourlay then took some time to explain the entertainment or theatrical actions that would take place in the concert performance, including Leigh Baker aptly making the sounds of a cow as the percussion section played the cowbells. There were other activities that followed, some of which are used in later examples. However, this clearly demonstrates the importance of repertoire in rehearsal preparation. This example also demonstrates the importance of entertainment and also an association with an element of theatrical ritual. Theatrical ritual, as defined by Cottrell (2004:164-72), is described in relation to the amount of entertainment demonstrated in a performance ritual. For example the cow sounds made by Baker (above) are representational of the concert performance context but not of the typical contest context. In this particular example the behaviour and

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[36] p.c Mike Norton, band room, 2 November 2004.

action of Baker exhibit a pattern of behaviour that shares both theatrical and ritualistic characteristics and is therefore an example of a theatrical ritual.

The amount of practice demonstrated annually by the Brighouse and Rastrick Band is comparable to many other brass bands, regardless of their perceived standard of performance. Two former housemates of mine, Tim and Toni, both played for the Sellers International Band and rehearsed twice a week, whilst a former supervisor on my PhD course, Anthony McCann, played in a non-contesting band[37] which also had two rehearsals a week. This was also observed in the Woburn Sands Band by Finnegan, who also observed that operatic clubs held twice-weekly rehearsals but, like the Brighouse and Rastrick Band, held additional rehearsals when an important event approached (1989:154). The regularity of these rehearsals also allows the rehearsal itself to be categorised as another sub-ritual within the whole ritual that ultimately culminates in the public performance which occurs at weekends. These sub-rituals do not represent a unified or singular type of rehearsal since they are a precursor to the variety of concert activity needed for a particular event. For example the rehearsals for festival concerts are intense since the repertoire is perceived as being technically harder (as shown earlier in the comment by Gourlay that it was not a contest). An understanding of the type of concert rehearsal expected, for instance on a particular Tuesday night before the Festival of Brass, comes from what Martin (1995:190) and Finnegan (1989:152) define as "established conventions" or "framed conventions" that are inculcated and become natural dispositions for those participating. In this instance they become an integral part of what the players, and Hobsbawm and Ranger (2005:2), describe as tradition. In band these conventions involve certain trends or actions which are unique to that context. For example, in these 'festival' rehearsals the amount of talk or chat between players is considerably less than that exhibited for a normal rehearsal. When the rehearsals were taken by David Hirst, the players at the back, primarily the percussionists, were able to chat freely, sometimes sharing a joke, and this is also a feature of orchestral rehearsal as seen in Danziger (1995:4). This also happens to a lesser degree on the back row. For instance when Andrew, Nick

[37] Non-contest bands are those that do not participate or are categorised by contest or contest results.

or I play a quiet and exposed passage, Matthew makes a distinctive hand gesture involving a flicking of the wrist, palm downwards, suggesting that it sounds "effeminate". These conventions appear with less frequency when there is a professional or guest conductor engaged to conduct a rehearsal. However, in one rehearsal Derek Broadbent was conducting and one of the percussionists began talking whilst he was explaining the interpretation of a passage. He stopped, looked at the offending person, slowly removed his glasses and said, "Sometimes, gentlemen, you are very rude". James Gourlay has also commented on the chatting between players and not surprisingly the percussion section was the offending section once more. He said, "Gentlemen please don't talk when I'm explaining something." More recently a percussionist was rehearsing a fragment of his own part and Gourlay looked at the offender (who immediately stopped) and said "Good, I was beginning to think that I was suffering from tinnitus!"[38]

Another set of conventions which are established in rehearsals are those concerning performance competency. There have been occasions when the band has rehearsed a difficult programme with little preparation time for either group or individual practice. In these situations certain players have had problems, since they may have acquired less sight reading performance capital and so have been less sure in their performance of a piece. This has been particularly noticeable to other players and, according to Martin (1995:170), demonstrates the failure of that individual to conform to the unwritten conventions expected in that context. Such reactions thus call into question the competence of that individual by their particular reference group, in this case the other band members.

There are other rehearsal situations where the player plays the correct notes in the correct places within all the pieces of a programme, but they do not "motivate" or fill the other players with confidence, again resulting in a questioning of the individuals' ability. This is exemplified in Martin by his observations regarding players within a jazz ensemble, stating that playing things right may not be enough if it doesn't "swing" (1995:196). Consequently, players who are merited as playing well or are deemed worthy

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[38] p.c James Gourlay, band room, 14 November 2005

or capable maintain their position and status within the band, but more importantly have the opportunity for promotion, as was the case when Sam Fisher unofficially auditioned before the Christmas break in 2004 on flugel. There have been times when an individual player has played a solo in a rehearsal and the rest of the band have sat back and thought "What is he doing?" or "Is it supposed to sound like that?" There have been situations where stylistic issues have been discussed in relation to the values in which the players orient themselves or to their own specific musical "world", defined in the work of Becker (1982:198) as the artist's "acceptance of art world constraints and their internalised dialogue with the art world's other members". This of course is also dependent on the influence of the traditional canons of undisputed master works which usually gain authority and aura as time progresses. In the creation of a performance within the musical canon of rehearsal the participants are able to apply a routine of features that are indebted in part to the participants' view, through aspects of socialization, that things are how they should or should not be, as verbalised in comments like "I've never heard a baritone played like that. It's ridiculous!" This collective or shared understanding of what an instrument or piece should sound like is similar to that expressed by daSilva, Blasi and Dees (1984:8) who believed that performing, creating, hearing and interpreting music involved the use of shared grammar and symbols. These ideas of shared constructs are also a feature of one of the functions of music, symbolic representation, as proposed by Merriam (1964:225). The cultural and individual values demonstrated in this representation may hold specific cultural symbolism and meaning in the rehearsal context that is later transferred to the culmination of the performance process, the concert.

The behaviour and activities within the band rehearsal play an important part in the construction of many features which both represent cultural values and later develop awareness of public-related performance. One of the most influential factors in both these processes is the control of performance time by the participants. Although the conductor has the overall responsibility for this control, the players also have a significant role through their own interaction and their relationship with the conductor and, to a lesser extent, with the "others" involved in the performance context. I have found that

different conductors have the ability to control the "pace" of a rehearsal; this is generally expressed through the verbal comments made by the players, for example regarding a rehearsal that has seemed to last for longer than the actual rehearsal time and vice versa. There have been many case studies regarding the perception and organisation of involvement, attentiveness and behaviour in relation to time spent in shaping rehearsals, including those of Forsythe (1977) and Madsen and Geringer (1983). During my period in the band there has been a variety of conductors who have either "made the rehearsal go quicker" or "seemed to make it go on for ever". As I showed earlier, there are times in rehearsals when players chat amongst themselves on subjects that may or may not have a bearing on the music involved. Some of these comments like "Did you see *Little Britain* on Friday night?" are examples of what Brendel (1996:7) discusses as "off-task behaviour". Band concert rehearsals throughout my observations have demonstrated a preponderance for more playing than non-playing or conductor/player communications. In those rehearsals undertaken by David Hirst an explanation of the history of a piece of music was particularly limited and this was accepted by the players. However, James Gourlay uses off-task behaviour in certain festival concert rehearsals to alleviate tension momentarily. For example, when commenting on bad intonation he might say "You sound like the Dagenham Girl Pipers Band - well, that would be harsh on them. Perhaps the next time we play it we could do it a bit better?" If this does not have the desired effect he supplements his initial comment with "Come on guys, that was a joke, you can smile!"

The frequency of actual performance within a concert rehearsal is directly proportional to the specific repertoire that is being rehearsed, because when there is concentration on solo performance repertory there are many players who are only intermittently engaged in making music. In these pieces some of the tutti players are almost redundant because of either thinly-scored accompaniments or the apportioning of shared parts to single individuals. Since the emphasis is on the soloist, the accompanying parts are not as important and so need to remain in the background at a low dynamic marking. To avoid any untidiness, one player is designated to play the off beats, so for example in *Grandfather's Clock* (Doughty), I play most of the quiet

accompaniment parts in the second cornet part (figure 4.1) whilst Andrew Kenyon plays the majority of the louder passages.

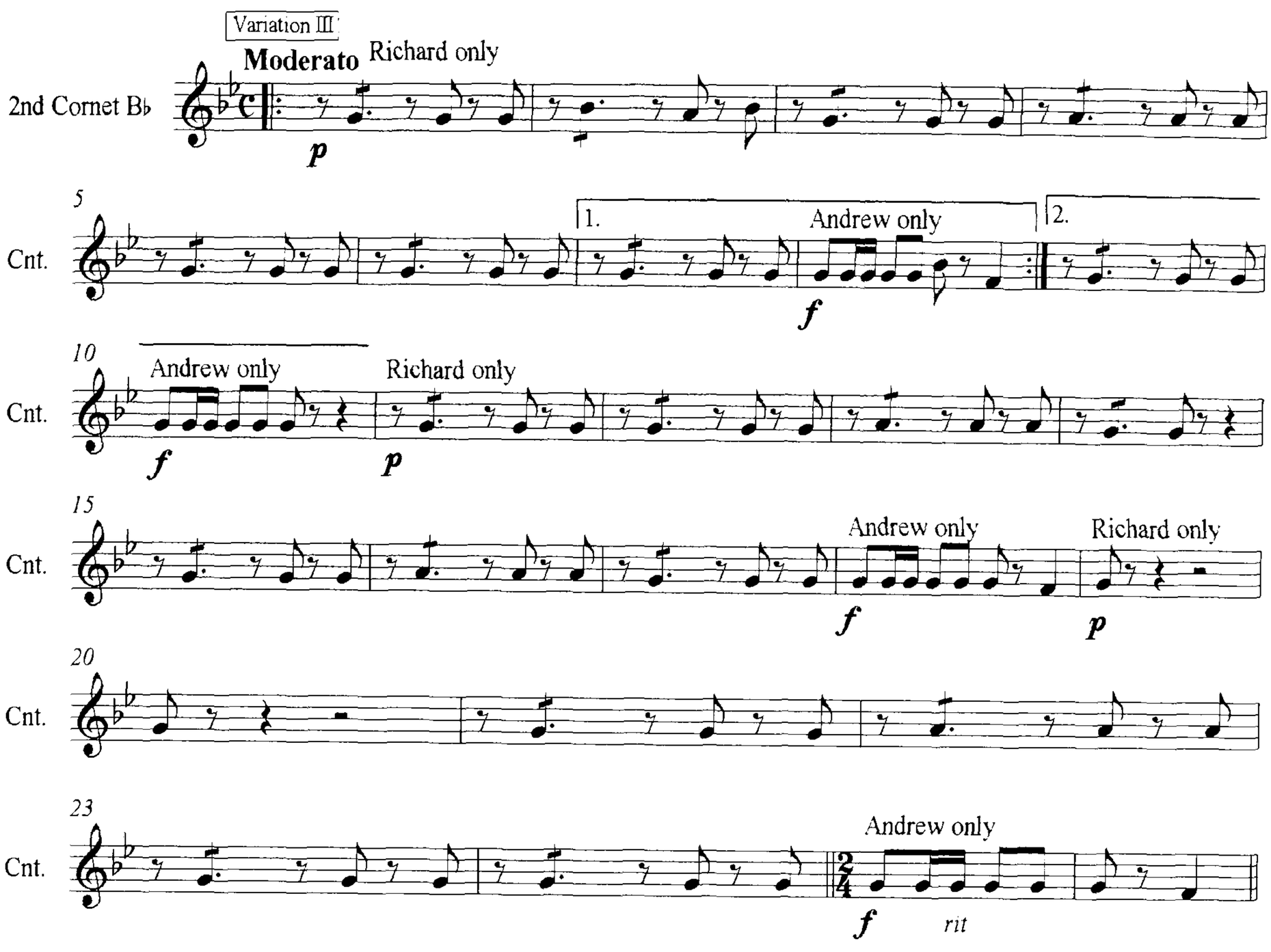

Figure 4.1: Distribution of roles between players sharing the same part

In one concert Andrew Kenyon turned to me and said that he was not going to play much in the next solo item, *Satchmo*, because he wanted to listen to Alan Morrison, the soloist, play, and he could not really do that if he was playing himself. This clearly demonstrates that the nature of the activity or the participation required seems to increase the level of attentiveness to the individual task itself. Another example of this attentiveness and its association with involvement occurs in pieces that require all the players to play on a more frequent basis. In general these are the climactic pieces which end the first or second halves of a concert and which often offer the greatest technical challenge. There are many pieces that the band has performed which require this higher level of involvement. For example, in a concert in Ipswich in 2005 the band finished the whole concert with a selection of dances from *West Side Story* (Bernstein). Since it is the final official piece in the programme there is a pressure to perform this to the best possible standard and this is important not only in the concert context but also in the rehearsal. More rehearsal time is spent on these pieces, and in one of the final rehearsals before the concert, a

period of twenty-five minutes was taken to rehearse the whole piece in detail. The amount of off-task behaviour between pieces also differs depending on the conductor responsible for the rehearsal. Both James Gourlay and Allan Withington took little time between finishing one particular piece and the beginning of the next whilst both David Hirst and Derek Broadbent took their time and engaged in further off-task behaviour such as humour or anecdotes of former performances of the piece or with the band.

In this next section I shall discuss the routines concerning band rehearsals which have been repeated throughout the period of my fieldwork. This involves comments specifically relating to observations which have been inculcated and become accepted as natural disposition. Rehearsals begin at a quarter to eight in the evening and in theory this is when the conductor is expected to initiate activity by giving the first downbeat. However, an exact beginning to a rehearsal is rarely achieved since the players arrive either earlier or later than expected. Ideally the players are expected to be present at the rehearsal at least ten minutes before the scheduled start time so that they can utilise individual warm up routines. On a regular basis during my fieldwork I have been the first in attendance at the rehearsal and so responsible for opening the band room, unlocking the security alarm, making sure there is sufficient lighting and also that the mutes for the back row are given to the right people (Andrew Kenyon gets quite irritated when he does not have his own specific cup mute). The majority of players appear between twenty-five past and half past seven whilst there are others who regularly "turn up" substantially earlier or later. Those who turn up late often receive "banter" or criticism from other players who find the disruption annoying and frustrating, a feeling that is comparable to that observed by Loft (2003:178) in string quartets. One example of such a situation involved a cornet player, Nick, who infuriated the conductor by being late for every rehearsal, a form of behaviour which became accepted because of his relative position within the band. There was a number of efforts to compromise with the player. For instance, when I joined the band the starting time had been half past seven and because of Nick it was agreed to start and finish later. Before one particular concert he missed the final rehearsal and it was suggested that he should be told to arrive at the band room half an hour before the time given to everyone else. On the

Saturday I was characteristically early to the band room and found Nick sitting in his van looking far from happy. After the bus and several other players had arrived Nick left his van, put his stage uniform and cornet on the seat and then came to help load the percussion on the bus. During this process I heard him talk to one of the players saying "Why did ya tell me to'd get here early? I were workin' all mornin' because I were behind on the job because of the contest a few weeks back". The players became accustomed to his lateness for both the rehearsal and contest contexts and only complained if he did not turn up at all. When he was later promoted, many of the players, including me, believed that he would alter his attitude and set an example. However he continued to turn up late and one of the players even commented "When he became principal I thought we'd see a different Nick, but he seems to be later now!" Punctuality is therefore an important issue and one that established certain beliefs and relationships which would continue to influence the nature of the following rehearsal.

As I stated in the paragraph above there are a number of players who have symbolic physical warm-up exercises that signify their formal academic musical performance training. Whilst being symbolic the physical warm up also has a practical function. Brass instrumentalists rely on the muscles around their lips, collectively defined as "the embouchure", to produce a buzzing noise that when combined with the application of a mouthpiece and instrument produces a note. These muscles, much like those used by athletes, need to be systematically "warmed up" or prepared for performance. However, as I shall demonstrate below, players have different warm-up routines which vary in length, content and signification. I have observed that Steve Miles, Alex Francis and Nick Jackson all warm up using a standard type of finger- and lip-warming exercise that is taken from a particular exercise used by their respective teachers. One exercise begins with a bottom C then moves up the C major scale to middle G, and then alternates with the F, a tone lower, four times before moving down the scale and beginning the process again on a D (figure 4.2). They continue this process for between three and five minutes before altering their routine to include the repertoire on their stands.

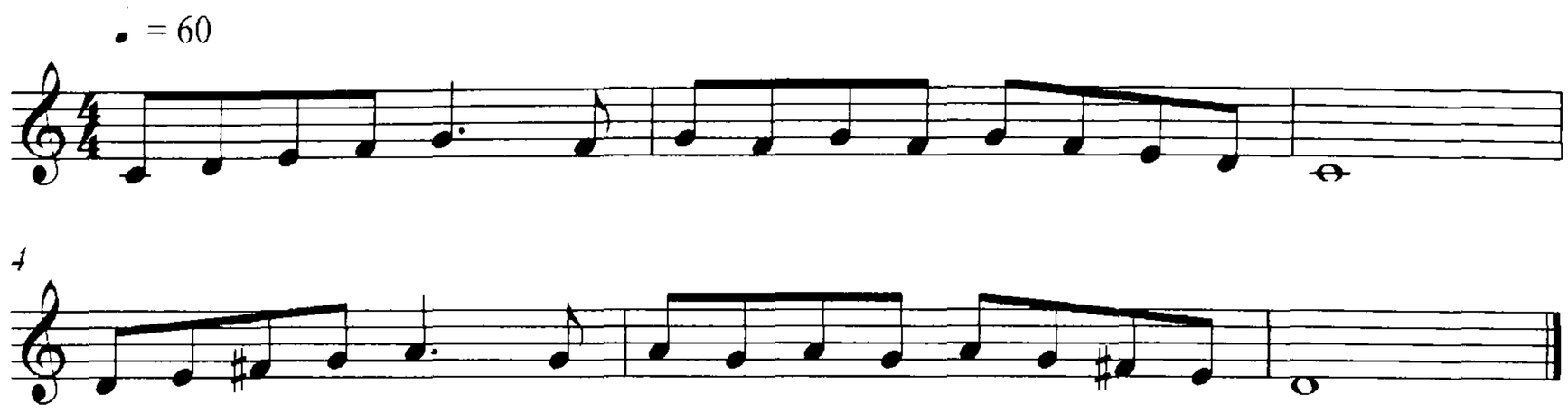

Figure 4.2: Warm-up routines of some of the players

Conversely there are players who do not warm up much at all. Matthew Hilton, who initially blows some hot air through his instrument near the entrance of the band room, arrives at his position on third cornet and performs two brief passage from a well known cornet solo at a very loud dynamic, these usually being the final cadence of *Rusalka's Song to the Moon* (Dvorak) (see figure 4.3 and appendix 2 CD 4 track 1) and the beginning of the cadenza in the Air and Variation, *Napoli* (Bellstedt). When he does this warm-up routine the front row cornets, Alex Francis and John Lewis in particular, turn around and have a smile on their faces. Many other players, for example Mike Norton on Bb bass and Alan Hobbins on soprano cornet warm up using only elements of the repertoire on their stand, a process that is also identifiable in the orchestral stage warm up (Cottrell 2004:77) and in the "getting ready" activity code discussed in relation to choral rehearsals observed by Brendell (1996:8). However, the main difference between the observations in her work and my own is the amalgamation of both the "getting ready" and "physical activity" codes into one general "warming-up" activity. In the following paragraph I shall describe the processes which occur between the aforementioned warm-up activity code and the main rehearsal, processes that are both recognised and taken as natural disposition by the players, forming a period which I shall call the "transitional phase".

One of the most prominent features of the transitional phase is the announcements concerning the attendance at that particular rehearsal (a procedure that I also observed in contest rehearsals). As I have already

discussed, the attendance or commitment of an individual player is primarily

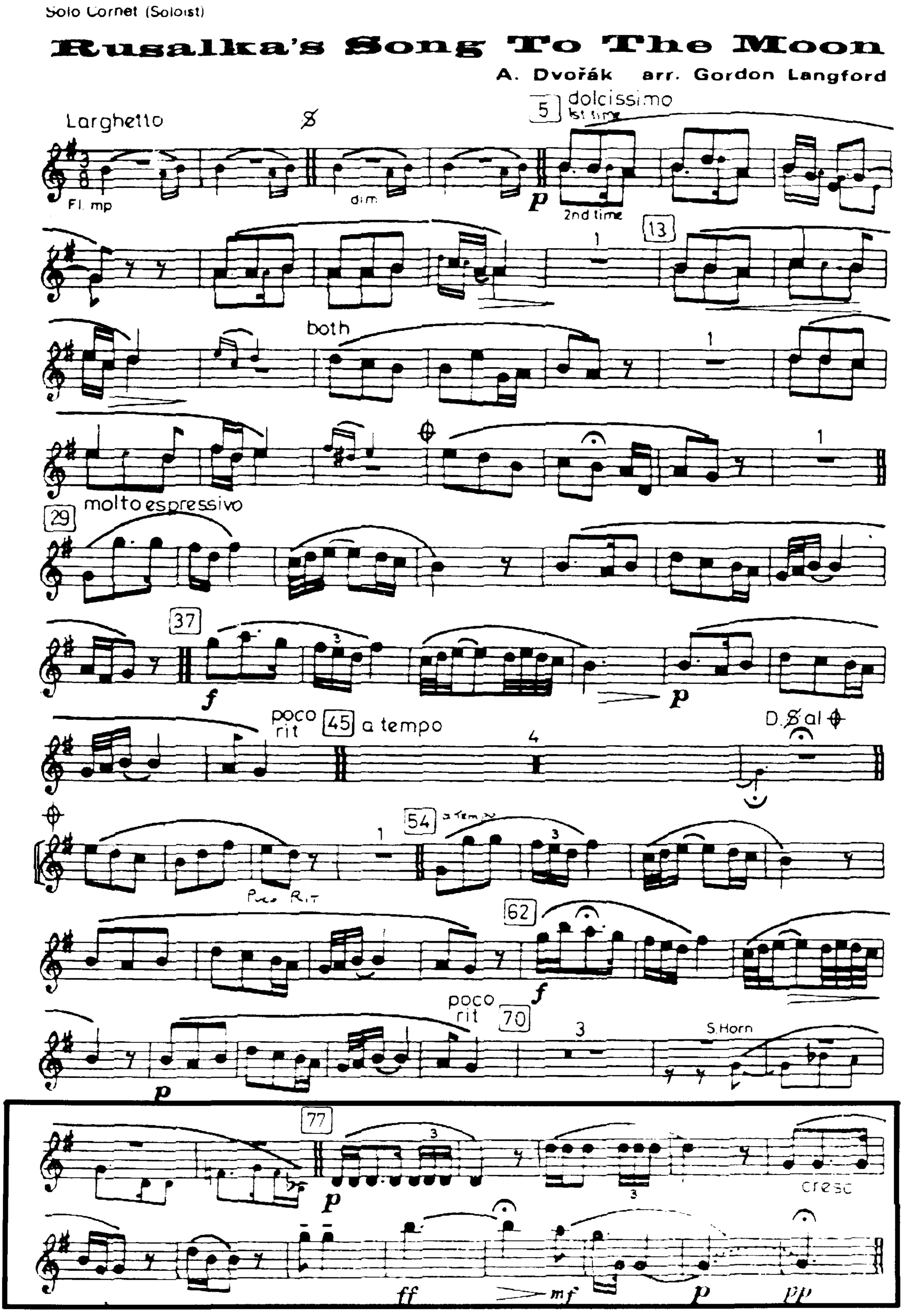

Figure 4.3: Matthew Hilton's occasional warm-up from *Rusalka's Song to the Moon* (Dvorak) (specifically the boxed area)

voluntary or dictated by the expectations of their fellow players. There have been several players and conductors involved in this announcement process. When David Hirst was conductor, players would report any absentees and their reasons for missing a rehearsal directly to him. The structure of the announcement can be seen in the following example:

David Hirst: Evening gentlemen. We have a few missing tonight for one reason or another. Simon is going to be late because of work, Leigh has a parents' evening and won't be here until nine, Alan [Hobbins] won't be coming because he's had to go to an evening course for his work and Alex, what has Jamie got?

Alex: erm. Yeah. Jamie's apparently got the measles and the doctor told him not to play this week.

[Others commented, "Didn't he think he had measles a few weeks back?" And also "Bloody students!!"]

David Hirst: Hum. That's nice. So as you can see we will be a bit short tonight, so let's get on and we'll see if we have an early night or not.

On a bus journey to a concert in Ipswich (2005) I asked both Melvyn Bathgate and Simon Martindale about this process and why they thought it necessary for it to be included at the beginning of a rehearsal. Both agreed that it was because it was "polite" to let the conductor know about the absentees as he may have a routine planned for that rehearsal. When asked why there was a need to express the reason for their absence, Simon replied, "It's nice to know the reason otherwise we wouldn't know if they were missing it for a pointless reason. I wouldn't like it if people just missed band because of football on TV". Following the departure of the resident conductor, guest conductors were specifically used for rehearsals and this announcement became even more

important since, as one of the players stated, "If we don't have a full team what kind of impression are we giving to them?" When the role of announcer was vacated, Leigh Baker took over the responsibility and actively asked around before the rehearsal about possible late arrivals or absentees. This process not only allows the players and conductor an element of respect but also represents a formal understanding of how things should be done, and, for example, highlights a person who may not be dedicated or is struggling to attend band because of work or other commitments. Although this process is not formally discussed in isolation by Brendell (1996:8) it does appear in the getting ready activity code and is missing altogether from the processes within the orchestral literature which I have read. When Leigh took over the responsibility he also took responsibility for introducing the various guest conductors, for example when Chris Holding took a rehearsal he said, "I'd like to welcome Chris Holding to the bandroom to take this rehearsal" at which point the players gave a round of applause, a symbolic gesture of welcome which also applied to guest players. This particular announcement brought the transitional phase to an end and signalled either a formal introduction by the conductor or a brief explanation of the repertoire and structure of the rehearsal that would follow, both topics that will be discussed shortly.

Before beginning a description of the main performance rehearsal, I should mention other routines which are particularly noticeable, some of which I have discussed above. The conductors who have been associated with the band in relation to concert rehearsal have all had specific idiosyncratic procedures which influence their preparation for the rehearsal. David Hirst, for example, would arrive before the majority of the players, take the scores from his music case or band folder, initiate a conversation with those already in attendance, sometimes pertaining to the repertoire to be performed in the rehearsal and at others regarding issues involving other bands, and then would wait for Sheridan (the librarian) to arrive so that he could get a new piece from the library, or he would talk to some of the soloists about solos they might possibly play at the next concert. In contrast, James Gourlay would arrive at the band room a bit later than David, meaning that far more players were already seated in their positions and in the process of their "warming-up" or "getting ready" activity code. He would interrupt this process by placing the

scores on the conductor's stand. If Alan Morrison and the other solo cornets were already seated he shook Alan, John and occasionally Alex by the hand before repeating the process with both the solo euphonium and solo horn player. Following these initial routines both the conductors would discuss how the rehearsals were to be approached musically. Since there was a higher degree of familiarity between the players and David Hirst the amount of direction and instruction about rehearsal organisation was limited to a few sentences. There was no real need to itemise the whole rehearsal in detail because the players were aware that the preparatory work in the rehearsals was engineered towards the goals of the next engagement. However, as Mike Norton stated earlier, the familiarity of the routines established by David Hirst in these rehearsals often led to uninspired rehearsals and consequently uninspired concerts. The familiarity with routine was also evident when new pieces were added to the repertoire. For example, Norton commented that in the rehearsal on 16th November 2004 the introduction of the pieces *Imperial Echoes* (unknown) and *Gaelforce* (Graham) was "completely out of the blue" and that in some of the rehearsals around that time pieces were often played through but not really rehearsed, leaving the "band to pull it out of the bag" on the concert stage, an example comparable to that demonstrated in orchestras by Danziger (1995:20).

The perception of time during a rehearsal is another important issue and it is delineated both by the specific conductor in charge and also by the degree of off-task behaviour shown by the players. This off-task behaviour, as I stated earlier, is also defined by Cottrell (2004:172) as "play" and is mostly demonstrated in the warm-up activity code and other preparatory procedures. However, its influence was also observed during the performance activity and was generally interpreted as a nuisance or unnecessary interruption, especially if the problem originated from a person who is neither a player nor a conductor. In one particular instance the players were listening to the conductor explain a passage of music when Derek Rawlinson, the band chairman, walked though the band room towards the entrance with a large set of keys in his pocket that jingled every time he moved. The interruption of the intensity and attentiveness demonstrated in these rehearsals allowed the players a momentary relaxation that involved humour and verbal

communication especially between certain individuals. The psychological perception of time within a rehearsal was observed by Jenkins (2003:69), who said "practice is intrinsically defined by its tempo" and also by Small (1998:96) who found that "during the enactment of the ritual, time is concentrated in a heightened intensity of experience". In some rehearsals the players felt that the amount of time spent seemed either a lot shorter or longer than the actual time. This was invariably associated with the type of repertoire and conducting methods employed. As I showed earlier the type of music rehearsed may affect the amount of off-task behaviour demonstrated, which directly influences the perception of time within a rehearsal. On a Wednesday night rehearsal before a contemporary music festival the band was rehearsing a particularly sparse piece which did not involve the players on a continuous basis. Whilst this introduced the opportunity for examples of off-task behaviour, such as humour, the seriousness of the rehearsal as established by the conductor meant that this would have been unacceptable. Together with the method of repetitively rehearsing short passages employed by the conductor (an example of Chunk Method[39] proposed by Linda Gurson and James Ching (Rink 2002:105), the periods of inactivity experienced by the players meant that the rehearsal seemed longer than the actual two hours. Some players were observed looking at each other and rolling their eyes upwards whilst Simon Martindale laughed when he observed both Andrew Kenyon and me yawning at the same time. Conversely, rehearsals with James Gourlay seemed to proceed more quickly since the players were engaged on a more frequent basis and with a wider variety of music. Brendell (1996:8) states that the activities which demonstrate less performance opportunity result in a higher percentage of off-task behaviour. Conversely in the rehearsals taken by James Gourlay there have been relatively few occasions when off-task behaviour has been exhibited or tolerated. This also demonstrates that off-task behaviour is inversely proportional to the attentiveness of the activity undertaken. For example Brendell (1996:8) observed that off-task behaviour was higher in vocal and physical warm up than in the considerably harder

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[39] Chunk Method: This was proposed and developed by James Ching (and discussed by Linda Gruson regarding the theory that the size of the chunks were dependent on the complexity of the piece and the ability of the players, the greater the ability the bigger the chunks.

sight-reading task. The poor performance as observed by Norton in an earlier example is substantiated by Brendell's belief that off-task behaviour is higher in activities which are repetitive and do not require a high degree of concentration (a theory also discussed by Rink (2002:105)). In one rehearsal a conductor spent time introducing historical information on the pieces being rehearsed, which resulted in an increase in the amount of off-task behaviour, for example more "chat" between certain individuals. Instruction concerning music can therefore be an example of off-task behaviour yet it is still required in order to interpret a piece of music. This demonstrates that off-task behaviour is a naturally-expected concept which performs an essential function in successfully shaping a concert rehearsal.

The order in which the repertoire is rehearsed for concerts rehearsals is also structured differently by conductors. David Hirst would always begin the rehearsal with a piece that was exciting or was popular with the players, for example *The Force of Destiny* (Verdi) or, close to the Whit Friday March contest, the march *Ravenswood* (Rimmer). This process of playing recognisable music at the beginning of rehearsals relates to the conductors' need to both enthuse and motivate the playing membership, and choral conductors utilize this same technique in their concert rehearsals. Although the pieces which are used at the beginning of the rehearsals are termed as warm-up, they are substantial in nature and are usually challenging to the players. These substantial pieces are also used to finish the rehearsals and are strategically positioned so as to complement the periods of greatest motivational intensity in rehearsals. David Hirst, for example, would often finish the rehearsals in the weeks that preceded a contest by either running through or rehearsing the set test piece. Occasionally Hirst ran through the concert programme in one evening, excluding some pieces that did not need to be rehearsed, a feature I also observed in rehearsals taken by Gourlay. The choice of pieces excluded was initially made by the conductor, although in some cases there was a discussion among a number of the principals concerning the merit of rehearsing either their solos or pieces that deputies would need to see before a concert. The position of the pieces within the concert rehearsal is also representational of the position that they appear in the concert programme. The first and last pieces of both halves of an official

programme are always substantial in nature, for example *Festive Overture* (Shostakovich) to begin and a transcription from *West Side Story* (Bernstein) to finish. This demonstrates that the role of the rehearsal in preparing players for the end product, the concert, is structurally far deeper than many would expect.

The behaviour and activities described above are an essential part of the processes which are inculcated in acquiring a specific band habitus. This habitus, as Bourdieu suggests, is acquired through the individuals' experience and socialisation as generated through schemes "objectively adapted to their outcomes" (1993:5). Therefore the practices and activities demonstrated in the concert rehearsal, for example getting used to playing substantial pieces at the beginning and end of a rehearsal, are an example of the generation of the rehearsal habitus. Another connection between the rehearsal and concert is the relative length of the performance activities. The average band concert begins at half past seven and finishes at half past nine, a two-hour period which usually includes an intermission of approximately fifteen minutes. In comparison the band rehearsal is scheduled to begin at a quarter to eight and finishes at a quarter to ten, also a two-hour period. Depending on the conductor in charge, the rehearsal may or may not have a break. For example, one was allowed by David Hirst whilst James Gourlay preferred none. The construction and organisation of time in relation to breaks is regulated by the repetition of the established rehearsal structure. For example, David Hirst established a set structure to the rehearsal, both in time and repertoire, through repetition over an extended period. Since time is constrained in terms of band rehearsals the application, precision and regularity of the processes involved are features of what Foucault (1977:159) defined as "disciplinary time". Time is also an important commodity to a conductor since there is a restriction on the amount of time that is available to rehearse a programme to a professional standard and therefore the organisation of the rehearsal becomes functionally important. These examples demonstrate that "time" in both physical and psychological senses is socially constructed out of repetitive processes, as suggested by Jenkins (2003:57).

The programming of repertoire into a specific routine is therefore an important process in the correct use of time within a pre-existing temporal

framework of a rehearsal and, according to Foucault (1977:154-9), also supports the act required, in this case the concert. Correct use of this rehearsal time, for example the control of off-task behaviour (as discussed earlier), is part of a method of regulation empowered both by the conductor and the combination of the processes themselves. The issue of time as controlled by the conductor is exemplified by the comments made by James Gourlay, "The more we do now the better the concert will be," and by Foucault regarding the pedagogy of children,

> … the sole aim of these commands … is to accustom the children to executing well and quickly the same operations, to diminish as far as possible by speed the loss of time caused by moving from one operation to another (1977:154).

The commands given by a conductor, for example "You know, as long as you play it like that, I'll continue to stop you and make you do it again", uttered by James Gourlay, are comparable to those commands repetitively given to the children as observed by Foucault. In disciplinary time these commands are gradually imposed by the pedagogic practice of the conductor through their inculcation and consequently become a legitimate practice of the habitus. The power exerted in these situations is directly articulated onto specific time through the processes of repetition and assures its control and guarantees its use in future contexts. In this case the power asserted in rehearsals is transferred to the concert setting. In the next section I shall discuss both those who participate in the concert and how the processes developed in the rehearsal are transferred to the concert.

"Are You Playing the Floral Dance?": Ritualized Behaviour within Concert Performance

During this section the most important theories concerning the physical structure and organisation of a Western concert performance are those proposed by Cottrell (2004:152), primarily based on *Les Rites de Passage* by van Gennep (1960), and by Small in his discussion of "musicking" (1998:9). As I shall demonstrate shortly I believe the rites and organisational structures

involved in Brighouse and Rastrick Band concerts are similar to those represented in both of the sources quoted above in association with the orchestral concert. The normal band concert can be categorised into three distinct phases, the first being an initial logistic or organisational phase, the second being the performance phase and the third being another organisational phase. By delineating the band concert into these three phases or sections I am immediately drawing a direct, if at this stage superficial, comparison to the rites of passage as discussed by van Gennep (1960:11). The initial organisational phase is defined by van Gennep as the "rites of separation" or "preliminal" phase. In this phase the participants (the players, audience and others) are isolated from each other, physically in the design of the hall, mentally through the use of specific dress and uniform and significantly in the behaviour observed.

The second performance phase that I introduce is comparable to the transitional rite or "liminal" phase where, for the participants, there is a departure from the behaviour, actions and symbols represented in both the preliminal and postliminal phases. In this phase, as I shall discuss shortly, the participants occupy specific positions and roles, delineated by the physical structure of the hall, specifically by the stage. As in Cottrell (2004:154) the behaviour expected by all concerned is a major influence on this particular phase, for example when the players should be ready to perform (musically and theatrically) and when the audience is expected to applaud. There is I believe one significant difference between my description and discussion of the liminal phase and that of Cottrell. Whilst Cottrell (2004:154) comments that the use of identical uniforms on the stage signifies equality between the performers which is only dissipated when the performance commences, I believe that those in the hall have a predisposed idea of the hierarchical structure of the playing set-up, for example understanding who will be performing as a soloist (which is not publicly advertised) and who is seated in which position before the music has started.

The final phase, the rites of incorporation or postliminal, is similar to the organisational opening phase in that it reconstitutes the physical and mental separation between the participants and encourages specific patterns of behaviour which through inculcation become a natural disposition. For an

example I shall later discuss the importance attributed to participation in loading the bus following the performance and how players who neglect this task are perceived. Whilst the congregation of the audience in the foyer or bar following the performance encourages behaviour similar to that established in the preliminal phase, the behaviour of the players is often different, as you will read later in this and the concluding chapter.

In previous chapters I have described the activities of the band regarding concerts and have explained the financial importance of these to the existence of the band. The Brighouse and Rastrick Band often charges between £3,000 and £4,000 for a concert, and benefit concerts organised and promoted by the band regularly produce a significant profit. The development of concerts is also central to the band both in regard to the maintenance of performance standards and in producing a product which is better than that demonstrated by other comparable bands. Producing and sustaining a high quality product is certainly important in regard to the prestige that one band has over another. For example, when the Brighouse and Rastrick Band performed at a concert in Ipswich Corn Exchange (2005) it was understood that another well-known band had recently performed there and had received negative media coverage for its overall performance. When this negative review was read to the Brighouse and Rastrick players, one of them commented "Let's make this a good one" and a member of the committee stated that the band needed to "put on a good show". Therefore a good performance in the concert not only highlights the need to accumulate prestige and reputation but also the importance of the liminal or stage performance that I introduced earlier.

The concert structure is also discussed by Small in relation to his definition of "musicking", that

> To music is to take part, in any capacity in a musical performance, whether by performing, by listening, by rehearsing or practising, by providing material for performance or by dancing. We might at times even extend its meaning to what the person is doing who takes the ticket at the door or the hefty men who shift the piano and the drums … or the cleaners who clean up after everyone else has gone. (1998:9)

The content of this quotation has many similarities to the processes which I introduced above regarding Cottrell (2004) and van Gennep (1960). It highlights the importance of the performance or liminal stage and the relationships which are created not only between the performers but between everyone who participates in the event. Like Cottrell, Small (1998:27) discusses these relationships within the context of the total social process of concert performance, from the preparatory stages of ticket purchase, the activities within the auditorium and stage to the behaviour observed in the postliminal or post-contest periods. I agree with Small in that these relationships, whether visible or invisible, are a direct result of the processes that occur in the musical performance or liminal stage. The preparation involved in rehearsals, logistics of transport, from the loading and unloading of the bus to the organisation of chairs on the stage are all part of the lived-in experience of a world channelled towards a successful stage performance by the players. As Small suggested the performance or

> … the sounds that the musicians are making do not constitute the whole of the experience, they are nonetheless the catalyst that makes the experience take place, and their nature and their relationships are therefore a crucial part of the nature of the experience as a whole. (1998:184)

However, the meanings and consequent relationships created by these sounds are dependent on the perception of those participating and this is where my study departs from that of Small. In his discussion of the reaction to a concert performance Small (1998:154) highlights the opinions and processes specifically associated with audience members. He concludes that the purpose of listening, detached and contemplative, to a performance in a modern concert hall has become more important than establishing an understanding, meaning and satisfaction to the performance act itself. In my study. specifically through the activities, routines and ritual described in the remainder of this chapter, I endeavour to establish that through listening to everything within the performance context the players accumulate specific sets of meanings, satisfactions and understandings. These characteristics, all of which are discussed in Chapter 4, are significantly different from the

observations made by Small (1998) and even by Cottrell (2004). In the following paragraph I shall begin the discussion of the concert process by highlighting the processes which occur in the pre-concert or preliminal stage.

Once the band has arrived at the concert venue a number of routine processes are immediately implemented. These processes are often overlooked in the existing literature concerning the western concert tradition, which generally focuses on the role of the musician in the actual performance rather than in the preparatory preliminal stages when non-musicians have an influential role, a feature that was also discussed by Danziger (1995:82). In the preliminal stage of the Brighouse concerts these tasks are not undertaken by a non-playing stage manager but in their totality by the players themselves. When they leave the band bus the players take the percussion instruments into the hall, find the changing rooms, hang up uniforms and return to the bus to collect more instruments. The democratic nature of the dispersal of roles regarding stage preparation is also influential on the views concerning some of the players. There is one player who always found a reason not to help with the movement of percussion instruments, for example turning up after the bus had been loaded. In noticing his lack of participation in the preparation some of the players began to feel frustrated and asked why they worked hard to do things for the band when it was obvious that others didn't "pull their weight". The processes that I have described above are not simply preliminal in nature but also underline the importance of shared experiences for the success of the whole event.

The latter period of the preliminal stages of band concerts follows a similar pattern to that observed by Cottrell (2004). At the beginning of this latter stage the players are isolated from the other concert participants, for example the audience and critics, by the front of the stage or by "the physical act of congregation in their respective antechambers" (Cottrell 2004:154). The players congregate in the various changing rooms behind the stage while the audience, under the influence of their own concert conventions, gather in the foyer or the bar. Unlike the changing room situation in orchestral concerts the band conductor is frequently asked to change with the rest of the players and not in a separate room, highlighting the perceived significance of his rank. This latter period also demonstrates segregation through the use of symbols of

eligibility. For instance, the players are required to wear "walking out"[40] uniforms which include an embroidered B&R logo on the pocket. During both the preliminal and postliminal stages the players are expected to wear the uniform and are even criticised if they look dishevelled or untidy. In some venues the idea of segregation is heightened by the need to sign in or sign out for security or health and safety reasons. For instance, in the Buxton Opera House this process occurs as the players enter through the back door. For further information on the idea of segregation within a western concert tradition read the research of Chanan (1994: 143-6) and Cottrell (2004:154).

The most significant phase of this concert ritual is the stage performance. This phase begins for the individual audience member when the players walk onto the stage. However, for the players themselves there are several processes which are necessary before their initial public experience. Before entering the stage the players congregate in the wings of the hall and chat amongst themselves on a variety of subjects, for example the size of the audience or how the music will be received. Having received confirmation from the stage manager that the audience has settled in their seats there is one further process required before the liminal stage begins, and this is the organisation of the players into a specific order so that they may enter onto the stage in a "professional" manner. The players are assigned to either the right or left of the stage; on stage right (facing the audience) there would be the whole cornet section, first and second horns, and the two Bb basses, whilst the rest congregate on stage left. Five minutes before the official start the players are expected to be on the correct side of the stage but still not in any particular order. One player is therefore needed to organise the players into a specific order and during my fieldwork this role has been taken by Leigh Baker. On arriving at the venue he would assess the best route onto the platform as well as organising the seating plan symmetrically around the conductors' stand. In a typical concert Leigh would arrive on the right hand side of the stage and inform the players about the order in which they would appear walking onto the stage. When this process does not occur the players may prompt this action, for example in the following conversation:

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[40] The term "walking out" refers to the functional use of the uniform throughout the various concert stages and not just in the performance stage.

Andrew: Leigh, [a bit louder] Leigh?

Leigh: Yes Andrew.

Andrew: How we gettin' on stage?

Leigh: I think it's best if we put basses then horns then solo cornets then back row.

Alan: Are we going up the line or down the line?

Leigh: erm…How much room is there on the edge of the stage?

[Somebody has a look and responds that "it's a bit tight!"]

Leigh: Right… Morrison first for the front row and Hobbins you first for the back row. We sorted?

[Several players respond in various ways, including "Thanks Leigh" to "Yeah"]

Before discussing the processes that occur on the contest stage I shall discuss some of the participants other than the instrumentalists who play an important role in the performance event. The relationship and reactions of the players on stage have on some occasions been influenced by those I have previously introduced and discussed as "others". These others include the front of house stewards, backstage managers and sound and light technicians. The stewards at the front of the house are responsible for a range of activities, including ticket, refreshment and programme vending and also leading audience members to their seats. Backstage managers are responsible for the organisation and communication between the promoters and the players. As I stated earlier, the backstage manager notifies the players as to the time they should walk onto the stage, however in some cases they have neglected their other role of monitoring the performance. At one concert one of the backstage staff sat smoking, watching a television with the volume switched on and during the performance was having a conversation with somebody, resulting in Andrew Kenyon stating, "What a joke! What's that idiot doing?" The sound and light technicians have also made mistakes. For example, in a massed bands concert in Huddersfield Town Hall the band chairman was asked to

make an announcement and, as he began his speech, it became obvious to everyone who was participating that a radio station could be heard through the speakers at the same time. Although this suggests that the problem was with the sound system, many of the players believed that the actual problem was with the person in charge of its operation. The lighting has also been a problematic feature of the performance context, for instance in a number of concerts the person in control of the light system managed to turn the lights to the maximum settings, resulting in the band players stating "It's like being in an oven on here" and Melvyn Bathgate complained that he could see spots in front of his eyes because of the strong lights.[41] At a number of other concerts there have been problems concerning a low level of light for the players on the periphery of the band, including myself, and also the level of light concentrated on the soloist. The nature of the involvement of participants described above is also discussed in Cottrell (2004:159) who regarded "the participation of all… as being fundamental to the event", a position also discussed by Becker (1982:67) and Small (1998:184) as I discussed earlier. The involvement of these people directly or indirectly influences the appreciation of the concert and also the function and success of particular ritualised behaviours.

Having established the impact of non-performers on the performance context I shall now turn my attention to the processes that occur within the playing membership. This liminoid stage, during which the music is actually performed, is full of activities distinguished by certain ritualised patterns of behaviour. For example the opening process of a Brighouse and Rastrick Band concert has remained the same throughout my whole fieldwork experience. When the band enters the stage, some sections remain standing until all their members are present and then sit down together en masse. As the audience concludes the round of applause that greets the players, there is a moment of silent anticipation amongst the physically-segregated players and audience, a moment defined by Cottrell (2004:159) as communitas, the sense of shared experience. This silent anticipation is broken initially for the players by the percussionists tapping three beats on a pair of side drum sticks and then

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[41] p.c Melvyn Bathgate, High Wycombe, May 7, 2005

seconds later the audience anticipation is broken by the entry of the whole band with the march *West Riding* (Sam B. Wood) (see appendix 2 CD 2 track 1). A similar communitas occurs in the carnival music in Trinidad, where Dudley (2004:80) described the actions of the participants on the stage before the performance. The obvious difference between this process in the Brighouse and Rastrick Band and the carnival bands is the presence of the conductor in the brass band, a role fulfilled in the carnival bands by the lead singer and performer. The issue of a sense of shared experience is also observable at the conclusion of the aforementioned march, when the audience members applaud the piece and the conductor enters the stage. At the beginning of the second half of the concert the process is different in that the conductor immediately enters the stage following the players, and in the concerts taken by David Hirst the band immediately performed the opening piece without any vocal instruction.

This moment of anticipation or shared experience is also demonstrated by the bass players who organise themselves on the concert stage so that when one appointed individual lifts his instrument the others do the same. However, when there are guest players this process is either slower or untidy, a result of the guest players not having that shared sense of concert experience. This form of communitas is an example of that which is sought by a group of players who share similar cultural aspirations, in this case the aspiration to present a professional performance. According to Cottrell (2004:156) the sense of communitas is especially intense at the end of pieces of music when both the players and audience achieve certain forms of individual gratification or satisfaction.

At the end of most if not all concert pieces the audience is expected to applaud, and this is a feature which is part of the extended sense of shared ritual between the participants. There was one concert, held at the Gala Theatre in Durham in 2004, where this process was not demonstrated When the band was employed by the promoter it was in the full knowledge that the concert would be part of a contemporary music festival. However, this was not made clear to the audience, and following the first piece there was a stunned silence from the audience, which inevitably caused an unusual reaction from the players. This reaction was not due to our experience of similar situations

but rather the experience accumulated regarding the amount of applause given by an audience at the end of a particular piece. For example, a similar reaction was received at Uppermill Civic Hall when the opening half of the programme included contemporary Norwegian music. However, on that occasion the programme in the second half reverted to a more traditional or expected repertoire and the audience applauded more for the first piece than they did for the whole first-half programme. This moment of shared experience is therefore influenced as much by repertoire as by concert conventions. Before the start of one rehearsal I was talking with David Hirst about the various pieces which could be used to open a concert. The band had always begun concerts with an overture and I suggested that I had heard the *Hebrides Overture* on Classic FM and thought it was a pretty good piece. Hirst replied that it was a good piece but it had a quiet ending and band audiences "would not like that". Cottrell (2004:156) believed that the reaction to this type of quiet ending demonstrated a delay in the shared sense of experience. In a few concerts during 2003 the band played a transcription of Barber's *Adagio* and, since it was a relatively long and quiet piece, only one or two began applauding whilst the majority followed a few seconds later. This reaction is obviously based on an emotional rather than ideological communitas and is comparable to the example given by Cottrell (2004:157) concerning a concert performance of *Der Wein* (Berg). Conversely, in a concert in Ipswich the band performed the overture *Force of Destiny* (Verdi) and as soon as the final chord was struck the audience immediately exploded into mass applause and loud whistles. Whilst rehearsing this piece James Gourlay stated that the ending needed energy and explained that it could only be achieved through a specific interpretation. For example in one passage towards the conclusion of the piece he said:

> that four bar passage [the one with the syncopation before the coda section] needs to push on …but then A tempo in the next bar. It'll build the excitement.[42]

By making a piece faster the conductor implemented a method described by Cottrell (2004:158) as "directed motion". Many pieces placed at the beginning

[42] Rehearsal on the 16 June, 2005, band room, Conductor: James Gourlay

and end of the concert programme traditionally demonstrate acceleration but are also characterised by an increase in what I shall call "directed volume". At the beginning of the march *Pines of Rome* (Respighi) the dynamic is pianissimo and is scored only for the basses, by approximately half way through the band parts are marked at mezzo piano and the instrumentation is marked as being open (un-muted), whilst by the end of the piece the band is asked to play louder than forte fortissimo but at approximately the same tempo (see appendix 2 CD 5 track 5). Both directed motion and volume are demonstrated in the transcription of the *1812 Overture* (Tchaikovsky) and it is significant to note that it is documented as being amongst the most used pieces at the massed band concerts, therefore demonstrating that these issues are important in achieving the desired or ideological communitas.

Another feature that is evident in the band concert is the presentation of the music to an audience. Even though the official programme indicates the repertoire to be played, one of the responsibilities connected with the conducting role is the introduction of specific background information on the pieces. In comparison, orchestral conductors due to their own concert conventions have until recently not used this process of communication. (Gerard Schwartz, the conductor of the Liverpool Philharmonic, became one of the first orchestral conductors to alter this orchestral convention and communicate this extra information.) Another function of this feature in bands is to allow the players some rest between pieces and so prolong their physical stamina. When David Hirst was resident conductor he developed a specific "spiel" that would offer this rest. For example before the piece in the first half he would say:

> That was lovely, thank you Melvyn [thanking him for playing a solo piece]… Before we play the final piece in this half I would like to point out that we have a stand in the foyer selling all sorts of weird and wonderful things like cups, ties, pin badges and in this era of modern technology, Brighouse mouse mats. Is there anything else?

At this point Leigh or one of the euphonium section players suggest that the band sells Brighouse lingerie and David Hirst replies:

> Lingerie. Uhm. No Leigh we don't have Lingerie [audience laughs] But since this is the first time we've been to this venue we have a special offer on CD's. This being two CD's for the price of two [audience laughs again].

When a guest conductor took charge of a concert the smooth links between the pieces such as that described above were sometimes missing, though they had been instructed on what was required. Following the first half of a concert conducted by James Gourlay, one of the players commented that the space between pieces was so small that in a concert with David Hirst the players would normally have still been on the stage. When I got to the changing room the matter was being discussed by two of the players and it was explained that the relatively short first half was because "Jim doesn't have the set routine that David had. I think he [David] managed to keep the concert going and got on well with the audiences." From these functions we can deduce that the role taken by the conductor does not just involve band training and choice of repertoire, but also communicating with the audience and responsibility for the fluidity of the concert performance process.

The position of repertoire in a concert programme is an important feature which distinguishes both the individual conductor and the band. Faster, louder and arguably more exciting pieces are placed first and last in each half. Whilst this feature is true in the formal programme, the Brighouse and Rastrick Band has an additional piece which is regarded as a signature tune, the march *West Riding* by Sam B. Wood. The signature tune is significant not only in relation to the identity of the band but also as a means of warming up for the main concert programme whilst establishing a set routine that is understood by all the players by its repetition. In a contemporary music festival in Durham a couple of the players were discussing the programme and its difference to what they perceived as being a "normal" concert, and this conversation went as follows:

> Ian Dust: I always feel a bit strange when we don't play West Riding. I think it's a good way to get the "chops" warmed up…
>
> Jamie Cooper : I suppose you've [Ian Dust] done so many concerts that you've got into the routine of doing it.

Ian Dust: As I said it feels a bit strange not playing it. It doesn't seem right.

The concerts generally have a set pattern in relation to the repertoire. For instance the opening half of the concert may be structured as follows: march or fanfare, overture, solo, medley, solo, film theme and a substantial piece (see appendix 2 CDs 1, 2 and 4). The structure of the second half also follows a pattern of style-categorised pieces and is demonstrated in the following example of a concert programme:

Introduction:	Crown Imperial (Walton)
Overture:	The Yeoman of the Guard (Sullivan)
Solo:	Cornet: Rusalka's Song to the Moon (Dvorak)
Song:	Barwick Green Theme from 'The Archers' (Wood)
Solo:	Horn: Afton Water (traditional)
Song:	Bohemian Rhapsody (Queen)
Solo:	Trombone: (Not Printed)
Substantial piece:	Festive Overture (Shostakovich)

Interval

Introduction:	Dambusters (Coates)
Selection:	Jupiter, from the Planets Suite (Holst)
Song:	Jerusalem (Parry)
Solo:	Tuba – Teddy Bears' Picnic (Bratton)
Selection:	Fantasia on British Sea Songs (Wood)
Solo:	Euphonium: Carnival (Sykes)
Hymn:	Crimond (Graham)
Finale:	Pomp and Circumstance No.1 (Elgar)

Soloists appear in both halves. In this case, the principal cornet, horn and trombone appear in the first half and the bass and euphonium appear in the second. The order in which these soloists appear may also vary depending on their availability and the structure of the programme. Although there are specific patterns to the programme there are also elements of flexibility, for example the addition or exclusion of a type of piece. In a recent concert in Ipswich, James Gourlay was asked to choose a programme which included two soloists performing immediately after each other. On the day of the concert two players were putting their music in order and when they got to this position in the programme, one turned to the other and asked, "Are you sure

that these two pieces go in this order?" The other replied "That's what he said in the last rehearsal", to which the first person responded "Hmmm… that's a bit strange". This demonstrates that the specific pattern within the concert programme is particularly noticeable to the players. A further example of this is the *Floral Dance* (Broadbent) (see appendix 2 CD 5 track 6), a piece used as an encore in nearly every concert in which the band performs. However, on one memorable occasion, the band performed at the Royal College of Music (London) and the conductor Peter Bassano decided that he did not require an encore. Following the concert a well-known composer was overheard commenting that he was disappointed that the band had not played the *Floral Dance* (Broadbent), demonstrating that the conventions concerning repertoire and ritualised behaviour are as significant to the audience as the players.

The positioning of the repertoire and its influence on ritualised behaviour is also demonstrated by the same perceptions observable in the earlier rehearsal process. Concerts sometimes seemed shorter or longer to the players, a feature defined by the type of concert, repertoire or participants involved. The band's attitude towards concerts promoting contemporary music which may be unfamiliar is generally shaped by the conductor and the particular rehearsal method. This can be seen in the preparation for two separate music festivals, the first of these at the Bridgwater Hall in Manchester (2004) and the other at the Gala Theatre in Durham (2004). The rehearsals for the first festival were enjoyable and interesting due to the involvement of other musicians who were playing instruments and repertoire not commonly associated with the brass band. When these said players arrived at the first rehearsal some of the band members turned to me and asked "Who are these guys?" and when learning their identity, one for example being a very good trumpeter, commented "They should be good". The following rehearsal was deemed successful. As I was walking out of the band room one player commented "It war [was] good to have summat [something] different from do" and another stated "I'm looking forward to this concert, it should be good". The consequent concert was a great success, claiming plaudits from all who participated, especially the brass banding media who commented positively on the variety demonstrated in repertoire and performance and the enjoyment that was clearly shown by the players in performing. On another

occasion the players were dreading what would happen in the concert because they felt "under rehearsed", and Nick Jackson said that it would be "an edge of the seat" concert to which another player responded "I think it'd be completely off the seat". In this situation the term "edge of the seat" refers to the lack of rehearsal preparation, whether this involves the organisational difficulties pertaining to the band or to the conductor. Although the band performed well in the concert, a significant proportion of the audience decided to leave the concert at the interval and many of the players involved complained on the bus on the way home that the playing was "edgy". Both of these examples demonstrate that there is a close association between rehearsal and concert in regard to the ritualized behaviour represented in the actions and attitudes of the players. In this sense it shares many of the characteristics of what Cottrell (2004:152) defines as the process of "ritualizing". He uses ritualizing as a means to separate events that may share the same ritual meaning or, as Cottrell suggests, the same "cultural sphere" and that the main differentiation between these depends to a large extent on the context in which they originate.

In the examples given above the players differentiate the two contexts first by understanding the ritualized behaviour experienced in the rehearsals, secondly by the ritualized behaviour in the liminal performance and thirdly in the comments made in the post-performance period. I conclude that the combination of these three ritualized behaviours are all associated and consequently experience these as one whole ritual of concert performance context. When I discussed this observation with Mike Norton, one of the players in the band, he agreed that he did perceive the concert as part of a larger process. Norton later suggested that he felt that the concert ritual began when he woke up on a Saturday, for example the organisation of ironing white shirts, making soup and sandwiches or sharing a lift to the band room. These individual rituals are beyond this current research, although they form an interesting project for future consideration.

Having represented the concert as a ritual and defined the participation of those involved as ritualised behaviour I shall now introduce some conclusions on these observations.

Conclusion: "I thought that was pretty good!": What is the significance of the Brighouse and Rastrick concert to its participants?

"Musicking", as defined by Small (1998:9), relates to the structure and understanding of a conceptual universe that allows its participants to both exist and be influenced by their shared relationships with others. In describing the concert ritual and the ritualised behaviour it involves, I have endeavoured to demonstrate the influence of structure and understanding on the performers within the Brighouse and Rastrick Band.

The rehearsal processes and observations proposed in this chapter have initiated many links to the concert performance, such as the attaching of attitudes to repertoire as it is transferred from the band room to the concert stage and its resulting influence on the ritualized behaviour of the players. Like many of the processes discussed in Chapter 3, the ritualized behaviour experienced by the players in the concert context or ritual is often taken for granted. When I asked one of the players in the band about the similarity between the order and structure of the repertoire and the rehearsal, he believed that neither the conductor nor the players were aware of this connection, commenting that he didn't "… think David really thought about the rehearsals like that. I think it just fell into place in that way." This particular observation adds further credence to my observation that the rehearsal and stage performances are a socially constructed ritual which promote group cohesion and participation. Whilst repetition of these concert contexts inculcates sets of belief, rationalized behaviour and natural dispositions, consciously or not, they do allow for some element of flexibility. Reid (2002:102) concluded that all "musical practice consists of different but interrelated activities" and this would also seem to be true of the Brighouse and Rastrick Band concert context also.

As I described earlier, rehearsal procedures and activities for certain types of concerts are more intense, demonstrating less off-task behaviour to form what Reid (2002:104) has described as "deliberate practice". In this type of rehearsal we have a semi-prototype of the rehearsals during preparation for contests which will be discussed in the next chapter, where perfection and

expectation are substantially higher and the organisation of rehearsal technique becomes even more important. By maximising and organising performance time, both the efficiency of the rehearsal and performance standard improves and the levels of off-task behaviour are reduced.

The intensity consequently created by the successful application of the characteristics described above is controlled by the actions of the conductor in these deliberate practices. Foucault has described this organisation or control in relation to the temporal elaboration of the act or an ordered activity within a school classroom. He stated that control and commands, as demonstrated by the conductor, accustom the children, in this case the players, to executing the same actions or activities well and quickly (1977:154). The increase in intensity demonstrated in specific rehearsals is therefore an example of the successful execution of processes and also the diminishing of lost time caused by movement between one segment of the rehearsal and another. Conversely, rehearsals may come to demonstrate a lack of intensity, and over a continuous period this causes dissatisfaction with the rehearsal function. This feeling may affect the subsequent level of concert performance and ultimately the overall financial and social stability of the band, as demonstrated in the situation where a band and its conductor parted company.

The importance of the concert in this particular band's overall activities cannot be underestimated: it is not only responsible for maintaining the band's financial existence but is a commodity that is exploited for the sustaining of individual and group gratifications and also, according to Chanan (1994:145), a way to preserve a sense of prestige and identity that is cultivated through the specific use of uniforms and other forms of symbolic representation (as discussed in the previous chapter). This sustaining also requires the players to follow certain conventions of professional behaviour, as exemplified earlier and also in the work of Finnegan (1989:151). This professionalism is part of the ritualised behaviour expected of players, especially when in the public gaze, and presents individuals with a sense of belonging to a collective pursuit of a specific goal, whether this is public recognition and acclaim or some sort of aesthetic achievement. Sharing the collective pursuits of the group and an identity in concerts also imparts a sense of responsibility with regard to the history and tradition of the Brighouse

"product", aspects that are equally demonstrated in relation to the bands in Milton Keyes, as Finnegan noted:

> They were engaged in the joint act of making and receiving music in a known and valued tradition with its evocative visual as well as acoustical associations: the glittering polished instruments, band insignia, proud display of uniforms, and quasi-military tradition-hallowed bearing. (1989:55)

All these features are part of the concert ritual and have been discussed earlier, except for the use of the "military" analogy. Many of the processes observed in the band concert are military in relation to their functionality, for instance the "manoeuvres" involved in walking onto the stage and the division of labour when clearing the stage and loading the bus. When the concert finishes some players are expected to return immediately and "drop" the stage. These players are categorised as being team A. They are responsible for helping the percussionists pack their instruments and pack the stands, music, banners and mutes into their designated boxes. Since they are on the stage they are still required to wear either the walking-out jackets or white shirts. After they finish clearing the stage the B team then take the packed instruments and load the bus, again in their walking-out uniforms. These particular manoeuvres demonstrate that individuals have their own classification and established operational relationships founded on shared values, obedience and a better control or economy of time or what Foucault views as "a totally useful time" (1977:152). Foucault also believed that the processes involved in these types of non-performance activities are "called upon to form the support of the act required", in this particular instance the stage performance. Both Small (1998), in relation to musicking, and Cottrell (2004), in relation to communitas (during the performance), discuss how participation in these non-performance activities is also important in accruing a shared sense of meaning among those involved.

The inculcation of concert processes like these also allows the participants to experience the activity as a natural disposition or as a series of socially constructed ideal relationships. These are experienced through the imposition of systems of symbolism and meaning, the expectation that the

players, conductor and audience have for the individual or group to behave in a certain manner, for example in the importance placed on tidiness of uniform and being prompt to rehearsals. Culture therefore adds its own force to the hierarchical power wielded by both the conductor and the players themselves, as discussed by Jenkins (2003:104). This is also exemplified in the rehearsal sessions described by Booth (2005:90) in relation to Indian wedding bands and demonstrated further in my own research by the players' monitoring of the performance of certain individuals. When the players are rehearsing or performing they predominantly concentrate on their own performance, then on the performance of those in their immediate area and finally on that of the whole band. As mentioned above, this monitoring can lead players to form differing opinions on the way in which individuals, sections and the whole band performed. Although these opinions may begin by being oppositional, these types of conversations allow band members to discuss their musicking and compare musical experience and expertise; as such, they have the ability, according to Small (1998:210), to "enrich" and develop relationships among participants. In expressing these opinions the players explore, affirm and celebrate their feelings on the types of behaviour expected and on their respective positions within the Brighouse and Rastrick habitus and field.

In fact, in those concerts deemed more successful the players have generally been in consensus, a feature which reinforces the reciprocal relationships between the structural processes (the repertoire, pedagogic methods and the time and geographic frameworks of the performance activities) and those who have an interest in the success of the event, primarily the players and conductor. This process clearly suggests that the reciprocal relationships discussed above are not only an articulation of social values and beliefs but are an important part in the presentation and experience of sets of ideal relationships created by the activities produced in the musical performance. These ideal relationships have a fundamental basis in the players' need to explore, affirm and celebrate the total process of performance as I discussed earlier in the chapter. The most successful performance must therefore be one that empowers specific beliefs in all those who participate. Small (1998:215) suggested that such an empowering experience was associated primarily with the perception and opinions expressed between

players (and about players by audiences) on whether they have performed to the best of their ability. Whilst those who participate in the Brighouse and Rastrick Band concert become empowered in approximately the same fashion they also, unlike in the situation referred to by Small, place and experience a greater feeling of empowerment through the demonstration of a high degree of virtuosic or technical ability. I believe that this particular appreciation of empowerment has been incorporated from the sets of belief that originate in the contest context (which I discuss in the following chapter).

The repetition of the mutually reciprocal relationships through the number of concerts undertaken establishes a routine. This routine in turn produces a standardised or ritualised culture, as described by Jenkins (2003:103), the actions represented in the habitus described by Bourdieu (1993:5) and defined by Cottrell as ritualised behaviour (2004:150). In maintaining the routine and its consequent ritualised behaviour, then, the players are reaffirming both their shared belief in the concert model and their perceived opinion of their ideal relationships within that process. Whilst reaffirming these beliefs the players do not consciously expect to accumulate new experiences but rather to maintain and confirm expected standards of performance and therefore a habitual pattern within their relationships. As this suggests, the pattern of ritualised behaviour and relationships represented by the participants in a band concert is not unique to this genre. As Cottrell notes, for instance, many of the expectations exhibited in the orchestral concert are also applicable to those in, for example, chamber music, solo recitals, choirs, jazz and opera (2004:168). One key feature which distinguishes the brass band scene from these other genres, however, is the prominence given to competitive performance, and so in the next chapter I describe the processes, interaction and relationships that occur during the contest ritual, the other main performance activity in the band calendar. This leads us into a discussion of issues such as personnel change, repertoire and attitudes to overall performance characteristics, as well as to a more rounded view of banding generally.

Chapter 5: "Where Did We Come?": Processes Involved in the Construction of Performance and Organisation in Band Contests

Contests play an important role in the calendar of most bands and provide focal points towards which they dedicate a large amount of their rehearsal time and effort. Whilst concerts are important to the financial stability of the band, the contest is primarily a means to promote the band to concert promoters; for example, on the bus to a concert in Colne (1 October 2005), Sheridan Fryer, Mike Norton and I began to discuss the merits of contesting and why the players put themselves through the stress of the event. Norton said that contests allowed promoters to boast that they have booked the champion band of England or champion band of Britain and so draw a larger audience. Before I could reply, Sheridan interjected "Don't you think contests help improve the players?"

Even though contests comprise a small percentage of the overall activity of the band, the amount of discussion on the issues which influence contest results outweighs that on, for instance, the repertoire to be performed during concerts, which I introduced in the previous chapter. The results achieved at the contest are dependent on the performance of individuals in a group setting. Nevertheless, when the band has not realised its performance expectations, there may be comments from both adjudicators and fellow players which inevitably involve the allocation of blame. Although some comments may be directed at the band as an entity, other remarks may be channelled toward the performance of some of the principal players.

Whilst the players have an influential position in realising their own goals and expectations, the conductor has an equally responsible position, especially in motivating the players and in shaping an interpretation which places the band in the prizes. To achieve success at contests, Brighouse and Rastrick now employs a dual conductor system, this being the employment of both a resident and a professional conductor. The role of the resident is to prepare the band on a weekly basis, specifically concerning concert repertoire and initial preparation of test pieces, or what players define as "note bashing". The professional conductor is primarily employed to achieve contest success

and, in rare circumstances, to lead prominent concerts at festivals. His involvement begins in the week preceding the contest, taking sectional (specific groups of instruments) and full band rehearsals whilst also explaining the decisions behind tempo markings or interpretations. Since both conductors are involved in the preparation of the test piece, although having distinct roles, they are expected to communicate ideas so that the players develop a unified idea about the interpretation. The overlapping roles of conductors are just one factor which links not only concerts to contests but also the rehearsal and public performance contexts. This chapter examines the further areas of overlap and originality in the contest context. In the following paragraph I shall briefly outline the contents of this chapter and the issues which define the contest as a performance activity separate from the concert.

In the first section of this chapter I shall introduce (and in some instances re-introduce) aspects concerning the brass band contests in which the Brighouse and Rastrick Band participate. These aspects include the location, prestige, status and financial benefits associated with the event which therefore influence the participation of those involved. In this section I shall also discuss the importance and influence of certain contest criteria, for example the repertoire and methods of adjudication. The repertoire chosen by competition organisers often influences the motivation and attitudes demonstrated by the participants. After this, I shall focus on the issue of adjudication, looking specifically at the types of people involved, for example former conductors and players, and at the systems and the significance imparted to specific sets of results.

The second section of this chapter will discuss the contest rehearsal, including the different roles of resident and professional conductor, the location of the rehearsals, the length of the period of rehearsal that precedes the contest, the amount of off-task behaviour demonstrated by players, the interruption of rehearsals, the difference in intensity and concentration between types of contest rehearsal and the influence of different rehearsal strategies, for instance "overview" and "chunk" methods in initial rehearsals and "run throughs" in the preparation of stage performance.

In the next section, "Didn't You Feel That Buzz?" I shall discuss the processes and participants involved in the construction of the contest

performance. There are several distinctions between concert and contest days, the main difference being logistical details, for example travelling to the event the night before and staying in a local hotel. The routines which have been inculcated in the concert ritual play only a limited role on this day and so a different perspective on another series of ritualized behaviour is considered. As in the concert chapter, the best approach to describing a contest day is through the definitions proposed by van Gennep (1960) and Cottrell (2004:152). Analysis in terms of pre-liminal, liminal and post-liminal stages will highlight the differences between concerts and contests in both participants and routines.

The concluding section of this chapter summarises the influences and processes which combine to create the particular nature of the contest. In this sense the conclusion of this chapter is both a comment on the contest and an introduction to the final chapter, which will highlight the similarities and differences between the performance processes along with many other issues and observations.

"Are we Going to the Masters this Year?" Location, Prestige and Status

In ethnomusicology, location plays an important role in defining the various facets of musical performance. During my research I have regularly become aware of the significance of location, whether in connection with the transfer of performance processes from one location to another, as is the case of the move from rehearsals at the band room to an onstage performance at a venue; the prestige of some venues over others; and the differences which arise in the behaviour of participants at contrasting locations.

Outdoor performance locations are widely reported in studies of musical contesting traditions. In the fiddlers' contest in Virginia, described by Whishnant (1983:190), the venue was a rented forty-by-sixty tent constructed on the peak of a local mountain which had previously been the location for local informal music sessions. Similarly, the Barbershop Quartet Singing contests, established in the 1930s by the New York mayor, Fiorello H. La Guardia and Robert Moses, were also situated in the open air, this time in

temporary tents or permanent bandstands in local parks (Averill 2003:92). Both these locations are comparable with those exhibited in early band contests such as the event that took place at Burton Constable Hall in 1845 or the Whit Friday March Contests, both of which I introduced in an earlier chapter. In some musical genres the contest does not have a fixed location, for example in Norwegian *hardingfele* contests the location varies among a number of diverse settings including school gyms, sports halls or larger utility rooms (Goertzen 1997:92). These contests are invariably organised by local people, encouraging community participation and rivalry, a similar model to that represented by local organisers of early band contests. Whilst some communities still organise a marching contest for brass bands, for example those in Meltham, Marsden, Silkstone and indeed Brighouse, the majority have long found the event an unnecessary complication. I believe that the lack of local participants, especially in the elite brass bands, is a contributing factor to this decline. I shall save any observations on the decline in the number of local participants until this issue is discussed in the concluding chapter.

The main issues influencing the participation of the Brighouse and Rastrick Band in national rather than local contests involve prestige, status and the degree which these are ascribed to the band by significant others. These significant others, like those I described in the concert context, include critics, fellow participants and audience members. The level of prestige which is ascribed by these individuals is dependent to a large extent on their perceptions of the quality of the bands entering a competition and the location of the particular event. For example, the National Championship of Great Britain and the British Open Championship are held at the prestigious Royal Albert Hall in London and the Symphony Hall in Birmingham respectively. Both these championships include the elite brass bands in Britain, specifically those who arrive through a qualification process and also those who have accumulated ranking points and positions. At present there are two recognised "world rankings" used to define the position and therefore quality of a band. Both of these are the creation of two different media sources, the first of these the periodical *Brass Band World*[43] and the second the website

[43] Jenkins, Alan. 2006. "Rankings." *Brass Band World* 156: 9

www.4barsrest.com.[44] The achievement of individual bands at contests is converted into a specific aggregate of points which consequently defines the position of a band in the rankings. However, the number of points ascribed to a particular contest may vary significantly and in their explanation of "How the system works", Banwell and Fox stated that

> It is important to stress, however, that it is success in competition against bands of a similar or higher standard that is most rewarded and that bands that compete only in minor contests will find it difficult to make any serious impression at the high levels of the rankings.[45]

Later in their explanation they also define the exact number of points ascribed to specific contests. For example, the points allocated to the winners of the National Brass Band Championships of Great Britain (500) and the British Open Brass Band Championship Championships (500) are significantly more than those allocated to other "minor contests" which attract between 7 and 24 points (depending on the relative strength of the field). To appear in the highest positions in the rankings the Brighouse and Rastrick Band must therefore compete in contests which are likely to give a higher number of points, these being the nationally-organised events.

In his discussion on individuality and musicality, Small (1998:31) commented that individuals gain little recognition and therefore prestige and status until they achieve a degree of success at prestigious, or at least well-known, competitions. This is another significant factor which influences the participation of the Brighouse and Rastrick Band in nationally-organised contests. Performing and winning at the Royal Albert Hall in the National Brass Band Championships not only provides the maximum amount of ranking points but also a prestigious title, compared with winning the marching contest in Brighouse. During my period as a committee member of the band many individuals have highlighted that success at the major contests is not only influential in maintaining the degree of prestige associated with

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[44] Anthony Banwell and Iwan Fox, *World Rankings*, http://www.4barsrest.com/rankings/default.asp, accessed on 21 July 2006.
[45] Anthony Banwell and Iwan Fox, *How the System Works*, http://www.4barsrest.com/rankings/default.asp, 21 July 2006.

employing the band at events, but will provide additional opportunities for more prestigious concert contexts. The degree of success and prestige discussed by Small (1998:31) refers to how the prestigious contests are used to restrict the entrance of individuals and groups to what he describes as the "big time concert circuit". This restriction is the same in the major brass band contests in regard to the success of individual bands and, as I described above, the opportunities for participation in higher-status and prestige concerts. However, unlike in the observations made by Small, the major brass band contests do present opportunities for individual players to display their ability even when they are placed in bands which do not feature in the highest positions. These opportunities include promotion within their band section (e.g. cornet or euphonium sections), as discussed in Chapter 3, or being offered roles in bands which are perceived as higher ranking or having a better reputation. In the following paragraph I shall demonstrate that the contests in which the Brighouse and Rastrick Band now participates, with the exception of the Whit Friday contest, are on a national or international, not local, scale of organisation,.

Since the late 1930s the Brighouse and Rastrick Band has competed at the Belle Vue (British Open Brass Band Championship) and National Championships, prestigious events held at Manchester's Belle Vue Gardens or Free Trade Hall, the Symphony Hall in Birmingham and the Royal Albert Hall in London. All of these are high-status venues where the players participate in surroundings different from those which they normally experience in concerts, allowing them to say that they have played in a "proper" concert hall. In this sense the influence of location can be compared to that within the steel band tradition as described by Dudley (2003), who observed that certain competitions were located in the Queen's Park Savannah, whilst others were held in Marine Square which was associated more with the "lower classes". Brass bands in the Championship section qualifying through area contests are invited to the Royal Albert Hall, whilst the leading bands in the First, Second and Third Area contests participate in a national contest which each year moves around the country, for instance to halls in Harrogate or Torquay. In one conversation cornet player Alex Francis said that he felt the National Brass Band Championship of Great Britain lost a bit of prestige when these

lower section bands were sent to the moving contests rather than being grouped into satellite halls around the Royal Albert Hall. Whilst class in the steel band tradition is associated with economic status, including financial status and social position, class in the brass band tradition is associated with the amount of performance capital demonstrated, prior contest success and the reputation consequently established.

As in the concert context the types of venues used for the events are dependent on the type of contest in which the band participates. However, the variety observable in the concert context is not present in the contest. For example, both the British Open Brass Band Championship and National Brass Band Championships of Great Britain are held in internationally-acclaimed concert halls, and the Masters at Cambridge is held at the renovated Corn Exchange. The one major competition which employs a completely contrasting venue is the Whit Friday March contests, held annually in twelve villages across Saddleworth Moor in a variety of outdoor locations. Performing in these informal settings holds an equal amount of prestige among players as performances in concert hall settings. This was underlined when a player complained about what he saw as the band's relative lack of rehearsal for both the music and the choreography involved on the march. One reason why the march contest venues enjoy a high status, despite being socially informal, is that the boundaries which isolate the players from their audience are broken down here, in a similar way to that observed by Finnegan (1989:144) in a concert given by a rock band in a pub in Milton Keynes. In that setting the audience was able to wander around, drink alcohol, eat and indulge in other behaviours which would be frowned upon in formal contest or concert settings. This crossing of boundaries will be discussed later in this chapter in the section concerning the liminal stage of performance.

Location not only offers the players significant performance opportunities but also memorable moments. For example, my second competition with the Brighouse and Rastrick Band was in the 1997 National Brass Band Championships of Great Britain at the Royal Albert Hall. When I stepped on the stage to place my mutes and music and looked around the massive hall I remember feeling both excitement and nerves that set a key for the event. My predominant memory of this event is the playing of Matthew

Gledhill, the repiano player at the time. Towards the end of the test piece *On Alderley Edge* (Graham) he stood up and played a solo facing the audience, clearly nervous but performing superbly, and by the end of the performance when the audience began to cheer I felt a shiver run up my spine. Other players in the band at that time recounted the event in the submission of their profiles for the booklet which is sent bi-annually to the band patrons, and so it appears my feelings about this experience were shared.[46] Experiences like this link memories of the contest to its location, the success of the band that year and also the repertoire performed. As I discussed earlier these nationally-organised contests provide the opportunity for the Brighouse and Rastrick Band and its individual players to accumulate and experience prestige and status through victory over other bands, and this is of course made increasingly significant by the prestigious venues in which the contests are held.

The choice of contest repertoire is regularly delegated by the contest organisers to a panel of musical experts which includes former conductors, players, composers and others from music-related occupations. William Relton, a former player and conductor, was a member of one of these advisory panels for the National Brass Band Championships of Great Britain and stated in the *British Bandsman* (1993:14):

> The Nationals is different from other contests because we have a responsibility to be innovative. We must always be looking to the future by identifying new, good works whereas other contests can reflect the great compositions of the past.

The people involved in these decisions therefore play an important role in shaping the types of music to which the players and audiences are exposed and, because of the importance of contest commissions in generating new repertoire, influence the direction that the repertoire takes in general. Similar situations have been observed in the other contesting traditions already mentioned. In barbershop singing Averill (2003:136) found that rules restricting the use of, for example, modern harmonies or pieces not finishing

[46] Since most of these patrons live outside the Brighouse area, some as far away as Australia and Canada, the only communication they receive about the band and the players originates from these booklets.

on a major triad assisted in both maintaining tradition and in encouraging innovation. Meanwhile, those involved in organising the initial Panorama contests restricted the contest's repertoire to that composed in that particular year (Dudley 2004:79), a rule primarily introduced to restrict the influence of foreign music, for instance European classical music. Averill states that conflicts over repertory within the barbershop tradition were "rooted in tensions between authenticity and expediency" (2003:126). Whilst both these examples demonstrate the tension between authenticity and expediency in the brass band contest repertoire, European classical music is often encouraged rather than discouraged. For example the test piece chosen for the 2001 British Open Brass Band Championship was *Les Preludes* (Liszt) transcribed by Bram Gay, and for the Yorkshire Area Brass Band Championships in 2005 was *Rienzi*, a Wagner overture arranged by Howard Lorriman. The rules which restrict or, depending on the perspectives of the participants, preserve the type of repertoire performed are written in the legislature of both the barbershop and steel band contests. However, in brass band contests there are no such rules and the type of repertoire deemed suitable for a contest, although chosen by a panel, is defined by tradition, as I shall soon discuss. Tradition is an important influence on most aspects of authenticity within the brass band movement, whether in the discussion of instrumentation or repertoire. My use of tradition in this particular instance is the same as that discussed by Hobsbawm and Ranger (2005: 1) as "invented tradition". They defined invented tradition as

> … a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past… they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past.

The tension experienced in the discussion of both new and old repertoire between bandsmen has a close association with the invented traditional values produced through inculcation.

Similar rooted tensions and conflicts are regularly raised within the Brighouse and Rastrick Band, whilst in wider brass banding circles there is a fair amount of heated discussion. Since contest pieces are generally chosen for the band there is little opportunity for choice with regard to repertoire. However, in the European Brass Band Championships there are two categories of contest music, the set test piece (chosen by a panel) and the "own choice" (chosen by the conductor of the relevant band), a feature which is equally visible in string band contests (Miller 2003:59). Since qualification for the event is through success at the respective national competitions the Brighouse and Rastrick Band rarely has the opportunity to play. However, in 2003 the band was asked to attend the European Brass Band Championships in Bergen (Norway) as the original band was unable to attend. In the period preceding this event I was able to participate in the negotiations that occurred concerning the own-choice piece. For example, when I suggested that we should play *Jazz* (Wilby) another player said "Umm…no. It's not hard enough" and later that evening, after a few more beers, another member of the band suggested *New Jerusalem* (Wilby), to which Alan Morrison said "Hey, no way am I playing that… If we do, John can do it!", at which point the players present laughed. Eventually the conductor chose *Masquerade* (Wilby), written in the early 1990s and arguably one of the hardest pieces for band, but which was a convenient choice since it had been recently used for another competition.[47] As this instance shows, the band still chose music perceived as being suitable for the standard of the contest.

Similar processes are also a feature in the decision-making of the people on the contest music panel. Niki Bland (1993:14) describes how William Relton decides on the suitability of a test piece: "Bill first weighs the technical challenge of each score in an effort to pigeon-hole it into a section. Once sectionalised its musical merit is assessed." Conversely, the All England Masters Championships organisers Phillip Biggs and Richard Franklin

[47] These three pieces were all composed by Professor Phillip Wilby, *Jazz* being a commission for the All England Masters Championship in 1997, while *New Jerusalem* and *Masquerade* were used for the National Brass Band Championships of Great Britain in 1990 and 1993 respectively. *Jazz* involves the amalgamation of different styles big band, bebop and various swing rhythms for both soloists and band. *New Jerusalem* requires the principal cornet to play off-stage for the first third of the piece, whilst *Masquerade* was cited as being the hardest test piece written when it was first published.

promoted an innovative system of choice regarding repertoire. Instead of leaving the decision solely to a specific individual or panel, they gave the bands themselves the chance to vote on which test piece they would like to perform. Even though this offered the bands a wider choice in regard to the piece they wanted to play, the pieces were still selected by the organisers with popularity in mind, a move through which they sought to appease traditionalists who might be concerned if the choice was solely made by the bands.

Apart from considerations of technical challenge and the opportunity for display, the contest repertory is also shaped around the issue of duration. When the Brighouse and Rastrick Band appears at contests they are only one of approximately twenty bands. Consequently most contest pieces are restricted to between twelve and fifteen minutes. Further factors may affect the issue of timing, primarily the amount of time required to organise the percussion instruments on the stage. The specific notification of time limits also occurs in other contesting traditions, for example in fiddle contests in the United States, although here the number of participants is not fixed beforehand and the musicians do not require as much time to alter the stage (Goertzen 2003:142). The number of participants involved in the brass band means that they would obviously need more time to prepare the stage. However, this idea is tempered by the realisation that most, if not all brass bands, have a standardised seating position for the brass instrumentalists. Those which differ only do so in relation to the positioning of the euphoniums and baritones, which are traditionally observed on the right of the conductor in front of the trombones but which occasionally appear behind the tenor horn section. This is similar to the preference of some symphony orchestra conductors for the viola section to be positioned immediately on their right instead of between the second violins and the cellos. The time spent on the stage in preparation of seating and the performance of the piece does however differ from that at the Galax fiddle contests (Goertzen 2003:142) in that there are no formal or written rules. Likewise there is no use of a red light to inform the players that their time on stage has expired. Due to the differing interpretations created by the various conductors there have been examples in the past where performances have differed significantly in their length. In 1998 the Brighouse

and Rastrick Band's winning performances of the test piece *Between the Moon and Mexico* (Sparke) (see appendix 2 CD 5 track 4) was almost four minutes shorter than the performance of the Yorkshire Building Society Band which was placed second.

Whilst both the contest organisers and music panels introduced above have played an important role in developing original brass band music for contest, one contest has remained the bastion of traditional repertoire, that being the Whit Friday Marches already mentioned. In this contest, each band is free to select its own march. The Brighouse and Rastrick Band play *Ravenswood* by William Rimmer in this contest (see appendix 2 CD 5 track 3). Notably, during my period in the band there has been only one occasion where there has been any discussion as to whether it would be better to play another march. Several other bands also follow this traditional format of performing the same march annually, for example Black Dyke generally play the *Knight Templar* (George Allan) march. The repetition of these pieces year on year has resulted in particular marches being associated with specific bands, a process similar to that observed in concerts in the performance of either *West Riding* (Wood) or *The Floral Dance* (Broadbent). Notably, the players appear to enjoy performing the same piece each year, in marked contrast to the usually endless criticisms concerning the annual choice of test piece for those contests held in concert halls. This contest therefore contrasts with those previously discussed not only in the difference in location and audience perspective but also in the repertoire performed, even though patterning of music still occurs here year on year.

Having discussed the influence of contest organisation on repertoire, we can now discuss the impact of that repertoire on the performers. For example, when *Prague* (Bingham) was first played in a rehearsal at Brighouse in February 2003 several players immediately passed comment that the piece was "rubbish". One player as he put his horn into its case remarked sarcastically, "Hmm…I'm really looking forward to practising that piece". This sense of dismay resembles those expressed by Bob Hope, a secretary of the North of England Band Association:

> I don't think bandsmen should have to sit in a room for whatever number of weeks rehearsing a garbage piece of music. It's an insult to bandsmen.... You've got to respect the fact that (a) players have to play it and (b) you're looking to people to pay and sit and listen to it. (cited in Massey 1993:13)

In fact, there have been relatively few pieces used in contests which have evoked such an immediately negative response from the players, although a second example occurred in 2003 in relation to *Aubade: Dawn Song of the Fabulous Birds* composed by Torstein Aargaard-Nilsen for the European Championships. The style of the piece came as a shock to the players who had rarely, if at all, been asked to play something as deliberately chaotic and discordant. I noticed Sheridan Fryer was particularly agitated by the piece. After a rehearsal I ventured into the library to photocopy a piece of music and asked him about this piece. The conversation that followed went like this:

> Sheridan: Well Richard. [sigh] In all my years of playing I've never played anything like it.
>
> Richard: I agree with you there. Do you not like it, I take it?
>
> Sheridan: I think it's just noise, it's not music. It might have its place somewhere, but for a contest? … practising it will be difficult!

Sheridan's comment, "but for a contest?" is particularly relevant to this discussion. It is clear that Sheridan would expect the piece to be played somewhere, perhaps in one of the growing number of brass festivals held primarily in the Manchester area. The pieces chosen for the other contests during that calendar year received a completely different response. In one of the rehearsals before the National Brass Band Championships of Great Britain later that year Andrew Kenyon commented "…yes, this is more like it, none of that *Aubade* garbage", specifically in relation to the *Enigma Variations* (Elgar), the chosen piece.

Since contests are organised on an annual basis there is a cyclical effect in regard to remembering former test pieces, in particular that of the year before. For instance when one of the players, Melvyn Bathgate, looked at the score for the 2005 National Brass Band Championships of Great Britain

test piece, *Eden* (Pickard), he remarked "It looks like it might be something like that *Flowers of the Mountain* (Ball) piece from last year" (test piece for the 2004 National Brass Band Championships of Great Britain). Both Melvyn Bathgate and Sheridan Fryer (in the conversation given earlier) demonstrate the effect of this cyclical reproduction of contests and the pieces involved through personal involvement and inculcation over a significant period, therefore constructing an understanding of the specific contest field or habitus.

When I have spoken to the players who have been involved in the band for a significant period of time there is one aspect associated with all their responses, this being what Sheridan defines as a "nice tune". In questioning these players about certain pieces which had appeared in previous contests, a number were able to whistle or hum a tune to some pieces, for instance the cornet and euphonium solos in *On Alderley Edge* (Graham), and Matthew Hilton even played the fanfare figure of *Between the Moon and Mexico* (Sparke) (see appendix 2 CD 5 track 4 (0:37 to 0:44)) when the piece was suggested as an audition piece for a prospective professional conductor. Tunes or melodic lines were also important in the early period of the barbershop tradition where groups were encouraged to present a clear and simple melodic line (Averill 2003:153). In his book on barbershop, Averill quotes a former president of their ruling body, the Society for the Preservation and Encouragement of Barbershop Shop Quartet Singing in America, who states authentic barbershop songs share to a large extent "simple, sweet, easily remembered melodies." However, there are other test pieces which have been particularly disliked by the players and yet certain melodic or rhythmic patterns are still remembered. For instance Matthew Hilton (the third cornet player) has on occasion played the trombone solo from *Whitsun Wakes* (Ball), which is unusual, but understandable considering the back row players were given a copy of the trombone solo because it was hard to accompany. On another occasion I remember having a conversation with Simon Martindale and Melvyn Bathgate on the possible choice of test piece for the own choice section of the European championships held in Norway in 2003:

Simon Martindale: Well what do you think we should play for the Europeans?

Richard Jones: I think we should play something different. *Life Divine* or something unusual they really won't expect.

Melvyn Bathgate: Aren't we considering pieces that we've done recently?

Simon Martindale: Well that cuts it down to *Masquerade*. We can't do *Prague*

Richard Jones: Why not? I don't think anyone over there will have heard it.

Simon Martindale: I can't even remember a decent tune in it and it's well too easy.

Richard Jones: I can [I hum a fragment of my part in one of the middle movements]. See?

Simon Martindale: But that's just you Rich [laughs][48]

In this sense the melody line plays an important part in the perception and reception of a piece even though competition goals necessitate a high degree of intensity in the execution of their individual and group performance. This is comparable to the position that the content of lyrics occupies within the barbershop tradition (Averill 2003:126), where it is an important motivating factor for participants to persist in future involvement in the contest ritual. Whilst this is a significant motivating factor in both brass bands and the barbershop tradition, the singers in the barbershop groups control the content and topic of the lyrics and the melody lines, but in brass bands the pieces are chosen by an independent panel of advisors and the melodies created by the composer. When asking players about what constitutes a good test piece they generally reply that it needs to have a tune, and then it becomes a matter of the amount of technical challenge or ability required.

Adjudicators and adjudications are implemented in different ways in different musical traditions. At the beginning of the twentieth century contests included two or three adjudicators usually drawn from different musical backgrounds, for example a composer, a member of the military and a former

[48] p.c Simon Martindale and Melvyn Bathgate, Switzerland , March 24 2003.

bandmaster. Although the diversity of their backgrounds produced different perspectives on the music, it was expected that they had an understanding of brass instrumentation and the performance techniques involved. When I asked a number of the players in band whether they would be happy with non-brass band people adjudicating, the majority replied that they [the adjudicators] would not understand playing in a band contest and that they would not understand what to look for or appreciate the techniques involved. In recent years the number of adjudicators used in the major brass band contests has been relatively narrow. Whilst analysing the individual participation of adjudicators in the major contests between 1993 and 2003 I found that David Read, for example appeared in 21 out of the 39 contests (54%), whilst William Relton and James Scott appeared in 41% and 31% of contests respectively.[49] The percentage of appearances by other adjudicators ranges between 3% and 15%, suggesting that both the organisers and bands entrust the adjudication of contests to a select few. Since these adjudicators appeared so often in the contests, some of the players even began to predict who exactly was in the box. For example, in a rehearsal before the National Brass Band Championship of Great Britain contest in 2003 David Hebb asked me, "Do you know who's in the box?" I replied "It's bound to be one or two of William Relton, David Read or James Scott!". A week later the organisers officially announced that the adjudicators were David Read, William Relton and Geoff Whitham. David Hebb turned to me at the end of a rehearsal and said "How did you know that it would be Relton and Read?" to which I replied, "Both of them have been in nearly every contest in the last ten years! So I knew it was a good bet". When the bands have been involved in appointing a set of adjudicators they have still chosen the same people because they trust the decisions that they make, even if subsequently, following the announcement of the results, they say they doubt their capabilities! Since there can only be one band satisfied by the result, i.e. the winning one, the issue of trust regarding the adjudicators has therefore always irritated some of the players. After one contest I was talking to a player from the band about the individuals in the box

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[49] Statistics have been accumulated from my own research, gathered from the official Brighouse adjudications and www.4barsrest.com , specifically on the British Open Brass Band Championships, All England Masters, National Brass Band Championships of Great Britain and the Yorkshire Area Contests.

and he said, "Dyke are bound to win this" and when I asked why he explained that he felt this way because "Black Dyke Bill" and Geoff Whitham were in the box, both of whom had some association with the Black Dyke Mills band. In this sense band adjudication compares to that in Sundanese competitions. where the people chosen to sit on the "jury panel" have associations and interest with those who are participating in the competition, for example former teachers or performers (Williams 2003:88). However, the panel in the Sundanese competition sit behind a table in front of the competitors, able to see those competing, whilst in bands, they are positioned behind screens, as I shall shortly explain. Another connection between bands and the adjudicators occurred when the Brighouse and Rastrick Band attended the National Brass Band Championships in 1998 and Roy Roe, the father of one of our players, was one of the adjudicators in the box. The issue of trust is therefore important in both shaping the contest as an event and the beliefs of those who participate.

In the brass band contest the adjudicator is always positioned in what the bandsmen call "the box", a temporary boarding which hides the adjudicators from the audience and players. Boosey and Hawkes, the former organisers of the National Brass Band Championship of Great Britains, produced their own study which compared the results of those adjudicators inside and outside the box and concluded that there was so little difference that there was no point in changing to an "open" system[50]. Adjudicators in other traditions also have set positions, for example those in the Galax fiddling contests are "tucked away at a table at the top of the grandstand" (Goertzen 2003:140), a similar position taken by those in the Urdd and National Eisteddfods in Wales. In other traditions the adjudicators are placed immediately in front of the participants, in particular in the Parang String band (Miller 2003:57) and Sokayeti Contests (Douglas 2003:41). However, with the exception of the position of brass band adjudicators in the National Eisteddfod in Wales, all the adjudicators, although seated in different positions away from the stage and performers, are visible to all those participating. This would mean that performers would be immediately recognisable to the adjudicators as soon as they enter the stage. In brass bands this is not possible and there is a

[50] Peter Wilson, "Time to 'open the box?'", *The British Bandsman* 4709: 3

continuing debate as to whether specific bands are recognisable by the sound produced by their soloists. On the suggestion of implementing an open system of adjudication many of the players, both in the Brighouse and Rastrick and other bands, declare that they would have difficulty accepting the decision of the adjudicators, whilst they also freely admit that these same adjudicators must know who is playing by the "bigger" sounds and technique of the best bands. This tends to substantiate the theory proposed by Bourdieu (1993b:117) who suggested that competitions could "...never be dominated by one orthodoxy without continuously being dominated by the general question of orthodoxy itself, that is, by the question of the criteria defining the legitimate exercise of a certain type of cultural practice".

Success at a brass band contest is dependent neither on the performance of the participants nor on the subsequent reaction of the audience, as is the case for example in the Baakisimba competitions (Nannyonga-Tamusuza 2003:106), but rather on the opinion of the adjudicators. So how do these individuals reach a conclusion in regard to which bands win? Wright (1963:114) adjudicated at many contests and concluded that it involved a series of evaluative scales which covered tone, tuning or intonation, phrasing, accuracy of notes and other performance-related issues. This series of evaluative scales or categories is absent in the formally-written adjudications and Wright explains the reason behind this in the following quotation:

> It is a tragedy that in nearly every case the points to be allotted on grounds of playing technique comprise roughly 90% of the total. To leave only 10% for the musicianly aspect is so ridiculous that several of the top judges in England rightly refuse to allot detailed marks on a scale with which they disagree entirely, but simply give an over-all total. (1963:114-5)

Wright observed that this method of adjudication occurred throughout the middle part of the twentieth century and, comparing two adjudications, the first from 6 August 1923 and the second from 18 October 2003, his opinions are still clearly valid today.[51] Both these discuss the shape of the music, for example one commenting that "a very good start is made" and the latter (2003)

[51] Taken from the personal archives of Brighouse and Rastrick archivist Derek Rawlinson

stating "good start, well shaped". Amongst the other categories discussed in both are tempo, sound, interpretation and solo playing, whilst the remaining categories only differ in the terminology used. This suggests that the idea of set criteria does exist in some form and is inculcated by successive generations of adjudicators. However, the topic of set criteria and their existence remains a contentious issue which is discussed on a regular basis by both the players and banding media.

In this next section I shall discuss the various roles performed by both the resident and professional conductors, those charged with shaping the band performance and ultimately critiqued by the adjudicators. The resident conductor is expected to prepare the band specifically for concerts but also to introduce players to the test piece for the next competition, defined by some of the players as "note bashing". In comparison the professional conductor is expected to shape or interpret the test piece and, more importantly, motivate the players to raise their performance standards to those exhibited in the contest context. The difference between these roles can also be expressed through the pedagogical theories discussed by Jenkins (2003:107), specifically implicit and explicit methodologies. Implicit pedagogy in the Brighouse and Rastrick Band is represented by the resident conductor and involves an implied, indirect or suggestive use of "traditional" or "total knowledge" accumulated through the extended period of interaction between the conductor and players. Explicit pedagogy is therefore represented by the professional conductor and involves the accumulation of a specialised type of knowledge that is transferred to the players over a shorter and more intense period of association (*ibid.*:107). The main differences between these positions are those constructed from the opinions and attitudes represented by the players. When a former resident conductor took the band to a contest there was a different attitude in the preparation, in particular the lack of intensity associated with previous occasions. This attitude exemplified a feeling that the conductor involved was not up to the expectation of what the players define as a professional conductor, a feeling that may have been reflected in the poor result achieved on the contest day. When a professional conductor took the band to a contest and did not achieve an adequate result the players debated his suitability and concluded that he allowed the players to "get away" with

too many things and that he failed to motivate the players sufficiently. Both these reasons together with the constant mimicking of his actions by the players meant that his respect was constantly eroded. This particular issue also appeared in relation to the leader in the Kwaya Mashindano in Dar Es Salaam (Barz 2000:391-2) where a kiongozi, their term for conductor, called J.M.Sekella commented:

> Another point is that singers should treat their kiongozi [conductor] with respect … He/she [conductor] who is not respected by his/her Kwaya members is not a good conductor. Here the conductor scores marks, not the singers.

Whilst conductors in the Mashindano are evaluated by their stage presence and technique, due to the adjudicators being unable to observe the conductor in band contests their remarks are constructed from the performance of the players. Therefore the successful presentation of an interpretation to the players is the main way in which an impression of the conductor can be transmitted to the adjudicators who shape their possible future involvement with the band. The success achieved at contests by both conductor and bands is also a symbolic representation of the struggle for prestige and honour that ultimately develop inter-band rivalry, a topic I shall discuss in the following paragraph.

Although the intensity of rivalry has undoubtedly changed over the last century, beating the "nearest neighbour" or "deadliest rival" remains an important motivational issue for the players. However, the hostility involved in these rivalries is not as extreme as, for example, the heated, open conflict that appears in both the carnival (Dudley 2003:18) and Parang string band traditions (Miller 2003:66). In the carnival tradition the hostility experienced by all the participants is represented in the content of the song lyrics created by the chantwels (conductors). The opposing chantwels trade boasts and insults in song and these contests often escalated into physical battles with fighting sticks, a rivalry defined in Trinidad as picong. Lyrics are also an influential part in the hostility created by the band leaders in the string band contests. However, the content of these lyrics is different from that expressed in the carnival tradition since their main topic concerns the results achieved in

previous contests. Both of these examples differ from that experienced by the players in the Brighouse and Rastrick Band in that the verbal hositility or "banter" often comes in the post-performance period, where lyrics concerning rivals and the results of previous contests are expressed. Banter, and sometimes provocation, in brass band contests is therefore more of a means of inculcating traditional identities, including prestige and status, rather than as a method to incite a favourable or hostile reaction from an audience, or indeed to distract other participants into making a mistake in their own performance, as is the case in the Trinidad carnival tradition. The inculcation of this process has been important in maintaining rivalries, not only between bands in relatively localised areas but also between those of a similar standard. The degree of rivalry in most instances is asserted by sectional categorisation, for example Championship and First sections, there are also differing amounts represented within the same section. Some bands are therefore more of a threat to the accumulation of honour and prestige, even though all competitive bands in theory are equally capable of performing well or winning, these being represented in the Yorkshire area by the Lindley, Hepworth and Sellers bands. An example of the perception and attitudes of the players to these bands is demonstrated in the following example. When the Carlton Main Frickley band were announced as winners in the Area contest in 1999 one cornet player in the Brighouse and Rastrick Band commented "You're bloody joking aren't you, Carlton Main, Carlton Main?".

Although local pride was an initial motivation behind establishing these rivalries, for example between villages, rivalry today transcends these geographical boundaries and is manifested in those rivalries established between bands within specific sections, for example the Black Dyke, Fodens and Buy as You View bands. This process demonstrates that, unlike in the Sokayeti competition (Douglas 2003:35-54), the symbolic capital and prestige involved in the sectional rivalry is recognised on a national rather than local basis. I believe that the differences between the Lindley and Hepworth bands and, for example, the Black Dyke band are legitimised by the power relations established from the inculcation of contest results and the prestige and status that are associated with these. Through these processes of inculcation the band which appears in the highest positions in every contest not only accumulates

symbolic capital but also a dominant symbolic mastery over other competing bands. The success of the Brighouse and Rastrick Band in contests is ultimately compared to other bands which feature in the dominant culture (i.e. those who consistently appear in the highest positions in the contest and rankings). This particular observation was exemplified by cornet player Andrew Kenyon on the way back from the All England Masters in 2002 when he commented "We can't go on getting sevenths and eighths … look at YBS [Yorkshire Building Society band] winning the Open and stuff". The symbolic mastery and position of the Brighouse and Rastrick Band in the dominant culture of contesting is maintained in a variety of ways. As I stated earlier, prestige and status is afforded individuals and bands in association with contest participation and in particular contest victory. Individual players who perform well with one band draw attention from those bands which have a bigger reputation or offer better financial incentives. By being successful in the contest context, attracting successful players, accumulating ranking points, improving and maintaining prestige and status, the best or elite bands are able to restrict the capability of "lesser bands" to develop and challenge the orthodoxy of the symbolic mastery established by the elite minority. This restriction is consequently maintained through the inculcation of the contest process, including the results and perceptions of the others (audience, critics and journalists) who participate in the context. Through the inculcation of these the differentiation between greater and lesser bands is experienced as legitimate by the participants. Whilst I have felt it necessary to introduce the idea of rivalry at this point I also believe that there is scope for further research on the topic, specifically on the changing perception of inter-band rivalries, their influence on group goals and inculcation of opinions and attitudes.

In this section I have presented a number of issues which influence the contest context, specifically the location, repertoire, adjudicators, adjudications and the various rivalries that exist between bands. These particular roles will become useful in understanding the whole contesting context, from initial rehearsal to the celebrations or commiserations in the period of afterglow following the announcement of the results. The section that follows discusses the specific behaviour exhibited by players and participants in the preparation process involved in contests.

"When's Gourlay Coming?": Rehearsal Processes and their Influence within the Contest Context

Rehearsals are an important facet of the production of successful concert and contest performance. Although there are similarities between these types of rehearsal, in particular the location, the role and importance of the contest rehearsal is paramount if the participants are to perceive the contest as successful. This perception involves the rehearsal being incorporated as part of the whole contest process or ritual, which concludes with the stage performance. The amalgamation of these rehearsal and performance processes is also understood by Finnegan who observed that it occurred within many of the music traditions around the Milton Keynes area. She found that "the act of performance represented the high point and validation of a whole series of both musical and back-up activities by performers and supporters before and after the event" (Finnegan 1989:144). In this section I shall therefore introduce and discuss rehearsal processes and conductor methodology and how these relate to the formal performance.

Both the contest and concert rehearsals are located at the bandroom and in the initial stages are held at the same allotted time, 7.45 to 9.30pm. Residency at a specific location is not unusual for a rehearsal, for example in the Ikoce and Okeme competitions in Northern Uganda, village groups had a specific rehearsal area attached to a compound (Cooke 2000:273). Of course the proximity of the rehearsal rooms in these villages and their accessibility to local people who participate is significantly different from the isolated and enclosed area which is the Brighouse and Rastrick Band rehearsal room. The specific and enclosed nature of this rehearsal location is influential in shaping the various types of communication and social interaction, specifically in relation to the successful use of time and an understanding of the subjected, practised or "docile" bodies, represented in the band by the players. In isolating the rehearsal within a specific venue the band is able to inhabit, as Foucault (1977:141) defined, "a place heterogeneous to all others [players] and closed in upon itself". One of the reasons behind this isolation is the need to maximise the rehearsal time and this is achieved in some part by the

geographic location of the band room away from the town centre, making it less accessible. Whilst this relocation of the band room outside the town centre deterred the public from attending, it did not influence the participation of the players. As I shall highlight in the following chapter, many of the players involved with the band during my fieldwork live outside the immediate Brighouse and Rastrick area. For example, when he first joined the band Greg Perkin, a percussionist, lived in Scunthorpe, and his mother had to bring him to and from the band room. In latter years Craig Gaskell, a cornet player, had a round trip of 168 miles from Scarborough to be a part of the band. Whilst these are extreme examples of those who commute, many others travel to band, albeit not as far. The majority of the players in the 2006 Brighouse and Rastrick Band commute from the northwest of England, primarily from the Manchester area, approximately a forty minute car journey. Due to the distances that players commute the relocation of the band room to a venue outside Brighouse town centre has had little effect on the time or distance that they have to travel. The players are expected to attend rehearsals at the alloted time and, as I discussed in Chapter 3, if any player is regularly late for rehearsals, this causes humour initially, but over an extended period an element of resentment develops. The distance and time of each individual's route to the band room is dependent on his geographic location but ultimately all are expected to be at the band room for no later than 7.45 pm.

Even though the relocation of the band room to outside the Brighouse town centre discouraged the attendance of non-playing people or locals, some persisted. These have, in latter years, become "regulars" who attend concert rehearsals, whilst several others attend contest rehearsals to hear how the band is "sounding". The less frequent visitors are quite often unaware of the expectations and conventions associated with the rehearsal and are therefore a main source of interruption. These interruptions involve either speech or specific actions, for example before the Open in 2002 two people entered the band room chatting and laughing and only realised they were intruding when the conductor glared at them. Since, due to the location, car parking is shared between the band and the high school, occasionally teachers working late are blocked in by band members attending the rehearsal. Rehearsals are also frequently interrupted by parents who ignore the signs stating "Brighouse and

Rastrick Band car park only – Offenders will be clamped". On one particular occasion the rehearsal was interrupted on three separate occasions. On the final interruption Andrew Kenyon, who was clearly frustrated, said "For God's sake, I don't know whether it's the kids or the parents that need to be in school. Can't they read? … We're trying to rehearse here!!" This outburst and many others demonstrate the frustration caused by interruptions which disrupt player concentration and the preconceived rehearsal plans which the conductor wishes to implement, subjects that will be discussed shortly.

Occasionally the band uses a different location for one or two rehearsals before a contest. Over the last three years the Central Methodist Church in the centre of Brighouse has fulfilled this function. The reason behind this change involves the ability and opportunity to play in a different acoustic and also to give more room for audience participation. These particular events are advertised in the local press and, being open to the public, they may be attended by rival players or supporters, perceived by some of the players as being "spies". Before the National Brass Band Championships of Great Britain contest in 2003 some of the players noticed that there were a few players from another band in the audience and initially it was thought that they were taking notes on the performance. However, Matthew Hilton commented that he did not think the band in question had qualified for the contest and so they weren't really spying.[52] Spying can also be observed in the school festival contests in Uganda (Nannyonga-Tamusuza 2003:99); where spy networks, as in bands, are designed to gather information on their rival groups and return any observations on aspects of their performance. In both of the locations and rehearsals discussed above there is at least a partial sense of separation, isolation or exclusion that is comparable to that of the concert hall processes separated as an "other world" from that which exists beyond its geographic boundaries, as proposed by Cottrell (2004:154).

The length of rehearsal preparation is different in many if not all traditions, for example the Pandemonium steel band rehearsed for five hours each night during a six-week period between the New Year and the time of their contest, and as in brass bands these were specific rehearsals of one piece

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[52] p. c Matthew Hilton, Central Methodist Church ,Brighouse, 16 October 2003

(Dudley 2003:11). Whilst this demonstrates that these steel band rehearsals are kept fairly consistent over a lengthy period, those of the Brighouse and Rastrick Band increase in their frequency towards the day of the contest. This process is divided into two specific periods, which I shall refer to as Resident and Professional time, due to the involvement of both the resident and professional conductors. In the Resident time the band continues rehearsing on their scheduled evenings, with both the test piece and concert repertoire being rehearsed. The Professional time involves extra rehearsals including specific sectionals[53] during the week preceding the contest. This division of rehearsal time is also discussed by Reid (2002:104), who states that musicians preparing for a performance have two primary objectives, the first of these "being the formulation of an interpretation of a musical work" and the second "the development of sufficient technical expertise in order to realise this interpretation". The role of the resident conductor concerns the latter objective, familiarising the players with the technique required to perform the piece. This process involves the full performance of the test piece on a regular basis to resolve any technical or notational difficulties. These "run-throughs" and the assessment of technical difficulties are features of what Reid calls "gaining an overview" (2002:108). Reid suggests that an initial overview gave the players a better formulation of an interpretation or at least an understanding of the position of an individual within the musical geography of the score. This is demonstrated by comments like "If we get to play it earlier we can see how Jim is going to do it [conduct]. I just want to see how he's going to take that seven twelve bar!?"[54] However some players have commented that the purpose of these overviews is to perfect their own parts and not to listen to others. For example, Andrew Kenyon once asked me "What were you doing listening to him [flugel player], you should be concentrating on your own part". There have been many other instances to support this comment, for example when a horn player was struggling to play a part, the baritone player suggested that he could play it, to which the horn player replied, "Stick to your own part you!".

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[53] Sectional rehearsals may involve one or two groups of instruments, dependent on the requirements of the piece, for example one day might involve a two hour rehearsal of the cornet or horn sections.

[54] Alan Morrison, band room, October 4 2005.

Following this general overview, there is an intermediate phase when methods of overcoming technical difficulties such as notation, rhythm and ensemble are constructed. This phase is a part of what I earlier defined as residential rehearsal time. Before the British Open Brass Band Championships in 2002, David Hirst spent a considerable amount of time rehearsing a passage of running semiquavers in the piece *Maunsell Forts* (McCabe) (see appendix 1). This problem had not been resolved in any of the previous run-throughs, and therefore the conductor had to rehearse the short passage repeatedly at various tempi. Reid (2002:105) defined this particular action as "chunk method", a process that requires passages to be repetitively rehearsed, the chunk size dependent on the complexity of the piece and the ability of the performers (see appendix 2 CD 3 tracks 3-8). By rehearsing pieces in short chunks and at slow tempi, the conductor is then in a position to correct problems which would later become difficult to resolve. Although the use of slow and short chunk rehearsal methods benefits the performance of both individuals and groups, it can also cause an equal amount of frustration. This frustration is represented by the behaviour exhibited by the players during off-task[55] periods. Whilst conversation between players in concert rehearsals is tolerated to a certain extent, its use in contest rehearsals is not tolerated at all since, as I discussed earlier, time usage is a major concern. In a few rehearsals James Gourlay was giving instruction to another part of the band and I asked Andrew Kenyon about something involving our part, to which he frowned, put his finger to his mouth and pointed towards the conductor, signifying that I should concentrate in case the instruction he was giving would later be relevant.

The intensification of discipline is a characteristic of the third phase of practice described by Reid (2002:109). This is a combination of both the general overview and intermediate phases, during which minor adjustments in the interpretation are made. These characteristics are representative of the processes that I observed in the Professional time rehearsal where an increase in the level of intensity resulted in a higher degree of concentration. Reid

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[55] Brendell, Janna K., Time Use, Rehearsal Activity, and Student Off-Task Behaviour during the Initial Minutes of High School Rehearsals, Journal of Research in Music Education, Spring 1996, Vol. 44, No.1 (6-14)

(2002:106) stated that "Concentration, therefore, is an essential element of technical practice, not only to ensure accuracy but also to maintain efficiency" and also that "practising is most productive when there is conscious mental involvement". However, when the band was rehearsing the second movement of *Contest Music* (Heaton) (see appendix 2 CD 5 track 7 (4:08 to 9:20)) for the British Open Brass Band Championships in 2004 one section was rehearsed a number of times in isolation for a significant period whilst other players were unoccupied. Those left unoccupied demonstrated a number of characteristic off-task behaviours. For example, many players were drinking water whilst the percussionists occasionally read magazines at the back.

The heightened intensity and concentration in this final phase influences the formulation and transmission of interpretations, a responsibility of the professional conductor. In the past this process has involved a number of conducting techniques, for example the use of descriptive language or singing specific phrases. In rehearsing a passage of semiquavers in *Maunsell Forts* (McCabe) for the British Open Brass Band Championship in 2002 Ian McElligott (conductor) suggested that the players should picture the note movement as the movement of the sea against the wall of the fort (see appendix 1). Ian McElligott and James Gourlay have not only utilised this descriptive technique but have also been the only conductors who have attempted the singing technique. By singing passages the players are encouraged to hear the notes and their relative intervals whilst also gaining some interpretative value. Reid (2002:107) stated that the singing of melodic lines was "an analogical aid to the interpretation" and that "the vocalised melody acts as a mental construct connecting the individual notes of the melodic line into an expressive sequence". Both of these techniques are inherent in formulating and developing an interpretation, a process of honing and refining that characterises and signifies the professional rehearsal time.

During the week preceding the contest there is an increase in the number of run-throughs, a feature that suggests that the chunk method is primarily used as an initial tool to resolve problematic areas rather than an interpretative tool. There have been rehearsals where the performance of the whole piece on a number of occasions has resulted in one or two of the players suffering something similar to lip fatigue. In the rehearsals before the 1999

European Brass Band Championships in Munich the band had to phone for a replacement soprano player (Martin Winter) because the existing player had a problem with his lips due to the amount of playing during rehearsals. In the later stages of the contest rehearsal process the piece is played in its entirety, both at the beginning and end of a rehearsal, a process that has some similarity to the choice of loud repertoire performed at the beginning and end of concert rehearsals. These rehearsals are therefore important in shaping the actual stage performance, since the players become accustomed to certain characteristics of the piece, specifically the length, the amount of concentration that is required and the accumulation of knowledge concerning their own part in the performance whole.

This section has described the route taken by the Brighouse and Rastrick Band from initial rehearsal to the development of the stage performance via repetition and various rehearsal techniques. In the following section I shall discuss the processes involved in relation to the stage or contest performance.

"Didn't you Feel that Buzz?": The Processes and Participants Involved in the Construction of Contest Performance

The processes which occur within and between the various stages of the contest day context are, like the rehearsal, part of the greater contest whole. These individual stages are represented by different kinds of behaviour pattern which signify their importance not only to the action in question but to the whole event. Cottrell (2004:152) proposed that it was "more profitable to consider how patterns of behaviour differentiate certain significant events from other events" than defining them as ritual or non-ritual. For example Small (1998:21) discussed this pattern of behaviour in relation to the symphony orchestra concert, specifically as a ritual associated with power-holding classes held at venues that represent grandeur and wealth. Whilst Small uses power-holding as a category of both the audience and general public I propose that in the band contest it refers to the most successful bands and players in accumulating prestige and status through both the processes and results involved in the event. The accumulation of this prestige is transferable

to future contests, which is highlighted through the specific expression of cultural identity, tradition and roots, mainly through the use of uniforms, as discussed in previous chapters. Therefore, unlike the Makonde tradition, where the contest performance is central to the celebration of the whole event (Johansen 2000:255), both the performance and the other behaviours are perceived as being equally important. Collective prestige provides the opportunity for individuals to form specific social identities. For example, through his lengthy association with both the Brighouse and Rastrick Band and the various band contests Eddie Noble became known as "Mr Brighouse". Whilst the stage performance is not the only or main signification during the contest day it does have a role to play in the construction of this identity. Performing well and receiving plaudits by players from other bands and the recognition of being a member of a "strong group" is a direct result of the stage performance. In this sense the contest stage performance is responsible for specific stages in an individual player's participation. For example, a player who performs well is likely to achieve acclaim from all, and conversely a player who plays badly may find his position under scrutiny. Most if not all players involved in the band are assessed on their performance ability in this context and are required to "add points" to a contest performance. One former principal cornet player, for example, was assessed as being "too light" for the sound of the band, whilst the contribution of a flugel player was perceived by the players as "not adding any points to the contest performance". In this section I shall present a detailed description of the processes and behaviour of all the participants involved, not only in the stage performance, but in the whole contest ritual which includes the pre-liminal, liminal and post-liminal stages introduced by Cottrell (2004:152). My use of these terms in the description of the contest context or ritual is identical to the way in which they are used in the previous chapter where I defined the concert context. As in that chapter, the pre-liminal and post-liminal stages involve the description of the organisational processes which influence those activities defining the performance or liminal stage, for example, the number of rehearsals, the different venues organised for these rehearsals and many other processes like the logistics involved in the transport of the players from one venue to another. These organisational processes although an influence on the main performance

stage, are significantly different from the liminal performance stage. This is a characteristic that is particularly relevant to the contest performance context.

In the pre-liminal stage of the contest the players arrive at the band room and are expected to load the bus, in a similar manner to that described in the concert ritual. Following the completion of this task the players board the bus and take their respective seats and begin discussions on, for example, potential success or an unusual characteristic of the contest involved. On one of these journeys I asked Mike Norton, a bass player, why the band could not warm up on stage in a contest and he replied "Well [sigh] it's not really the done thing is it? … I suppose it's down to tradition … no one's done it before". Rankings or predictions also present topics of conversation, especially those proposed by the various banding media, for example Simon Martindale commented before the British Open Brass Band Championships in 2004 "Have you seen the predictions on four bars rest [www.4barsrest.com]?" and I replied "They always go for Dyke or YBS, so I can't be arsed with it". Another form of entertainment that appears during this journey is the use of video tapes provided by the players. However, in recent years the use of these videos has declined, with some of the players describing their function as "unsociable". On arriving at the hotel the players are on occasion asked to transfer the percussion to a pre-organised and temporary rehearsal room, are subsequently reminded of rehearsal times for either that evening or early the next morning, and are requested to be "sensible" in their approach to drinking on the eve of a contest. The movement of percussion instruments, the discussions, the video and the construction of certain behavioural expectations are significant in the shaping of social interaction and bonding which influence not only participant relationships but also successful performance.

On the contest day the players are woken early so that they are able to organise their uniforms, for example ironing white shirts, and also to allow adequate time to have breakfast before beginning the final rehearsal. In these final rehearsals the conductor encourages the players to warm up gently. generally by the use of hymn tunes, quiet playing or the repetition of small chunks of the test piece of concern to either the conductor or any player. On one occasion a hymn tune in the same key as the test piece was used to warm up and the conductor, James Gourlay, stated that this was required not only so

that the players could warm up, but also to listen to the intonation on certain chords. These rehearsals are also useful psychologically. For example, several conductors have asked "Does anyone want to run something in the piece?" or "Are there any corners that anybody would like to try?" so that some players can achieve some reassurance before the on-stage performance. The length of these rehearsals is influenced by the draw, a process that occurs at times linked to the time of the first performance. For example, in the National Brass Band Championships of Great Britain the draw is at approximately 8.30 and the first performance an hour and a half later. The processes that occur throughout the whole day, for example the behaviour of the players and often the nature of the performance itself, are directly related to the results of the draw. Therefore in the next paragraph I shall introduce the processes involved in this draw and demonstrate its importance in the transitional phase between preliminal and liminal stages.

In the brass band contest, being drawn number one is perceived as being the worst possible outcome and almost certainly the end of any chance of being the winning band. The Brighouse and Rastrick Band was drawn number one in three out of the four contests between the National Brass Band Championships in 2002 and the European Brass Band Championships in May 2003, and consequently achieved results which were below expectations. Whilst the players remain at the hotel, a representative of the band is sent to the draw and upon its conclusion communicates the full results to a member of the band. These results consequently shape the decisions about, for example, the time of departure from the hotel or any additional rehearsals, activities organised and communicated by the secretary and conductor. Collectively the players understand the importance of the draw and this is highlighted by the attention they pay not only to their own position but also to that of their nearest rivals. There are however some players who believe that these positions do not really matter. For example Andrew Kenyon told me before the British Open Brass Band Championships in 2003 that "It doesn't matter where Dyke or YBS are, they have to beat us!" The importance of playing position has been the subject of research by Svebak (1993:3) who attempts to prove that an early performance in a draw, irrelevant of the standard of performance, demonstrates a clear disadvantage. Meanwhile the psychological

influence of the draw on the players and adjudicators is an interesting subject area with the potential for future research.

Following their arrival at the venue the players, fully dressed in their walking- out uniforms, are guided to a specific dressing room so that they can change into their purple stage uniforms. Bands are segregated from each other during this process, and so their individual isolation is maintained until after the performance, although percussionists often communicate with each other in regard to the set-up of their instruments on the stage. To ensure continuity in the organisation of the contest, the bands are then asked to go through a series of registration processes. Each player has his own registration card, which performs a similar role to both a passport when travelling abroad and the rite of passage that an audience member experiences when purchasing a ticket from the box office, as observed by Cottrell (2004:154). According to Cottrell, in possessing a ticket for a concert an audience member carries a "symbol of eligibility to take part in the event" and this is equally the case for the registration card possessed by the individual Brighouse and Rastrick Band player. This registration process allows the player to enter what Cottrell defined as the "other-worldly" place, the concert hall, and enables officials to guarantee that professional "ringers" are not called in on the day to boost performance. The registry is therefore an important process not only in partitioning bands from each other but also in deterring any form of "cheating" or player replacement, another common cause of debate.

The stage performance which follows begins differently from that observed in the concert context due to the involvement of the adjudicators. The conductor must wait to signal the beginning of the performance until the adjudicators have indicated by a single blast on a whistle that they are fully prepared. A similar situation occurs in the school festival competitions in Baganda (Uganda) where the "performers only begin to perform after the bell rings" (Nannyonga-Tamusuza, 2003:106). In one competition both the players and conductor waited patiently on the stage, and, as the audience became restive, the conductor turned to the principal cornet asking "Have they whistled yet?" When the player replied "Yeah", the conductor commented "Well, we better get on with it then!" The atmosphere between taking the stage and playing the first note is filled with tension for both the players and

the audience. This expectancy and tension is associated with the sense of "communitas" that is represented both in band concerts and the symphony orchestra concerts as observed by Cottrell (2004:156). The communitas represented in these situations by both the players and audience derives from an emotionally shared experience of tension, expectation and excitement. There have been many occasions where this tension has been evident both during and after a contest performance. For example, in the National Brass Band Championships in 1997, many of the players commented that they could feel the tension or excitement in the audience and that this feeling encouraged their consequent euphoric reaction in the period following the end of the piece. On many other occasions the players have commented that they could feel a sigh like "Oh" when a soloist with the Brighouse and Rastrick Band had clipped or missed a note in his solo. Within the playing membership I have observed that some players have been so tense that they have experienced an acute sense of nerves, visibly shaking or concentrating so hard on their parts that their whole body is rigid, their lower legs pinned behind their seats. This communitas as I have demonstrated does not represent the collective behaviour and experience of every single audience member but rather an aggregate of collective responses that has both "mass effect and individual significance" (Cottrell 2004:156). The momentary stasis experienced by the players before the performance can be attributed to a sense of shared experience and the mutual understanding of collective goals and achievements. In this way the players are, as discussed by Turner (1977:47) and Cottrell (2004:156), symbolically withdrawing from the situation to share a sense or moment of communitas since they share particular characteristics and aspirations.

On striking the first note another set of expectations replaces those previously experienced and these may differ according to the specific role undertaken by particular players. For example, there is a different expectation of principals from that of tutti players. Players expect to perform their own parts to the best of their abilities whilst also contributing to a successful collective band performance which may win the contest. However, there have been occasions when individuals have felt that they have let the band down. For example, after the performance of *Variations on an Enigma* (Sparke) at

the European Brass Band Championships, I heard that one of the bass players was emotional because he thought he had let the band down and consequently several other players spent a considerable amount of time consoling him. I have also experienced this feeling of disappointment. After the British Open Brass Band Championships in 2003 I approached Andrew Kenyon and said "Sorry 'bout that, I played crap today … I think you carried me" whilst after the next competition Kenyon commented "You played well today Rich … glad you played that top A bit at the end" to which I replied "I'm glad I got it too because it's the first time I haven't split it in a couple of days!" It is clear from these quotations that the players have their own levels of expectation in regard to their own performance whilst players rarely avoid commenting if another individual plays particularly well or has "an off day". This expectation has resulted in players suffering from various types of anxiety or stage fright, for example displaying physiological symptoms such as having a dry mouth or sweating profusely. I have witnessed many players dealing with these symptoms and anxiety in a number of ways. For example, before playing on stage Alan Morrison has eaten a tomato to induce the production of saliva. Most of the techniques employed by the players to avoid or alleviate anxiety have been utilised in the period before entering the stage. However, one avoidance technique that I have witnessed on the contest stage with the Brighouse and Rastrick Band is that proposed by Valentine (2002:173), that being intense attention focusing. This method has however been detrimental to the performance of the band on a number of occasions, in particular with James Gourlay as conductor. Following a performance at the British Open Brass Band Championship in 2004 James Gourlay commented to Ian Dust that he had been upset as a lot of the work which had been perfected in rehearsal had disappeared on stage because the players had focused their attention solely on their own parts, and had not looked at him at crucial moments during the piece. Alternative methods of anxiety control have been exhibited in the use of prescribed medication, including 'beta-blockers', (formally called beta-adrenoceptor blocking agents), which are also known to be used by musicians in professional symphony orchestras (Valentine 2002:175). The biggest benefit that a band player can achieve from beta blockers is the reduction of tremors or, in banding terms "the shakes", that may inhibit or influence the

ability of some players to perform. Anxiety is therefore an important influence, not only on the performance of an individual but also on their own personal and group expectation.

Unlike band concerts, the stage performance in contests has little verbal or nonverbal communication. These characteristics and behaviours are a product of the contest rehearsal, where, as I discussed earlier, the conductor has control over the amount of off-task behaviour and time usage. During my fieldwork the only communications that I have seen during a contest performance have been those exhibited by the conductor, for example directions concerning tempo or dynamics and triumphant gestures that are visually exciting for both the players and audience. Towards the end of the performance of *Between the Moon and Mexico* (Sparke) in 1998 (see figure 5.1), I observed that at one point the conductor Allan Withington bent his knees and had his arms pointing in the air as the band played a loud and exciting passage (see appendix 2 CD 5 track 4 (16:10 to 16:49). The tempo during this final section was significantly faster than the official metronome mark and, together with the aforementioned gestures, created an exciting intensity of feeling or "directed motion" as defined by Cottrell (2004:158) and Danziger (1995:20). Davidson (2002:148) described the use of both these gestures and personality as an exaggerated public act of emotional expression. Conversely, a former conductor with the band severely limited his use of gestures, leading one audience member to comment that he looked "wooden". These gestures, as demonstrated by both the players and conductor, are part of a cyclical effect that influences the overall band performance. At the Yorkshire Area Brass Band Championships in 2004 a critic seated in the audience stated that the players in the band looked and sounded nervous, feelings which were transmitted to audience members.

Figure 5.1: The band performing at the National Brass Band Championship of Great Britain in 1998

At a contest later that year the audience attendance was lower than expected, a fact that seemed to unsettle the players and consequently the performance itself was described as being "edgy". These examples demonstrate that the performers and audience have the potential to influence each other and as a result encapsulate the sense of communitas experienced. Although communitas is often discussed in relation to particular positions within the contest process, for example by Cottrell (2004:156), I believe that performers in particular can also experience the feeling during the performance of an individual piece. During contest and concert rehearsals pieces are performed repetitively, enabling the players to identify moments of tension or excitement, often defined as "high points" or "climaxes". These high points are described by the players as a "buzz" or "chill", a feeling that is often specific to the perception of individuals rather than collective experience. Some moments are however shared and in this regard can be explained in relation to the aggregate of individual responses. Towards the conclusion of my first appearance with the band at the National Brass Band Championships in 1997 I experienced this "chill" and following the final note a number of players showed a high degree of emotion, Matthew Hilton in particular shouting "C'mon … c'mon

...yeah!!"[56] In rehearsing *Enigma Variations* for the National Brass Band Championships of Great Britain in 2003 the conductor, Ian McElligott, highlighted a chord progression that he described as "THE" moment of the whole piece (seen in the ***fff*** chord in figure 5.2 below).

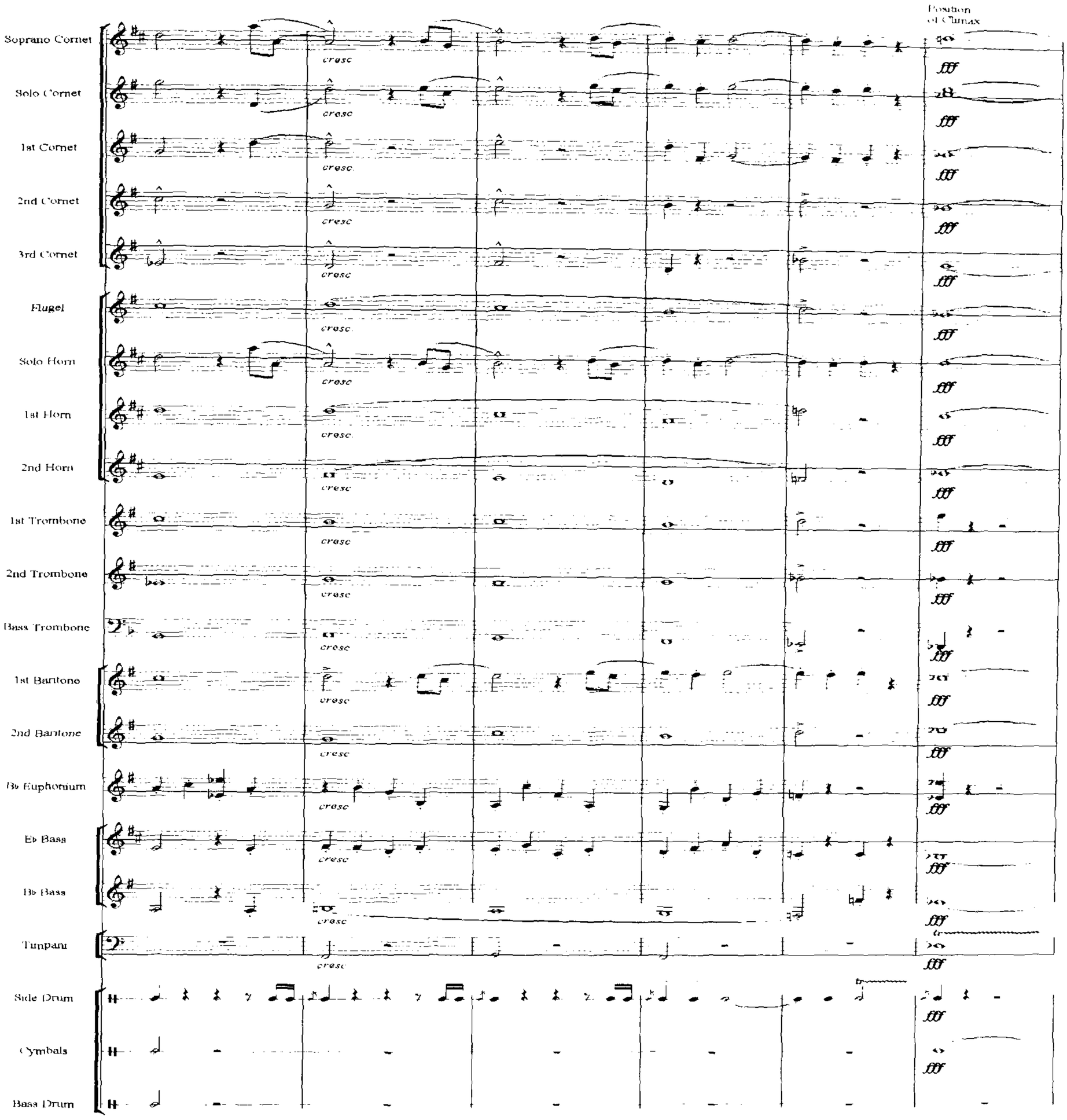


Figure 5.2: The point of climax experienced in the *Enigma Variations* (Elgar)

These two examples can be compared to both the "ringing chords" experienced in the barbershop tradition (Averill 2003:164) and the definition of "absolute calculation" (Dunsby 2002:232). In the barbershop tradition ringing chords appear when certain overtones are produced and these have "a minimum dissonance and a distinctive ringing sound" (2003:164). Averill observed that these chords had unmistakeable characteristics that made them

[56] p.c. Matthew Hilton, National Brass Band Championships of Great Britain, Royal Albert Hall, 18 October 1997

easy to recognise; the overtones, a spinal shiver and the bumps that stand out on arms. Meanwhile Dunsby described this experience as absolute calculation (2002:232-3) where the performers individually identify and understand the structure of a piece to such an extent that they have an internal knowledge of where the "chill" or ringing chord appears. The effectiveness of these climaxes is dependent on the ability of the players to transmit the message encoded in the music to the audience. Experiencing this moment of climax does not necessarily mean that the performance warrants success at the contest, but does influence the opinions expressed by the players during the postliminal and banding "afterglow"[57] stages.

Following the conclusion of a contest performance the players unwind by socialising over a drink at a local bar or pub. The anxiety, tension or heat experienced during both the liminal stage and the weeks of intense preparation are represented in their thirst for "a few beers", an activity that signals a feeling almost of relief. Following the contest the players congregate at a pre-determined pub, which is dependent on the location of the event, for example the Queen's Mews pub at the National Brass Band Championships of Great Britain in London (see figure 5.3).

Figure 5.3: Brighouse and Rastrick players outside the Queen's Mews (London)

Whilst most of the players congregate at these pubs, others attend a mini-concert which takes place between the final performance and the

[57] "Afterglow" is experienced in both the barbershop traditions in America and the United Kingdom and represents periods following the formal performance where participants socialise. (Garnett 2005:145)

announcement of the results. The position of this concert is akin to that observed in the Sundanese Arts competitions, where former winners or amateurs regularly entertain (Williams 2003:85), and in the All England Masters Brass Band Championships where foreign bands have been asked to fulfil this function. In other contests this deliberation period is used to clear the hall or to allow audience members, who are then free to express their opinions on who should be the winners, to participate in the drinking activities around the venue. Since most of the players do not express an interest in attending the announcement of the results the band is represented by the chairman Derek Rawlinson or president Paul Beaumont. The players are therefore informed of the results by relatives or band officials and celebrate or commiserate with both players from the Brighouse and Rastrick Band and fellow participants. Following the announcement of these results the players are requested to return to the bus, although there has never been any formal rule for its implementation. However, there have been occasions when this system has failed, for example after the British Open Brass Band Championships in 1998 some of the players were left at the venue and spent the night sleeping on a riverboat owned by one of the players. On returning to the bus the players continue to drink beer, (or in some instances red wine or whisky) often becoming fairly boisterous, bemoaning the decisions made by the adjudicators or implying that the contest was fixed from the beginning, emphasising the aura of mystery involved in the adjudication process. All having settled into their respective seats, a designated player reads out the formally written adjudications, a process appropriated in recent years by Leigh Baker, who embellishes these comments with his own. During these announcements the players cheer or groan when a particular section is highlighted for congratulations or criticism.[58] These comments have sometimes resulted in some players becoming upset and hiding at the front of the bus to escape criticism. More often than not this criticism is expressed in a humorous manner, although its reception as such obviously varies with the particular nature and character of the individual. After one contest, a player who had

[58] During the research for this thesis I have accumulated data concerning the content of adjudications received by the band between 1993 and 2003 and have calculated the topics discussed in percentage terms, whilst also differentiating in some instances positive and negative comments.

normally been the instigator of these comments was himself castigated by an adjudicator for missing or splitting a note, an observation reinforced by several other players, clearly leaving him upset. The marked reaction to formal adjudications may have extended consequences on the continuing involvement of the player with the band, which include an increase in pressure to perform well at subsequent contests, or the player may become so unsettled that he may offer to resign or be replaced.

In the concluding section following I shall address some of the issues which I believe influence the contest process and consequently the behaviour and activities that follow.

"I just want to win the Open and then I'll retire!": A Conclusion on the Influence of the Contest

When I helped a local band at a concert in 2003 one of the players asked "When are you going to come and join us?" and my reply was "I just want to win the [British] Open [contest] and then I'll retire". This response had nothing to do with an unwillingness to join that particular band but rather with the fact that there was a better opportunity to win the contest in question with the Brighouse and Rastrick Band. As this anecdote illustrates, my understanding, like that of the other players, has been constructed through the inculcation of the various processes involved in contest-related behaviour, not least the songs which members learn and vocalise in post-contest situations (an example of which was given in my discussion of membership in Chapter 3). Nevertheless, although our understandings are constructed through similar processes, our pathways of experience and present positions differ, and the contest is itself a locus defined by differentiation and distinction. To give a single instance, bands contrast in colour and insignia which establish and proclaim both membership values and what Bourdieu defined as a "sense of investment" (1993b:64), hence the comments made by players in regard to behaviour: "Remember who you are and who you play for!"

As I have demonstrated during this chapter, contesting holds a particularly influential position in the overall activity of the band, even though concerts are the predominant performance context. When asked about their

experiences the majority of the players' comments concerned contests, emphasising personal or band performance or indeed a famous victory, like that at the National Brass Band Championships of Great Britain in 1997 or the European Brass Band Championships in 1998. Although a successful contest performance offers the opportunity for a feeling of euphoria, it is also a highly stressful occasion which is only partially counteracted by the development and use of beta blockers or various coping and relaxation strategies. The accumulation of expectation on the part both of players and audience members has also increased due to new media technologies, specifically internet websites and forums. In recent years the website www.4barsrest.com has developed a commentary system which involves a reporter writing analytical notes on a laptop computer during the performance of each band. In the intervals these opinions are uploaded onto the website so that, in a way, they are informing and involving an audience both larger and wider than that physically present at the venue. Whilst the participation of a reporter in the contest ritual would have been nothing new to the players in previous generations, the added dimension of the internet initially caused great interest. At the All England Masters Brass Band Championship in 2002 the players were loading the bus following the performance and Andrew Kenyon asked, "Does anyone know what they've said on 4barsrest?" and a few players then went to an internet café after which they came back and said that the report was not that good. Over the last two years the interest demonstrated by the players in what was said on the website has decreased appreciably and the report is now treated as a curiosity that is read in the days and weeks that follow the contest.

The intensity in preparation or rehearsal of the test piece is also a significant feature that has emerged from this analysis of the contest, particularly compared with concert practice. This intensity is inculcated among players through their participation in the overall contest ritual and also through the resident and professional conducting system discussed in earlier sections. As I have proposed during this chapter the contesting ritual is based on a series of stages which are collectively perceived and constructed as a whole process. The perception of these sub-stages, for example the practical "note bashing" stage with the resident conductor and the addition of an

interpretation by the professional conductor, constructs a habitus. Through the historical experience generated by this process these conducting stages are treated by participants as natural dispositions which consequently function as an unwritten rule in shaping future expectations. In this specific instance, the players have expressed views such as "I can't wait to see what Jim makes of this [piece]" referring here to the professional conductor. This occurs not only in regard to the conducting system but, for instance, in the expectations that individuals will play their parts, that the band will have a specific sound (generated from learned and pre-constructed views on "playing together", in time, balanced and in tune) and that members will show commitment (including attendance, punctuality and group responsibility).

The sense of communitas which I described earlier also creates an interesting distinction between the contest and concert, especially in regard to the musical participants. This was an issue also discussed by Small (1998:1-18) who believed that a considerable amount of literature had concentrated on the audience or passive participants whilst little was produced on that formed among the actual active participants. Even within the two contexts there are certain differences in this communitas, depending on the influences discussed earlier. For example, when the band played at Dobcross in the Whit Friday contest (2005) there was an explosion of applause and a variety of whistles almost instantaneously following the final chord. Walking back to the bus I had this conversation with James Gourlay, the conductor:

Richard Jones: What do you think of that?

James Gourlay: That was great!

Richard Jones: I bet you wouldn't get that kind of applause at the Albert Hall.

James Gourlay: True.

This example demonstrates that particular contests generate distinct kinds of communitas, and that this is observable and understood by the participants. Whilst this sense of communitas may define a perception of the whole performance it also highlights the expectations on what those involved

personally and collectively see as "authentic" performance. The ideal authenticity expected in a contest performance is perfection, demonstrated by the discussions of players in the post-contest "afterglow" period. The "authentic" performances hoped for by players (and other participants) are those which are comparable with the historical success of performances, whether by the band or their closest rivals. Band contest performances represent specific status and capital issues that, in most situations, often outweigh the formal results. An authentic performance may involve the Brighouse and Rastrick Band being clapped onto the stage whilst another less well-known band is not. The performance of individuals, in particular soloists, contributes too; for example, a player may comment, "We won't win because so-and-so clipped in the quiet movement". Opinions, attitudes and feelings created by the contest experience are then transferred into subsequent concert contexts, allowing for the authenticity of performance of some players to be debated over an extended period.

In the following chapter I draw comparisons from the observations and conclusions made in regard to the two performance contexts in my research, the concert and contest. These comparisons provide a more complete picture of the processes, interactions and behaviours not only of those involved in these contexts, but more importantly of the players within the structure of the band who are the main actors in this activity.

Chapter 6: "Are we Banding Together?": Participation, Community, Ritual, the Brighouse and Rastrick Band and Me

> It is the way in which one interacts with others in the community, valuing information about who is undertaking what job and when, sharing concerns over work or lack of it, … sharing the musician's lot in a way which engenders an attitude … of being "one of us" rather than "one of them". (Cottrell 2004:186)

This quotation highlights a number of aspects which have become important in my research in understanding my position within the field not only as a playing participant but also as an actively-involved ethnomusicologist. A range of responsibilities accompanies this dual role, and through the kinds of processes discussed in Chapters 4 and 5 I have become aware that the conclusions drawn here may cause immediate and quite possibly irreversible damage to my relationship with my fellow participants. As I have neared the conclusion of this dissertation I have encountered more curiosity among fellow band members concerning what processes and situations I have described in detail than any about specific conclusion I may have reached. For example, I have been asked whether I have used what happened at a recent contest, concert or social event, but not what my views are on the hierarchical structure of the band. Although I have been operating in this dual role for some years now, I believe that the perception of my position by the other players has remained dominated by my own performance within the performance contexts rather than by my role as fieldworker. In this sense, through sharing the bandsman's lot and participating in issues that are important to the band, I have been accepted as a member of the Brighouse and Rastrick Brass band regardless of the dual role that I have personally experienced. Whilst the multiplicity of roles I hold are of course related specifically to my position as ethnomusicologist and performer, other complex relationships exist between other players in the band, many of which are discussed in detail throughout this dissertation. These relationships involve the accumulation of performance capital, financial benefits (similar to those found in the deputizing system by Cottrell 2004:165-6), expression of identities (including loyalty and camaraderie) and the discussion and interaction which

occur as members look after each other's common interests, all of which are fundamental to the brass band scene surveyed in this dissertation.

Participation and Participant Observations

In the opening chapter I described my role as that of a participant observer, noting that being previously immersed or "fully engaged" in the field would be beneficial to the results I would later achieve. As I near the conclusion of this research I realise that my loyalty to the players as a fellow participant coincides with that of the ethnomusicologist more generally when he or she strives to portray sensitively the actions, attitudes and values of all those involved. Throughout the fieldwork period I have been able to observe aspects of the band that would have been impossible for someone who had not previously achieved some level of acceptance; equally, this quality of trust has also involved an unwritten encouragement to portray the positive rather than the negative. I believe that my feelings of camaraderie and loyalty, constructed similarly to those whom I have observed, especially through involvement in the same performance contexts and relationships, generate this wish to "do right" by the band in my writing. Increasingly, ethnomusicologists are engaging in advocational and applied work for and with those whom they study. In searching for a viable balance between being loyal to the people on whom I have focused and producing an appropriately independent commentary and explanation for their particular actions I have come to the realisation that, like Cottrell (2004:187), at least some of those observed have different opinions from those I have presented in earlier chapters and will present below. For that reason, I shall here re-examine my own motivations in writing the way I have done.

My own participation with the band following the conclusion of this research is also an important issue, and whilst I may have to leave in order to develop an academic career there is also the possibility that I may be able to remain in this area and retain my position in the cornet section. If I did not consider the possible consequences of my research on my fellow band members then my continued participation would be certainly difficult, if not

untenable. I have myself seen the reactions of players to a press release by a former player who commented that he had left the band "to better himself", as well as their attitudes to players who leave to occupy positions in rival bands. In these cases, attitudes of players regarding some of those who leave have altered almost instantaneously. In the final rehearsal before the player leaves he would be greeted in the normal friendly manner and drawn into "banter" with other players. However, at the rehearsal after his departure, players may voice opinions about the former member which suggest they interpret the move as a betrayal. My goal in writing these conclusions is therefore not to position myself outside the band, acting in a manner which might encourage them to see me as seeking the position of an outside observer. Instead, my aim is accurately to describe processes which have occurred in the past and will no doubt continue in the foreseeable future.

Thinking about these conclusions has stimulated me to re-evaluate the reasons why I chose to study the Brighouse and Rastrick Band and to reflect on whether these changed during my fieldwork and research. In the opening chapter I expressed several reasons underlying my interest in undertaking this project; however, I now believe that these can be placed into two categories. The first of these involves my valuing the transmission of a tradition that has deeply shaped the nature of many of my social relationships and my opinions on musical performance. The Brighouse and Rastrick Band as an institution and as a community is a remarkable purveyor of the brass band tradition, nationally and internationally, presenting repertoire and identity which hold significant symbolic meanings to everyone involved in the various performance rituals (as seen in Chapters 4 and 5). The importance of representing the band, as demonstrated by the motto "Remember who you are and who you play for", is, for me, specifically associated with the Brighouse and Rastrick Band. When beginning my association with the band in 1996 I was in awe of the tradition and history which accompanied the band, and in the years that have followed I have learnt that the standard of playing expected is equal if not superior to that exhibited in historical recordings or data. I remain in awe of the quality of this band of people, and wish to represent them well through my writing.

The second reason behind my interest in researching the Brighouse and Rastrick Band has involved exploring, affirming and celebrating the meanings that lie behind and within the experiences which participants (including myself) have accumulated. In other words, I wanted to explore the values and meanings that the players impart and ascribe to social and musical occasions whilst also understanding how these meanings resounded in various forms of behaviour. By exploring, affirming and celebrating an individual event over a long period of time a player may also construct a self-identity or ego and become part of a larger group of players who share more unified values. To this extent my observations on other players have highlighted issues that were perhaps dormant or taken for granted. As such, researching the Brighouse and Rastrick Band has taught me much about my own values and assumptions.

My conclusions can be expressed in the following themes: those relating to community and participation, those concerning performance, those on the role of music in creating a sense of authenticity and, finally, reflections on the research journey undertaken.

Participation in the Brighouse and Rastrick Band has dramatically changed over the twentieth century, with a shift from locally resident workmates to one of "musicking commuters". At a recent Royal Musical Association conference I presented historical data which compared the geographic dispersal of players who were members of the band in 1938 and 2005 (Jones 2005). 78% of the band's participants in 1938 were based in or around the Brighouse area, but by 2005 this figure had declined to 14%. This change is by no means unique in either brass banding or local music-making terms. In his article on the participants of the Cyfarthfa band, Herbert (1996: 95) found sources which indicated that many of the players concerned were imported from professional pit orchestras in London—according to the rival Llanelli band, the band was neither Welsh nor Merthyr-based at all. Whilst the importing of musicians was clearly evident in South Wales during the nineteenth century, the participation of locals in the Brighouse and Rastrick Band continued at least until the 1960s. Clearly the financial backing afforded to the Cyfarthfa band by the Crawshays may have played an important role in encouraging professionals to relocate or commute to the South Wales area. In contrast, the Brighouse and Rastrick Band was and still is a public subscription

band, with little financial backing or sponsorship. The lack of financial backing encouraged the band to include more locally-based people and allowed the management to dispense with financial support for the majority of the players. By the time of this research, however, the payment of travel expenses to players had become a normative part of the banding system at this level, although many comment that they would receive more money if they performed with other bands. The policy of encouraging local participation has lessened and in recent times one member was making a round trip of over one hundred and fifty miles for each rehearsal. This process has therefore encouraged a higher percentage of musicking commuters, which in turn allows bands to choose or approach players whom they feel can best fulfil the roles needed.

As a result, local exposure, which inevitably involves concerts or some form of public performance, has generally decreased in the Brighouse area. The annual Christmas Concerts have been an exception to this trend and, over the latter years of my research, have expanded to include a matinee performance involving the participation of music ensembles from local schools. During 2006 the band is celebrating its 125th anniversary and there has been a significant increase in the number of local events. However, this increase has resulted in some band members questioning whether the band will lose money by dividing those who would normally attend existing annual events between multiple new events. The local Brighouse area has also established its own marching competition, which would be an ideal arena for the band to reach a wider local community. The band, however, has so far remained absent from this competition, with members commenting that since rival bands are absent there is thus little potential for gains in status and a risk of losing to "lesser" opponents. Both of these reasons take precedence over a desire to remain involved in the community on a regular basis. These reasons perhaps highlight the position bands now occupy in popular culture, a position which has changed appreciably over the last sixty years. Most if not all bands now appear as part of a sub-group of the community and musical world, both locally and nationally, and their successes are no longer celebrated by thousands of local people like those who greeted the band winning the National Brass Band Championships of Great Britain in 1946. The divergence

from local engagement and appreciation, the increase in players' commuting and the ever-progressing issues of globalisation (most markedly in terms of repertory and international conductors), has resulted in brass bands becoming separate entities with their own unique issues and beliefs.

These financial concerns leave the Brighouse and Rastrick band rather like a business, where income determines factors such as which players the band can afford to appoint and which concerts have the best chance of creating a profit. In this sense I believe the Brighouse and Rastrick band has become a private institution, similar to that represented by the Cyfarthfa band in the 19th century but without the presence of a sponsor. Whilst the Cyfarthfa band predominantly played in the local area for events such as funerals and even at the celebration of the combined success of Dowlais and Merthyr choirs at the Llanelli Eisteddfod in 1903 (Williams 1998:109), the Brighouse and Rastrick band performs mainly in concerts on a national basis. Clearly each choice has its consequences, with shifts in the nature of participation recasting the nature of community expressed by and experienced in each band.

Through participation in the band community, players develop collective beliefs on issues such as performance practice and authenticity (discussed in depth later). However, their individual identities are collectively built on a number of basic fundamentals, in particular instrumental specialisation, backgrounds, lineage and preferred repertoire. Instrumental specialisation is a major influence on participation within the band, initially establishing the right of the player for inclusion through the audition process and subsequently in the sustaining of this position through continuing performance. Whilst individual players are responsible for the level of specialisation that they achieve there is no doubt that the contest plays an influential role in controlling not only the number of players and instruments within each section but also the levels of expertise demanded from each band member. As I discussed in Chapter 3, the level of instrumental specialisation demonstrated by a player suitable for a vacancy, or indeed for an existing player, is constantly re-evaluated according to group or shared beliefs. This evaluation process involves the discussion of the level of performance capital demonstrated and/or accumulated by a player through the audition process and

then subsequently demonstrated in rehearsals, concerts and, most particularly, contests.

Whilst players of all standards are given the opportunity to audition for solo positions, they are inevitably regarded differently depending on their background and lineage. Although the Brighouse and Rastrick Band has given the opportunity for some players who have no such lineage, members regularly express a preference for what they perceive as a "known quantity" than an "unknown". In this sense a pedigree of playing has an influence on the perception of a player by others and quite often this is confirmed by a type of "hearsay" or "gossip". Should the player have performed with another Championship section band, in particular those who compete and have the ability to beat the Brighouse and Rastrick Band, they have a better chance of being successful since they are considered to have the necessary experience. The lineage a prospective candidate brings to an audition is also instrumental in determining the amount of tolerance exhibited by members of the band in the face of disappointing individual performance in future contexts. I believe that the importance of lineage is often if not always a consideration in many other "top" brass bands and often results in what most banders refer to as a player "roundabout". This roundabout involves the movement of players who occupy a certain position from one band to another. A recent example involved the movement of the soprano player from the Yorkshire Building Society band to the Black Dyke Mills band, which then resulted in the soprano player from the Brighouse and Rastrick band moving to YBS. At approximately the same time the soprano player with the Sellers band joined Grimethorpe and the player who had been replaced moved initially in the opposite direction and then quickly on to the Brighouse and Rastrick band. All of these movements demonstrate that, despite the audition process, bands were tending to invest in players who were available and who held established experience in identical roles. In a related example, I heard discussions in the band concerning players who occupied positions in a rival band but might be "poached" to fill vacancies at the Brighouse and Rastrick Band, this before auditioning players who may have wished to move "up the pecking order" within a band, for instance from third cornet to flugel and above. This underlines the point that participation is not only based on the musical skill

attached to the capital accumulated and represented during a performance audition or subsequent band performance but is also achieved through experience with other bands. Naturally, the collective beliefs represented above are also influenced by other issues, in both performance and non-performance contexts, and I shall present my conclusions on these below.

Although performance plays a central role in the participation of individuals in the band, as I shall stress when comparing concert and contest contexts, acceptance and shared attitudes can also be influenced by the actions of players in non-performance areas. In describing the processes involved in the band concert I emphasised the importance that players imparted to loading and unloading the bus and the collective effort that is expected by all players in preparing the stage before concerts. By being divided into specific teams during these activities the players are becoming trained by fellow participants in the assertion of communal interests. These assertions, through inculcation, eventually become natural dispositions for both the individuals and band and are brought back into explicit focus only when "depping"[59] for other bands who have different or no systems of that kind. Another series of assertions accumulated in this regard involves the ready participation of players in organisational positions; for example, I have been responsible for the organisation of deps for concerts, and others perform such duties as band librarian or contest secretary. These positions are important in the social fabric of the band and often have an influence on the performance contexts. However, when the band is experiencing a particularly busy period of activity other members quickly offer their assistance, for example suggesting names of possible deputies or assisting with the distribution of music to all the players. Many of these actions allow the players to become more involved in decisions which directly influence the band and support the idea of a group or community ethic that is comparable to that represented in the various performance contexts.

The choice of repertoire performed by the band is another issue which influences both the motivation to participate and the structure of communal shared beliefs. Since the band is contest-oriented and is categorised by the

[59] When a player from the Brighouse and Rastrick Band deputises with another band he is said to be "depping".

results that they achieve in these contexts, members are exposed to a specific type and standard of repertoire. In this sense players are therefore aware of the type of music which they are expected to perform. Those who are initially unaware, much like I myself when I first joined the band, learn about this expectation through inculcation and subsequent experience. One of the processes involved in the construction of this expectation is that created through the methods of preparation. The two distinct types of preparation highlighted in Chapters 4 and 5 demonstrate that the players accumulate a shared belief in how things should be done. Amongst these beliefs are expectations about the standard of individual and band performance, the methodology and approach of the conductor and finally the amount of commitment invested. All these are clearly shown in the previous chapters, in the examples of the bass player who was having trouble with a passage in a test piece, the conductor altering the number of rehearsals in the week before a contest and the observations made about a prominent player consistently late for rehearsals. By experiencing these situations the players develop an awareness of what is required to achieve the goals expected in each context, for example success at the contest and performing well at the concert. The awareness and expectation in this regard is something which is often communal as well as individual. When a player is struggling with a part (whether in concert or contest) it invariably gets highlighted in the rehearsal process and therefore becomes known to the other players. Highlighting and resolving the problems with individuals or parts is a responsibility allotted to the conductor and so he has a major influence not only on the communal expectations but also on the behaviour and attitudes demonstrated in subsequent contexts. In this regard the different levels of off-task behaviour and the expectation on performance perfection (by individuals, fellow players and the conductor) are related not only to the specific contexts in question but also to the type of repertoire involved. Whether unconscious or not, this acquisition of local values and norms affects the way in which the player thinks, and therefore those who establish themselves as long-term members of the band become more accustomed to rehearsing and performing in a specific style that is predominantly associated with the Brighouse and Rastrick Band.

Since contests involve a shared need to win, it is necessary for the players to believe they can play the piece better than any of the other competing bands, and instilling this self-belief is a responsibility and goal of the professional conductor. Conversely, in order for this to occur the players must have a collective confidence in the abilities of the conductor, an issue raised both negatively and positively during my study so far. I believe that this arises from a number of factors similar to those attributed to players auditioning for a position, for example lineage, background and (in a slightly altered manner) conductor specialism. A conductor who does not fulfil all these expectations may not gain the confidence of the players and in return be unable to inspire their self-belief.

Of course, among all these shared beliefs there are often people who have different opinions on the issues involved but who in the interest of maintaining the status quo follow the opinions of the majority. Such individuals often express their dissatisfaction in private and comment that they "do not want to rock the boat". If this is sometimes a case of strategic canvassing for support it may also reflect a concern that their comments may reach the ears of those concerned in the discussion, leading to a risk of ostracism. I have found myself occupying a minority position, for instance on the type of repertoire performed by the band, noticing that eventually my own opinions have become similar if not identical to those of the other players. This movement is a slow process and only occurs over time, perhaps without the musician being aware of it. A second personal example illustrates this further. When I first joined the band I was keen to enter every contest possible, yet the older members of the band commented that I would think differently after being in the band a while. Almost a decade later I found myself involved in a similar conversation with a younger member of the band. In this conversation I explained that entering the new English Championship (based in Salford) would be a waste of time and effort for us because there was nothing to be gained from it, to which the younger player replied that it was a contest and therefore a chance to win something. Only on reviewing my fieldnotes did I notice this shift in my position and stop to reflect on it.

We saw in earlier chapters that the band has a range of activities during the year, including radio broadcasts and recording for commercial record

companies, but that it is the concert and contest contexts which occupy the most time and effort. In this sense the players are able to recognise a specific pattern of events often described as "the banding calendar". The contest plays an important role in creating this calendar, involving a higher degree of commitment (in both time and intensity) including being away for a whole weekend. Frequently the contest is the most memorable event in the calendar, through the performance, result or activities in the bar(s) following the performance. Conversely the most memorable concerts are those which involve something unusual, for example those in foreign countries or with guest soloists, conductors or bands. Since the contest is a highlight of the calendar it has a direct influence on the expectation of a higher standard of performance and possible issues of individual or band prestige.

Prestige and Participation Difference in Concerts and Contests

The contest, unlike the concert, offers players the opportunity to associate with other bands and players, introducing issues of prestige, asserted through the use of specific coloured uniforms, badges on blazers, association with specifically recognised bands or players, and the success or failure of the performance given on the day. The concert has a different sense of prestige. Although both of these involve a sense of individual pride generated through both presentation (uniforms) and performance (success), the direction or focus differs: in the contest the target of the band's pride is the musicians of other bands while at the concert it is the general public who constitute the audience. Bourdieu (1993b:116) discussed this difference in relation to two specific fields of cultural production, the "field of restricted production" and "field of large-scale production". In the field of restricted production the evaluation of art work, or in this case music, is made by the producers/artists, or players. The isolation and separation of this field from those who have similar characteristics is dependent on its ability and power to define its own criteria. In the following quotation Bourdieu (*ibid.*:115) describes the development and influence of this separation and isolation on the producers involved:

> By an effect of circular causality, separation and isolation engender further separation and isolation, and cultural production develops a dynamic autonomy… and encountering within the corps of producers itself a public at once of critics and accomplices, it tends to obey its own logic.

I believe that in his description of the field of restricted production Bourdieu (*ibid.*:114) is in fact describing what I have discussed as the contest context. The prestige that is created is specific to the contest context, in that it is produced and understood by those who have obeyed and mastered the contest "logic", the players (and adjudicators and critics, most of whom are former players).

Whilst the contest represents what Bourdieu defined as a field of restricted production, the concert context represents a field of large-scale production. In this field the means of production submit to wider or external demands. For example, individual bands are judged in concerts by the programme, venue and then the performance, factors to which I shall return shortly. This observation also highlights the point that the performance of the band in concerts is not simply for the players (and former players), as in the contest (producers for producers), but for a wider public audience (producers to non-producers). The need to attract a large audience is therefore a primary consideration and, as I demonstrated in the concert chapter, the repertoire chosen is often decided not so much by the players or conductor but by the need to entertain the audience. As Bourdieu (1993b:125) suggested, the choice of works of art for a gallery may certainly influence the gallery's financial takings but it also assists in the conquest of the market of symbolic goods. The symbolic goods represented in the restricted field of the contest is simple: the need to achieve the highest quality of performance to win the contest. In the larger-scale field of concert success, the symbolic goods not only involves the performance of a band but the suitability of the repertoire performed for the audience.

In the passage that follows I shall illustrate the differences between the concert and contest contexts through the use of two circular figures (6.1 and 6.2). Each circle is equal in circumference and has the same constituents and characteristics, but they differ in the type of prestige demonstrated. Four

sample individual bands are represented by smaller coloured circles in each figure.

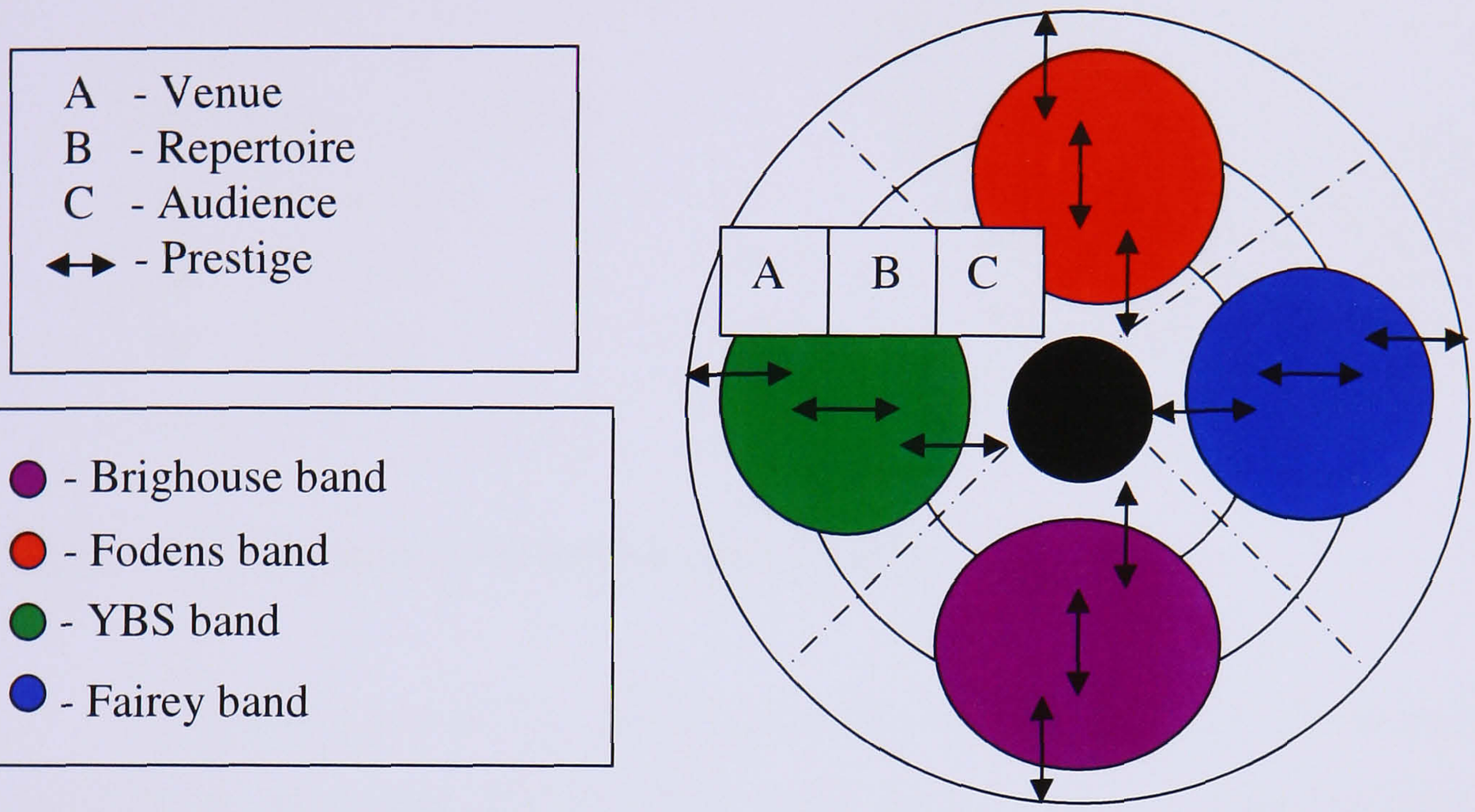


Figure 6.1: Concert participation and prestige

The concentric circles in figure 6.1 represent three individual aspects of the concert process that combine to shape prestige: venue (A), repertoire (B) and audience (C). As the diagram suggests, each band can accrue amounts of prestige through its venues, repertoire and audience responses. Each band concert occupies an isolated context (shown by dotted lines dividing the main circle into quarters) and does not involve a direct struggle for the restricted (and so higher-value) prestige that occurs at a contest, where everyone participates at the same venue, plays the same piece and performs for the same audience (as demonstrated in figure 6.2).

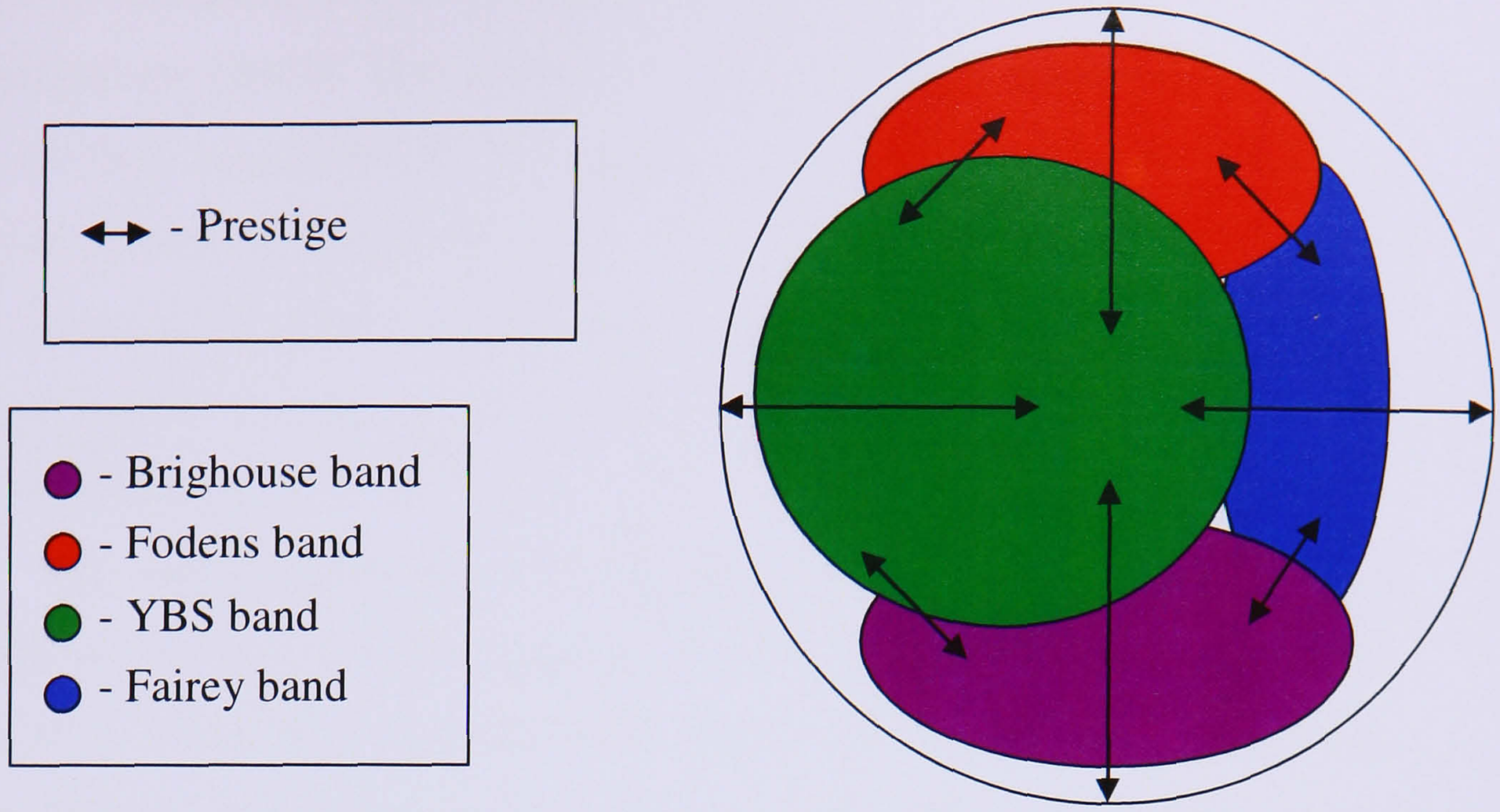


Figure 6.2: Contest participation and prestige

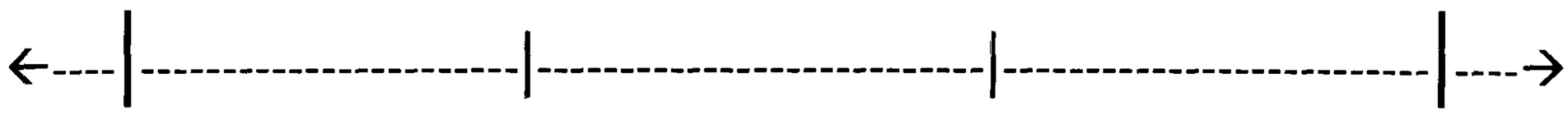
Figure 6.2 shows the closer association of bands in contest contexts, omitting the concentric circles which separate the issues of venue, repertoire and audience and the lines of separation found in figure 6.1 Furthermore, the overlap that occurs in figure 6.2 highlights closer association and also an increase in the amount of prestige experienced by the victorious bands (for sake of illustration, the figures shows an instance in which YBS band wins the contest, Brighouse and Fodens are moderately placed, and Fairey does poorly, becoming over-shadowed by all other bands present). Venue, repertoire and audience need not appear in the second figure since the bands occupy the same venue, play the same piece and have the same audience, all within the confines of one day.

The intensity of behaviour, attitude and evaluation is a significant factor which differentiates the concert and contest contexts. In comparing the preparation for each context it is noticeable that the limited amount of time available to the professional conductor to rehearse a test piece in the contest contributes significantly to the intensity experienced by the players. I believe that this intensity inculcated throughout the contest rehearsals, and the lack of it in concert rehearsals, is consequently transferred to the performance given on the stage. During Chapters 4 and 5 I introduced several fieldwork examples which highlighted these levels of intensity. One of these examples involved the observation made by James Gourlay on the lack of intensity shown by

players in rehearsing a specific concert programme for the Brass in Concert Championships (2005). The confusion the players demonstrated was a direct result of their association of the repertoire rehearsed, the concert repertoire, with the concert context, rather than with the contest context. Intensity is therefore another significant influence not only on the behaviour, attitudes and shared beliefs of the players but on shaping the nature of the end product, the stage performance.

The many similarities and differences between concert and contest performance can be grouped together by adapting two terms from Cottrell (2004:169), "Prescribed Formality" and "Prescribed Informality". These terms are particularly applicable to the contexts in question. The concert context represents prescribed informality where the relationships between those participating are different from those within the contest context. For example the, conductor has verbal communication with the audience through introducing the pieces to be performed; humour is expressed by some of the soloists dressing in unconventional uniforms and ultimately by the behaviour exhibited by all those participating. In the contest context these prescribed formalities are defined through the formal, ritualistic, ceremonial or conventional behaviour which is expected and exhibited. For example, in the contest the players are expected to go on stage and behave in a formal manner, not to communicate verbally and to sit still in their seats for the whole performance, unlike the behaviour expected in the concert context. These contexts have their own conventions, constructed, implemented and inculcated by the players in their experience of the appropriate situation. The differentiation the players perceive and experience between the concert and the contest creates two separate yet standardised types of patterned behaviour, as I discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, although each has its own established set of variants. (for example festival or contemporary concerts encourage a different type of concert-patterned behaviour to that demonstrated in normal concerts). Likewise, the Brass in Concert Championships at Spennymoor (now in Gateshead) highlights a contrasting yet equally routinised variant behaviour to that observed in the preparation for the National Brass Band Championships of Great Britain in London. This suggests that the two contexts and the patterned behaviour exhibited are not completely isolated or positioned on the

extremities of a bi-polar performance continuum but are connected by intermediary contexts. In this sense the continuum is reflected in terms of four contexts which are isolated in their definitions but associated through aspects of the behaviours represented, as demonstrated in Figure 6.3.



(a) Standard Concert	(b) Festival Concert	(c) Entertainment Contest	(d) Test Piece Contest

Figure 6.3: Band performance context continuum

Although both (a) and (d) have distinct patterns of behaviour which support their positions on the extremities of this line, the central pairing of festival concert and entertainment contest are far harder to position or categorise consistently. Both (b) and (c) mix concert and contest structures, associations and behaviours, meaning their positions on this line could be interchangeable depending on the case. The festival concert may, for example, include performances of contest repertoire, a specialised audience and the intense preparation normally associated with a contest. Conversely, the entertainment contest includes a string of pieces taken from the concert repertoire, has more members of the general public in the audience, encourages entertainment (movement of players around the stage and dressing up in "funny costumes") and is more associated with concerts although it also includes a panel of adjudicators, a feature specifically associated with the contest. The horizontal line shown in Fig. 6.3 also reflects the continuum of expected behaviour in connection to an individual performance. For instance, players expect concert performances to be of a high standard and that festival concerts also require a higher degree of "polish" so that the band can be compared favourably to other invited bands (a feeling that is also expressed in relation to the contest). The higher expectation expressed in the entertainment contest is again associated with the participation of rival bands, the presence of adjudicators and the

importance of winning or being placed in a satisfactory position. Yet these are best analysed as variant forms, rather than new contexts in their own right, in that there can be misunderstandings when players draw on their habitual behavioural associations with the repertoire rehearsed. In the previous chapter I showed how a series of traditionally-perceived concert pieces was rehearsed for an entertainment contest leading to an increase in off-task behaviour, whilst in the preparation for a festival concert the serious nature of the repertoire encouraged a higher level of concentration and intensity. This continuum therefore demonstrates that through experience the players and conductor develop, whether consciously or sub-consciously, individual and group perceptions of the expectations, behaviour and attitudes of concert and contest contexts.

I conclude the in following section by looking once again at the importance of the position and interaction of individuals in relation to the whole band.

"Banding Together": A Conclusion

Although individuals within some music traditions attempt to search for an individual or unique sound or voice, those within the Brighouse and Rastrick Band attempt, and are in fact expected, to "fit in" with both the musical and social relationships. In this sense, instead of creating a single identity which occupies a specific position, perhaps making it special, individuals strain to become like all the other players, a link in the collective whole. This is made challenging, however, not least by the issue of the hierarchy of positions within the band which are constructed from the accumulation and inculcation of performance capital, as discussed in Chapter 3. Tension is primarily caused by the evaluation system through which players are selected, kept on or discussed within the band. Friction between individual aspirations and group goals may emerge, especially when an individual player desires more recognition and stakes a claim to another role, perhaps one occupied by another player. Tension is the complement of camaraderie, itself established in large part through the discussions in which the players engage with one another. A player occupies a position in this collective whole based on his or

her personal accumulation of capital, yet in other senses all are recognised as equal members of the Brighouse and Rastrick Brass Band, as shown in one of the uses of the phrase "Remember who you are and who you play for!" Camaraderie, despite the band's hierarchies, is a feature which encourages players to invest the necessary effort, self belief and group belief to prepare successfully for contests and performances, and it leads them in the communal singing of songs with lyrics associated with members and conductors of other bands. This camaraderie makes the Brighouse and Rastrick Brass Band a tightly knit sub-community which includes individuals who have come to share deeply-held dispositions about music.

At the beginning of this study I had no idea where it would lead, what I would learn (about myself and my fellow banders) or, in fact, whether I would regard my participation in the band any differently when I emerged at its conclusion. Being a member of the Brighouse and Rastrick Brass Band has always evoked a special feeling of belonging; players have become quasi-family members, all too willing to help in the event of misfortune, or to be there for the special events like weddings and funerals which mark individual lives. Whilst the players involved may change, arguments over status and position be resolved or flare up all over again, and while contest successes and failures may be memorialised and forgotten, one thing is likely to remain constant: to be a member of a band like this is to live intensely, collectively and indeed richly in human terms. Little wonder then that so many of us choose to "band together".

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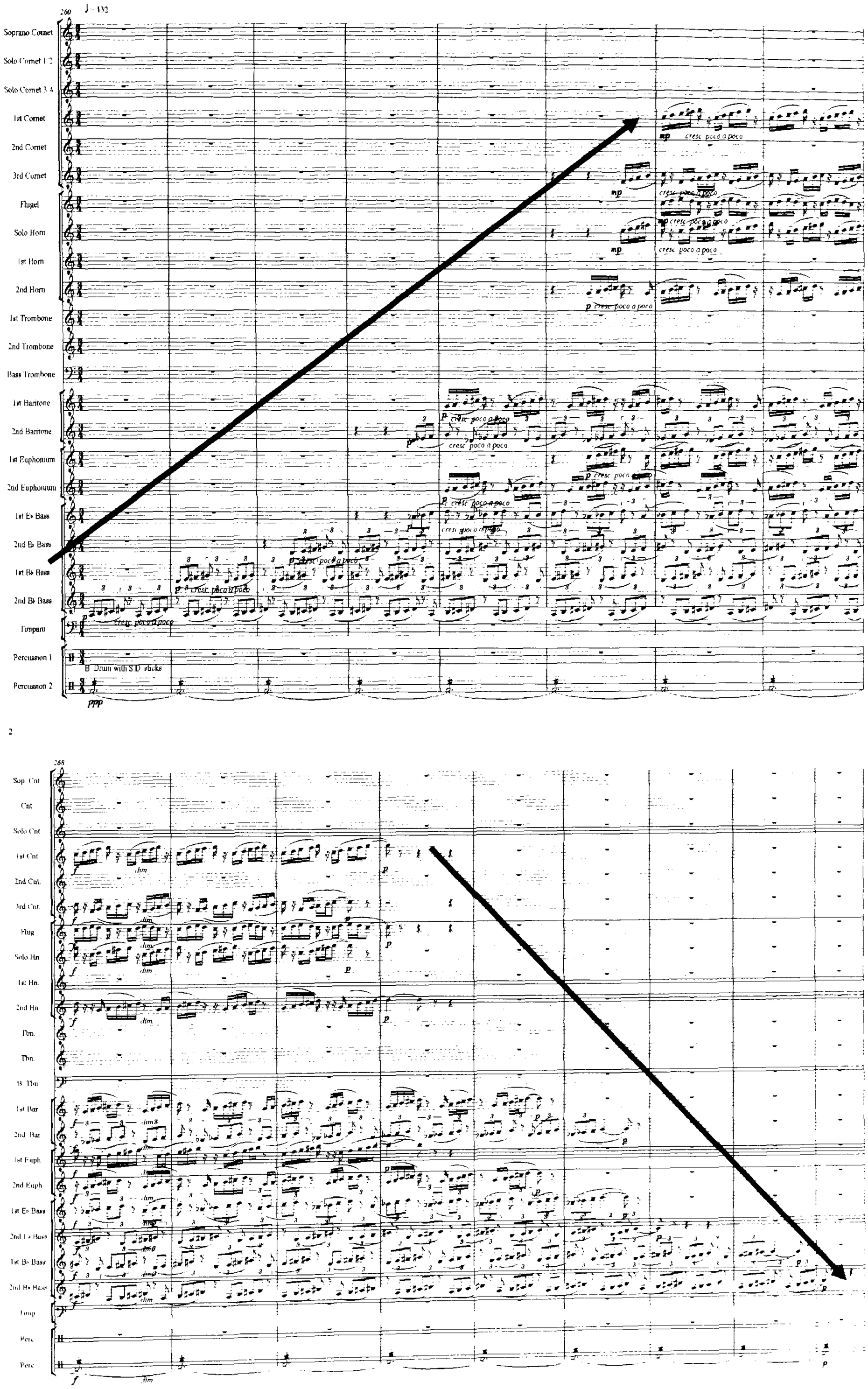
Appendix 1



The direction of the arrows signify the waves against the fort, as proposed by Ian McElligott in this passage from the test piece *Maunsell Forts* (McCabe)

Appendix 2

CD Fieldwork Recordings

CD 1: 125th Anniversary Concert Brighouse and Rastrick Band

	Title	Composer/ Arranger	Time
1)	West Riding	Sam B. Wood	2:37
2)	Yeoman of the Guard	Sullivan/ Sargeant	4:14
3)	Fascination (Waltz)	Marchetti/ Ball	5.52
4)	Grandfather's Clock	Traditional/ Doughty	5:08
5)	Myfanwy	Parry/ Stephens	3:03
6)	In a Monastery Garden	Ketelby	4:36
7)	Cossack Patrol	Knipper/ Ball	3:20
8)	Carnival Overture	Dvorak/ Brand	9:07
9)	West Ridings	Paul Lovett-Cooper	3:40
10)	Caravan	Ellington/ Johnson	3:10
11)	Carnival of Venice	Arban/ Catherall	4:24
12)	Brilliante	Peter Graham	4:24
13)	Scottish Cradle Song	James Gourlay	4:23
14)	Blue Rondo a la Turk	Brubeck/ Edwards	3:47
15)	Suite Gothique (finale)	Boellman/ Ball	3:26
16)	Radetsky March	Strauss/ Hargreaves	3:26
17)	Floral Dance	Moss/ Broadbent	2:53

Brighouse and Rastrick Band and Guest Soloist David Childs, 125th Anniversary Concert, Huddersfield Town Hall, 25th March 2006

CD 2: Concert, Theatre Hafren, Brighouse and Rastrick Band

	Title	Composer/ Arranger	Time
1)	West Riding	Sam B. Wood	2:37
2)	Florentina March	J.Fucik	7:59
3)	Ruslan and Ludmilla	Glinka/ Hargreaves	7:24
4)	Satchmo (Soloist: Alan Morrison, cornet)	Baker/ Morrison	5:42
5)	Glen Miller Collection	Alan Fernie	8:02
6)	Shadow of Your Smile (Soloist: James Stockdale, trombone)	Mendel/ Ashmore	6:29
7)	Eleanor Rigby	Lennon & McCartney/ Fernie	3:43

Brighouse and Rastrick Band, Concert, Theatre Hafren, Newtown, Powys, Wales 15th February 2003

CD 3: Contest Rehearsal at the Bandroom

Tracks 1 – 15 5 minute sections of rehearsal patterns

Brighouse and Rastrick Band, Bandroom, Rehearsal for the Yorkshire Area Championship, 3 March 2005

Track 1: Initial social gathering, brass players discuss test piece.
Track 2: Warming up routines can be heard. Conductor starts the formal rehearsal.
Track 3: Chunk method and specific instruments perform as to conductor directions.
Tracks 4-5: Tuning of specific chords through repetition and conductor guidance.
Tracks 6-8: Further intonation and chunk rehearsal with the horns and euphoniums.
Tracks 9-10: Conductor discussing the importance of supporting roles of inner parts.
Tracks 11-2: Implementation of interpretation through dynamic contrasts.
Tracks 13-4: Implementation of interpretation through style and sound textures.
Tracks 15: Rehearsal of non-thematic parts. Instructions transmitted to players by verbalisation of lines by the conductor.

CD 4: Central Methodist Concert, Brass in Concert Contest

	Title	Composer/ Arranger	Time
1)	Rusalka's Song to the Moon (Soloist Nick Payne, cornet)	Dvorak/ Langford	5:55
2)	Lark in the Clear Air (Soloist Melvyn Bathgate, tenor horn)	Trad./ Langford	4:06
3)	Bohemian Rhapsody	Queen/ Richards	6:15
4)	On with the Motley (Soloist Alan Hobbins, soprano cornet)	Leoncavallo/Farr	3.21
5)	Jupiter	Holst/Roberts	8:16
6)	Jerusalem	Parry/Herbert	2:24
7)	Czardas (Soloist Dave Hebb, Eb Bass)	Monti/Sykes	4:54
8)	British Sea Songs	Wood/Wright	5:15
9)	Elegy	Leigh Baker	3:34
10)	Crimond	Trad./ Richards	4:20
11)	Pomp and Circumstance March No.1	Elgar/Wright	5:20
12)	West Riding	Sam B. Wood	0:43
13)	Caravan	Ellington/ Johnson	3:35
14)	Over the Rainbow	Cassidy/ Morrison	4:13
15)	Barnham and Bailey	Karl King	2:23
16)	Papa Loves Mambo	Como/ Newton	2:34
17)	St. Gregory from Church Windows	Respighi/ Newton	9:25

Tracks 1-11, Brighouse and Rastrick Band, Brighouse Central Methodist Church, 29 June 2002

Tracks 12-17, Brighouse and Rastrick Band, Brass in Concert Championship, Sage Theatre, 20 November 2005

CD 5: Contest and Festivals

	Title	Composer/ Arranger	Time
1)	Salamander (RNCM Festival Concert 2006)	John McCabe	10:46
2)	Tuba Concerto Movement 2 (RNCM Festival Concert 2006)	Edward Gregson	6:40
3)	Ravenswood (Whit Friday Contest March 2004)	William Rimmer	4:15
4)	Between the Moon and Mexico (National Brass Band Championship of Great Britain 1998)	Phillip Sparke	16:59
5)	March from the Pines of Rome (CD Recording)	Respighi/ Snell	4:54
6)	Floral Dance (CD recording)	Moss/ Broadbent	2:51
7)	Contest Music (European Brass Band Championships 1998)	Wilfrid Heaton	14:14

Appendix 3

Brass Band Event Diaries

Brighouse and Rastrick Brass Band Events in 1936

Date		Venue	Location
16th	February	Drill Hall	Brighouse
17th	February	Tower Ballroom	Blackpool
1st	March	St Paul's Chapel	Brighouse
27th	April	Broadcast Studio	Leeds
10th	May	Rydings Park	Brighouse
23rd	May	Parks (General)	Brighouse
7th	June	Bandstand	Southport
13th	June	Broadcast Studio	Southport
14th	June	Heaton Park	Manchester
20th	June	Roundhay Park	Leeds
21st	June	Greenhead Park	Huddersfield
12th	July	(Unknown)	Nelson
19th	July	Platt Fields	Manchester
2nd	August	Boggart Hole Clough	Brighouse
9th	August	Manchester Park	Brighouse
23rd	August	Rydings Park	Brighouse
13th	September	Cricket Club	Stainland
21st	September	Agricultural Show	Pateley Bridge
25th	October	Drill Hall	Brighouse
26th	October	Tower Ballroom	Blackpool
8th	November	War Memorial	Brighouse
20th	December	Central Mission	Bradford