An analysis of gender-related references appearing in the Music Supervisors’ Journal (MSJ) from 1914 through 1924 revealed that both coeducational and single-sex musical organizations abounded and that vocal and instrumental instruction for boys and girls was advocated. When one sex or the other was singled out for consideration, however, the spotlight usually was focused on males. In addition to the “missing males” problem, writers in the MSJ discussed the role of music in the education of boys, career opportunities in music for males, the relationship of music to the nature and character development of boys, boys’ musical likes and dislikes, the male singing voice, and music for the man at war. By contrast, little attention was devoted exclusively to females, their interests, or their problems. This analysis invites reflection on whether gender issues pertaining to females continue to be overlooked by the music education profession today.

Julia Eklund Koza

The “Missing Males” and Other Gender Issues in Music Education: Evidence from the Music Supervisors’ Journal, 1914–1924

Boys’ reluctance to participate in music education programs, particularly in school singing groups, is a reality that many contemporary music educators would identify as a problem. The eye-catching headline of an advertisement in a recent issue of a music education journal queried, “Need Male Singers In Your Vocal Program?” Apparently advertisers believed that such a headline would attract the attention of many music teachers; statistics suggest that there is a shortage of males in more than a few vocal programs. Relying on data reported by the National Association of Secondary School Principals, J. Terry Gates summed up gender ratios in secondary school music programs during the early 1980s:

Instrumental and vocal music participation in American secondary schools shows sharp sex-related differences. Although the sexes are equally divided in instrumental music involvement, the female percentage of the secondary school population involved in choral activities surpasses the male percentage by greater than a 5:2 margin.1

1 Portions of this manuscript were read as an invited address at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association (San Francisco, California, April 22, 1992). Excerpts may appear in proceedings published by their Arts and Learning Special Interest Group. For copies of this article, contact Julia Eklund Koza, Department of Curriculum and Instruction, University of Wisconsin—Madison, 225 North Mills Street, Madison, WI 53706-1795.
"Missing males" is one among an array of pressing gender problems in music education, most of which have only recently attracted the attention of music education scholars; however, the problems themselves, including the issue of missing males, are not new. For example, popular American women's magazines of the mid-nineteenth century indicated that boys were far less likely to study music than girls were. These magazines contained lively discussions of whether music was an appropriately masculine endeavor, and they provided information about sex stereotypes associated with specific musical instruments and activities. Thus, some contemporary gender issues seem to have roots in beliefs that can be traced back at least as far as the beginnings of the public school music movement.

Prompted by curiosity about whether boys' lack of participation in music, or any other gender-related issue, was of concern to music educators in the early part of the twentieth century, I conducted a study of the *Music Supervisors' Journal (MSJ)*, a publication of the Music Supervisors' National Conference (now the Music Educators National Conference). The goals were to identify all educational issues that today would be considered explicitly gender-related and to analyze the explanations past music educators gave for the existence of gender-related problems. Finally, solutions proffered by *MSJ* contributors were critiqued.

**Theoretical Framework**

The theoretical foundation for this work is drawn from a socialist feminist definition of gender as explained by Alison M. Jaggar, and from a critical sociology of school knowledge as articulated by Michael Apple. Socialist feminists have postulated that gender is a social construct, the characteristics of which, according to Jaggar, are "related systematically to the historically prevailing system of organizing social production." Jaggar adds that rigid definitions of masculinity and femininity contribute to the maintenance of male dominance.

In his critical analysis of education, Apple has argued that schools "act as agents of cultural and ideological hegemony"—as sites of cultural reproduction, where unequal power relations of the dominant culture, including gender relations, tend to be created and perpetuated. He also has acknowledged that schools can challenge this dominant culture. Apple argues that the selective tradition, the process of deciding what is "socially legitimate knowledge," plays a central role in cultural reproduction/challenge. He contends that the question of *what* constitutes legitimate knowledge lie other critical issues: "Whose knowledge is it? Who selected it? Why is it organized and taught in this way? To this particular group?" According to Apple, an examination of the selective tradition involves consideration not only of what is present, but also of what is missing from the corpus of legitimate knowledge. The absence of knowledge can be a sign of disenfranchisement: "The lack of certain kinds of knowledge ... is related, no doubt, to the absence in that group of certain kinds of political and economic power in society."

The process of cultural reproduction/challenge is complex and involves many facets of schooling. This analysis explored only one dimension: expert teacher knowledge pertaining to music and gender. The *Music Supervisors' Journal* was a repository of "expert" knowledge on music teaching and was a vehicle for the dissemination and interchange of this knowledge. As such, it contained not only information about the art and craft of teaching, but also evidence of the beliefs and values that influenced teaching practices. It is reasonable to assume that
expert teacher knowledge based on sexist discourses leads to teaching practices that tend to reproduce unequal power relations, while other expert knowledge may challenge those relations.

Apple's questions concerning socially legitimate knowledge can be applied to teacher knowledge. His questions were adapted to the narrow aims of this study by modifying their focus slightly: What gender issues were considered legitimate by contributing music educators during the early part of the twentieth century? Whose gender issues—whose knowledge, interests, and problems—were deemed worthy of attention? Who decided what was or was not of sufficient importance to be discussed? For whom was the journal designed? Finally, where were the silences and gaps—who were the people and what were the gender-related subjects not addressed?

My reading and analysis of the journals also was influenced by reception theory as interpreted by De Vaney and articulated by Iser and Fish. As De Vaney notes, reception theory uncovers "the manner in which cultural messages are enfolded in the rhetoric of any communication." Applied to the study at hand, reception theory helped uncover the manner in which cultural messages concerning gender were enfolded in the rhetoric of an early twentieth-century music journal. The theory assumes that texts contain "socially encoded messages which may be variously interpreted by readers"; although the reader creates the meaning of a text, the text itself positions the reader by the manner in which it draws its language from "larger texts or discourses." Thus, while acknowledging that there can be multiple ways of reading a text, poststructuralist feminists such as Chris Weedon assert that, at given moments in time and space, there can be temporarily fixed dominant meanings. Reception theory assumes situated reading, and, as a researcher, I feel compelled to acknowledge my own position as a white, feminist, middle-class female reader who viewed these texts retrospectively from a poststructural perspective.

**METHOD**

Evidence was collected by reading all articles in the first ten volumes (1914–1924) of the *Music Supervisors' Journal*; a textual analysis was undertaken of every gender-related reference. A gender-related reference was defined as (1) the mentioning of either males or females as group, or (2) the mentioning of single-sex activities or organizations. Advertising, even though it was commonplace in the *MSJ*, was not examined in this study. Discussions of individual males or females were not considered. Furthermore, references in which terms such as "man" or "men" could have been interpreted to mean "a person" or "people" were not analyzed.

**The Music Supervisors' Journal: Background and Perspectives**

The *Music Supervisors' Bulletin* began publication in September 1914 under the auspices of the Music Supervisors' National Conference, which had been organized in 1907. Intended as a "medium of interchange of ideas between present and future members of the National Conference of Music Supervisors and all other persons who are interested in the question of music in schools," the *Bulletin* was the mouthpiece of the organization that evolved into the Music Educators National Conference. Renamed the *Music Supervisors' Journal* in 1915, it assumed its present name, the *Music Educators Journal*, in 1934. The *Bulletin/Journal* was
published four times a year during its first five years and five times a year during its second five.\textsuperscript{17}

"Expert" contributors included teachers as well as college professors. Significantly, during the period analyzed, both of the journal’s editors taught at universities. University of Wisconsin—Madison professor Peter W. Dykema was the MSJ’s first editor; George Oscar Bowen of the University of Michigan replaced Dykema in October 1921.

MSJ readers presumably were music specialists (then called music supervisors) whose job it was to oversee the music instruction given by elementary classroom teachers and to provide music instruction on the high school level. Men and women alike served as music supervisors. The precise size of the readership was difficult to determine; however, editor Peter Dykema claimed the first issue was sent to 6,800 people.\textsuperscript{18} The organization itself grew substantially from 1914–1924. A membership list published in 1915 included 332 names.\textsuperscript{19} According to an editorial printed in October 1921, membership had grown to 1,439, or to approximately 11 percent of the estimated 13,600 music supervisors in the United States.\textsuperscript{20} In 1922, the readership was reported at 12,000, even though actual membership in the organization numbered only 1,860.\textsuperscript{21} Although the group size was relatively small, the organization’s membership list is a "who’s who" of early music education.

In the early issues, considerable space was devoted to promoting the organization and its national meetings; survival both of the organization and of music education in the schools was of central importance at that time. Over the years, content gradually evolved; by 1924, a larger number of lengthy essays were printed. Gender issues, although sometimes discussed, did not top the list of frequently mentioned topics. Although gender issues were addressed less often than other subjects, the stated goals of the organization relied on discourses consistent with sex-equity aims—equal opportunity, equal access to excellence, and inclusivity. Goals of inclusivity and equal opportunity were embodied in the organization’s slogan, "Music for every child, every child for music."\textsuperscript{22}

Access to excellence was defined as access to education that developed the whole child. Music, it was argued, was uniquely qualified to cultivate aspects of the child that could not be addressed through other curricular areas; it was thus viewed as a necessary component in a comprehensive curriculum. In this respect, contributors forwarded an alternative and somewhat revolutionary definition of what constituted legitimate school knowledge. The MSJ’s myriad justifications of music education indicated, however, that many segments of the population probably remained unconvinced.

Access to excellence was to be achieved by fostering high-quality music programs in which children were exposed to only the best music. Contributors defined their mission as the upholding and advancing of specific standards of taste; the list of tasteful styles and genres was short.

Findings

The MSJ indicated that both coeducational and single-sex musical organizations abounded from 1914 through 1924, and that vocal and instrumental instruction for boys and girls was advocated.\textsuperscript{23} When discussions concentrated on one sex or the other, however, the spotlight usually was focused on males. In addition to addressing the missing males problem, the MSJ described the role of music in the education of boys, career opportunities in music for males, the relationship of
music to the nature and character development of boys, boys' musical likes and dislikes, the male singing voice, and music for the man at war. By contrast, little attention was devoted exclusively to females, their interests, or their problems. Furthermore, the nature and quality of coverage was different for females than for males. References to males addressed a wider variety of topics and often considered them in greater depth; females usually were discussed in a few words. A comparison of references illustrates these points.

ISSUES PERTAINING TO MALES

Music in the Education of Boys

Contributors clearly advocated the inclusion of music in the instruction of all children, but the role of music in the education of boys received nearly all the coverage. One author who believed music education was essential to a curriculum that would "produce men" criticized businessmen who opposed music study for their sons; he concluded that too many men were concerned about "what men will produce instead of the more important idea of what will produce men."24 A. E. Winship, in addition to applauding music education for boys, outlined the merits of various components of a balanced curriculum: "Vocational education makes a lad handy; scholastics make him brainy; music and art may make him spiritual."25

Focus on the role of music in the education of males included attention to the course work selected by men in college. An annotated bibliography of "great books" for music educators included an article on the benefits of music for the college man.26 One contributor warned that neglecting music in a male's education would lead down an slippery slope to a decadent love of ragtime:

Not long ago at the commencement exercises of one of our large universities an excellent orchestra was giving a concert of masterpieces. The young men of the audience trained to a finish in the three R's but with the usual American lack of the cultural and aesthetic, stopped the program of good music and clamored for ragtime. The demand was so insistent the orchestra was unable to continue the concert. This is a striking example of an education that turns out men of this type who are, as stated before, in a rut, one-sided, selfish, discourteous. These men too are to become our governmental representatives—or perhaps misrepresentatives would be a better term.27

Although little was said about the role of music in the education of girls, on two occasions the president of the Music Supervisors' National Conference, W. Otto Miessner, argued that music would be far more beneficial than "useless" subjects such as algebra and geometry: "Your High School girls—what will be of most use to ninety percent of them ten years from now—a knowledge of algebra and geometry or the ability to play the piano or violin or to sing agreeably?"28 In a later elaboration on the theme, Miessner described how music would benefit girls in their lifelong careers as wives and mothers:

How long must our girls break their heads over Algebra, Geometry, Latin, and other subjects that prove useless to most of them, that they loathe and despise forever after? Will higher mathematics make these girls better companions for their husbands, better mothers for their children? Why don’t we give them more Music, Literature, Dramatics, or Art—more training in activities that they can use through their whole lives?29
Miessner’s comments are strikingly similar to those made nearly one hundred years earlier in essays on the value of music in education that prepared women for domesticity.30

Careers in Music For Males

Career opportunities for males in music was another subject receiving attention. Caroline V. Smith of Winona, Minnesota, contributed her thoughts on the merits of vocational training in music; she defined vocational training as “a course which will enable a boy to earn a living some day.”31 Smith argued that boys stood a good chance of earning a living in music, and she enumerated the vocations open to them:

A boy may become the conductor of an orchestra, band, or chorus. He may also make a reputation for himself as a performer in these organizations. He may gain a wide influence as a teacher upon his chosen instrument, whether it be violin, piano, or pipe organ. In the capacity of church organist he may be ranked among the leaders in the world of music. As a singer upon the concert stage and in grand opera there are also possibilities. The position as music supervisor is growing more and more important. A boy may have a future as a composer, and so deserve honorable mention in doing his share of the world’s work.32

Hollis Dann, the state director of music in Pennsylvania and an advocate of instrumental music in the schools, linked American music education to future career opportunities for boys. Dann promised that someday seats in the greatest orchestras would be filled by boys educated in American public school instrumental programs.33

Music and the Nature and Character Development of Boys

The nature of the boy was another single-sex topic addressed in the MSJ. William M. Tomlins claimed a boy’s nature could be represented by drawing three concentric circles, the outer circle representing what a boy does, the middle representing what he knows, and the inner symbolizing his very being—who he is. Tomlins argued that music reached to the very core of a boy in ways that other school subjects could not.34

Information about the nature of adolescent boys was provided by T. P. Giddings, head of the music department in Minneapolis, Minnesota, who spoke of boys’ need to be given “a chance to show they are men and can do things in music uncontaminated [italics added] by female help. They love to sing, They like it better than girls do, but they are fussy about what they sing and how it sounds.”35

The character development of boys, specifically the relationship between music and moral or spiritual development, was of special concern. Some contributors believed that boys were peculiarly subject to temptation. Tomlins, in his discussion of the nature of the boy, warned that along with flower-germs, weed-germs lurked at a boy’s core: “[There are weed-germs] that are yet latent, of which you, his teacher, and you, his parent, know nothing ... and of which the boy himself knows nothing; weed-germs which await the stimulating influence of some temptation, tomorrow, or next year, or five years from today, to spring up and challenge for control of the boy.”36 According to Tomlins, music lit a spiritual flame that could not be extinguished and that would ennoble the boy forever.37

Like Professor Harold Hill of The Music Man fame, contributors promised that
music would keep children, specifically boys, out of trouble: "Neighborhood orchestras help to keep children off the streets. High school bands keep the boys interested in wholesome recreation." Moral vulnerability of girls was mentioned only once: an article brimming with praise for music claimed, "Girls who are at home with their music and boys who sing in the parish choir don't land in the hands of the police." Significantly, the reference specified that girls who stayed out of trouble stayed at home with their music.

The emotional development of males was of particular concern. Sometimes called "refining of the emotions," this project was believed to be neglected more often in the education of males than of females. Essayist Leroy Campbell attributed violent acts to a failure to refine the perpetrator's emotions: "Most men and some women pay very little attention to the refining of the emotions; they pay much attention to the intellect but neglect the proper balancing of the two factors, hence one finds the jails and prisons full of such persons whose unrefined feelings and emotions have led them into various deeds of violence." Contributors, Campbell among them, believed music was instrumental in cultivating the emotions. In one instance, a specific type of music organization was professed to have uncommon ability to transform boys; a teacher mentioned the capacity of orchestras to give "pupils—especially the boys—the right kind of emotional reaction at the right age."

Boys' Likes and Dislikes

Contributors also discussed boys' likes and dislikes, which were sometimes linked to boys' "nature." T. P. Giddings's assertion that boys loved to sing was atypical; usually contributors expressed concern over boys' dislike of music and agonized about how to change boys' minds. Older boys, in particular, were characterized as not liking music. A series of surveys taken at the turn of the century indicated music was not usually a favorite class among either boys or girls; however, among boys, music was more likely to be their least enjoyed course and less likely to be their favorite class in school.

The dislike of music among boys was of sufficient concern to be addressed in one of five questions posed in a published mock job interview for a teaching position. The school superintendent asked the candidate to discuss "what you think could be done to improve music in our upper grades. The boys don't seem to like music and our former teacher couldn't get anything out of them. She also had a good deal of trouble with discipline. What would you do about this in case you receive the position?" Significantly, in this fictitious situation, the previous teacher who had failed to motivate boys and had experienced disciplinary problems was referred to as "she."

The musical activity most often mentioned in discussions of boys' dislikes was singing. One music supervisor, Julia E. Clifford of Franklin, New Hampshire, wondered whether she was at fault for her boys' aversion to song:

And another thing which has interested and puzzled me is this. Why is it that boys don't like singing as well as girls? Boys come to me and say they hate singing. When they get into a big chorus, they just don't sing much, if any. The time is so short and the time is for chorus work not individual work that the question comes up to me, what can one do? The discipline of my chorus is very good and attention is good, ... Is this the fault of the supervisor in having failed to arouse them or just lack of musical appreciation?
The Missing Males Problem

Dislike of music apparently translated into a scarcity of boys in music activities. The MSJ indicated that fewer boys participated in music than girls did—at least in the area of vocal music. References to a dearth of males were particularly numerous in discussions of new programs and of programs described as weak. Nevertheless, larger proportions of girls were evident even in such highly esteemed groups as the St. Olaf College Choir. A music supervisor T. P. Giddings discussed a substandard choir of high school seniors he had observed, and he cited statistics indicating sectional imbalance; the numbers suggested an abundance of females: 60 sopranos, 10 altos, 2 basses, and no tenors. A music supervisor establishing a choral program in Montana also alluded to a shortage of males, reporting, "At the present the attendance is, for the most part, girls, but a splendid lot of them." William B. Kinnear, a teacher from Larned, Kansas, in a description of his young but expanding music program, implied that his high school choral program consisted of a girls' chorus.

Teachers developing new sites for music contests were advised to be mindful that girls' ensembles probably would predominate. Heading the list of suggested performance-group categories was the girls' glee club, the author noting, "This is the [group] most easily obtained and thus permits the entrance of a large number of high schools. The boys' glee club is probably best omitted the first year."

Avoiding music courses apparently was a practice not limited to males of high school age. For example, an article advocating the introduction of a special music methods course for future school superintendents noted that female future superintendents were more likely to take already-existing music appreciation courses than males were: "Courses are offered in colleges for teachers in 'Appreciation of Music,' in which courses are found a few superintendents, generally women, and a lot of students hunting for a 'snap' course."

Music and Manliness

Boys' apparent dislike of music and their absence from music programs were sometimes explained by pointing to the belief that music is unmanly, that is, not an appropriate interest for males. This belief was loudly denounced by contributors, but the presence of denunciations also tacitly acknowledged the existence of the perception.

In a discussion of the music ability of a young man who was the subject of a psychologist Carl Seashore's research, Seashore intimates that some parents considered music an inappropriate activity for males. He discussed a young man whom he had identified as musically talented, noting that the capable young man "has always wanted to study music but has been discouraged by his father, while his two sisters, [who] do not care for music, or achieve any marked success, have always been encouraged by the father." Even though, technically, this remark should have been excluded from analysis because it applied to individuals rather than groups, it is quoted here because it vividly exemplifies gender stereotypes. The father's actions defy explanation unless gender is factored into the equation.

The word "effeminate" was sometimes used in discussions of music and manliness; according to a 1911 dictionary, the term meant "Having the qualities of the female sex; soft or delicate to an unmanly degree; womanish: applied to men." One synonym was "weak." Another dictionary added "enervated; self-indulgent; [and] delicate or over-refined." The term presumed separate and stereotypical
sets of qualities for males and females, and these qualities were considered detrimen-
tal aberrations if they appeared in persons of the sex to which they were not
generally ascribed. Thus, MSY challenges to conventional thinking did not come
in the form of questions about traditional definitions of masculinity and feminin-
ity or in revaluations of characteristics traditionally considered feminine; rather,
they were limited to contestations of the assumption that music was feminine.

Effeminacy apparently was undesirable, and it was often mentioned along with
weakness and softness (also considered undesirable), which traditionally were
associated with females. Several passages reveal the negative associations attached
to “effeminate,” and they underscore contributors’ attempts to uncouple music
from the feminine. In a discussion of music’s purported ability to improve con-
centration, sharpen perception, and develop emotions, one contributor warned
hard-nosed businessmen that their opposition to their sons’ participation in
music, based on the faulty perception that music was unmanly, would produce
serious deficiencies in the child; the contributor added, “Think this over, Mr.
Business Man ... when refusing the son lessons in music or art under the misguid-
ed idea that music or art is effeminate and weak.”

To call a music activity or genre effeminate was insulting. For example, T. Carl
Whitmer, professor at the Pennsylvania College for Women, studied glee clubs by
surveying music departments. In his survey results, Whitmer denounced mandolin
clubs, calling them effeminate; he argued that such organizations “are on a lower
plane than the glee clubs and their programs a disgrace to college endeavor.”
No reason other than effeminacy was given for the scorn heaped on mandolin
clubs, but biases concerning social class and ethnicity may also have played a role
in shaping Whitmer’s opinion.

In one instance, incompetent teachers using inadequate pedagogical methods
were blamed for growth of the belief that music is feminine. Charles Farnsworth,
professor at Teacher’s College, Columbia University, argued that, in an imbal-
anced music program, insufficient time devoted to systematic note-reading drill in
ear childhood would lead to the misconception in adolescence that music is
effeminate:

Just when the adolescent child commences to anticipate the maturer outlook on life
and human accomplishment, and has awakened in him an interest in the master-
pieces of art, he finds himself unable to satisfy his desire because of the lack of tech-
nical training. He is not far enough removed from childhood to still enjoy those simple
melodic expressions of the race, which so captivate those who have a mature musical
taste, hence, he feels a growing distaste with music, as something for which he is not
fitted, or which is childish and effeminate.

The masculine pronouns in the excerpt presumably applied to both boys and
girls because Farnsworth spoke about the adolescent child, not boy; however, the
excerpt raises interesting questions if the child is assumed to be a girl. Would ado-
lescent girls develop a distaste for things perceived to be effeminate? Would they
learn to hate the things that were believed to characterize them, or was the gener-
ic child in this instance simply assumed to have been male? Whatever the case,
Farnsworth’s conclusion is significant: children (probably boys) eschewed music
when it was perceived to be “womanish.”

A few contributors offered suggestions for putting the effeminacy-of-music
myth to rest. In an article titled “Music and Manliness,” a well-meaning teacher
detailed a recruitment program designed to solve the missing males problem and
to point out fallacies in the music and manliness myth. The teacher, Fred G.

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Smith, of Fort Smith, Arkansas, set out to change boys' "contemptuous" attitude toward music by posting pictures of male musicians along the halls of the school, together with a bulletin that began with the question, "Are you one of those people who consider Music effeminate?"58 Among the points made in the flyer were the following:

1. All the great composers were men.

2. The great Symphony Orchestras of the world are composed of men players and are conducted by men. The personnel of a modern Symphony Orchestra consists of 80 or 90 men.

3. Many churches in the larger cities have their music supplied by choirs of men and boys under a male organist and director.

4. The men who are playing and singing on the Concert stage and in Grand Opera have to be and are men of splendid physique and considerable intellectual attainment. They are the physical equals of the best football and baseball players.59

Apparently, football and baseball players were deemed paragons of physical masculinity, and to be compared favorably to them was considered high praise.

Some of the information in Smith's flyer probably was accurate; this was 1918, and women were not heavily represented in many music professions. However, this zealous and perhaps desperate campaign emphasized the exclusionary message that even though males were not as numerous as females in music, the best musicians always were male. Implicit in Smith's assertions was the assumption that universal music education would nonetheless lead girls down a different career path than boys. The impact of this message on girls' perceptions of their future prospects as composers, conductors, and instrumentalists can only be imagined.

Some contributors believed boy musicians would overcome their music-and-manliness fears if they were introduced to appropriately masculine role models. For example, T. P. Giddings and Earl L. Baker, a Minneapolis music supervisor, enumerated the merits of hiring male high school teachers. Giddings and Baker discussed their beliefs in a description of the qualities needed in a high school choir director:

The teacher must be a disciplinarian, one who is able to rule tactfully without too much show of driving. He must be a teacher of the most ingenious variety and also have great force and endurance, both mental and physical.... He must have infinite patience, firmness, and an immense love for young people.

It is no easy work to be a successful chorus leader. It is a man's job, though many women are doing it splendidly. When I say it is a man's job, I mean that boys are more likely to sing if there is a man at the helm. Then again in the large high schools, where there are many classes daily, the mere physical strain of several chorus classes in succession is too much for the average woman not possessed of great physical as well as mental endurance.60

Although Giddings' remarks portrayed the vast majority of female high school teachers as second-best choices (merely because women would not serve as role models for males), they also provide evidence that there were highly successful female high school music teachers who defied traditional stereotypes.
Other Explanations of the Missing Males Problem

Some explanations of the problem of missing or unenthusiastic males implicated teachers; some articles blamed bad pedagogy, and others cited poor choice of repertoire. For example, Mrs. Ann Dixon, a new music supervisor in Duluth, Minnesota, described some of the difficulties she faced upon assuming her post. One problem was a dearth of boys in the high school program. Dixon claimed that overworked elementary teachers who had neglected part-singing and had not encouraged boys' voices were at fault.61

Apparently, teachers believed it was within their power to stop the exodus. When Florence E. Allen’s classes were visited by those attending the 1917 National Convention in Grand Rapids, Michigan, one supervisor asked Allen how the “boys were ‘made’ to sing”; Allen indicated that because the boys were encouraged to use proper vocal technique early on, they “like to sing and they do.”62 Clearly, teachers wanted to learn pedagogical methods that would engage boys; the inclusion of a national conference lecture on the “phases of music work” that have proven most successful with boys is further evidence of this interest.63

Repertoire was sometimes faulted for producing an aversion to music in boys, and a few contributors listed unsuitable styles. Farnsworth complained about teachers engendering “superficial and flabby emotional interest in sentimental songs” rather than teaching the “finest in song literature”; he believed that the “maturing child, especially if he is a boy, [italics added] turns from music with little conception of it as an art, and no respect for it as an achievement,” when the sentimental repertoire supplanted systematic drill.64 His attack on sentimental music and the distinction he drew between it and masterpieces of art have gendered overtones because the derogatory designation of “sentimental” often was applied to music written for (and sometimes by) women.

Because it was believed that boys could be won over through careful choice of repertoire, there was considerable interest in ascertaining which kinds of music appeared to boys and men. For example, a study of musical preferences and responses to music was conducted on college males.65 Not surprisingly, given contributors’ hostility toward popular music (jazz in particular), the study concluded that classical music elicited responses of interest, but jazz only produced boredom.66

It was assumed that boys were interested in different kinds of music than girls were, an assumption substantiated by a survey undertaken prior to the turn of the century and discussed by educational psychologist Earl Barnes in 1915. According to the survey, larger percentages of boys liked patriotic songs, while girls tended to enjoy “home songs” (e.g., lullabies and baby songs).67 The question of why the sexes would prefer different kinds of music was not explored. Another indication of the types of music boys were said to enjoy was found in a review of The Laurel Glee, a songbook for male voices. The collection met with a reviewer’s approval in part because the “character of both words and music will appeal to boys in high school and college.”68 The contents reportedly included “folk songs, spirituals, old American songs, sailors’ chanteys and college songs, with a fair amount of more serious music.”69 There also were indications that some selections typically sung by male groups—college glee, in particular—did not meet with contributors’ approval because the selections were considered coarse or vulgar.70

Lists of favorite pieces, submitted by teachers, indicated that the music selected for all-male groups probably was different both in style and in textual content from the choices made for girls; however, this conclusion was reached by reading
song titles, which may have been misleading. An informal count revealed that girls’ repertoire usually included songs about nature, as well as lullabies and songs of love. A wider range of topics and styles was seen in the repertoire for boys. The most popular textual theme was adventure; spirituals or “plantation songs” were numerous.\textsuperscript{71}

Introducing activities and organizations that were believed to appeal to boys was another suggested solution to the missing males problem, and typically instrumental groups—wind bands and orchestras—were identified as the most appealing organizations:

A kid prefers a band to any other form of musical entertainment. How often have you and I, as boys, jumped in the lead of a stick-twirling drum major, leading a band proudly up the street. We marched along with him, hoping to be mistaken for the band-leader himself. There is something curious in the psychology of a boy when it comes to his love for music. Did you ever in your life know of one willing to learn to play the piano if he could swap it for a trombone? His musical enthusiasm at this time generally runs to jazz so that if it had no other mission than to refine this vulgarity out of him and to implant in its place a love for the better sort of music, the existence of the School Band would be amply justified. It can do it. Jazz music is by general consent largely responsible for our present-day jazz ideas and morals. It is a disease that will have to be rooted out of the young folks if we are to return to the safety and sanity of pre-war years. And the School Band can be largely helpful in this.\textsuperscript{72}

In this excerpt, the gender-neutral “kid” quickly becomes a boy who, according to the contributor, Frederick Neil Innes, has an essential psychological nature apparently shared by all other boys. Clearly, the wind band was believed to appeal to this nature, even though neither nature nor appeal was explained. A boy’s partiality for a trombone also was left unexplained, although if traditional definitions of what constituted a masculine musical instrument are taken into consideration, the preference makes more sense. Historically, trombones were considered masculine. Pianos, by contrast, were one of a very few instruments deemed suitable for both sexes to play, and the “piano girl” rage of the nineteenth century may have fostered a belief that the instrument was far more feminine than a trombone. Finally, the conviction that jazz undermines boys’ morals but a band upholds them reflects not only a concern for the presumably fragile moral constitution of boys but also a strong anti-jazz sentiment prevalent throughout the journal.

Orchestras, in addition to bands, were regarded as drawing cards. For example, Bessie M. Whiteley conducted a survey of orchestra programs in large-city elementary schools, and her report sang the praises of these programs; one respondent noted that orchestras stimulated interest in music “especially among the larger boys.”\textsuperscript{73} Apparently instrumental organizations also appealed to overwrought parents seeking ways to get boys involved in music. One music supervisor advised his colleagues, “Parents are willing to sacrifice if their boy will only become interested in an instrument. The band certainly appeals to the boy.”\textsuperscript{74}

The Male Singing Voice

The boy’s voice, specifically, the male changing voice, was another all-male topic discussed. Teachers were reminded of the importance of not embarrassing or humiliating boys at a delicate time in their lives by requiring them to sing solos when their voices were changing; “But is it [solo singing] worth all it costs if the adolescent boy in his humiliation at being compelled to exhibit his vocal frailties in public, vows that when he goes to high school where music is elective, he will
have none of it, and that when he once gets through school he will indulge in no more of this nonsense."75 One teacher permitted younger boys with changing voices to sing in choirs from the upper grades rather than with their own classes.76 Although the teacher’s intention probably was to achieve balanced voicing in the ensembles, the end effect may have been to portray the voice change as a badge of status that gave some boys privileges not extended to girls or to boys whose voices had not yet changed.

Discerning whether a mention of "the changing voice" referred to both sexes or to boys alone was sometimes difficult, especially in the case of references to book or lecture titles. Consulting the sources themselves revealed that educators of the day sometimes did acknowledge a voice change in girls, but in at least one book, most of the attention was paid to boys.77 The inclusion of a girls' glee club as the demonstration group at a national convention lecture on the adolescent voice served as further evidence that teachers probably were aware of girls' voice change.78 Awareness did not translate into lengthy coverage, however.

Music and the Fighting Man

Yet another male-related theme was music for World War I fighting men. The language of the journal articles rendered women’s contributions to the war effort invisible. Those in service to their country were referred to as men or boys. Some articles described musical activities in camps both in the United States and abroad, including appearances by touring entertainment companies, visits from military bands, impromptu performances by soldiers in the field, and sing-alongs conducted by song leaders who traveled from regiment to regiment.79 Other articles spilled out war-related interests ranging from writing compositions that would be appreciated by the boys to locating instruments for boys, the wounded in particular.80 Contributors praised music for improving the morale of the fighting men; military bands were credited with helping win the war.81

ISSUES PERTAINING TO FEMALES

Women’s Responsibilities

The MSJ said little about girls or women, even though girls may have been more numerous in music programs than boys. No music-related problems involving females as a group were identified. Occasional references to females did appear; however, they were different in nature and tenor from those mentioning males. Instead of focusing on girls and on pedagogical issues pertaining to girls, the remarks often expounded on the responsibilities of adult women in their roles of wife and mother. For example, mothers were advised to serve as advocates for their children by demanding public school music education for them.82 They were also reminded of their need to provide children with music instruction at home, one article championing the formation of mothers’ clubs where women would learn music literature to teach to their children.83

Mothers were portrayed as guardians of their children’s morals, a role “good" music was believed to facilitate. In an article titled "A Message to You, Mother Music Lover," Helen Ware reminded mothers of the “refining” influence music has on children; in a quotation from composer Clara Schumann, Ware underscored music’s moral value: "First and last, the mission of music is to aid us to create in the home a pure and ennobling atmosphere.84
A mother's sensibilities were the testing ground for the moral purity of music. Music was acceptable if it was suitable for a mother to hear. For example, in a reprint of an article from London's Musical Herald, an unnamed contributor called for songs "fit for a man to enjoy, and fit for his own mother to hear"; the reference intimated that not all music sung by men met the two criteria.85

In an article hinting at the widespread popularity of jazz, mothers were warned of the threats to morality posed by the genre [typographical and spelling errors in the original]:

"There's a somethin' about saxophones and trap drummin' that lures us on t' recklessness and license ... We dance with people we never heard of before an' we lounge about like a sorceress on th' Nile. Jazz records are in ever' home. Th' modern parlor smells like a star's dressing room—cigarette smoke, cosmetics, dandelion wine an' steam heat—a combination of fumes unknown in private life before the introduction o' jazz. Once we stop jazz, much o' th' demoralization now so common'll die out. Let our mothers resolve t'low down an' set an example for ther grown' daughters—oversee their dressin' an' warn them against th' pitfalls o' jazz music [italics added]. The' first impulse when a jazz orchestra begins t' mumble an' squeak an' rattle is t' kick up, or hug some one, or shimmy, or git fresh. What else is there t' do o' such music? Nobuddy ever sat still an' listened t' a jazz orchestra."86

In this passage, mothers again were cast in the role of moral guardians; significantly, it was the purity of daughters that mothers were advised to protect. In two respects the example typifies the MSJ descriptions of the dangers of jazz—first, in the nature of the accusations it made, and, second, in the author's reliance on racist and elitist assumptions.

Not only were women reminded of their responsibilities as mothers, they also were informed of the duties of a good wife. An anecdote, appearing in an article titled "When Her Husband Comes Home From Work" and reportedly derived from the book A Thousand Ways to Please Her Husband, spelled out one music-related role accepted by an understanding wife whose home life was "nearest to the ideal."87 In an excerpt reminiscent of prescriptive literature written for women during the mid-nineteenth century, this wife attributed her domestic bliss to a piano. She had developed the ability to listen to the music her husband played on the instrument when he arrived home from work and could guess his mood from the music he chose. Her responsibility was to appreciate his self-expression:

He puts into his playing his moods, his thoughts, his state of mind—in short, himself. And she, understanding the power of expression that lies in music knows without his saying a word what his feelings are, and governs her actions accordingly.... The result is self-expression on the part of one individual with a depth and intimacy he could never express, and appreciation of that self-expression on the part of the woman through a knowledge of what the touch on the keys mean[s].88

The passage described a one-way street of communication, a husband who was unable to express his emotions in words, and a wife who was expected to translate his musical messages, presumably without expressing her own thoughts or feelings.

Women's Contributions

Discussions of women's responsibilities constituted a major portion of the comments in the MSJ about females as a group. There were, however, three types of
passing references that indirectly suggested that females played a vital role in the musical past and made major contributions. The first type was the mention of all-female performance organizations. Coupled with comments indicating females were in the majority in many coeducational music programs, these references indicated female students were in abundance.

The second category of references consisted of descriptions of the contributions women made to musical life, contributions by members of women’s clubs, in particular. The MSJ indicated that women’s club members devoted themselves tirelessly to a variety of musical projects and causes; some of these projects directly benefited public school music education. For example, the clubs promoted the inclusion of music in the public school curriculum; contributors from throughout the nation praised the work of the women’s clubs in helping bring music into the schools, particularly into rural schools.\(^9^4\) Women’s clubs reportedly championed the granting of course credit for private music lessons.\(^9^0\) They sponsored composition contests designed to generate music for women’s ensembles, and they awarded prizes to women composers.\(^9^1\) They organized community sings.\(^9^2\) Music history and appreciation were taught at club lectures.\(^9^3\)

It may be conjectured that the considerable attention given to the clubs may have had less to do with actual contributions than with overlapping membership of prominent members of the National Conference. If such vested interests existed, however, they were never clearly articulated in the MSJ, and the impression given to the uninitiated reader was that women’s clubs played a major role in promoting music. Apparently other women, in addition to those belonging to women’s clubs, were unsung heroines who did the thankless organizational legwork necessary to make musical events successful. For example, the “ladies” of Cleveland provided two hundred automobiles to transport music supervisors attending the 1923 national convention.\(^9^4\)

Finally, even though references to individual men and women technically were excluded from the study, the appearance of many women’s names on membership and contribution lists deserves mentioning. Women apparently wrote some of the curricular materials advertised in the MSJ, and they penned a number of its published articles. Thus, even though the MSJ was not talking about females as a group, females were present and were valuable contributors in the musical past, nonetheless.

Conclusions and Discussion

One goal of this study was to explore whether discussions of missing males surfaced in an early twentieth-century music education journal; clearly, they did. Furthermore, like their predecessors in the nineteenth century, proponents of music in the early twentieth century were called upon to defend music as an appropriately masculine pursuit. Significantly, the missing males problem was sometimes blamed on teachers; if not blamed, teachers were assumed to be capable of single-handedly providing remedies. As recent historical research confirms, however, the problem of missing males was a long-standing one, more intractable than the MSJ’s contributors suggested.

If the absence of boys was, indeed, the result of bad teaching, as some contributors implied, why did girls flock to the same programs? Why would girls tolerate poor teaching if boys would not? Educators of the day probably would have countered that because boys were by “nature” unlike girls, they responded to a dif-
ferent array of teaching practices. If, however, girls instead of boys had been missing from the programs, would practices that appealed to girls have served as the standards of good teaching? Furthermore, would the profession have been equally concerned?

Why was an absence of males in school music education programs considered a problem? From an egalitarian perspective, this absence indicated that music educators had not reached the goal embodied in the slogan "Music for every child, every child for music." Boys were the "lost coins" for whom music educators sought diligently. In the larger picture, boys were not the only lost coins. The absence of women among the ranks of professional musicians, however, and the obstacles faced by women composers, performers, and conductors apparently did not prompt equal concern.

Contributors may have argued that an absence of males limited the repertoire available to singing groups. However, a vast repertoire of treble vocal music existed that could not be performed by mixed ensembles; an absence of males is a problem only if mixed ensemble music is considered the most legitimate. Furthermore, this explanation is based on the assumption that the missing males problem was limited to vocal music programs, which probably was not the case.

Another possible explanation of contributors' concern is that the presence of males tends to legitimize a discipline. Public school music education was a discipline desperately seeking legitimacy in the early part of the twentieth century, and contributors may have desired to place the subject within the curricular mainstream by demonstrating that music was not just for (insignificant) girls.

A second goal of this study was to identify and discuss additional gender-related issues mentioned in the MSJ. When gender issues were discussed at all, the conversations focused almost exclusively on males. The problems, interests, and concerns of males apparently were considered, to borrow a term from Apple, the most "legitimate" gender issues. This preoccupation was inconsistent with the organization's stated goals, which relied on discourses of equality and inclusivity. Beneath a veneer of rhetoric promoting the egalitarian goals of universal opportunity and access to excellence, lay beliefs, values, and practices that fostered inequities.

Race and social class were additional factors determining inclusion or exclusion. As outmoded as contributors' dislike of ragtime or jazz may seem to modern readers, this distaste is a telling commentary on whose knowledge was considered legitimate. The contents of this journal suggest that music education has a history of adopting inclusive rhetoric while simultaneously reinforcing hegemony.

The inclination to center white, middle-class, male knowledge doubtless was one means by which the unequal power relations of the dominant culture were reinforced and reproduced. The centering of male knowledge left little room for discussions of the interests and problems of girls or women. The absence of discussion on gender-related problems of girls or women may have been deemed "normal" or may have gone unnoticed.

Not only did the journal overlook girls and women, but it also launched attacks on things perceived to be feminine. To be feminine was to be weak, inadequate, or substandard. Rather than attempting to draw males into music programs by questioning traditional definitions of what constituted masculinity and femininity, contributors zealously attempted to prove that music was not feminine. As a result, efforts to solve one gender-related problem may have spawned others.
The *Music Supervisors' Journal* provides the modern reader with an array of individual opinions from the past, and clearly, it does not give a complete picture of gender relations in music education during the early twentieth century. Individual opinion, however, is not created ex nihilo. It is always formed within a specific context, and it is inevitably grounded in and shaped by available discourses. As reception theory suggests, larger texts spoke through the statements made by individual contributors. Patterns among the opinions expressed in the *MSJ* provide a commentary on dominant discourses of the day. Of course, no researcher looking retrospectively can ever know what texts "really meant," and it is likely that there were multiple readings of these texts even in their own times. Nonetheless, it is clear from one feminist perspective that sexist discourses spoke through the music educators represented in the *Music Supervisors' Journal*.

Analysis of documents from the past can serve as an invitation to reflect on current practices and on the discourses that influence those practices. Thoughtful self-questioning can help uncover whether and how inequitable discourses from the past continue to speak through us. For example, in what ways is current practice inconsistent with music education's avowed goals, which remain inclusive and egalitarian? Whose problems receive the most attention in the corpus of legitimate expert knowledge? Do current practices designed to solve the missing males problem work to the detriment of girls, and if so, how?

A recent review of literature, published by the Wellesley Center for Research on Women, concluded that girls are shortchanged in schooling today. Little of the research reported in the review focused on music or the arts, however; research on diversity issues began only recently in music education. If every child is to be given a fair chance in music education, if the discipline is sincerely committed to the ideals embodied in its rallying cries, then we must begin to consider what aspects of music education shortchange specific groups of students. To that end, research on a wide array of current diversity issues in music education and additional historical work are sorely needed.

Researcher J. Terry Gates recently concluded a study of choral singing in the 1980s by noting that girls today appear to be adopting social values traditionally associated with males; he predicts that if this trend continues, vocal music teachers will witness a gradual drop in participation by girls. If Gates' prognostications are accurate, continued reliance on rigid definitions of masculinity and femininity, together with persistent devaluation of those things perceived to be feminine, may have dire consequences for choral music programs. If the rationale that change may benefit individual students does not motivate the profession, perhaps the fear of losing choral music programs will.

Michael Apple's theory provides a window of opportunity by noting that school knowledge not only reinforces but also challenges dominant discourses. Dominant discourses, however, need to be perceived as problematic for challenges to occur. Problematizing the taken-for-granted is, in Apple's estimation, one step toward meaningful change. Apple writes that "to gain insight, to understand the activity of men and women of a specific historical period, one must start out by questioning what to them is unquestionable." Questioning the unquestionable in discourses from the past is a relatively simple task, the real challenge lies in revisiting the present with new eyes. In a rapidly changing society, in a world in which the majority is neither white nor male, such new vision is imperative.
NOTES


4. Ibid.


6. See Apple, 82–104, for a discussion of ways that schools can challenge hegemony.


14. From the first ten volumes, 101 articles were located that contained gender-related references.

15. Excluding these references created problems, however, the thorniest of which was trying to discern how words such as “man,” “men,” “he,” or “him,” were to be understood in specific situations. In some essays, contributors ambiguously shifted between meanings. Contributors generally used masculine pronouns to refer to a generic person, but on occasion, they switched to the feminine. This shift was commonly made when mentioning the generic elementary classroom teacher and sometimes when alluding to the music supervisor.


17. Throughout this article, I will refer to the periodical as the *Music Supervisors’ Journal or MSJ*, even though the title for the first year of publication was the *Music Supervisors’ Bulletin*.


23. Significantly, musical organizations composed of boys were more likely to perform at national or regional conventions than were girls’ organizations.


29. Miessner, 51.
31. "Focal Points: A Symposium of Particular Objects Some of Our Supervisors are Seeking to Accomplish this Year," MSJ 1, no. 2 (November 1914): 10.
35. T. P. Giddings, "Boys' Glee Clubs in Grade Schools," MSJ 9, no. 2 (December 1922): 28.
36. Tomlins, 35.
37. Ibid.
40. Campbell, 22.
41. Bessie M. Whiteley, "The Orchestra in the Grade Schools," MSJ 1, no. 3 (January 1915): 6; these comments were quoted in Gladys Arthur Brown, "Instrumental Music in Our Public Schools," MSJ 3, no. 4 (March 1917): 24.
43. [Examination attributed to Prof. Karl Gehrkens], "An Examination for Us All!" MSJ 4, no. 1 (September 1917): 22, 24.
46. T. P. Giddings, Minneapolis, Minnesota, "The High School Chorus," MSJ 1, no. 3 (January 1915): 8. On rare occasions, males were more numerous than females. For an exceptional reference, see comments by Homer F. Hess in "Notes from the Field," MSJ 7, no. 3 (January 1921): 54.
47. "Notes from the Field," MSJ 7, no. 3 (January 1921): 34.
50. D. R. Gebhart ["Wake Up" only], "Jottings from Here and There. Wake Up the Superintendent!," MSJ 7, no. 2 (November 1920): 30.
53. Ibid.
56. T. Carl Whitmer ["A Study" only], "Significant Papers from the M.T.N.A. A Study of the College Glee Club," MSJ 2, no. 3 (January 1916): 22.
59. Ibid.
64. Farnsworth, 18, 19.
66. Moore, 55-56.
67. Barnes, 7-8.
68. Hollis Dann, "Book Review Section. A Letter and Two Book Reviews from Last Year's
President, Hollis Dann, Ithaca, N. Y., "MSJ 7, no. 3 (January 1921): 13.

70. See also Will Earhart, "Book and Music Review," MSJ 9, no. 3 (February 1923): 34; and Whitmer, 22.

71. "Music for Glee Clubs. Some Preliminary Lists," MSJ 7, no. 3 (January 1921); 17, 18, 20, 22, 24; and, "Music for Glee Clubs. Further Preliminary Lists," MSJ 7, no. 5 (April 1921); 26, 28.


73. Whiteley, 6.

74. Ralph Wright, "The Grammar School Orchestra," MSJ 6, no. 3 (January 1920); 20.


77. Will Earhart, "Book and Music Review," MSJ 10, no. 2 (December 1923): 43; mentioned the School Music Handbook by Cundiff and Dykema. The Handbook devoted a chapter to the changing voice; it acknowledged a voice change in both sexes but devoted most of the chapter to a discussion of boys. Proceedings of a national meeting held in April 1923 were mentioned in "The Cleveland Meeting. April 9–15, 1923," MSJ 9, no. 3 (February 1923): 24. The subject of one presentation was testing "changed and changing voices." According to the proceedings, a clinic for both boys and girls was included in the presentation; the proceedings themselves focused primarily on boys, however.


79. See, for example, Russell V. Morgan, "Music and Morale: A Paper Read Before the Music Section of the Wisconsin Teachers' Association at Their Annual Meeting in Milwaukee, Thursday, Nov. 6, 1919," MSJ 6, no. 3 (January 1920): 24; [Attributed to John W. Beattie], "At The Front: Two Letters From France," MSJ 5, no. 1 (September 1918): 4–6; "Teaching Uncle Sam's Soldiers [sic] and Sailors to Sing," MSJ 4, no. 2 (November 1917): 50; and "War Songs in the Schools," MSJ 5, no. 2 (November 1918): 24, 26.


81. See, for example, "Teaching Uncle Sam's," 30; Morgan, 22, 24, 26, 28; and "Music in War," 26.

82. Frances Elliott Clark, "Music in Education," MSJ 5, no. 2 (November 1918); 18.

83. "How the Federated Clubs Are Helping," MSJ 4, no. 2 (November 1917); 18.

84. Helen Ware [In the Marcato Music-Lore], "A Message to You, Mother Music Lover," MSJ 4, no. 2 (November 1917): 22.


88. Ibid.

89. D. R. Gebhart, "Music in the South," MSJ 8, no. 1 (October 1921); 16; and Dann, "A State Program," 44. Also, Frances E. Clark, "Music in Education," MSJ 8, no. 2 (December 1921); 29; Miesner, 57; "Southern Supervisors' Conference," MSJ 10, no. 5 (May 1924); 36; Cora Conway ["Community Songs" only], "Music in the Grades. Community Songs and Singing," MSJ 5, no. 1 (September 1918); 28; [George Oscar Bowen], "Editorial Comment. The Right Note Struck," MSJ 9, no. 2 (December 1922); 4; and Mrs. William D. Steele ["The Relation" only], "Big Ideas from St. Louis. The Relation of the Woman's Club to the Musical Life of the Community," MSJ 6, no. 2
(November 1919): 5–6.
92. Hamlin E. Cogswell ["District of Columbia" only], "Reports from the Field. District of Columbia," MSJ 4, no. 3 (January 1918): 16.
96. Gates, 41.

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