THE SAXOPHONE IN CHINA: HISTORICAL PERFORMANCE AND DEVELOPMENT

Jason Pockrus

Dissertation Prepared for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF MUSICAL ARTS

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH TEXAS

August 2018

APPROVED:

Eric M. Nestler, Major Professor
Catherine Ragland, Committee Member
John C. Scott, Committee Member
John Holt, Chair of the Division of Instrumental Studies
Benjamin Brand, Director of Graduate Studies in the College of Music
John W. Richmond, Dean of the College of Music
Victor Prybutok, Dean of the Toulouse Graduate School

Pockrus, Jason. *The Saxophone in China: Historical Performance and Development*. Doctor of Musical Arts (Performance), August 2018, 222 pp., 12 figures, 1 appendix, bibliography, 419 titles.

The purpose of this document is to chronicle and describe the historical developments of saxophone performance in mainland China. Arguing against other published research, this document presents proof of the uninterrupted, large-scale use of the saxophone from its first introduction into Shanghai's nineteenth century amateur musical societies, continuously through to present day. In order to better describe the performance scene for saxophonists in China, each chapter presents historical and political context. Also described in this document is the changing importance of the saxophone in China's musical development and musical culture since its introduction in the nineteenth century. The nature of the saxophone as a symbol of modernity, western ideologies, political duality, progress, and freedom and the effects of those realities in the lives of musicians and audiences in China are briefly discussed in each chapter. These topics are included to contribute to a better, more thorough understanding of the performance history of saxophonists, both native and foreign, in China.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to a number of wonderful musicians and educators without whom this paper would not have been possible. I would first like to thank Dr. Eric Nestler for his continued support throughout my course of study and the duration of the research for this paper. I would also like to thank the members of my committee, Dr. Catherine Ragland and Dr. John Scott, for their assistance in completing this project. I also extend special thanks to Professor Li Yusheng of the Sichuan Conservatory of Music for his encouragement in studying the saxophone in China and providing the opportunity to study with him in Chengdu.

Finally, I wish to thank several musicians and educators for their assistance in providing valuable insight into the saxophone in China: Professor Li Manlong, Professor Zhang Xiaolu, Dr. Wu Chih-Huan, and Director Chen Fangyi for providing interviews and valuable information on the current state and history of the saxophone in China, Mr. Paul Wehage for his wonderful insights into the life and compositions of Ali Ben Sou Alle, and Wang Guangming and Liang Siyu whose knowledge and friendship contributed greatly to the success of this project.

Appreciation is extended to Musique Fabrique Publishing and the Dabu City Cultural Board. Excerpts from *Souvenirs de la Chine* and *Gold Coins Dropping* were reproduced with their permissions respectively. Portions of the Cantonese Music and Song Troupe concert program were reproduced with permissions from the Cantonese Music and Song Art Troupe.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

LIST OF FIGURES

Page

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Purpose

Since the premiere performance of a saxophonist in 1856 Guangzhou, the number of settings and styles in which the saxophone has come to be used in China are abundant.[1] The purpose of this document is to chronicle and describe the historical developments of saxophone performance in mainland China and thereby show the importance of the saxophone in China's musical history and development.

As a non-native instrument, the saxophone has often been used in China to perform non-native music. Military bands, jazz music, western pop music, and modern conservatory programs are just some of the historical performance avenues for saxophonists in China. However, the saxophone has also been utilized in musical genres that are unique to China: Chinese pop music, originating in jazz-derived *shidaiqu* (时代曲, Shídài qū), and the native genre of Cantonese opera. Although performance practice for saxophonists in modern Chinese pop music varies little from its Western equivalents, the importance of the genre in reintroducing the instrument to the Chinese people after the Mao era cannot be understated and is presented in detail. As the only native music into which the saxophone has been fully incorporated, Cantonese opera holds a significant and important position within the performance history of Chinese saxophone. As such, the role of the saxophone in Cantonese music ensembles, performance practice within the ensemble (including performance styles, improvisation techniques, and musical notation) and origin of the inclusion are covered in depth.

[1] *China Mail*, "The Canton Community," August 7, 1856.

Also described in this document is the changing importance of the saxophone in China's musical development and musical culture since its introduction in the nineteenth century. The nature of the saxophone as a symbol of modernity, western ideologies, political duality, progress, and freedom and the effects of those realities in the lives of musicians and audiences in China are discussed briefly in each chapter. These topics are included to contribute to a better, more complete understanding of the performance history of saxophonists, both native and foreign, in China.

Finally, this document discusses the place of the saxophone within modern China and recent history. This includes new performance opportunities for saxophonists like recently established private wind bands,[2] as well as the establishment of saxophone majors at the major conservatories within China.[3] The many saxophonists that have traveled to China since the 1980s as well as the number of Chinese saxophonists that have traveled abroad have all helped to shape the performance styles and genres of saxophone in the country.[4]

Politics often affect art. For example, as result of the political policies of the Great Leap Forward and the Great Proletariat Revolution of the 1960s and 1970s, saxophones all but disappear from the hands of average citizens.[5] They are then slowly reintroduced only as political policies changed in the early to mid-1980s.[6] With this in mind, each chapter in this document begins by setting the performance scene within its historical and political contexts.

---

[2] Chih-Huan Wu吴志桓, interview by Jason Pockrus, Telephone, April 30, 2018.

[3] Yusheng Li, "The Saxophone In China," *Saxophone Journal* 24, no. 3 (February 2000).

[4] Sheldon Jerome Johnson Jr., "The Political Suppression of the Saxophone and Its Subsequent Pedagogical Development in Select Non-Democratic Countries" (DMA diss., University of South Carolina, 2017).

[5] Richard King, *Art in Turmoil: The Chinese Cultural Revolution, 1966-76* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2010).

[6] Li, "The Saxophone In China."

Significance

The story of the saxophone in China is one with which even Chinese saxophonists are rarely familiar. Public knowledge and published research describe the performance history of the saxophone in China as a series of stops and starts: first appearing in Robert Hart's nineteenth century brass band, disappearing until the warlord period and jazz age, being pushed out during the Mao era and the cultural revolution, and finally reintroduced in the 1980s via foreign musicians.[7] The information in this paper proves all of these inaccurate.

The use of the saxophone within the Cantonese opera ensemble is of special importance because of its incorporation into a native musical style. Here, the saxophone often acts as an accompaniment or reinforcement of *houguan* (喉管, Hóuguǎn), an oboe-like instrument native to southern China. Due to a lack of available sources on the development of the saxophone within Cantonese opera and important saxophonists in the genre, a strict chronology is impossible. Instead, this paper presents interviews with currently performing saxophonists and provides first-hand accounts of Cantonese opera performances as they exist in China today.

Discussions on modernity, political-cultural crossover, or semiotics in the course of each chapter are significant in their usefulness in providing a broader understanding of the performance scenes in which the saxophone came to be used. By discussing the symbolism of the instrument, changing attitudes towards it, and the different perceptions of different audiences, a more complete picture of the historical timeline of the saxophone in China can be obtained.

---

[7] See: Cheng Naishan 程乃珊, *Hǎishàng sàkèsī fēng 海上萨克斯风 [Saxohone on the Sea]* (Shanghai: Wén huì chūbǎn shè 文汇出版社 [Wenhui Press], 2004); Mo Leng冷默, "Qiǎn Xī Sàkèsī Zài Zhōngguó de Fǎ Zhǎn Xiàn Kuàng Jí Cúnzài de Wèntí 浅析萨克斯在中国的发展现况及存在的问题 [Analysis of the Development and Current Problems for the Saxophone in China]," *Húnán Shīfàn Dàxué Yīnyuè Jiàoyù 湖南师范大学音乐教育 [Hunan Normal University Music Education]*, Yīnyuè shíkōng 音乐时空 [Musical Time and Place], 11 (July 9, 2014): 101; Li, "The Saxophone In China."

This document will also serve as a basis for further research on the use of saxophone and other western instruments within mainland China and the greater China area (including Hong Kong, Macau, and Taiwan). By creating a cohesive timeline of the development of performance opportunities for saxophonists within mainland China, the chronology of related musical activities can be engaged in with greater ease.

Literature Review

The use of a chronology to describe the role of the saxophone within the larger musical contexts of a given locale has many precedents. The first and mostly widely-known research to approach the topic of historical performance and pedagogy on the saxophone was undoubtedly that of Frederick Hemke in his doctoral document *The Early History of the Saxophone* at the University of Wisconsin in 1975.[8] The purpose of his document is to chronicle Adolphe Sax's invention of the instrument, its inclusion in (or exclusion from) various musical ensembles, performance history, mechanical developments, and pedagogical history in Europe and the United States. This is done by presenting multitudes of primary sources and tying them together in narrative style. To show the role of the saxophone in shaping a new paradigm, as with the inclusion of the instrument in the existing marching band tradition of the time, Hemke provides multiple sources of primary evidence that reveal the timeline of events and the public reactions to them via critiques and personal accounts.[9]

Outside of the direct lineage of Europe and the United States, research has also been advanced on the history and historical performance opportunities for the saxophone in other parts

[8] Fred Hemke, "The Early History of the Saxophone" (D.M.A. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1975).

[9] Ibid., 191.

of the world. In her 2010 DMA document, *The Influence of Japanese Composers on the Development of the Repertoire for the Saxophone and the Significance of the Fuzzy Bird Sonata by Takashi Yoshimatsu*, Chiaki Hanafusa describes the history of saxophone in Japan.[10] In order to better understand the importance and impact of *The Fuzzy Bird Sonata*, (the main focus of the paper) Hanafusa traces the lineage of the saxophone through the first introduction of foreign music in 1854, to the pioneering work of Arata Sakaguchi, and beyond. This understanding of the musical heritage of saxophonists and composers lends itself to the understanding of modern compositions in Hanafusa's work.

In a similar approach, Stacy Maugans' D. Mus. dissertation, *The History of Saxophone and Saxophone Music in St. Petersburg, Russia*, describes the chronology of the saxophone in Russia. Since the history of the saxophone in Russia is deeply entwined with political events, Maugans organizes her paper chronologically following the events of the political history of the Soviet Union. This is done in order describe the "historical context within which the musicians and their music existed."[11] Finally, Daniel Michaels Bell's DMA document, *The Saxophone in Germany*, begins with a general political and cultural history of Germany and a description of the saxophone within the country including a survey of of prominent saxophonists, before arriving at a substantial chapter entitled "The Social Meaning of the Saxophone". This chapter discusses the various performance contexts for the saxophone and public perceptions of the instrument in terms of national identity, sexuality, and race by providing primary sources including newspaper

[10] Chiaki Hanafusa, "The Influence of Japanese Composers on the Development of the Repertoire for the Saxophone and the Significance of the Fuzzy Bird Sonata by Takashi Yoshimatsu" (University of North Texas, 2010), http://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc28426.

[11] Stacy Maugans, "The History of Saxophone and Saxophone Music in St. Petersburg, Russia" (Indiana University, 2000).

editorials, personal correspondences, and popular literature.[12] These sources reveal how the public reacted to the saxophone as a symbol of American-ness, how the viewed the prominent place of the instrument in overtly-sexual performance settings, and how the instrument fit in to the contemporary narrative of racial hierarchies.

With the increased presence of Chinese musicians in the international saxophone community, new research is also being undertaken to better understand the place of saxophone within Chinese musical culture. Chief among these are articles published in China by Li Yusheng (李雨生, Lǐ yǔshēng). In 1997, Professor Li established the first major degree program for saxophone in China at the Sichuan Conservatory.[13] The process of establishment and Professor Li's background have been extensively researched; several interviews, both English and Chinese, have been published and will be drawn upon as part of this study.[14] His published articles, including "The Saxophone in China," "The Formation of the Saxophone Quartet in China," and "The Development of the Saxophone in Modern Instrumental Music Departments" are seminal works in the field and represent some of the very few publications on the subject by a Chinese researcher.[15]

---

[12] Daniel Michaels Bell, "The Saxophone in Germany 1924-1935" (University of Arizona, 2004), 47–68.

[13] Ibid.

[14] John Robert Brown, "A View from China," *John Robert Brown* (blog), 2005, http://www.john-robert-brown.com/yusheng-li.htm; "Li Yusheng (China)," *Clasax* (blog), May 12, 2011, https://www.clasax.org/festival-2011/international/li-yusheng/; Songkang 张颂康 Zhang, "Sìchuān Yīnyuè Xuéyuàn Sàkèsī Jiàoshòu Lǐyǔshēng--Sàkèsī Zhōngguó Wǎng Zhuānfǎng 四川音乐学院萨克斯教授李雨生--萨克斯中国网专访 [Sichuan Conservatory Saxophone Professor Li Yusheng - An Interview with SaxChina]," SaxChina, July 9, 2015, https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MjM5NTE1NTcyMA==&mid=209368428&idx=1&sn=77f57fd51413b2cc89d35065fe34500a&pass_ticket=6qSvKGT4ooWaDBg05Gk0QhGIWwVJsj2XyGyb63Vr6CZDGka83l%2ByqrAIPEE79r8B.

[15] Li, "The Saxophone In China"; Yusheng 李雨生 Li, "Zài Zhōngguó Zǔjiàn Sàkèsī Guǎn Sìchóngzòu de Gòuxiǎng 在中国组建萨克斯管四重奏的构想 [Conception of the Formation of the Saxophone Quartet in China]," *Yīnyuè Sōusuǒ 音乐搜索 Music Search* 4 (1998): 73–75; Yusheng 李雨生 Li, "Lùn Sàkèsī Guǎn Zài Xiàndài Qìyuè Tǐxì Zhōng de Dìngwèi Hé Fāzhǎn 论萨克斯管在现代器乐体系中的定位和发展 [On the Place and

Finally, sinologists (those that study China and its environs) have been studying the intricacies of Chinese politics, history, music, and culture for centuries. Understanding the research undertaken by these various historians and social scientists and the methods by which they conduct that research are crucial to this project. In his book chapter "The Pipe Organ of the Baroque Era in China" David Urrows makes use of primary and secondary sources, and a narrative style of description, to present the early interactions between Western and Chinese musicians. By showing not only the direct timeline of the building and display of an early pipe organ in the Portuguese colony of Macao, but also describing peripheral events, Urrows is able to make connections between the early construction and the later adoption of the pipe-organ by the Qianlong emperor.[16]

Andrew F. Jones' *Yellow Music: Media Culture and Colonial Modernity in the Chinese Jazz Age* is a work that not only chronicles Chinese musical happenings within a given time-frame (the 1920s-40s) but relates those events to sociological perspectives. In discussing the jazz-derived Chinese music known as Shidaiqu, Jones describes a complex kind of colonial modernity in which the new musical form is not competing against its predecessor but is considered alongside it as a transnational rearticulation.[17] The use of a chronology as a recurring theme to discuss topics including modernity, politics, westernization, and semiotics proved useful in this paper's own aims to incorporate similar ideas.

Development of the Saxophone in Modern Instrumental Music Departments]," *Yīnyuè Sōusuǒ 音乐搜索 [Music Search]* 2 (2007): 100–103.

[16] Hon-Lun Yang and Michael Saffle, eds., *China and the West: Music, Representation, and Reception* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2017), 21–41.

[17] Andrew F. Jones, *Yellow Music: Media Culture and Colonial Modernity in the Chinese Jazz Age* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 10.

Method

Data collection for this research is based on archival research, interviews, and live performance attendance. The majority of the data that has been gathered in regards to musical events before 1980 has come from archival research. This includes newspapers, magazines, photographs, musical scores, ethnographies, published interviews and academic journals.

Newspapers have proven a good resource for concert reviews and an insight into the musical happenings within smaller communities. For instance, *The North China Herald* reviews one of the first ever performance of a saxophonist in 1856 Guangzhou, China[18] and, just a few years later, details the instruments ordered, including a saxophone, by the local music society orchestra.[19] China has several periodicals dedicated to the study and/or appreciation of music. With an intended audience of average music enthusiasts, these magazines have proven invaluable to understanding the musical situation for average people throughout China. The study of personal accounts has also proved useful. These take the form of journals from early residents of China's foreign settlements, autobiographies of soldiers that performed with military bands stationed in China, or accounts of life and musical activities in Japanese prison camps during WWII and provide valuable insight.[20] Finally, academic journals and other secondary sources help to set this study within the greater context of existing research.

Data regarding performance practices of Cantonese opera has also be gathered from interviews and attendance of live performances. Musician Chen Fangyi (陈芳毅, Chén fāngyì),

---

[18] *North China Herald*,"Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle," September 20, 1856.

[19] *North China Herald*,"Shanghai Philharmonic Society: Report of the Season 1888-1889.," October 4, 1889.

[20] See: Caroline P Keith and William C Tenney, *The Conflict and the Victory of Life: Memoir of Mrs. Caroline P. Keith, Missionary of the Protestant Episcopal Church to China* (New York: Appleton, 1864); Donald LeRoy Versaw, *The Last China Band* (Online: Self Published, 2001), http://lastchinaband.com/versaw.htm; Desmond Power, *Little Foreign Devil* (West Vancouver: Pangli, 1996).

principal saxophonist with the Cantonese Music and Song Art Troupe, was interviewed to discuss performance practices, specialized education, and the uses of the saxophone within the genre. In order to compensate for the lack of primary sources on the chronology and performance practices of saxophonists in Cantonese music ensembles, ethnographic work was undertaken at several performances of Cantonese opera throughout the city of Guangzhou. The aspects of performance described by Chen Fangyi and observed by the author are, whenever possible, corroborated with other ethnographies and historical notes taken by other researchers of the genre to verify authenticity.

After 1980, newspapers, journals, etc. still continue to play a valuable role. At the same time, since the majority of the musicians and teachers involved in the development of the saxophone during this era are still living, interviews also play a significant part. These interviews with saxophonists such as Li Manlong (李满龙, Lǐ mǎnlóng), of the China conservatory, and Zhang Xiaolu (章啸路, Zhāng xiàolù) of the Shanghai conservatory, include the performer/teacher's personal experiences with being introduced to the saxophone after the economic and political liberalization policies of the 1980s, allow them to describe the performers that influenced them, and describe the process of establishing a new performance scene for saxophonists in China.

Scope

This study is limited to descriptions and discussions of the saxophone, saxophonists, and saxophone performances in mainland China. This is due primarily to largely divergent histories and historical influences throughout the Sino-sphere. Hong Kong, for example, experienced a different musical history, sometimes drastically so, from mainland China due to its status as a

British colony for much of the timeline that intersects with the saxophone. It will sometimes be necessary to discuss places and musical events outside of mainland China, i.e. pop music in Taiwan, but only as they pertain directly to the historical development of the saxophone on the mainland.

A Note on Translations and Transliterations

This document makes use of Pinyin romanization and simplified Chinese characters as is currently standard in mainland China. For words and names of Chinese origin, the first iteration of the term will be followed by the Chinese character and pinyin romanization immediately following the term i.e. pipa [琵琶, Pípá]. Subsequent iterations will include only the English realization, the reader having been provided a list of Chinese terms and names (Appendix A) for further reference if necessary.

As romanization systems have changed over time, and different systems being used in different parts of the Sino-sphere, it will sometimes be necessary to present the original romanization of a word or name for the sake of clarity or historical context. In such cases the modern romanization and/or English name will be given after the first iteration i.e. Canton [Guangzhou, 广州, Guǎngzhōu], Treaty of Nanking [Nanjing, 南京, Nánjīng].

CHAPTER 2

ALI BEN SOU ALLE AND THE EXPAT COMMUNITIES: 1856-1911

Introduction

In the mid-nineteenth century the saxophone had just been born and the first generation of saxophonists were endeavoring to make a place for themselves in established musical circles.[21] These early saxophonists had to create performance opportunities wherever they could, and none ventured further than Charles Jean-Baptiste Soualle. During his travels throughout the colonized world, his performances were often the premier performance of the saxophone in the locales he visited. This was surely the case in China, where even the foreign communities themselves had only just been established.

The Foreigners Waiting for Sou Alle's Arrival: Historical Background

The First Westerners in China

Contact with the West has meant many things in China over the centuries: In China, "the West" defined anything west of China before the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), India and Arabia after Zheng He's voyages of 1405-1433, and Europe and the Americas during the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911);[22] and contact meant anything from itinerant merchants like Marco Polo to kowtowing heads of state like the Sultan of Malacca.[23] However, what can be considered the modern age of exchange between China and a colonially-minded Europe began with the first

[21] Fred L. Hemke, "The Early History of the Saxophone," (D.M.A Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1975).

[22] Yang and Saffle, *China and the West: Music, Representation, and Reception*, 2.

[23] Tomé Pires, *The Suma Oriental of Tome Pires* (Asian Educational Services, 1990), 242.

permanent weigh-point in China established by the Portuguese, who leased the small island of Macau（澳门, Àomén) from 1557 to 1999.[24]

The city of Macau quickly became the chief trading port in China and the main gathering point for those Europeans wishing to travel into the continent.[25] These travelers were also instrumental in introducing western music onto the Chinese landscape. As early as 1600 a pipe organ had been built at the College of St. Paul,[26] leaving a lasting impression on the Chinese people that witnessed its grandeur. It was described by Wang Linheng (王臨亨, Wáng línhēng), a Ming dynasty official:

> The foreigners in Macau are good craftsmen, and they have constructed well- made objects such as the organ and the carillon. They made a case with hundreds of pipes inside (or with hundreds of "strings"). It is operated by a machine: when one person blows the bellows, then all the pipes will sound. When one person plays the machine, then all the tones will sound. The music is well moderated and can be heard from afar. The carillon is made of copper; it rings at noon and then it rings every two hours, twelve times in a day.[27]

In the same year, 1600, the famed Jesuit priest and accomplished sinologist Mateo Ricci presented a clavichord to the imperial court in Beijing.[28] Ricci chose the instrument because, as he pointed out, "…the use of the organ and the clavichord is unknown and the Chinese possess no instrument of the keyboard type."[29] This had two consequences, first, the Wanli emperor, on hearing of the new type of instrument that had no relative in Chinese music, would become

---

[24] Joshua Mingchien Bau, *The Foreign Relations of China: A History and Survey*, Second Edition (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1921), 4.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Yang and Saffle, *China and the West: Music, Representation, and Reception*, 23.

[27] Ibid., 22.

[28] de Saldanha and Antonio Vasconcelos and Artur K. Wardega, *In the Light and Shadow of an Emperor: Tomás Pereira, SJ (1645-1708), the Kangxi Emperor and the Jesuit Mission in China* (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), 537.

[29] Sheila Melvin and Jindong Cai, *Rhapsody in Red: How Western Classical Music Became Chinese* (Algora Publishing, 2004), 46.

excited and be more likely to give an audience. Secondly, since there is no Chinese equivalent to the clavichord, there would be no musicians to perform on it. Therefore, if the Emperor wanted to hear a performance, he would have no choice but to invite Jesuit priests. Ricci even went so far as to compose several pieces for the instrument, but there was an unfortunate break-down of communication when it came to music:

In his journals Ricci wrote of Chinese music that it "seems to consist in producing a monotonous rhythmic beat as they know nothing of the variations and harmony that can be produced by combining different musical notes. However, they themselves are highly flattered by their own music which to the ear of a stranger represents nothing but a discordant jangle."[30] On the other hand, Chinese listeners tended to feel the same about European music: "European music cannot be heard with pleasure by Chinese audience except it is one single voice accompanied by instruments. But what is strange for them to hear is a part with two different voices, deep ones together with high ones, halftones, fugues and syncopes. This does not fit their taste and they feel an intolerable confusion."[31] It seems both parties would have to wait a few hundred years for an instrument to be invented that would help to bridge the gap.

The Foreign Concessions

Prior to 1842, foreigners in China (all non-Chinese) were relegated to the Portuguese island of Macau or consigned in Guangzhou to small 'factory' buildings in what was known as the Canton system. The events that would lead to the First Opium War, and thereby the opening of Shanghai, Hong Kong, and other ports to foreign settlement, began with Chinese-British

[30] Saldanha and and Artur K. Wardega, *In the Light and Shadow of an Emperor: Tomás Pereira, SJ (1645-1708), the Kangxi Emperor and the Jesuit Mission in China*, 537.

[31] Ibid.

unrest in June, 1839 in Humen (虎门镇, Hǔmén zhèn), a town just south of present day Dongguan (东莞, Dōngguǎn).[32]

The recreational use of opium had been made illegal by imperial edict in as early as 1729,[33] but that did little to stop the flow of the substance into China for the more than 100 years leading up to the 1839 incident. The large amounts of money to be made on the illicit trade of opium made Chinese maritime borders incredibly porous at the best of times, but local merchants and businessmen saw even more profitability in the selling of an illegal substance and the protection of said product.[34] It is estimated that between the issuance of imperial edicts in the late 1700s and the beginning of the Anglo-Chinese war of 1839, the British imported approximately 400,000 chests of opium in to China and netted a profit of three to four billion dollars' worth of silver.[35]

The conflict that led to the establishment of foreign concessions in Shanghai and Guangzhou began in earnest at the appointment of a new Imperial High Commissioner of Canton, Lin Zexu (林则徐, Lín zéxú), in 1838.[36] Lin was also directly commissioned by the emperor to completely eliminate the opium trade that was being carried out by the British, with the aid of local merchants and unscrupulous Chinese officials; a task he executed with extremely hardline policies. In early 1839, Lin Zexu demanded the release of all opium held by the foreign

[32] Lang Ye, Zhenggang Fei, and Tianyou Wang, eds., *China: Five Thousand Years of History and Civilization* (Kowloon, Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong Press, 2007), 109.

[33] Joshua Rowntree, *The Imperial Drug Trade: A Re-Statement of the Opium Question, in the Light of Recent Evidence and New Developments in the East* (Memphis, Tenn.: General Books, 2010), 12.

[34] Richard Harvey Brown, "The Opium Trade and Opium Policies in India, China, Britain, and the United States: Historical Comparisons and Theoretical Interpretations," *Asian Journal of Social Science* 30, no. 3 (September 1, 2002): 10, https://doi.org/10.1163/156853102320945420.

[35] Ye, Fei, and Wang, *China*, 109.

[36] Bau, *The Foreign Relations of China: A History and Survey*, 7.

communities in the Canton region, including Hong Kong. When they refused to comply, Lin enacted marshal law and laid siege to the offending factories. Within a few days the factory workers had run out of provisions and relinquished their opium stores.[37] By June of 1839, Lin Zexu had confiscated over 2.4 million pounds of opium from British and American store and, in a public ceremony, destroyed all of it with lime salt or fire in the port town of Humen.[38]

Disturbed by the loss of capital and seeing the opportunity to gain advantage by military means, England declared war on China in 1840 and sent more than forty battleships to the Pearl River.[39] These steam-powered, paddle wheel war ships were the latest in military technology and quickly made their way along the coast of China.[40] In August of 1842, the British war ships reached Nanjing and threatened to attack the city.[41] The Qing government quickly acquiesced and signed the Treaty of Nanking (Nanjing, 南京, Nánjīng) on August 29, 1842.[42] The treaty conceded five trading ports to the British: Canton (Guangzhou, 广州, Guǎngzhōu), Amoy (Xiamen, 厦门, Xiàmén), Koo-chow (Fuzhou, 福州, Fúzhōu), Ningpo (Ningbo, 宁波, Níngbō), and Shanghai.[43] In addition, the Qing court was required to pay a restitution of 21 million dollars, allow for fair tariff, and cede Hong Kong in perpetuity to the British.[44] Finally, the 1842 Treaty of Nanking opened China to foreign settlement: The United States and France in 1844,

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ye, Fei, and Wang, *China*, 109.

[39] Ibid.

[40] John King Fairbank and Merle Goldman, *China: A New History* (Cambridge (Mass.) [etc.: <> Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006), 200.

[41] Ye, Fei, and Wang, *China*, 110.

[42] Bau, *The Foreign Relations of China: A History and Survey*, 8.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Ibid.

Belgium in 1845, Sweden and Norway in 1847, and Russia in 1858;[45] and led to a succession of trade deals and land concessions commonly known today as the first of the "Unequal Treaties".

Foreigners wasted no time in setting up their new trading post in Shanghai. The first to arrive were forced to live in the existing Chinese walled city of nearby while the new buildings made in a western image were built.[46] By 1843 there were 11 foreign mercantile houses, and by 1847 the city was home to 24 mercantile firms, 25 private residences, five stores, and a hotel and clubhouse.[47] By 1848 all of the major British and American trading firms had moved their headquarters from Canton to Shanghai.[48]

European investors and thrill seekers, however, were not the only new immigrants into the new established concessions. In his 2004 article, Tang Yanting recounts the large numbers of Jewish immigrants that would come to call Shanghai home.[49] One such example was Elias David Sassoon, an Iraqi-Jewish businessman that sought to establish a new branch of his family's Bombay-based business.[50] His arrival added to the melting pot that was the foreign concessions of Shanghai. The Chinese citizens, that were officially banned from the settlement, frequently set up shops and business to trade with the foreign residents. The Small Sword Uprising (an outgrowth of the Taipings) in the early 1850s, sent tens of thousands of the Chinese residents of

[45] Ibid., 9.

[46] Edward Denison and Guang Yu Ren, *Building Shanghai: The Story of China's Gateway* (Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons, 2006), 40.

[47] Ibid., 67.

[48] Stella Dong, *Shanghai: The Rise and Fall of a Decadent City* (New York: Harper Collins, 2001), 11–12.

[49] Yanting Tang, "Reconstructing the Vanished Musical Life of the Shanghai Jewish Diaspora: A Report," *Ethnomusicology Forum* 13, no. 1 (2004): 101–18.

[50] Ibid., 104.

the old walled city fleeing into the foreign settlement where they quickly constructed lodgings.[51] And so, it was into these societies that Ali Ben Sou Alle arrived and plied his trade.

Ali Ben Sou Alle

The Musical Activities of Foreigners in China

Musical activities of the foreign communities throughout China were varied, with not infrequent visits from foreign musicians. In the Canton region, musical activities were undertaken by many of the Christian sects spread throughout the region, especially Macau.[52] Macau also had a number of military units, including the Macau Regiment, which included bands and had been stationed in the Portuguese settlement of Macau since at least 1818.[53] The band gave regular public performances and played at special ceremonies like the King's birthday or important funerals.[54] Foreign performers were known to give concerts in the foreign settlement, including a performance by Swiss watchmaking heir Fritz Bovet, whose violin performances and musical collection would later play an important role in the movement of Chinese music into Europe.[55]

The early years of Shanghai also saw a great deal of social and musical activity. As early as 1850, musicians were called upon to perform for the inaugural "Bachelors of Shanghae [*sic*]" Ball at the British Hotel.[56] Amateur musicians and music lovers were able to purchase

---

[51] Denison and Ren, *Building Shanghai: The Story of China's Gateway*, 40.

[52] Yang and Saffle, *China and the West: Music, Representation, and Reception*.

[53] Neto Oswaldo Da Veiga Jardim, "The Role of the Military and Municipal Bands in Shaping the Musical Life of Macau, ca. 1820 to 1935" (University of Hong Kong, 2002), 48.

[54] Ibid., 52–54.

[55] W. Anthony Sheppard, "Puccini and the Music Boxes," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, April 30, 2015, http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/02690403.2015.1008863.

[56] *North China Herald*, "Tuesday the 26th instant…," November30, 1850.

instruments shipped from Europe and sold in local shops: advertisements in the North China Herald list accordion, flutina, concertina, and an assortment of sheet music and method books for sale at P.F. Richards.[57]

In her memoirs, Episcopal missionary Caroline Keith describes lazy afternoons on the waterways of Shanghai listening to her good friend play melodies on the concertina. [58] There are also listings for 'brass for musical instruments' on tariff and import scales, from which it can be surmised that instruments for foreign customers were being made within China's borders.[59] In *Thalia on the Terpsichore,*[60] J.H. Haan lists performances given by professional, semiprofessional, and amateur musicians, actors, and even military musicians of all sorts in Shanghai. These local and traveling performers gave nearly 130 performances between 1850 and 1865 alone. Musicians, it would seem, were plentiful in the early years of the many different foreign settlements. It is these very musicians, in fact, that would play host to the very first saxophone performance in China.

Biographical Sketch

The man that would become Ali Ben Sou Alle was born Charles Jean-Baptiste Soualle on July 14, 1824 in Arras, France.[61] His exact origins and life story are a bit of an enigma, a fact that cannot be helped when one travels extensively under an alias in the mid-nineteenth century.

---

[57] ———, "On Sale" July 5, 1851, Accessed January 8, 2018.

[58] William C Tenney, *Memoir of Mrs. Caroline P. Keith: The Conflict and the Victory of Life* (New York: D. Appleton Compnay, 1864), 173.

[59] *North China Herald*, "Chinese Tariff of 1786: Scale of Duties," January 11, 1851.

[60] J.H. Haan, "Thalia and Terpsichore on the Yangtze: A Survey of Foreign Theatre and Music in Shanghai 1850-1865," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch* 29 (1989): 158–251.

[61] Bibliotechque National Francais, "Ali Ben Sou Alle," June 23, 2014.

Many attempts at a biographical sketch were made during his lifetime and by various sources. The fact that no recorded interview with the enigmatic figure exists, seems to indicate that his mysterious nature was, at least in part, an intentional subterfuge.

It was reported that he was the son of the Secretary of the Turkish Legation in Paris[62] and a 'French lady',[63] and entered the Paris conservatory in the class of the famed Klosé, obtaining the first prize in clarinet in 1844.[64] Upon graduation, he was appointed director of the Marine Band in Senegal where he stayed until sometime in 1846.[65] By 1846 he was first clarinet at the Opera Comique in Paris,[66] but stayed there only a short time, fleeing to England during the February Revolution of 1848.[67] Once in London, he performed as first clarinet player at the Queen's Theatre for two years before joining on with Louis Jullien to play a series of concerts. [68] It was Jullien, in fact, that encouraged him to take up the saxophone.[69] He performed throughout London through 1852, but while performing under the name Soualle, he listed his instrument as the *corno muso.*[70]

The when, why, and how of his world tour is not entirely clear, nor is the transition to the pseudonym and orientalist costume known as Ali Ben Sou Alle. However, by June 10, 1853, he was performing in Melbourne, Australia under the name 'Ali Ben Sou Alle and his

---

[62] *The China Mail*,"We Observe the Return by Steamer Shanghae," October 16, 1856.

[63] *Straits Times*,"M. Ali Ben Sou Alle," November 13, 1855.

[64] Paul Wehage, "Ali Ben Sou Alle: A 19th Century Frenchman in Mysore," *Serenade*, November 14, 2016, https://serenademagazine.com/features/ali-ben-sou-alle-19th-century-frenchman-mysore.

[65] Trove,"People and Organisations: Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle," accessed March 7, 2018, https://nla.gov.au/nla.party-780052.

[66] Wehage, "Ali Ben Sou Alle."

[67] Ibid.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Ibid.

[70] *The Examiner*, November 16, 1850.

turkophone'.[71] Over the next seven years, he traveled and performed extensively, giving concerts (often more than one) in Hobart Tasmania, Nelson New Zealand, Singapore, Calcutta India, Madras India, Guangzhou China, Shanghai China, Hong Kong, Mauritius, Durban, Paris, Cape Town South Africa, Port Elizabeth SA, Grahamstown SA, Natal SA, and Pietermaritzburg SA. By 1860 he returned to France, reportedly for health reasons. Once there, he continued his concertizing activities for some time. On September 21, 1860, he filed a patent for improved key-work on the saxophone.[72] In 1864 he performed for the Prince of Wales and gave him a book of his composed works, presumably including the two pieces composed in China.[73] After an 1865 performance at Tuileries Palace for Napoleon III and his family, and a reviewed concert in Paris the following year, the details of Soualle's life all but disappear from the records.

One of the final mentions of Soualle appears in an 1875 article in *Figaro.*[74] It gives a dramatized account of his life before going on to describe an orientalist herbal shop that Soualle opened, based on the skills acquired in his travels. No mention of Soualle's life or activities is listed beyond this date. The national library of France lists his death date as August 16, 1899 in Paris France.

Ali Ben Sou Alle in China

In the middle of the busiest years of his world tour, and after having just performed for

[71] *Argus,* "Advertising," June 10, 1853.

[72] *Bulletin des Lois de L'Empire Française [Bulletin of the Laws of the French Empire],* "386: Le brevet d'invention de quinze ans [386: The Fifteen-year Patent]," 11, no. 19 (June 1, 1862), http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9736347n.

[73] Wehage, "Ali Ben Sou Alle."

[74] *Figaro: Journal Non Politique,* "Une Future Celebrite Parisienne," December 12, 1875, 2; ibid.

Lord Harris, Royal Governor at Madras, India,[75] Ali Ben Sou Alle arrived in Guangzhou, China around July 31st, 1856.[76] Ever the performer, within a week's time he had given two performances, and for the first time in history the saxophone was performed on Chinese soil.[77] Although using the affected name of turkophone and turkophini for his instruments (corresponding to alto and soprano saxophone respectively), the correspondent for the China Mail recognized Sax's instruments and was pleased with their sound:

> This gentleman has studied upon two newly invented instruments by the celebrated M. Sax, called *Turkophone*, and *Turkophini*. Both are of silver; but instead of the usual mouth-piece for horns, one very similar to a clarionet's is substituted[78], which adds much to the softness of tone. As a musician, M. Ali must rank high in the opinion of all connoisseurs; while immense compass and power of the *Turkophone* especially, afford every opportunity for the display of an artist's abilities.[79]

The same edition indicates that Sou Alle's next intended stop was Hong Kong, where he would perform the following Monday. However, before arriving in Hong Kong, an announcement advertising his upcoming performance in Shanghai was posted in the local paper. It gives good insight into the type of reception he received, and the expectations of the audience in anticipation of his concert. The advertisement reads:

> To Enliven the dull monotony of our life in Shanghai, we are authorized to promise a musical treat in the performances of the Celebrated Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle on the Turkophone and Turkophini, instruments of his own invention from which we are assured the sweetest music is produced by this accomplished *artiste*. He is now at Hongkong [*sic*] giving a series of Concerts and it is his intention to visit us at the end of the month when, the heat of the Season having somewhat abated, we shall delight in the entertainment.

---

[75] Paul Wehage, "The Forgotten Voyager," *Serenade Magazine*, July 30, 2017, https://serenademagazine.com/features/the-forgotten-voyager/.

[76] *China Mail*. "The Canton Community." August 7, 1856.

[77] *China Mail*. "The Canton Community."

[78] Note: Clarionet was the oft-used period term for the clarinet

[79] *China Mail*. "The Canton Community."

> Since writing the above we have been requested to insert an Advertisement which appears in our first column announcing another entertainment for the lovers of Music; little did we think the Muses held such favors in store for us[80].

It would seem that the residents of Shanghai had long been waiting for a concert such as this, despite the number of musical activities occurring around the same time.[81]

After his week of concertizing in the Guangzhou settlement, Sou Alle traveled to Hong Kong and performed for the foreign residents on August 11, 1856.[82] Unfortunately, his first concert in the newly acquired colony met with some difficulties. The pianist that had been engaged to accompany Sou Alle was called away on urgent business at the last moment, and so the turkophonist was left to perform unaccompanied. The journalist reviewing the concert was, overall, left with a good impression of the new instruments, but was not entirely convinced of their usefulness. They reported:

> …[Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle] introduced his two newly-invented instruments the Turkophone and Turkophini. We shall convey to our readers the best idea of the nature of these instruments by informing them shortly, that they are of the usual class of brass instruments, save that they have a reed instead of the ordinary mouth-piece. The former is an instrument of great compass and of excellent tone, combining the qualities of the bassoon and French horn, and would, we conceive, be a great addition to the orchestra. Of the other we cannot say much more, than that it is a silver Clarionet; and we are not so out of conceit with the old instrument (especially as Mr Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle on the same occasion gave us an opportunity of comparing the two) as to discard it for the new rival. The imitation of the Scottish bagpipes we cannot at all approve of. Why attempt imitations, when the real instrument can be easily procured, and may, we are sure, be mastered as easily as can the imitation![83]

The reporter of this concert was left with a good impression of Sou Alle, stating "We were greatly pleased with the execution of the artist… [his performance] was calculated to please the

[80] *The China Mail,* "On Monday Evening Last." August 14, 1856.

[81] Haan, "Thalia and Terpsichore on the Yangtze: A Survey of Foreign Theatre and Music in Shanghai 1850-1865."

[82] *On Monday Evening last,* 1856, https://dds.crl.edu/item/303265.

[83] Ibid.

audience, prove the resources of the instruments, and display the execution of the performer, - three very important items in a musical entertainment."[84] Unfortunately, that would be the last of the warm reviews that Sou Alle or his turkophones received in China.

His second concert in Hong Kong once again had to be undertaken alone, as no pianist could be made available. In spite of this set-back, and a less-than-full performance hall[85], Sou Alle "…went through his programme with infinite spirit and courage."[86] On this occasion, however, the reporter saw the turkophone and turkophini in a less enthusiastic light. He stated:

> Of his newly invented instruments, the Turkophone and Turkophini, combining both the horn and the reed, we cannot speak in *very* warm terms of praise, at least as regards their suitability for solo performances. There are sundry much more agreeable instruments in the orchestra, whose resources have not yet been fully developed, though they would, we fancy, better repay the labour. The performances on the Grand Clarionet were the most successful of the evening, and served to establish (in our mind at least) the superiority of the legitimate instrument over its compound brethren.[87]

Ali Ben Sou Alle's next port-of-call was the less than two-decades old settlement at Shanghai. His arrival aboard the eponymous steamer *Shanghai* was announced in the September 13 issue of the North China Herald, and a call was put out for amateur musicians to "lend their aid" to a performance that would be presented early the next week.[88]

On September 19, Sou Alle made good on the promises, and performed a concert, assisted by various amateur musicians to a receptive audience. The local music critic, however, stated "altogether the performance passed off very creditably, though the programme was not

---

[84] Ibid.

[85] *China Mail*, "M. Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle," August 21, 1856.

[86] Ibid.

[87] Ibid.

[88] *North China Daily News*, "Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle." September 20, 1856.

very inviting, and promised no music of a high class."[89] He then describes the concert and his reactions to the new instrument:

> The first part was introduced by one of the Rossini's favorite Overtures, very brilliantly played on the Piano forte by Amateurs; after which followed a Solo on the Turkophone by the Artiste himself, the subject selected form Bellini's opera of "Sonombula" was dexterously played on this remarkable Instrument, which has more the appearance of a large "Meerschaum" [(a smoking pipe)] than of a horn – the compass of the instrument is very great, but we confess to some disappointment as regards its quality of tone, and correctness of tune also, in some few notes, and altogether we think it an imperfect instrument – it may, however, improve on further acquaintance, but we had no other opportunity of judging, during the evening. Mendelssohn's song "The fairest flower" was very creditably sung by and Amateur, but we think it would have been better a little faster – it was followed by a Solo with variations on the "Turkophini" on which Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle, produced a much more pleasing effect than on the Turkophone, and we think it by far the most perfect and pleasing instrument of the two. After a song by Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle which was creditably performed, the first part concluded with "Recollections of Scotland" upon an instrument, which we trust our Scotch friends will pardon us for pronouncing, something worse than the Bagpipe – the imitation, however was admirable, though at the same time, it reminded us most forcibly of a Chinese instrument, used at Marriages and Funerals.
>
> The second part was opened by another of Rossini's Overtures, performed by the same gentlemen, and in the same able manner – after which, came *the treat of the evening*, a German air with variations on clarionet (somewhat improved upon) by Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle, which he played with most admirable taste, and to every lover of good music, it must have afforded great pleasure – his execution of the variations was perfect, and the accompaniment played in beautiful style.
>
> A german [*sic*] song by an Amateur succeeded admirably, and was loudly applauded – after which Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle performed the "Shanghai Redowa Walse" [*sic*] (composed expressly for this Concert and dedicated to the Ladies of Shanghai, as the programme informed us), but of which we cannot speak very highly, as it lacked both originality and variety – it was performed upon the Turkophonini, and convinced us that the instrument is well adapted for that class of music. "Les Canotiers de Paris" was sung by Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle, who concluded his concert with a Medley of English, Scotch and Irish Airs, on our favorite Clarionet, which we presume has been improved by him.
>
> We congratulate Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle upon the success of the first public concert (properly so called) that has ever been given at Shanghai, and trust that other Artists visiting the East may extend their travels to our port, where we doubt not they will meet with equal support *and assistance*, for without the kind and efficient aid of the Amateurs who performed last night, much would have been wanting – and especially are the thanks of

[89] "Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle," September 20, 1856.

> the audience due to one gentleman who so ably assisted and accompanied the Artiste, on the Piano Forte.[90]

Despite the critical review, Sou Alle ventured to present another concert the following week. It would seem that the general public enjoyed the premier performance much more than did the music critic, as indicated by the comments accompanying the announcement of Sou Alle's second concert:

> We are glad to see the announcement of another Concert to be given by Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle on Monday next. The *critique* of our Reporter on the last performance has been much discussed in fashionable circles and the correctness of his judgement as to the perfection of the new instruments questioned. Knowing his high attainments as a musician, we defer to his opinion. Matters of taste do not admit dispute, *De gustibus non est disputandem*. [In matters of taste, there can be no disputes/ there is no accounting for taste] We may all enjoy our own and as a second glass of wine enables us to pronounce better judgment as to its quality, so will this second performance by familiarizing us with the instruments enable us better to decide upon their excellence, and we doubt not the result will be a hearty *encore* at the close of it although it is advertised as his Farewell.[91]

No further review was given of Sou Alle's second performance, and indeed his final performance in China. *The China Mail* of October 16th indicates that Sou Alle had returned on the steamer Shanghai from the port of the same name. Perhaps embarrassed by their previous review, *The China Mail* implored Sou Alle to give another recital before his departure from China, assuring that this time there would surely be amateur musicians willing to offer aid rather than make Sou Alle go through the "arduous task…to undertake single-handed the task of a whole evening's entertainment."[92] There is no record of any concert in China following this article, so it seems unlikely that he obliged.

---

[90] Ibid.

[91] *North China Herald*, "We Are Glad to See the Announcement…," September 27, 1856.

[92] *China Mail*, "We Observe the Return by Steamer Shanghae." October 16, 1856.

The *China Mail* appeared to step back from earlier negative critiques of Sou Alle's performance and instruments in a later review:

> By men of cultivated taste, M. Ali's talents are fully appreciated; and it will be long ere those who have had the pleasure of listening to his performances will forget the sweet but powerful tones of the Turkophone, or the dulcet melody of the Grand Clarionet and Turkophini, in his able hands, and managed by his accomplished musical judgment.[93]

The *China Mail* then gave a brief biographical sketch of the artist, giving us insight into his life, as well as giving an account of his travels and a final review of Sou Alle's prowess: "He started for Australia, and assembling all the musical resources in that quarter, he was enabled to give the first Grand Concerts ever held in our southern Colonies. In composition as well as in execution, constant practice has perfected his powers, and an extended tour through Java to Singapore, Manila, and our ports in China, has spread a wide reputation which is the sure precursor to success."[94]

Sou Alle's next port-of-call after Hong Kong, or how long he stayed in that port city at all, is not clear. His next recorded appearance is two concerts in Pondicherry, India, reviewed in the May 1, 1857 issue of Musical Gazette de Paris.[95]

Sou Alle's Souvenirs from China

Throughout his tour, Sou Alle wrote several pieces in honor of the various locals he visited. Titled "Souvenirs of…" these pieces would often be dedicated to local officials and could often incorporate local folk melodies or musical idioms. In China, Sou Alle composed *Shanghai Redowa Waltz* and *Souvenirs de la Chine.*

---

[93] "We Observe the Return by Steamer Shanghae."

[94] *North China Herald*, "We Are Glad to See the Announcement…."Ibid.

[95] *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*,"Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle," May 1, 1857, 204.

Shanghai Redowa Waltz

Shanghai Redowa Waltz was written for Sou Alle's premier performance in Shanghai on September 19, 1856.[96] Unlike other compositions which were often dedicated to prominent figures in the locales he visited, Sou Alle chose to dedicate this composition to the ladies of Shanghai. There is no record of an organization by that name existing at the time of Sou Alle's performance, and so it can be assumed that the performer was merely acknowledging the prominent place of the women that lived in Shanghai just a decade after its opening up to foreign residents.

Unlike some other compositions from his travels, including *Souvenirs de la Chine*, *Shanghai Redowa Waltz* does not include musical elements taken from local tradition; no part of the composition employs Chinese musical idioms in any way. Instead, Sou Alle invokes a popular dance of the time in the composition.

The Redowa is a dance of Czech origin that was popular throughout Europe and America by the 1840s and 50s.[97] According to John Tyrrell,[98] the music would often be split into two parts, a moderate triple-meter first half, and a faster duple-meter polka in the second half. The original style, however, would seem to have fallen out of favor by the time of Sou Alle's composition as his work and other similar pieces of the time feature no such variations.[99] The dance is described as "…precisely the same as the first three movements of the Polka, the fourth

[96] *North China Daily News,* "Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle," September 20, 1856.

[97] John Tyrrell, "Redowa." Grove Music Online. Oxford University Press, 2018. http://libproxy.library.unt.edu:2173/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000023038.

[98] "Redowa | Grove Music," accessed March 15, 2018, http://libproxy.library.unt.edu:2173/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000023038.

[99] Malcolm Hoffman, *The Shanghai: A Redowa Waltz* (Lewis H. Embree, 1854).

step or interval being omitted; and is danced in three-four time, the same as a Mazourka, which makes a more graceful and easy dance than the Polka, and one that is a great favorite."[100]

Sou Alle's *Shanghai Redowa Waltz* is a 170-bar, triple meter rondo in Bb major. After an 8-bar piano introduction the saxophone enters at rehearsal A with the main theme, an 8-bar rising melody. The C section in mm 60, rehearsal letter C, moves to the subdominant, Eb major, as can be expected. The original theme and key center return at rehearsal D, mm. 92, while rehearsal E, mm. 131, is a flourish-filled piu-animato section that does not seem to develop the theme per-say but does feature the same chordal-movement underneath. The theme is briefly restated at rehearsal F, mm. 155, before the end.

The premier performance was met with a less than enthusiastic response. The critic from the North China Herald noted:

> Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle performed the "Shanghai Redowa Walse" [*sic*] (composed expressly for this Concert and dedicated to the Ladies of Shanghai, as the programme informed us), but of which we cannot speak very highly, as it lacked both originality and variety – it was performed upon the Turkophonini, and convinced us that the instrument is well adapted for that class of music.[101]

The piece was likely performed again several times throughout Sou Alle's time as a performer. For example, he performed several of his 'Souvenir' pieces and the *Shanghai Redowa Waltz*, during a concert in Pondicherry, India in 1857. A reporter in attendance wrote "…Ali-ben-sou-alle [performed for us] Souvenirs of Ireland, Souvenirs of Java and Shanghai, redowa-waltz, which is a souvenir, because this beautiful piece was composed on the arrival of our artist in

[100] Thomas Hillgrove, *A Complete Practical Guide to the Art of Dancing: Containing Descriptions of All Fashionable and Approved Dances, Full Directions for Calling the Figures, the Amount of Music Required; Hints on Etiquette, the Toilet, Etc* (Dick & Fitzgerald, 1888), 171.

[101] *North China Daily News*, "Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle," September 20, 1856.

Shanghai, after escaping a frightful typhoon."[102] The piece was also officially registered, along with the other pieces Sou Alle composed during his travels, in 1861.[103]

Souvenirs de la Chine

In his various "Souvenir" pieces, Sou Alle had a habit of composing in dedication to prominent figures of the communities he visited. This can be seen in his dedication to Lord Harris, governor of Madras in *Souvenirs de L'Inde*, to John Cubitt in *Souvenir de Natal*, for "my friend Armand Bergsten" in *Souvenirs de L'Ile Maurice*, to the ladies of Shanghai in *Shanghai Redowa Waltz* above, and to Walkinshaw, J. Scarth and B. F. Thornburn, esq. in *Souvenirs de la Chine*.

The three dedicatees of *Souvenirs de la Chine* are not famous names that have made their way into modern history. Instead, they were prominent businessmen and government functionaries in the foreign settlements of China (see Figure 1):

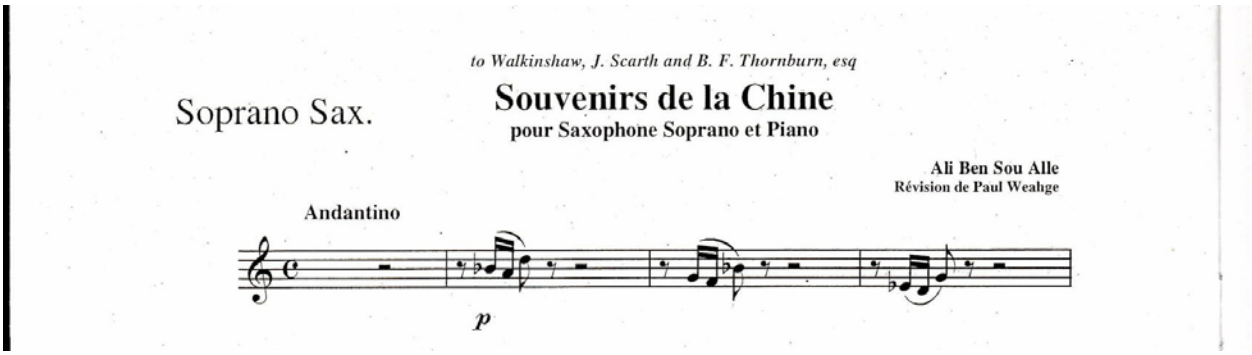

Figure 1: *Souvenirs de la Chine* Dedications

There is no record of a B. F. Thornburn in the foreign settlements of China. Instead, it seems likely that name was a misprint of R. F. Thorburn. At the time of Sou Alle's arrival in

[102] *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris*. "Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle," May 1, 1857.

[103] *Journal General*, "De L'Imprimerie et de La Librairie," 12, no. 5 (1861): 574.

1856 Thorburn was listed as a resident of Shanghai,[104] having just been recognized as a partner of the Turner & CO merchant house of Canton in 1855.[105] Although his exact relationship with the colonies and Sou Alle is unknown, his prominence within the community continued to increase, as he was listed as Secretary of the Municipal Council by 1884.[106]

The second dedicatee, J. Scarth, seems to be a character that wore many hats. He is not listed in existing records (including those that enumerate all foreigners living in the foreign settlements throughout Asia) in 1847, 1850, or 1856. In an 1859 record of Hong Kong residents and government officials, however, several references are made. John Scarth and family are residents of Queen's Road, Hong Kong. He is registered as a member of the "Educational Committee for Superintending Government Schools on the Island of Hong Kong".[107] However, in the same document he (or another of the same name) are recorded as "Consul for Belgium at Shanghae [*sic*]" as well as a merchant with Turner & CO. Unfortunately, the way in which one might be simultaneously engaged in all of these activities is not clear in the records. By 1884 he has once again disappeared from the archives.[108]

Finally, we come to Walkinshaw. Since no other identification is given, some guess work is necessary in identifying this dedicatee. "The Desk Hong List", a record of foreign residents of the colonies throughout East Asia, shows a merchant of Turner & Co by the name A.W. Walkinshaw in 1884 Foochow but, given other evidence, there is a better candidate for the

---

[104] *Shanghae Almanac for the Bissextile or Leap Year 1856, and Miscellany* (Shanghai: North China Herald, 1856), http://archive.org/details/Shanghaialmanac1856.

[105] *China Mail*, "The Canton Community."

[106] "The Desk Hong List: A General and Business Directory for Shanghai and the Northern and River Ports" (Shanghai: North-China Herald, 1884).

[107] "The Hongkong Directory: With List of Foreign Residents in China" (Printed at the "Armenian press," 1859), http://archive.org/details/hongkongdirecto00unkngoog.

[108] "The Desk Hong List: A General and Business Directory for Shanghai and the Northern and River Ports."

'Walkinshaw' mentioned by Sou Alle.[109] There is a listing for a W. Walkinshaw in 1859,[110] where he is documented as the Consul for Belgium at Canton, a position certainly worthy the dedicating of a composition. He first appears in an 1847 listing of Hong Kong residents, though no position or job title is given.[111] In the same 1859 document, however, he is also registered as working under Turner & Co, though no job title is given.

It seems the one factor tying the gentlemen together (other than the fact they live and work in China's foreign settlements) is an association of some kind with Turner & Co. However, little remains of that company and their association with it is also lost. As Dan Waters wrote:

> There are many other once successful organisations that fell by the wayside. Names like Burd; Holliday and Wise; Humphreys; Lyall and Still; Murrow; and Turner; are no longer with us. Bard, in his 1988 report, lists 37 enterprises with English sounding names (some could have been American) of which, although listed in directories between 1845 and 1900, little is known.[112]

Air Chinoise et Rondo

Sou Alle's composition begins with a brief introduction that does not make use of any later melodic material in particular. Instead, it is just a general building of dynamic and rhythmic intensity. At rehearsal A, mm 8, the Chinese folk song is performed in its entirety (or the fullest available version). The harmonic setting and the origins of the Chinese folksong is discussed below. The folk song, performed in a legato 4/4, is followed by a 3/4 Allegro moderato beginning in mm. 24. The rondo theme begins properly at mm. 33, rehearsal B, with refrains at G

[109] Ibid.

[110] "The Hongkong Directory."

[111] "Anglo-Chinese Calendar for the Year 1847: Corresponding to the Year for the Chinese Cycle Era 4484, or the 44th Year of Teh 75th Cycle of Sixty" (Canton: Office of the Chinese Repository, 1847).

[112] Dan Waters, "Hong Kong Hongs with Long Histories and British Connections," *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 30 (1990): 254.

and melismatic episodes at D, E, F, and H. A fragment of the Chinese folk song is reprised at the Andantino in mm 170 before a concise subito vivo, subito fortissimo ending.

Unfortunately, there can be found no record of Ali Ben Sou Alle ever performing this piece. However, in 1861 after a concert in London, he presented a book of his published pieces to the Prince of Wales.[113] This book would have included pieces that were published the same year and recorded in the Biliographie de la France.[114] Another source we have that shows *Souvenirs de la Chine* may have been performed again, though, is the changing repertoire in other concerts. For example, in a concert given for the foreign community of Pondicherry, India, Sou Alle performed a number of his previously composed pieces including *Souvenirs of Ireland, Souvenirs of Java, and Shanghai Redowa Waltz.*[115] The journalist covering the event noted "Hearing Souvenirs of Java, we found it reminiscent of Indian songs. Certainly, there is some common source in the music of the Malay peoples and the Malabar peoples [of southern India]."[116] From this we can glean that his audiences around the world would have heard a wide selection of music, including those composed during his travels. The inclusion of *Souvenirs de Java* also indicates that he expected his audiences to be receptive to music that included musical idioms of non-western origins.

Loc Tee Kun Tzin (Origin of the Folk Song)

The folk song recorded as Loc Tee Kun Tzin in Sou Alle's composition is itself somewhat of a mystery. As is discussed below, the song was documented at least twice by two

[113] Wehage, "Ali Ben Sou Alle."

[114] "Bibliographie de la France [Bibliography of France]," *Journal Général de l'imprimerie et de la Librairie [General Journal of Printing and Bookstores]* 2 (1861), http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k867093.

[115] *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris*, "Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle," May 1, 1857.

[116] Ibid.

different and unrelated western musicians, presumably in the same area of China. There exists today in China a folk song by the same name, but it is melodically unrelated to the collected folk song.

Prior to Sou Alle's arrival in China, the folk song Romanized as Loc Tee Kun Tzin had already been collected by a western musician. In 1845 Frederic Bovet, member of the Bovet watch making family, transcribed several Chinese melodies while in the Canton region of China. The Bovet family were well regarded Swiss watch makers with offices in Canton and Macao.[117] Bovet was an amateur violinist and composer that collected the melodies specifically to be used to make music boxes for the Chinese market. One of the music boxes created was later heard by Giacomo Puccini and its melodies utilized in his opera Turandot. This music box, known as the Guinness music box, was made in 1877,[118] and taken from China by Baron Edoardo Fassini-Camossi during his time with the Italian Expeditionary Force in their 1900 campaign to suppress the Boxer Rebellion.[119]

The melody on the Guinness Music Box (which can be heard on the Morris Museum website)[120] is nearly identical to that used in Sou Alle's composition. This could lead one to the conclusion that Sou Alle heard the melody on the music box and reproduced it rather than transcribing a performance himself. The technology utilized in the Guinness Music Box was common by the 1850s,[121] and the 11-year interval from its collection to the time of Sou Alle's

[117] Sheppard, "Puccini and the Music Boxes."

[118] Ibid.

[119] Ibid.

[120] "The Murtogh D. Guinness Collection," Morris Museum, May 22, 2012, http://morrismuseum.org/mechanical-musical-instruments-automata/.

[121] Arthur W. J. G. Ord-Hume, *Musical Box: A History and Collector's Guide* (Crows Nest, NSW Australia: G. Allen & Unwin, 1980), 134–35.

arrival could have been enough time for the music to be made into a music box and shipped to China, its intended market. There is also the fact that the man that transcribed the melody in 1845, Fritz Bovet, was acting as Vice Consul for France in Guangzhou in 1856, the same year as Sou Alle's performances.[122]

However, in his article on the Guinness Music Box, Sheppard notes that while the melody utilized by Sou Alle is melodically close to that of the music box, it is not exact, which could point to a live performance or other published work being the source for his composition. There is also the fact that the Guinness music box was made just before 1880, c. 1877 according to Sheppard's research. Finally, the Romanized title 'Loc Tee Kun Tzin' is logged as 'Loc Tee Kun Stin' on the Guinness music box.[123] This difference of just two letters may seem insignificant, but it is enough of a difference to suggest that Sou Alle did not copy directly from Bovet's notes or the music box itself.

The history of the folk song itself is also a mystery. The Romanized 'Loc Tee Kun Tzin' is an approximation of the Cantonese pronunciation of the Chinese characters written in the Guinness music box, and its most likely transliteration, 落地金钱 (Gold Coins Dropping, Luòdì jīnqián). This fact, combined with the location of the two independent collectors of the folk song, would indicate that its origin is the Guangzhou area.

There exist in China today two known cultural sources related to the name Gold Coins Dropping, both from China's Guangdong province, but unfortunately neither of them are related to the melody used in Sou Alle's composition. The first cultural reference to Gold Coins

[122] Sheppard, "Puccini and the Music Boxes."

[123] W. Anthony Sheppard, "Puccini Opera Echoes a Music Box at the Morris Museum," *The New York Times*, June 15, 2012, sec. Music, https://www.nytimes.com/2012/06/17/arts/music/puccini-opera-echoes-a-music-box-at-the-morris-museum.html.

Dropping is a traditional dance practiced by the Hakka (客家, Kèjiā) people known as Gold Coins Dropping Dance (落地金钱舞, Luòdì jīnqián wu). The Hakka people are a distinct subset of the Han ethnic group that are delineated by their shared culture, traditions, and especially language.[124] They are spread out in groups throughout Guangdong and Fujian provinces, being more or less centered around Meizhou and Mei county in eastern Guangdong province.[125] Gold Coins Dropping Dance is a traditional Hakka dance that originated in Meizhou, Pingyuan county, eastern Guangdong province.[126] Since the Hakka people originated in northern China before migrating south during the Ming dynasty, the dance is said to retain many elements of northern imperial court dance.[127] Unfortunately, no remnants of its accompanying music can be found. Traveling to Meizhou in January of 2018, the author was able to find no trace of the song. The local cultural bureau of Meizhou (a government bureau) sponsored a performance of Gold Coins Dropping Dance in the fall of 2017, but the dance was performed to newly composed music. No records of any song by the name could be found in the libraries or government records of the city of Meizhou.

The second cultural artifact bearing the name Gold Coins Dropping also comes to us from the Hakka people of eastern Guangdong. In the 1930s He Yuzhai (何育斋, Hé yùzhāi), born in Dabu county near Meizhou, collected folk songs from Shanghai through southern China

[124] Suman Gupta and Tope Omoniyi, eds., *The Cultures of Economic Migration: International Perspectives* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 32.

[125] Ibid., 33.

[126] Dewei Ye叶意薇, "Kèjiā Chuántǒng Mínjiān Wǔdǎo: 'Luòdì Jīnqián' Sùyuán Jí Wénhuà Nèihán Chūtàn 客家传统民间舞蹈: '落地金钱'溯源及文化内涵初探 [Traditional Folk Dance of the Hakka: A Study on the Origin and Cultural Connotation of 'Gold Coins Dropping']," *Jiā Yīng Xuéyuàn Xuébào (Zhéxué Shèhuì Kēxué) 嘉应学院学报 （哲学社会科学） [Journal of Jiaying University (Philosophy and Social Sciences)]* 29, no. 12 (December 2011): 9–11.

[127] Ibid.

and edited them into two books for *guzheng* (古箏, Gǔzhēng) called *Zhongzhou Classics* (中州古调, zhōngzhōu gǔdiào) and *Hangao Chronicle* (汉皋旧谱, hàngāo jiùpǔ). About the collection process or the editing process little information remains. Even which songs come from which books we do not entirely know. However, one of the songs collected and edited was none other than *Gold Coins Dropping*. This song for guzheng (a traditional Chinese zither) can still be heard performed in China today, and the sheet music is relatively accessible. Unfortunately, its melody and that used in Sou Alle's composition are not related.

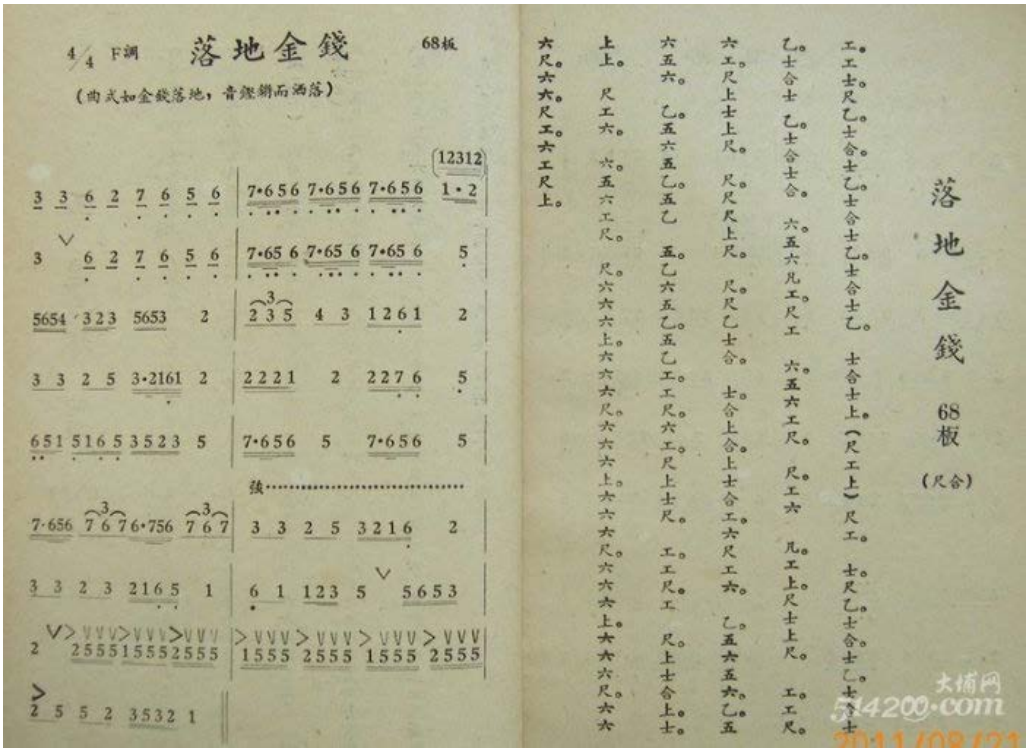

Figure 2: *Gold Coins Dropping* Score

As can be seen from Figure 2, the opening few bars of this version of *Gold Coins Dropping* do bear a slight resemblance to the melody presented in *Souvenirs de la Chine*. It is also worth mentioning that Chinese music, especially folk music, is meant to be embellished upon by the performer, as part of typical performance practice. It is therefore possible that the melody collected in the mid-nineteenth century by the two intrepid adventures may be significantly

different from its modern variant, performed with over 150 years of natural change. Unfortunately, the piece presented in the *Hangao Chronicle* bearing the name *Gold Coins Dropping* is too different to fall into this category.

As part of this research, the author contacted many colleagues at prominent music conservatories throughout China, including the China Conservatory in Beijing, whose primary mission is the education and perpetuation of Chinese traditional music. Hakka cultural associations throughout China, Taiwan, Malaysia, and North America were also contacted. No experts contacted by the author were able to identify the folk song in Sou Alle's composition nor describe its possible origins.

Next, the way that Sou Alle made use of the melody should be discussed. As described above, the main body of the composition does not use any elements of the folk song. When it is used, Sou Alle sets it in a way that would not be typical in its native setting. Firstly, Chinese music, and especially folk songs, are rarely harmonized in the western sense. This folk song would most likely have been performed as a single-line composition or, if performed on a plucked string instrument, harmonized occasionally with notes in 4ths, 5ths, or octaves.[128]

Secondly, the key center would seem to be incorrect, from a Chinese understanding of music theory. Sou Alle sets the folk song against a G-minor accompaniment. This would be incorrect for two reasons. First, Chinese theorist would likely identify the folk song as F宫G徵六声音阶[F root, G re, hexatonic scale] with清角 [added natural 4th scale tone] (see Figure 3).

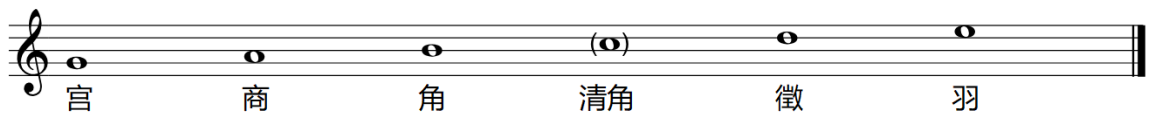

Figure 3: *Gold Coins Dropping* Scale Pattern; As written for Bb soprano saxophone

[128] J. A. Van Aalst, *Chinese Music* (Statistical Department of the Inspectorate General of Customs, 1884), 24.

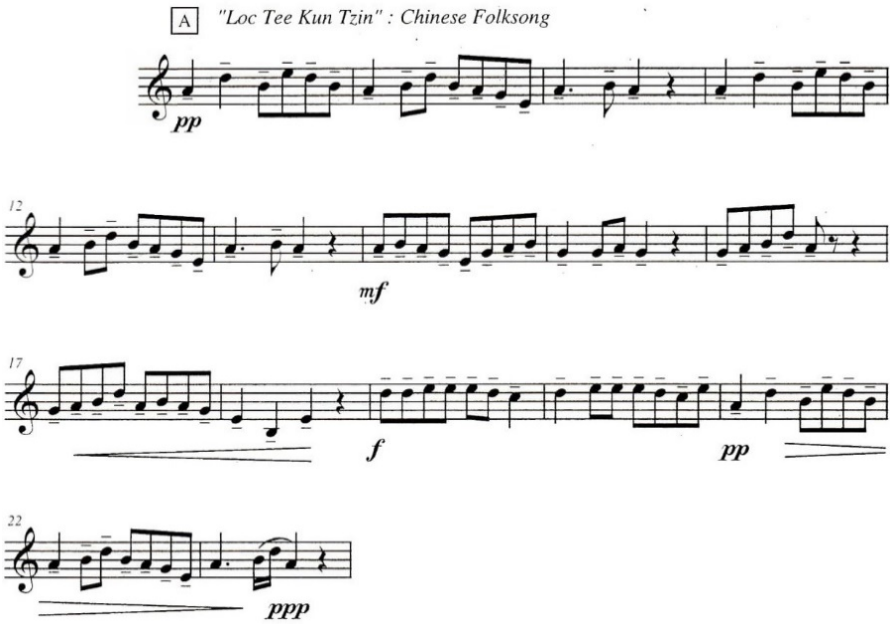

Figure 4: Excerpt from *Souvenirs de la Chine,* Rehearsal Figure A.

This analysis is based on the typical theoretical approach for Chinese music in which scales are described by the way in which they relate to natural pentatonic scales.[129] The second reason Sou Alle's setting would seem to be incorrect, is that, based on the above analysis, the folk song uses a major pentatonic scale. Assuming F is the root of the scale, the repeated instances of A natural would indicate a major sonority.

Finally, it is interesting to note that this same folk song utilized by Sou Alle was also incorporated into Puccini's *Turandot*. The melody is written almost identically to that used by Sou Alle (see Figures 4 and 5) but the harmonic setting is quite different. In *Turandot*, the melody can be found at rehearsal 39 and is typically analyzed thematically as 'the Emperor's theme'.[130]

[129] Van Aalst, *Chinese Music*.

[130] Sheppard, "Puccini and the Music Boxes."

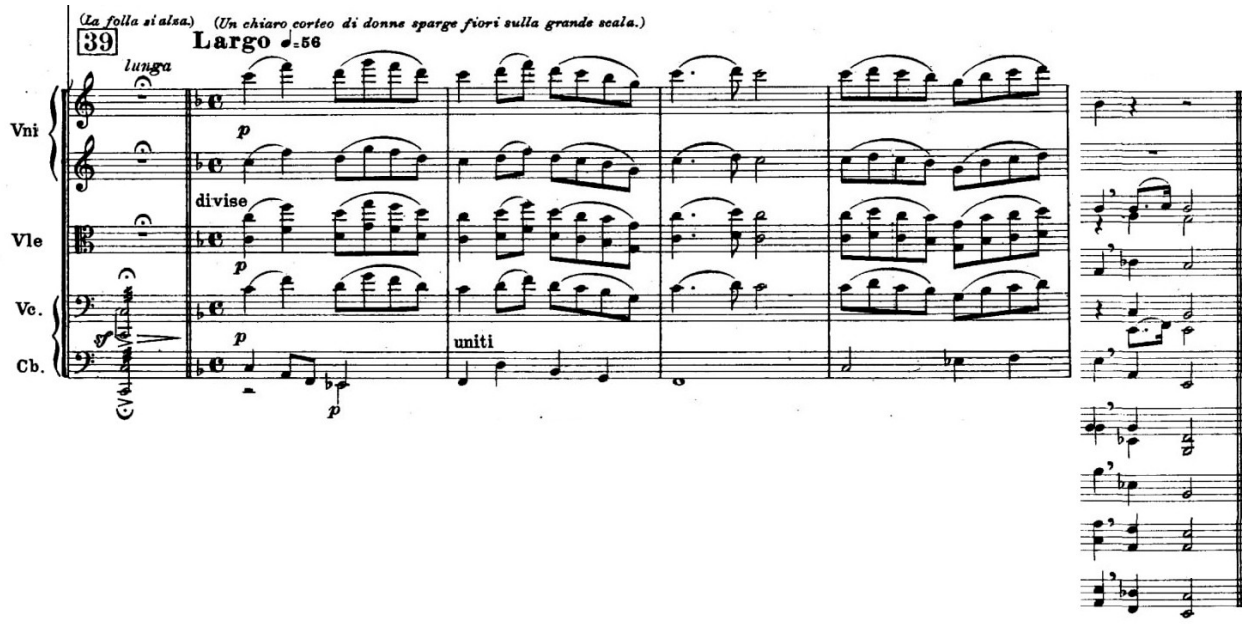

Figure 5: Excerpt from *Turandot*, Rehearsal figure 39, Act 2, scene ii.

Significance of Sou Alle's Visit

For saxophonists reading this document, the importance of Sou Alle's performances in China is obvious: the first saxophonist to ever perform in China. Not even two decades after its invention, Sou Alle was traveling the world disseminating the sounds and possibilities of the new instrument.[131] For Chinese saxophonists, a lack of information on Sou Alle's performances and the place of those performances within the historical timeline of China's saxophone history make his inclusion in this paper vital. As discussed in the next section, published articles relating this history typically begin with military or military-style bands at the turn of the nineteenth century, making no mention of Sou Alle.

In the minds of mid-nineteenth century music lovers, the saxophone was a representation of all things modern. The industrial revolution led to revolutions not only in manufacturing

[131] Fred L Hemke, "The Early History of the Saxophone" (D.M.A. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1975).

technologies but had a lasting impact on the musical world as well. The invention of valves quickly found their way to brass instruments which allowed for notes outside the natural scale and new compositional techniques.[132] By the 1840s, pianos were constructed using a single iron frame, rather than the wooden frames in years past.[133] This, paired with new steel strings that were originally invented for use on high-tensile suspension bridges, increased the volume of the piano and thereby the ensembles in which it could be used. The now ubiquitous foot pedal for timpani tuning was invented in 1881 by Carl Pittrich and employed new gear technology that was only made possible by the industrial revolution.[134]

The saxophone was invented during this time employing the newest techniques and technologies. The instrument was invented, in part, to overcome obstacles of existing instruments as well as to bridge the gap between the wood-wind and brass-wind sections of the orchestra. As Stephen Cottrell points out "[Sax's] solution was made possible in part because of nineteenth-century advances in engineering – particularly in the manipulation of sheet metal such as brass – and through increased understanding of acoustics and the musical possibilities such understandings afforded."[135]

For audiences worldwide hearing and seeing the saxophone for the first time, then, it was surely a symbol of the innovations taking place around them. Cottrell says "From its inception,

[132] Christian Ahrens and Irene Zedlacher, "Technological Innovations in Nineteenth-Century Instrument Making and Their Consequences," *The Musical Quarterly* 80, no. 2, (1996): 334.

[133] Edmund Bowles, "The Impact of Technology on Musical Instruments," *Cosmos Journal*, 1999, http://www.cosmosclub.org/journals/1999/bowles.html.

[134] Ibid.

[135] Stephen Cottrell, *The Saxophone* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 306.

therefore, the instrument has been identified with modernity, innovation, and a sense of exploration and enquiry, and this reputation has in many ways remained with it since."[136]

Sou Alle's performances and his persona, and the use of the name Turkophone, are also significant in their symbolism of orientalism, exoticizing and essentializing the people and cultures of the near and far east, that was common at the time.[137] Although there were reports of Sou Alle possibly having true Turkish heritage, the fact remains that the foreign sounding moniker and outlandish clothing were a well thought out marketing strategy. As explained above, the use of the pseudonym did not happen until well into Sou Alle's performing career. Also, there are differing reports as to the nature of the costume itself and his conversion to Islam. All of these point to the name and costume being nothing more than a façade.

The use of an appearance and name derived from an indeterminant Middle-Eastern locale, fed directly into the popular orientalist culture of the time. As Said points out, orientalism and orientalist art in Europe at the time, was often much more fascinated with the near East, rather than the far.[138] Wherever he was reviewed, the unusual appearance of both him and his instruments was mentioned, and there are several mentions of Sou Alle as a 'mysterious figure'. These all seem to indicate that Sou Alle was using the exotic notions of 'the Orient' to peak the imaginations of his audience. As Cottrell writes:

> The responses of these audiences were not unrelated, perhaps, to similar responses arising from the wonder and astonishment with which they would have greeted circuses, international exhibitions, and freak shows, where they would also have been presented with unfamiliar shapes, sizes and sounds from a wide range of animate and inanimate objects that lay outside their customary realm of experience.[139]

---

[136] Ibid.

[137] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New Dehli: Penguin Books India, 2006).

[138] Ibid.

[139] Cottrell, *The Saxophone*, 306.

Next, the repeated mention of the saxophone's timbral flexibility cannot be over looked: From flute, to bagpipes, sonorous to harsh, and even (and most profoundly for the purposes of this paper) sounding distinctly like *suona* (唢呐, Suǒnà). A concert given in South Africa is perhaps the best example of the way in which concert reviewers described the timbral possibilities of the saxophone:

> The great musical Turk, Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle, has given two concerts recently at the Cape, which are thus described by a correspondent of the *Cape Monitor*: -
>
> Both of the concerts were well attended – and, if one may judge from the clapping of hands and stamping of feet, I may safely say that Graaff Reinet was highly delighted and satisfied with his performance. The sounds produced by that wonderful instrument, the turkophone, seemed to astonish his audience, for we hear the deep tones of the bassoon gradually changing into the soft mellow tones of the flute. His performance on the grand clarionet, in which he introduced some old, familiar, English, Irish, and Scotch airs, was really a treat, and gave us some better idea of what can be done with that reedy instrument than that we had formed from hearing our Rifle band execute some favourite airs with the same instrument. His imitation of Scotch bagpipes was also excellent, and seemed to awaken the enthusiasm of some of our Scotch friends. In all the pieces he played he was most ably accompanied on the piano by Mr. H. Mosenthal, who kindly lent his assistance to add to the charms and amusements of the evening…[140]

Comparing the saxophone, especially the soprano or turkophini, to a flute was also written about in *The Colonial Times* of Hobart Tasmania "…the high [notes] [resemble] a powerful flute, or rather of the flute-stop of an organ."[141] In the same concert the low notes of the saxophone were compared to the ophicleide, a multi-keyed brass instrument that was popular at the time. On several occasions, Sou Alle performed Scottish Airs in imitation of bagpipes. The imitation, in every review, was considered extremely accurate, even if it was not always appreciated. The Courier of Hobart, Tasmania wrote:

> The imitations of the Scotch bagpipes were irresistible. We could not have believed that an instrument capable of discoursing such sweet music could have sent forth sounds as

[140] *London Stratford Times and South Essex Gazette*, "A Concert at the Cape," January 7, 1859.

[141] *Colonial Times*, "The Turkophone," October 14, 1854.

> harsh and shrill as those which proceed from the Scotch bagpipe, an instrument which to our ears produces about as pleasant music as the scream of a steam whistle.[142]

One review relating the timbre of the saxophone is especially pertinent to this paper and subsequent chapter. At his premier performance in Shanghai the North China Herald wrote:

> After a song by Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle which was creditably performed, the first part concluded with "Recollections of Scotland" upon an instrument, which we trust our Scotch friends will pardon us for pronouncing, something worse than the Bagpipe – the imitation, however was admirable, though at the same time, it reminded us most forcibly of a Chinese instrument, used at Marriages and Funerals.[143]

The Chinese instrument described here is undoubtedly suona. Suona is a double-reed Chinese instrument similar to oboe. It has a piercing, reedy sound, not unlike bagpipes, and is most often used in large outdoor ceremonies, such as marriages and funerals.[144] Although there is no evidence that any Chinese musicians or music lovers heard Sou Alle perform, the timbral similarities between saxophone and suona were later recognized by Chinese musicians as well. As is shown in chapter 4, by the 1920s the saxophone was incorporated into the Cantonese Opera ensemble, replacing or playing together with houguan, the southern variant of suona.

A final note on the timbral flexibility of the saxophone, as described by saxophonist Larry Teal, when Puccini set the saxophone in his opera *Turandot*, he did so because of the saxophone's ability to blend with the human voice:

> An example of the similarity of the saxophone tone to the voice is demonstrated in the opera *Turandot*, where Puccini used the alto saxophone to keep a chorus of girls' voices on pitch. The chorus is off-stage, so far removed from the pit orchestra that the singers cannot hear the accompaniment. The alto saxophone blends so well with the female voices that its presence is not heard in the audience.[145]

---

[142] *Courier*, "Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle's Farewell Concert," November 8, 1854.

[143] *North China Daily News*, "Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle," September 20, 1856.

[144] Richard Gunde, *Culture and Customs of China* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2002).

[145] Larry Teal, *The Art of Saxophone Playing* (Alfred Music, 1963), 48.

A final significance of Sou Alle's activities in China is in the collection of the folk song. Although no record of a performance exists, as described above, it can easily be assumed that the piece was performed outside of its premier. The significance here is simple: since 1856 the saxophone has been used to perform and spread Chinese music.

A direct correlation between Sou Alle's visit and the start of use of the saxophone by musicians in China cannot be drawn. However, what can be seen is a very rapid increase in the numbers of musicians and types of situations in which the saxophone came to be used well before China's jazz age.

The Saxophone in China after Sou Alle

Several Chinese sources list the first appearance of the saxophone in China as a part of Robert Hart's band in 1886 Beijing. Any search on Baidu (a Chinese equivalent to Google), will reveal this answer, as will popular texts like Cheng Naishan's *Saxophone on the Sea*,[146] and even academic articles like "Analysis of the Development and Current Problems for the Saxophone in China" by Mo Leng.[147] None of these, however, provide a primary source and they can all be proven incorrect. Robert Hart was Inspector General of Imperial Chinese Customs from 1863 to 1908, and an avid amateur violinist.[148] In 1886 Hart purchased instruments from Europe and established a 14-person band made up of young Chinese amateurs.[149] Unfortunately, Hart's

[146] Cheng, *Hăishàng sàkèsī fēng 海上萨克斯风 [Saxohone on the Sea]*.

[147] Leng, "Qiǎn Xī Sàkèsī Zài Zhōngguó de Fǎ Zhǎn Xiàn Kuàng Jí Cúnzài de Wèntí 浅析萨克斯在中国的发展现况及存在的问题 [Analysis of the Development and Current Problems for the Saxophone in China]."

[148] Melvin and Cai, *Rhapsody in Red*, 84.

[149] Sir Robert Hart and James Duncan Campbell, *The I. G. in Peking: Letters of Robert Hart, Chinese Maritime Customs, 1868-1907* (Harvard University Press, 1975), 26.

correspondence and other documents from the period make no mention of the saxophone.[150] Instead, Hart's band is regularly referred to as a brass band, and in his correspondence, he regularly mentions instruments including cornet, trombone, ventil horns, and tenor, baritone, and bass horns.

Saxophonists would not have to wait long, though, for more performance opportunities. The next written record of the saxophone in China appears in 1889, when the Shanghai Philharmonic society discussed ordering the instrument from abroad. Its intended use is not entirely clear, but from the way that it's spoken about, it can be surmised the instrument was wanted for quite a long time:

> With the funds accruing…the Committee have been enabled to buy new music stands which were very badly wanted, several instruments, including a cornet, clarionet in A., horn, saxophone and euphonium, instruments absolutely necessary; to renovate and complete our collection of music which had become very much dilapidated and defective, and to order a quantity of new music from home. With all these improvements the Society has now one of the finest repertoires of orchestral music in the East.[151]

The first avenue through which Chinese musicians came to perform on the saxophone, though, was in newly formed military bands. By the end of the nineteenth century, Chinese officials and warlords began incorporating western style military bands into their regiments, of which saxophone must have been a part. For Governor-general of Hunan and Hubei Zhang Zhidong and military commander Yuan Shikai (袁世凯, Yuán shìkǎi), western-style military bands served as a tool for both modernization and discipline in their ranks.[152] Feng Wenci (冯文慈, Féng wéncí) writes:

---

[150] Hart and Campbell, *The I. G. in Peking*.

[151] "Shanghai Philharmonic Society: Report of the Season 1888-1889."

[152] Melvin and Cai, *Rhapsody in Red*, 84–85.

> ... around July 1898, one of the earliest military bands founded by Chinese people was formed. At the time, Yuan Shikai, a court official of the Qing Dynasty, was training as a supervised training member of the "New Army" at a small station near Tianjin. As it was modeled on the "new army" established by the Western military, it abandoned the traditional “Drum and Wind” bands and built a new Western-style military band. In Yuan Shikai's preface to "The Warrior's Record Keeping," of July 1898 and October of the same year, he noted the number of military and musical soldiers, special encounters, and the number of military instruments to be prepared.”[153]

He also noted that

> ... In the culmination of the Xinhai Revolution, there was a wide range of social influence. The military in various places gradually canceled the old-fashioned “Drum and Wind" band and replaced it with a new style military band. In succession after the Xinhai Revolution, institutions, universities, and middle schools in Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin, Wuchang, Suzhou, Changzhou, and Qingdao also formed about a dozen military bands. For example, folk music composer Liu Tianhua (1895-1932) entered the Changzhou Middle School to study in 1909, and took part in the school's military band activities; the Tianjin Private First Middle School formed a 27-person student brass band in 1910; etc.[154]

The University of Bristol’s “Historical Photographs of China” collection contains a photograph depicting just such a Western-style military band.[155] Taken as European forces enter Beijing in 1900 during the Boxer Rebellion, the photograph shows a western-style band made up of Chinese musicians. Viewable in the photo are a sousaphone, a snare drum, and a soprano saxophone. The Chinese bandsmen wear dark, knee-length tunics that were common dress at the time, and typical Chinese-style conical hats. To the rear of the band is a similarly dressed armed regiment and, to the side, European (presumably English) and Sikh men in suits.

As with most of Europe and the United States, for the next 60 or more years after Sou Alle’s departure the saxophone found its home in the military bands that began spreading

---

[153] Wenci Feng冯文慈, *Zhōngwài Yīnyuè Jiāoliú Shǐ中外音乐交流史 [The History of Chinese and Foreign Musical Exchange]* (Beijing: Rénmín yīnyuè chūbǎn人民音乐出版 [People’s Music Publishing, 2013), 281.

[154] Ibid., 281–82.

[155] “Chinese Band, Civilians and Allied Forces Marching,” Historical Photographs of China, 2011, https://www.hpcbristol.net/visual/na04-56.

throughout the country. By the end of the nineteenth century, military bands were becoming common not only in the foreign communities, but amongst Chinese musicians as well. For the military bands that had been in Macau since 1818, by the end of the nineteenth century, the French model became the standard; a large band of 30 or more musicians including saxophone.[156] Around the same time, the saxophone had become a mainstay in the military and regimental bands of Macau. We know this because in 1896 Melchor Vela wrote *Hymno a Macau* for the Police Guard Band of Macao. The composer wrote for instrumentation including alto saxophone in Eb.[157]

As a final note on instrumentation in these early bands, Feng Wenci's "The History of Chinese and Foreign Musical Exchange" (中外音乐交流史, Zhōngwài yīnyuè jiāoliú shǐ) is selective in its terminology, describing four different types of bands: symphonic bands 管弦乐队 (Guǎnxián yuèduì) – with winds and strings –, the old Chinese style military bands 鼓吹 (Gǔ chuī) – drums and winds –, the new military bands fashioned on the western style New Military (新军, Xīn jūn) or Military Bands (军乐队, Jūn yuèduì), and brass bands, often for schools or other smaller organizations 铜管乐队 (Tóngguǎn yuèduì) – brass winds –.[158] Although all of these will often be translated into English as military-style bands or even brass bands, the specific terminology used in the original language gives insight into the types of ensembles and the different instruments that might have been used. Although no lists enumerating these different bands or their instrumentation exist, the fact remains that 1. Saxophones were available

[156] Da Veiga Jardim, "The Role of the Military and Municipal Bands in Shaping the Musical Life of Macau, ca. 1820 to 1935."

[157] Ibid., 182.

[158] Feng, *Zhōngwài Yīnyuè Jiāoliú Shǐ中外音乐交流史 [The History of Chinese and Foreign Musical Exchange]*, 281–82.

for purchase in China (since 1889 saxophones were able to be ordered and were being ordered in Shanghai, and therefore it can be assumed that the instrument was readily available for use by different musical ensembles.);[159] 2. Military bands of many different styles were present in China; and 3. Since the famous 'Battle of the Bands' in France, the French model of military bands, including saxophone, became prominent throughout Europe and the United States.[160] Therefore, from the information provided above, although few direct links can be found, it can be said with some certainty that saxophones were present in military or military-style bands in China since the turn of the nineteenth century.

[159] "Shanghai Philharmonic Society: Report of the Season 1888-1889."

[160] Hemke, "The Early History of the Saxophone."; Da Veiga Jardim, "The Role of the Military and Municipal Bands in Shaping the Musical Life of Macau, ca. 1820 to 1935."

CHAPTER 3

CHINA IN THE JAZZ AGE: 1911-1937

Historical Background

After the ill-fated Boxer Rebellion of 1900 and a decade of failed reforms, the Qing dynasty fell to a series of rebellions that began October 10, 1911 in the central Chinese city of Wuhan.[161] China was quickly plunged into a civil war that raged between competing warlord factions, puppet rulers, and the hostile ideologies of the nationalists and communists.[162] In quick succession, Yuan Shikai, warlord-general of vast remnants of the Qing army, declared himself the president in 1913 and emperor in 1915.[163] His death just 6 months later left a power vacuum that resulted in large-scale battles being fought over control of Beijing for the next 10 years and involving, in some cases, more than 600,000 Chinese soldiers.[164] In the south, Sun Yat-Sen attempted to establish a democratic government. Even with a large national following, however, he lacked the military power to maintain control and so had to restart three times between 1917 and 1923.[165] When Sun died in 1925, Chiang Kai-shek assumed command, this time with Russian military backing.[166] By 1928 his military campaigns to the north created a tenuous peace amongst the warlord clans but did little to quell the ideological and military skirmishes between the nationalists and Mao Zedong's communists.[167] After several years of chasing and purging the

[161] Fairbank and Goldman, *China*, 242.

[162] S. C. M. Paine, *The Wars for Asia, 1911–1949* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), 109–20.

[163] Ibid., 112.

[164] Ibid.

[165] Ibid., 113.

[166] Ibid.

[167] Ibid., 113–15.

communists, Chiang was forced to focus solely on the new wave of Japanese encroachment.[168] The civil war was put on hold, but by no means finished, by the invading Japanese Empire, and the beginnings of World War II in 1937.[169]

Jazz

Jazz first entered into the lives of the foreign communities of China via the scores of records that could be purchased from overseas. In fact, the first mention of jazz in print in the foreign settlements came in the form of an advertisement for Victor Records in a December, 1917 edition of the *North China Daily News*:

> How would you like to hear Sousa play his inspiring patriotic marches; laugh with Harry Lauder; dance to the fascinating Jazz Band other famous organizations; finish the evening by listening to the latest comic-opera 'hits'? You can enjoy all this and more, every evening, with a Victorola and Victor Records[170].

Just a year later, the first wave of jazz musicians like "Harry Kerry (who arrived in Shanghai in 1918) and fellow Americans Raymond Breck on banjo and Russell Ellis on saxophone" formed the first orchestras and began performing in the city's cafes and ballrooms.[171] By 1919, popular dances like the one-step and fox-trot had made their way to the foreign settlement at Shanghai, but amateur jazz bands were still needed to "[reinforce] the strains of the gramophone."[172] In the same year, jazz was being written about for the first time in Hong Kong's English language publications. A report from the *China Mail* June 13, 1919 titled

---

[168] Ibid., 115–18.

[169] Ibid., 123–29.

[170] *North China Daily News*, "What Are You Doing To-Night?," December 11, 1917.

[171] James Farrer and Andrew David Field, *Shanghai Nightscapes: A Nocturnal Biography of a Global City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 119.

[172] M.E.T, "Shanghai in a Looking Glass: Taketh Joy in the Little Things," *North China Herald*, September 20, 1919.

"The Right Real Jazz" recounts the first performances of "authentic" jazz bands in London and gives its readers a short background on jazz music and the word jazz itself.

In 1923, interest in jazz had grown enough that, on January 23 of that year, the first radio broadcast in China (Shanghai) included a jazz performance by the Charlie Band and a saxophone performance by George Hall.[173]

By 1924, interest in the saxophone has increased dramatically. The *North China Daily News* ran a classifieds section for personal buying and selling of various items, including saxophones. The October 22 edition of the paper included a listing, selling a "…Conn silver plated C-melody saxophone in leather velvet lined case. Practically new. Cash $225."[174] And just a few months later, December 17 of the same year, there was a wanted advertisement for "…a saxophone in C melody."[175] These two advertisements provide valuable information as to the private market for saxophones at the time.

First, the advertisement shows that saxophones, and high-quality, name-brand saxophones at that, were being imported into Shanghai for private use. It also gives insight into the price of second-hand saxophones in 1924 Shanghai: the price of saxophones was quite a bit higher than those that could be purchased abroad. The 1922 catalogue listing for Conn silver-plated C-melody saxophones in was $135-$165, depending on the model.[176] Also, listings of this type tell us that there was indeed private ownership and trading of saxophones. Finally, these two advertisements show that demand for saxophones must have been relatively high at the time. The

[173] John Fangjun Li, "The Development of China's Music Industry During the First Half of the 20th Century," *Journal for Higher Degree Research Students in the Social Sciences and Humanities* 4 (2011): 15–16.

[174] *North China Daily News*, "For Sale - Miscellaneous," October 22, 1924.

[175] *North China Daily News*, "Wanted to Purchase," December 17, 1924.

[176] Conn C.G., *C.G. Conn New Wonder Saxophones* (C.G. Conn, 1922), https://www.saxophone.org/museum/publications/id/486.

wanted ad appearing just two months after the for-sale ad would seem to indicate that the former was in search of a similar instrument because the latter had been successful in selling the instrument.

This trend in private ownership continued over the next several years at least and gives insight into the types of saxophones available for Shanghai performers including Holton Bb Soprano, Eb Alto and Bb tenor saxophones,[177] and Buescher alto saxophones.[178] Finally, these advertisements also show private business catering to private owners. These include an instrument repair shop where saxophones would be repaired by expert workmen,[179] and an authorized dealer of Conn instruments on the famed Nanking Road.[180]

There also would seem to have been some misunderstandings about the instrument and a need for good teachers as well. In an article titled "The Deadly Saxophone" a Shanghai enthusiast writes in to ask for advice from his fellow readers:

> Sir, being eager to learn clarinet, saxophone and other wind-instruments, I wonder if they are liable to do any harm to the lungs, as a consequence to a permanent player. Would someone through the paper inform me as to the above, and also where I can get a good instructor with a moderate charge?[181]

While the perception of the saxophone and jazz in general was a deeply divisive issue, which will be discussed below, by the time the first jazz clubs began appearing in the mid-1920s, it would seem that some musicians were regarded as respected members of the community. The March 21, 1925 edition of the North China Herald regretfully announces "the death of Mrs.

[177] *North China Daily News,*"For Sale - Miscellaneous," April 2, 1925.

[178] *North China Daily News,*"For Sale - Miscellaneous," April 16, 1932.

[179] *North China Daily News,* "Have Your Musical Instrument Repaired by Expert Workmen," June 11, 1927.

[180] *North China Daily News,*"Indisputably the Best," September 7, 1929.

[181] *North China Daily News,*"The Deadly Saxophone," October 2, 1924.

Lloyd Frost Harmon, the wife of the popular saxophone player at the Carlton Café."[182] It would seem that saxophonists, and jazz musicians in general, could be of high-enough stature to rate condolences in the colony newspaper.

Although Shanghai was first, jazz quickly spread throughout China. In South China, the British colony of Hong Kong served as the gateway, when "in 1926, the Hongkong & Shanghai Hotels Ltd., imported two Filipino Bands under Julian Silvero and Andres from Manila, and that is how jazz was introduced to Hongkong."[183] The introduction of jazz via Filipino musicians should come as no surprise. Throughout its history, the jazz scene in China was a multi-national, multi-ethnic affair.

The jazz clubs were well known for their mix of local and foreign patrons, but the bands in Shanghai followed a hierarchy of prestige. Even as late as the 1940s the musical hierarchy in the jazz scene still existed with "white and black American musicians on top, Russians second, Filipinos below them, and at the bottom of the heap, the Chinese musicians."[184] Due to these segregations, Chinese bands were only permitted to perform during afternoon hours, reserving the prime evening times for foreigners. Japanese musicians only earned a fraction (often as low as one-thirtieth) of what musicians from "nationalities with better 'musical reputations,' such as Filipinos and Americans' would earn. This was only compounded by the fact that musicians would typically only work in groups that shared their same ethnicity or nationality."[185]

For some musicians, though, this inherent unfairness came as a welcome change. For many black American musicians, Shanghai offered a respite from the racial hardships they faced

[182] "Obituary," *North China Herald*, March 21, 1925.

[183] Tony Lopes, "The History of Jazz in South China," *Blue Rhythm*, May 1953, 10.

[184] Farrer and Field, *Shanghai Nightscapes*, 133.

[185] Ibid.

at home. Early Whaley, a San Francisco-born, Seattle-based saxophonist and band leader assembled one of the first swing bands on the west coast, known as The Red Hot Syncopators. In 1934 he took his group to Shanghai to perform at clubs like St. Anna's Ballroom and "personally convinced his band members to move for the excitement, the steady pay ($150-200 a month), and because, in Shanghai, African American musicians were treated with greater respect than they received in most American venues outside the black community."[186] Buck Clayton and his group noticed the differences as well. As Andrew F. Jones writes "Clayton and his band members became beneficiaries of the same sorts of colonial privileges enjoyed by other foreigners in Shanghai (and routinely denied them back home)."[187]

The jazz scene in South China continued to grow. Amateur groups "who played mostly by ear" and were "drawn mainly from the Portuguese Community,"[188] were replaced with professional groups and touring acts. Earl Whaley's band, that later included Filipino pianist Pomping Villa and also played at the Yellow Dragon Dance Hall in Shanghai, made touring performances in Hong Kong in the 1930s. And by the 1940s "jazz grew and approached manhood in Hongkong, Macao, Canton and Kwong Chau Wan (Guangzhou Bay, 广州湾, Guǎngzhōu wān)."[189]

The first indication of jazz invading Manchuria was in 1928 Mukden (Shenyang, 沈阳, Shěn yáng), which had been ceded to the Japanese during the Russo-Japanese war in 1904.[190]

---

[186] "Earl Whaley Band," Black Past: Remembered and Reclaimed, 2007, http://www.blackpast.org/aaw/earl-whaley-band.

[187] Andrew F. Jones, *Yellow Music: Media Culture and Colonial Modernity in the Chinese Jazz Age* (Duke University Press, 2001), 3.

[188] Lopes, "The History of Jazz in South China," 10.

[189] Ibid.

[190] Paine, *The Wars for Asia, 1911–1949*.

The Manchuria Daily News out of Dairen (Dalian, 大连, Dàlián) wrote:

> The Bachelors' Ball given at the Moukden [*sic*] Club last Saturday night was one of the gayest parties given in Mukden for many years. The Club was very tastefully decorated in jazz colours and posters. The regular Club orchestra had been augmented with saxophone and banjo players and the music left nothing to be desired.[191]

As discussed in chapter 5, just a few short years later, after the Mukden incident of 1931, the whole of Manchuria would come under Japanese rule and start off the Second Sino-Japanese war.

Period Songs: Shidaiqu

Li Jinhui (黎錦暉, Lí jǐnhuī) (1891-1967)[192] started the 'Period Song' movement with his 1929 song "Drizzle" (毛毛雨, Máomao yǔ) (recorded in Shanghai and released in gramophone record format in 1926 by the Pathé Records Company at Shanghai, China) combining traditional Chinese folk idioms with the newly imported jazz styles.[193] Li launched the careers of some of the biggest names in Chinese pop music, oversaw the establishment of the first all-Chinese jazz band at an upscale nightclub, and recorded over 100 songs and recorded over a dozen film scores in the new genre.[194] His celebrity in tabloids from the day could match any modern start, news of his divorce from actress and singer Xu Lai (徐来, Xú lái) running in no fewer than five Hong Kong newspapers for more than two years.

---

[191] *Manchuria Dail News*, "Mukden Notes," March 8, 1928.

[192] Hong-Yu Gong, "Music, Nationalism and the Search for Modernity in China, 1911-1949," *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies* 10, no. 2 (December 2008): 64.

[193] Szu-Wei Chen, "The Rise of and Generic Features of Shanghai Popular Songs in the 1930s and 1940s," *Popular Music* 24/1 (2005): 108.

[194] Jones, *Yellow Music*, 2001, 73.

For his efforts, he was constantly derided from all sides throughout his career. The supporters of the May 4th movement, which sought to modernize China, chastised his use of folk songs and popular song forms. His music was labeled decadent and unpatriotic by the fascist Kuo MinTang (Chinese Nationalist Party, 国民党, Guó mín dǎng) and the invading Japanese Empire. When the communists took power in 1949, his music was labeled yellow, pornographic,[195] a charge that would ultimately lead to his death in1967 during the horrific purges of the cultural revolution.[196]

The 'Modern' or 'Period' Song movement[197] was at its core a blending of traditional Chinese idioms with newly introduced forms of foreign music. As Andrew F. Jones writes, the Modern Song genre incorporated "Hawaiian style guitar embellishing melodies drawn from the surrounding southeastern Chinese countryside, Soviet-style accordion accompanied by Chinese clappers, scat singing crossed with melismatic vocal production typical of late Qing dynasty courtesan houses. There are blues vamps, Cuban rhythms, and episodes of New-Orleans style polyphony as well as European waltzes."[198]

As might be expected, the saxophone had a part to play in this story as well. The earliest recording of Li Jinhui's "Drizzle", and the song that thrust the Period Song genre into public attention, displays many of the features of the cross-over genre. The opening section of the song features the saxophone performing the melody with sparse accompaniment, much like the role of the erhu in Chinese opera. The saxophone fades out just as the woodblock signals the singer, Lin

[195] Note: yellow has long been a euphemistic way to describe pornographic materials or acts, both literally and metaphorically

[196] Jones, *Yellow Music*, 2001, 73–74.

[197] Note: 时代 shidai is directly translated as period, as in period of time, but precisely what time is unclear; it is likely that at the time the songs were introduced the name would be best translated as 'Modern' songs, but now, nearly 100 years after the fact, 'Period' would likely be the best translation.

[198] E. Taylor Atkins, ed., *Jazz Planet* (Jackson, Miss: Univ. Press of Mississippi, 2003), 233.

Jinhui's daughter, Li Minghui (黎明辉, Lí mínghuī), to enter; again, very much a Chinese opera form. Other cross-over elements can be seen in the use of a clarinet to accompany the singer's pentatonic melodies in unison, not unlike the role of erhu in Chinese opera. In addition to the singer's distinctly Chinese timbre (a very forward, nasal tone-color typical of Chinese folk singing), the cross over aspects can be heard at the very opening of the recording when the announcer proclaims, in a mix of English and Chinese "But I hope, 可请李明辉女士唱毛毛雨" [But I hope we can invite Miss Li Minghui to sing "Drizzle"].

Another representative piece is Li Jinhui's 1935 "Very Fast Train". The first thing one hears on listening is the saxophone section imitating a train whistle, very reminiscent of Billy Strayhorn's "Take the A Train". Except, of course, that this was recording was released 4 years before Strayhorn's composition. However, as Andrew F. Jones points out a direct comparison is neither necessary nor very useful, but instead, it serves to

> assert [that] the functional simultaneity of this sort of musical innovation ought to signal to us the extent to which both composers were participating in a globalized musical idiom for which the speed of modern transport (trains and ocean-going vessels) and modern communications (gramophones, radio, cinema) were a fundamental condition of possibility. And interestingly enough, both songs go beyond mere mimesis; they are, instead, self-conscious attempts to represent those conditions in musical terms.[199]

In terms of style, the song displays many of the same aspects of the cross-over Period Song genre: a long instrumental introduction, melodies doubled between instruments in unison, the singer's timbre, and the fact that the singer is accompanied in unison by the piano in a very simplified right-hand-only style that was also described by other musicians at the time.[200]

[199] Ibid., 227.

[200] *Note:* See excerpt from Whitey Smith's memoir quoted below

Finally, it should be noted that it was not only Chinese musicians like Li Jinhui that were marketing new song forms to Chinese audiences. Famous jazz trumpeter Buck Clayton, who after a two year stay in Shanghai went on to become a member of the famed Count Basie Orchestra, took work in a lower-class club called the Casa Nova Ballroom. In his memoir, Clayton said that he and his group "were obliged to play Chinese music so [they] began to learn how."[201]

Bandleader and jazz drummer Whitey Smith also sought to attract Chinese customers by combining different forms of music. Speaking of Smith's memoir, Farrer and Field write

> The Majestic Hotel's manager James Taggart persuaded [Smith] to find a way to attract Chinese customers to the ballroom, since there were not enough foreigners in the city to supply the enormous clover-leaf-shaped ballroom with a steady business. After trying various visual gimmicks, all to no avail, Smith took the advice of an American-educated Chinese friend and began to incorporate Chinese folk melodies into his repertoire, thus making his music more easily recognizable to Chinese listeners. Smith and his orchestra worked hard to simplify their compositions in order to bring out the melody more clearly. Much to his distaste, the pianist was forced to play one note at a time. Ultimately the strategy worked, and soon Chinese revelers began to patronize that ballroom and others in record numbers…[202]

Perceptions of the Saxophone

When considering the place of the saxophone within China's jazz age, the perception of the instrument by those interacting with it must be considered. A recurring theme for the saxophone in China's jazz age is the diametric nature of its acceptance. While one will describe the sound as "revolting" another will describe it as "gorgeous and playful". Several editorials in English-language Chinese newspapers and artistic interpretations of saxophone appear during this time that give varying opinions on the instrument.

---

[201] Buck Clayton, *Buck Clayton's Jazz World.* (London: Continuum International Pub. Group, 1995), 76, http://www.myilibrary.com?id=320771.

[202] Farrer and Field, *Shanghai Nightscapes*, 119–20.

Interestingly, one of the earliest mentions of the symbolic nature of the saxophone is as a symbol for the city of Shanghai itself:

> It has been said that one can judge a city by its public monuments but until the time comes when we who dwell in Shanghai can proudly display a silver saxophone shining aloft on its Carrara pedestal, I fear a stranger's judgement of our own will be amiss.[203]

The flamboyant nature of such a scene, the Carrara being a popular night club at the time, describes not only the perception of the saxophone as an ostentatious instrument, but also the ostentatious nature of the entertainments of Shanghai. The representation of the saxophone as a symbol of the city of Shanghai appears again in *Saxophone on the Sea*, a narrative memoir by Shanghai native Cheng Naishan (程乃珊, Chéng nǎishān). She writes

> If you wanted to use musical instruments to describe Hong Kong and Shanghai, I think, Hong Kong is a piano: dynamic, rhythmic, an even cluster of chords, the personality of each note distinct. Shanghai, is a saxophone: spoiled like an old aristocrat, whether it is among new densely enclosed glass towers or old walls and narrow lanes, it will have on it layers upon layers of 'past', a 'past' that is no longer empty, but with details that are true and lasting. Just like the saxophone, the importance of the past is not only its tone color, but its creative mood.[204]
>
> I believe that the fragrance of Shanghai at that time was "Parisian Nights" perfume, and that is the saxophone's fragrance as well.[205]

Another recurring theme in discussions on the saxophone at the time is that it is considered nothing more than an extremely noisy and altogether unpleasant-to-listen-to instrument. There are several accounts, mostly tongue-in-cheek, that describe the horrible fate of being forced to listen to a saxophonist and that in such cases violence might be the best answer. An article in a 1924 edition of the *North China Daily News* titled "Oh! Those Saxes!" explains that

---

[203] Bruce Lockhart, "Southward Ho!," *North China Herald*, August 30, 1924.

[204] Cheng, *Hǎishàng sàkèsī fēng 海上萨克斯风 [Saxohone on the Sea]*, 1–5.

[205] Ibid., 7.

> Even in those happy far off days before jazz music was invented…the utter hopelessness of the present day was unknown. Even the greatest optimist in the world could never regard a saxophone solo in any light except as a penance. At least different instruments, when played together, give an impression of rhythm and tune. Do you ever think of the trials of those who live next door to performers in jazz bands? If you are lucky you may live next a jazz pianist, or even the gentleman who undergoes those contortions with his violin. If you are not afraid of thunderstorms jazz drums are not really so bad. If, however, a saxophone player has moved in next door, then indeed, like me, you have touched the bottom level of bad luck. It is useless to blame Mr. Sach [*sic*], who invented the instrument over 70 years ago. Like the inventor of the guillotine, he would have died of a broken heart if he could have seen the misuses his invention had been put to. For although no modern masonry is strong enough to withstand the mournful blare of a saxophone, heard through a muffling of blinds and curtains, it may have a lethargic instead of insomnatic effect.[206]

Similar sentiments were felt in Southern China, where a restaurant-goer wrote that there is "…great difficulty in finding a restaurant where meals can be eaten without the disadvantage of a depressing saxophone and other weird and noisy instruments.[207]

News regarding saxophones all the way from Trenton, New Jersey even reached the papers of the Shanghai based *North China Daily News* where they reported

> Enactment of a bill to permit throwing of hand grenades at saxophones, was urged in the assemble to-day by Assemblyman Muir of Union, during a debate which led to the repeal of the bill requiring three months' notice before tenants may move or landlords may increase rents. "I am exhibit A," Assemblyman Muir announced. "I was living in a house comfortably with goldfish and canaries and steam-heated doormats and though I was settled for life. Then a gentleman with a mean disposition and a saxophone moved next door. I could not move for three months. They are poisoning our liberty at Washington. I know, but I hope some day [*sic*] we may have the right to hurl hand grenades at saxophones disturbing our peace.[208]

There also appear, in the *North China Daily New Magazine Supplement*, several jokes that speak to the annoyance felt towards saxophones:

---

[206] Sybil Vincent, "Oh! Those Saxes!," *North China Daily News*, September 19, 1924.

[207] Landon Ronald, "Why Do We Eat to Jazz Music?," *North China Daily News*, October 23, 1924.

[208] "From Day to Day," *North China Daily News*, April 5, 1927.

> Sir, would you give five dollars to bury a saxophone player? Here's thirty dollars; bury six of em.[209]

> An instrument has just been invented which is said to be an improvement on the saxophone. Well, it couldn't be worse.[210]

This, though stands in contrast to other descriptions of the saxophone's tone, such as that portrayed in *Saxophone on the Sea*:

> The saxophone's timbre is gorgeous and playful, from the tender romance overflows a touch of desolate melancholy. The saxophone is like an old gentleman who has experienced the vicissitudes of life, but still maintains a cynical demeanor. On the backside of a neon light with a red flag in the night, in his own empty courtyard, he alone holds a non-existent one. The imaginary ideal partner dances and rotates through Waltz in his own world![211]

There are also many articles and even artwork in which the saxophone is portrayed as a tool for immorality, a degradation of the minds of young people, and even a breakdown of society. Though it seems attitudes in America may be changing, the author here still notes that jazz was a social deterioration and that, even now, the American affinity for the artform cannot be explained by the seductive qualities of the saxophone:

> If you had said to the average American a year or two ago that jazz was rubbish from an artistic point of view, and demoralizing or pernicious from a social point of view, he would have agreed with you. It was, from the continuing Puritanical standpoint, a bit scandalous; its growing popularity an indication of social deterioration. The average Americans could not deny that he enjoyed it just the same; but he did not dream of rationalizing his enjoyment by long explanations about the promise of American musical art contained in the luring life of the saxophone.[212]

In an interview, London based composer Mascagni was asked what he thought about jazz. His response is that he does not like it and that it is a "degeneration of negro music."

---

[209] *North China Daily News*, "Sir, Would You Give...," September 28, 1930, Magazine Supplement edition.

[210] *North China Daily News*, "An Instrument Has Just Been Invented," June 7, 1931, Magazine Supplement edition.

[211] Cheng, *Hǎishàng sàkèsī fēng 海上萨克斯风 [Saxohone on the Sea]*.

[212] *North China Standard*, Virgil Jordan, "Jazz and American Life," October 3, 1924.

Further, about saxophone he says "I cannot conceive a worse instrument than a modern saxophone; the sound of such an instrument is revolting, and to say that modern generations are enraptured with it is, to my mind, an insult to modern mentality." The author from the *North China Herald* did not agree with his view on saxophones but did agree about a return to "old plain melodious music."[213] Here, then, we see a wish to return to 'the good days' of music, and those days did not include saxophone.

In that same vein, reminiscing about the past, a *North China Herald* editorial describes the youth culture surrounding jazz, with saxophone as its representative, as a break-down of societal conventions:

> Those were the days of leisure, when one drank one's wine in peace and took chocolate in bed. But to imagine men in fripperies in an era of undergrounds and subways, in the bustle of the time clock and the efficiency expert, who measure the number of strokes a clerk makes with his pen to determine the cost of overheads of an enterprise is almost as jazz as 'Yes, we have no bananas,' and its equally grotesque successor…Jazz broke down some of these conventions. For who could really jazz in a long tail or with starched shirts…Therein lies the moral of the thing: jazz is not so much a song or a dance as it is a habit of mind.
>
> In the latest expression of jazz, the Charleston, one just whirls and twirls away in a Dervish sort of way, and in the hope, perhaps, that the saxophone will end its pitiful wail." "For this too is a very jazzy business, a world of much make-believe in which those who so seriously confer with each other know that on the morrow some machine-guns, piping to the tune of some civil warrior or renegade subordinate, will upset it all, only for another start, just as when the saxophone is laid down to give the mandolin a chance.[214]

Finally, one of the most profound depiction of the supposed degrading effect of jazz and the saxophone on western society comes in the form of a painting shown in London and described and discussed in Shanghai newspapers. The painting in question is J.B. Souter's "Breakdown". The scene depicted is a black man in a tuxedo and top hat playing a saxophone

[213] *North China Herald,*"Mascagni on Jazz," July 31, 1926.

[214] *North China Herald,*"The Age of Jazz," December 5, 1925.

while seated on a large, broken and toppled marble statue. In the foreground, a nude woman, who is white, is shown dancing.

The reviewer in the June 19, 1926 *North China Herald* notes that "the scandal of touring revue companies run by bogus managers and the ever-debatable colour question are admirably expressed."[215] The article also provides the artist's remarks in which he states that "the fallen statue of Minerva typifies the breaking down of the Western tradition." He also describes the title of the piece as the name of "a negro dance, vigorous more than graceful, where the dancer makes much noise with her feet."

The article also includes a review from an art critic in the London *Times* which reads

> Mr. Souter's picture is a truckling to the less admirable journalism. It represents a nude lady dancing to the tune of a saxophone played by a nigger who is seated on the head of a fallen colossal statue it may be Britannia or it may be Minerva. Now it is not true that any civilization worth a cent has succumbed to the saxophone, and if it were it would not be a pictorial subject. Though, indeed, even here a certain symbolism might be claimed, and the green shoe in the foreground, brings the picture aptly into the category of social verisimilitude represented by a certain hat. But, if it stands for artistic truth, and not for scare-lines, the Academy should not encourage pictures like 'The Breakdown.'[216]

This painting and the reactions to it show some very interesting things about the perception of the saxophone at the time. First, why did the artist choose the saxophone over any other possible instrument? It must surely be because of its inseparable associations with jazz. Trumpet, trombone, or piano, these instruments have a history that predates jazz,[217] but the saxophone does not have that long of a past. The fallen statue signifies western culture, as the artist states, and so it must have been brought down by jazz. The critic rebuffs this idea though, stating that civilization has not yet given in to jazz and its harbinger, the saxophone. Finally, it is possible

[215] *North China Herald*, "Journalese and the Big Headings," June 19, 1926.

[216] Ibid.

[217] Cottrell, *The Saxophone*.

that the artist was trying to convey something of power narratives, that 'black' music now held the power; imagine the same painting but with a clothed white-man playing for a dancing black woman.

Some Chinese authors have also written narrative short stories that include mentions of the saxophone. One of the most famous authors of Shanghai's jazz age was Mu Shiying: a modernist, a self-styled 'new sensationalist', and a writer whose works reflected the time in which he lived. Two of his most famous works include mentions of saxophone and give us insight into the perceptions of the saxophone by Chinese artists at the time. First, a passage from his short story *Shanghai Fox-Trot*:

> Azure dusk envelopes the space completely, a saxophone reaches its neck, opens up a pair of lips, whoowhoo pounds them shouting. In the middle of that polished floor, whirling skirts, whirling cheongsam slits, exquisite shoe heels, shoe heels, shoe heels, shoe heels, shoe heels. Fluffed hair and male faces. Male white shirt collars and female smiles. Arms reach out, jadeite earrings swing down to shoulders. The round tables in ordered ranks, but the chairs in disarray. Waiters in white stand in darkened corners. The smell of alcohol, smell of perfume, smell of English ham and eggs, smell of cigarettes…singles sit in corners taking hits of black coffee to shock their nerves.

The scene takes place as the young male protagonist is tasked with keeping his father's mistress entertained for the evening. They arrive at the club and the anthropomorphized saxophone is a woman scat-singing, bellowing out an improvised melody. Here, the saxophone is an instrument of the night, an instrument that signals the sexuality of whirling skirts and cheongsam slits. The saxophone is the instigator, the harbinger. As the night wears on at the club "the story becomes more and more dreamy, tangled and disjointed, much as a night on the town involving dancing, bar-hopping and copious amounts of alcohol might feel. The cabaret takes on the qualities of a Chagall painting, with dancers 'floating in air' as they waltz to the music."

The second passage comes from *The Man Who Was Treated as a Plaything*, a story of young love and jealousy, thought to be perhaps semi auto-biographical:

> "I fell in love with you the first time I saw you!" She put her lovely head into my arms, giggling. "It's only you who I am searching for! What a lovely masculine face you have, such a strong jawline, so modern looking . . . such gentle eyes, a knowing mouth . . ." I let that lying mouth of hers spill forth words like frothy beer foam. "This mouth may not be telling the truth." At the dorm, I thought this again. From the window upstairs somebody was blowing on a Saxophone. The spring breeze blew on my face, curling up my collar. "Heavens! Heavens!"
>
> The four lamps on the bridge, their dim yellow light floated on the surface of the water, as I sat there quietly. One by one, cars drove past on the road, their lights shining on the trees and casting shadows, only to pass by. None of them took a turn and headed into the campus, in the end, all of the lovers walking in the night entered the campus; they all knew me, and their surprised eyes shone pair by pair as they passed me. From the window of the dorm a Saxophone charged me—I opened my mouth wide and yelled: "When one is lovable, love one! Women's hearts, like the plum rains, are unpredictable—" Thinking of Rongzi in another man's embrace, I felt as if my heart had been dug out. When all the lights on campus had gone out, treading on the desolate moonlight, like the rustling of leaves in the autumn wind, I walked back alone, dejected…

In these two scenes the use of the saxophone as a symbolic device is perhaps less clear. In both cases the instrument was chosen, of any instrument or sound that could have been chosen, when describing doubts and melancholy about love. Words like sorrowful,[218] heartrending,[219] mournful,[220] depressing,[221] and pitiful[222] appear frequently in writings of the time to describe the sound of the instrument and so this cannot be a coincidence. There is also the changing nature of the saxophone's sound or effect. In the first passage, thinking of burgeoning love and uncertainty, the saxophone is blowing, just like the spring breeze that follows it. In the second passage however, the narrator thinks of his lover in another man's arms and is *charged* by the saxophone. In both cases, the instrument causes him to exclaim.

---

[218] *North China Daily News*, "The Listener," April 24, 1932.

[219] Ibid.

[220] Vincent, "Oh! Those Saxes!"

[221] Ronald, "Why Do We Eat to Jazz Music?"

[222] *North China Daily News*, "The Age of Jazz." December 5, 1925.

This is not the only time a Chinese author has spoken of the saxophone in relation to love either. In *Saxophone on the Sea* the author refers to saxophone as the "playboy" of western instruments:

> If, amongst western instruments, the violin is a poet, then the saxophone, amongst western instruments, is a playboy. It is the soul of Broadway music, the protagonist of the ballroom, the rhythm of metropolitan life. Its color is intense and eye-catching. If you wanted to describe the texture of scarlet velvet to a blind man, I would recommend listening to the saxophone.[223]

For those Chinese artists that became enamered with the saxophone, then, the instrument represented a move away from convention. The sound of the saxophone, the velveteen sonority entwined with sexuality and the individualistic nature of jazz music, stood in opposition to the traditional conservatism and Confucian piety of Chinese society. In these contexts, moving away from Chinese traditionalism meant moving toward a form of colonial modernity in which moving away from tradition meant moving toward the West. However, it is important to see this modernity "in a manner responsive to both the irreducible specificity of the local and the immense complexity of the global."[224] This can be seen in the responses to Li Jinhui's Period Songs. A mix of folk music, Chinese opera, and Western jazz, his style was labeled decadent and unpatriotic by the nationalists, pornographic by the communists, and revealed the music of China's jazz age as "a larger and infinitely more complex process whereby national cultures are rearticulated within the new global framework of colonial modernity."[225] As with much of the world, the jazz age in China saw the saxophone become an inseparable and even representative member of the new genre. Although this representation would take saxophonists to new heights

[223] Cheng, *Hǎishàng sàkèsī fēng 海上萨克斯风 [Saxohone on the Sea]*, 1–5.

[224] Jones, *Yellow Music*, 2001, 9.

[225] Ibid., 10.

and across cultural barriers during the jazz age, just a few short years later those same associations would see the downfall of many of its practitioners.

Vaudeville

Vaudeville was a style of stage shows – comedy acts, singing, dancing, circus acts, etc – that was among the most popular forms of American entertainment from the late nineteenth century until the early days of talking pictures.[226] The vaudeville craze never truly caught on in China,[227] but throughout the 1920s there were vestiges of minstrel shows and vaudeville acts including saxophone.

On March 14, 1924 the Beijing *North China Standard* reported on a vaudeville act called "Goofus Feathers". Pictured in the article is a SATB saxophone quartet in clown costumes and painted faces. The caption reads "The Athletic Association of the 15th U.S. Infantry of Tientsin [Tianjin]."[228]

Also in 1924, a set of saxophone records could be purchased through advertisements in the North China Daily News. For $1, interested parties could purchase a saxophone sextet record titled "Ghost of Saxophone". Although no further information is given, it is likely that this is the famous Six Brown Brothers' "Ghost of the Saxophone – Fox Trot" by F. Henri Klickmann

[226] D. Travis Stewart, *No Applause--Just Throw Money: The Book That Made Vaudeville Famous* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2006), 3–4.

[227] See: Christopher Rea, *The Age of Irreverence: A New History of Laughter in China* (Univ of California Press, 2015); Melvin and Cai, *Rhapsody in Red*; Gail Hershatter, "The Hierarchy of Shanghai Prostitution, 1870-1949," *Modern China* 15, no. 4 (October 1989): 463–98.

[228] *North China Standard*, "Goofus Feathers," March 7, 1924.

released by Victor Records in 1917.[229] Further evidence of this is given by the fact that the records are being sold at half price, which might be expected of a record that is 7 years old.[230]

In 1926 Manchuria, the Dairen Ladies' Amateur Dramatic society put on a performance of "The Naughty Duchess in a Snowdrift" accompanied by "Mr. Dening on piano and Mr. Larkins on saxophone."[231] Information on "The Naughty Duchess" could not be found, but the name, time period, use of the saxophone, and lack of a mention of jazz, would seem to indicate that this was a vaudevillian event.[232]

The final Vaudevillian remnant involving the saxophone in China comes in the form of a minstrel show in 1929 Shanghai. The reviewer writes "an altogether novel entertainment was provided by the C.B.A. on Thursday last. By arrangement with Mr. J.M. Guterres 'A Minstrel Revue' together with 'The Cotton Pickers Band' constituted a most delightful concert...[with] two violins, a saxophone and drummer [ ] part of the Minstrel compliment…"[233]

Military and Classical Saxophone Performances

The 1920s and 30s also offered performance opportunities for saxophonists outside of jazz and vaudeville. The first evidence of this comes from a 1925 review in the *North China Herald* of an amateur performance in Shanghai. The review reads:

> The musical programme which followed the tiffin was arranged by Mrs. C. J. Huber who also played most of the accompaniment with sympathetic ease. The popular Harmony Quartette composed of Messrs. W.W. Peter, O.R. Magill, R.S. Hall and H.H. Cameron sang a group of negro spirituals – Babylon's 'Listen to the Lamb,' and 'Standin in the

[229] Bruce Vermazen, *That Moaning Saxophone : The Six Brown Brothers and the Dawning of a Musical Craze: The Six Brown Brothers and the Dawning of a Musical Craze* (Oxford University Press, USA, 2004), 219.

[230] *North China Daily News*, "Phonograph Records at Half Price," March 13, 1924.

[231] *Manchuria Daily News*,"Ladies' Amateur Dramatic Society," March 11, 1926.

[232] Ibid.

[233] *North China Daily News*,"Minstrels and Cotton Pickers Band," May 11, 1929.

> Need of Prayer' – with excellent effect; Mr. J. Sommers, accompanied by Mr. J. Elder demonstrated the possibilities of the saxophone…[234]

Since the event was presented at the Rotary Club and jazz was not mentioned directly, it can be assumed that this was a 'classical' performance of the instrument. Also, given how jazz was spoken about at the time it is likely that a concert involving jazz would not have been referred to as "An Attractive Programme of Music".

Outside of Shanghai, we find evidence of saxophone being featured in orchestras in the Manchurian city of Dairen. In a 1926 advertisement for the Cabaret Babylon, several musicians are listed to entice audience members to attend a series of concerts. Among the musicians listed is "Mr. Iwasheynikoff" playing in a "Grand Classical Concert" on saxophone and flute. Since there is a separate listing for a jazz orchestra (unnamed) directly below, it seems quite certain that Mr. Iwasheynikoff was not engaged as a jazz musician.[235]

Early the next year, the Municipal Orchestra in Shanghai held a "concert for young people" that featured soloists on flute, clarinet, saxophone, trumpet, and bassoon with orchestral accompaniment.[236] The exact repertoire is not given, but it can be readily concluded that the performance was not related to jazz.

Several months later, the *Manchuria Daily News* features an article about the disbanding of the Yamato Hotel Orchestra. The orchestra is disbanding, it is explained, because several of its members, including the conductor, a flutists, saxophonists, and pianists are retiring but intend to continue giving lessons in the city of Dairen.[237] Again, in this period and especially Manchurian

---

[234] *North China Herald*, "Ladies' Day at the Rotary Club: An Attractive Programme of Music," August 29, 1925.

[235] "Cabaret Babylon," *Manchuria Daily News*, September 4, 1926.

[236] "Municipal Orchestra - Town Hall," *North China Daily News*, February 22, 1927.

[237] *Manchuria Daily News*, "Yamato Hotel Orchestra," November 22, 1927.

newspapers, an orchestra whose main focus was jazz would have been listed specifically as such.[238]

The majority of performance opportunities for saxophonists outside of the jazz realm, though, came in the form of the military bands stationed in China. In 1910 the First Marine Regiment established the first Marine band, and indeed the first US Military band, in Beijing China. Initially staffed by volunteers from the regular regiment, the band was, shortly after establishment, filled by regular band members.[239] As Chester M. Biggs writes in *The United States Marines in North China:*

> In 1919, the Marine Band introduced the first saxophone to North China…the band not only played at all Marine parades, but also held weekly concerts during the summer in the bandstand in the center of the Marine Compound…they played at Catholic University, Yen Ching and the Yu Ying Academy, various churches and missions, several foreign embassies and some funerals.[240]

The Fourth Marine band, stationed in Shanghai in 1927, gave several performances and is one of the best documented military bands of which records still exists from the time. [241] One of the functions of this band was performing for church services for the Fourth Regiment Church every Sunday. The services regularly featured a saxophone group, often a quartet or octet, of which mentions are made in the *North China Herald* regularly from 1929 on. One such mention was on February 9, 1929, where "the deep organ-like tones of the saxophone octette [*sic*], in a

[238] See Manchuria Daily News 1926-1930

[239] "The United States Marines in North China, 1894–1942 - Chester M. Biggs, Jr. - Google Books," 147–48, accessed April 19, 2018, https://books.google.com/books?id=S8YtE0SIDq0C&pg=PA148&dq=saxophone+chinese+civil+war&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwisqtDTxcXaAhUI4oMKHWRpBwEQ6AEIKTAA#v=onepage&q=saxophone%20chinese%20civil%20war&f=false.

[240] Ibid., 148.

[241] Versaw, *The Last China Band*, 7-.

selection arranged by Pte. Weeks of the band, were particularly appreciated" by the congregation.[242]

The saxophonists of the 4th marine band would also perform in settings such as popular minstrel shows. An advertisement for one such event includes a photograph of a saxophone quartet from the band. Wearing tuxedos and bowties with a large cummerbund and sash, the quartet consists of two altos, a tenor, and a bass saxophone.[243]

Finally, there were also opportunities for saxophone soloists within the Marine band. As the *North China Daily New* describes:

> Honouring the U.S. Naval Transport Chaumont, now in port, the bandmaster, Tech Sgt. Leon Freda, arranged a special all-marine programme for the concert which followed the service. Pfc. Milton W. Potter, a newcomer to the Marines' Band, was the guest soloist, playing with the band accompanying, two beautiful saxophone solos, Wiedoft's [*sic*] 'Waltz Mazanetta' and Drdla's delightful 'Souvenir.' Both solos were generously applauded by the appreciative congregation.[244]

In addition to the established regimental bands, individual members of other military regiments included saxophonists as well. Evidence of this comes from a March 14th, 1924 Minstrel Show performance of a saxophone quartet from the "Athletic Association of the 15th U.S. Infantry of Tientsin" called "Goofus Feathers."[245]

---

[242] *North China Herald*,"Fourth Regiment Church," February 9, 1929.

[243] *North China Daily News*,"Before the Camera This Week," April 9, 1933, Easter Greetings edition.

[244] "Judge Not, That Ye Be Not Judged," *North China Daily News*, July 19, 1937.

[245] "Goofus Feathers."

CHAPTER 4

CANTONESE OPERA: 1920s AND PRESENT

Introduction

Since the 1920s, one of the most important performance opportunities for saxophonists in China has been in Cantonese opera ensembles. These groups, which are the 'pit orchestras' accompanying Cantonese Opera stage performances, are one of the unique performance opportunities for saxophonists in China because, unlike other imported genres where saxophone has been used, this one is native to China. Unfortunately, records enumerating instrumentation or orchestral performers that would give insight into the timeline of saxophone performance in the genre are all but non-existent. All that remains are clips of famous orchestra leaders being innovative by adding saxophone,[246] or famous multi-instrumentalists that were known for their abilities on saxophone.[247] This means that a list of primary sources presenting a cohesive timeline of saxophone performance within the genre, as is the focus of other chapters in this document, is impossible.

Instead, this chapter deals with the saxophonists involved in the genre: how they study the art form, the performance opportunities available to them, and the knowledge necessary to be proficient in their craft. Finally, performance practice, especially as it pertains to improvisation,

[246] Paul Clark, Laikwan Pang, and Tsan-Huang Tsai, *Listening to China's Cultural Revolution: Music, Politics, and Cultural Continuities*, 2016, 140.

[247] *Guǎngdōng Yìshù 广东艺术 [Guangdong Arts]*,"Wǒmen Shì Bànzòu, Ér Bùshì Yǎnzòu: Fǎng Yuèjù Yīnyuè Rén Huángzhuàngmóu 我们是伴奏，而不是演奏：访粤剧音乐人黄壮谋 [We Are Accompanists, Not Performers: Interview with Cantonese Opera Musician Huang Zhuangmou]," August 11, 2017.

has been well documented by researchers like Yung and Chan,[248] and will be reviewed as relates specifically to saxophonists.

Historical Outline

The history of Cantonese Opera stretches back nearly 400 years to China's Ming Dynasty.[249] It's earliest beginnings as part of the larger story of Chinese opera, however, stretch back at least as far as the Song and Yuan Dynasties,[250] and includes stories of foreign influence, changing trade centers, regional folk traditions, and national political movements.

Cantonese Opera is a regional style of Chinese opera that was born and continues to thrive in the Pearl River Delta (PRD) area[251] of China's Guangdong province. Regional variations of Chinese opera are incredibly diverse and numerous, Cantonese opera being just one of the 14 genres of opera performed in Southern China's Guangdong province alone.[252] These opera genres have always been strongly rooted in religious rituals and local traditions of folk music.[253]

Shamanistic rituals involving singing and dancing to invoke the gods have existed in Chinese traditions since antiquity. By the Spring and Autumn period, court jesters would act out

[248] Bell Yung, *Cantonese Opera: Performance as Creative Process* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Sau Y Chan, *Improvisation in a Ritual Context: The Music of Cantonese Opera* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1991).

[249] WING CHUNG NG, *The Rise of Cantonese Opera* (Urbana; Chicago; Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 2015), 12.

[250] Ibid.

[251] Note: the PRD area is a rough triangle, the points of which are Guangzhou, Hong Kong, and Macau, that share a closely related cultural and socio-economic history

[252] Chan, *Improvisation in a Ritual Context*, 1.

[253] Yung, *Cantonese Opera*, 1.

stories as they spoke them to better appease their audience.[254] The first form of classical opera took the form of *zaju* (variety play, 杂剧, Zá jù) during the Song and Yuan periods.[255] These variety plays were for "social satire, moral advice, and entertainment"[256] and included many of the elements seen in later, formalized Cantonese opera including "singing and dancing, musical accompaniment by percussion and melodic instruments, recitation and dialogue, make-up and costume, acrobatics and clowning. Skits with narrative content were often interwoven with segments of dance, acrobatic display, martial arts, slapstick, and other forms of non-narrative entertainment."[257]

The Ming dynasty saw the rise of three important styles of Chinese opera that marked the first major national dissemination of formerly regional styles. The *yiyang* style originating in Jiangxi and the *bangzi* style originating the northern provinces of Shanxi (山西, Shānxī), Shaanxi (陕西, Shǎnxī), and Hebei (河北, Héběi) became a dominant force in the establishment of local musical drama style.[258] The more "versatile and dynamic yiyang and bangzi styles were particularly susceptible to a process of artistic amalgamation, picking up folk tunes, expressions, and dialects specific to that region, even as the imprints of their musical structure and plot designs remained apparent on the local stage."[259]

By contrast, the *kunqu* style that developed in the lower Yangzi region of Jiangnan was a more constrained style that appealed to and was patronized by the literati elites.[260] Kunqu

[254] Ibid.

[255] NG, *The Rise of Cantonese Opera*, 12.

[256] Yung, *Cantonese Opera*, 1.

[257] Ibid.

[258] NG, *The Rise of Cantonese Opera*, 12.

[259] Ibid.

[260] Ibid., 13.

(associated with the literati classes) and Peking opera (performed at the royal court) came to be performed throughout China. Professional script writers and performers could receive great financial reward in return for their talents in these two genres.[261] In contrast, the regional operas performed throughout the country were a form of social entertainment, as well as an integral part of religious ceremonies and mass communication.[262]

By the early Qing dynasty, scores of northern government officials were dispatched to Guangzhou to oversee the influx of trading with foreign merchants. By 1757, foreign trade was limited to only the inland city of Guangzhou and thus followed a stream of merchants, and servicemen and artists to cater to them.[263] The opening of the port to foreign trade and the subsequent flow of wealth led to an influx of wealthy merchants from throughout China. This influx brought about the performance of what came to be known as *waijiangban*, troupes from different provinces. The wealthy merchants would pay good money to hear opera from their respective homelands, and so the opera troupes followed.[264] This influx of foreign troupes supported by wealthy foreign patrons, though, excluded the local troupes from the most lucrative venues inside Guangzhou.[265] In response, the local troupes chose Foshan (佛山, Fóshān), a commercial center and historical cultural nexus just twelve miles west of Guangzhou, as their new epicenter for Cantonese Opera.[266]

[261] Yung, *Cantonese Opera*, 8.

[262] Ibid.

[263] NG, *The Rise of Cantonese Opera*, 14.

[264] Ibid., 13.

[265] Ibid., 16.

[266] Ibid., 17.

The establishment of Cantonese opera as an independent entity, as opposed to a simple amalgamation of other regional varieties, is often attributed to famous actor Zhang Wu (张五, Zhāngwǔ), who performed for the Qing court until he was expelled for subversive attitudes.[267] Fleeing the capital, he traveled south eventually arriving in the city of Foshan, a city that is still today considered the birth place of Cantonese opera. As Chan writes "Zhang Wu established an opera company in Foshan, accepted pupils, and established a guild-hall for actors that became extremely influential."[268] Cantonese opera had arrived.

In 1892 a new guildhall for Cantonese opera was established in Guangzhou's downtown, economic-hub area of Huangsha. Although Cantonese opera had been flourishing for years by this time, sanction by the local government to build a guildhall in the city center marked a distinct change in official attitudes. As Ng writes, though it would be "an exaggeration to compare the situation with the privileged position of Peking opera in North China," the establishment of the guildhall in the provincial capital symbolized a new legitimacy to Cantonese opera and a move from rural to urban performance venues.[269]

In the same period, the late Qing, the famed 'red boats' began appearing throughout the PRD region. These flat-bottomed barge-like boats were mobile concert halls for the staging of Cantonese opera performances. Below deck, the boats housed wardrobe chests for the actors, work space for management, an altar for patron deities, and a pantry. There were also sleeping quarters, arranged in bunk compartments, for the numerous actors, musicians, management,

---

[267] Marjorie K.M. Chan, "Cantonese Opera and the Growth and Spread of Vernacular Written Cantonese in the Twentieth Century," in *Proceeding of the Seventh North American Conference on Chinese Linguistics*, ed. Qian Gao (North American Conference on Chinese Linguistics, University of Southern California: GSIL Publications, 2005), 8.

[268] Ibid., 8–9.

[269] NG, *The Rise of Cantonese Opera*, 27.

stagehands, runners, cooks, sailors, and apprentices. By the late Qing dynasty, a full-size opera troupe would often consist of 130 or more members and require two such red boats for their operations.[270]

The early twentieth century is known as the Golden Age of Cantonese opera,[271] and the beginning of Cantonese opera as we know it today. This period that saw Cantonese opera at its most popular[272] and witnessed rapid changes in the format and staging of Cantonese opera[273] began with the rapid urbanization of the genre.[274] The change to urban based opera troupes was likely due to the political upheaval that China was undergoing after the fall of the Qing dynasty. By the 1920s the Warlord Period was fully underway and the country side that had once been the main locale for Cantonese opera performances became unsafe.[275] Ng writes

> While negotiating their terms of employment with the troupe [ ], several lead actors asked Hongshun, an opera business house, to delimit the performing circuit to the city theaters of Guangzhou and Hong Kong, in light of the deteriorating social conditions and alarming lawlessness in the surrounding cou nties and countryside…according to [Liu Guoxing], Hongshun granted these requests, and the decision heralded a new kind of Cantonese based opera troupe, city-based and city-bound.[276]

This urbanization also had the effect of placing Cantonese opera troupes in close proximity to, and in direct competition with, foreign forms of entertainment. Faced with this competition, enterprising troupe leaders adopted musical instruments, tunes, stories, costumes,

---

[270] Ibid., 28–29.

[271] Chan, "Cantonese Opera and the Growth and Spread of Vernacular Written Cantonese in the Twentieth Century," 13.

[272] Yung, *Cantonese Opera*, 9.

[273] Chan, *Improvisation in a Ritual Context*, 1.

[274] NG, *The Rise of Cantonese Opera*, 31.

[275] Rea, *The Age of Irreverence*, 260.

[276] NG, *The Rise of Cantonese Opera*, 31.

and staging from European and American plays and cinema.[277] In fact, most of what we know of as the distinguishing features of modern Cantonese opera originated in the 1920s and 1930s. As Sau Chan describes, "During these two decades drastic changes took place in the genre, among them the introduction of the Cantonese dialect in both sung and spoken passages, the incorporation of Western melodic instruments, the creation of new aria types, and the employment of traditional Cantonese fixed tunes and singing narratives in the vocal music."[278]

Cantonese Music Saxophonists

Why Saxophone?

As early as the beginning of the 1920s Cantonese opera ensembles began incorporating western instruments into their ranks. The reasons behind this decision take two distinct, but equally pragmatic paths.

The first main reason for incorporating western instruments into the Cantonese opera ensemble was to complement the mid and low registers that were missing from the orchestra. As Chen Fangyi, saxophonist and director of the Cantonese Music and Song Art Troupe (CMSAT), revealed, the traditional instruments of Cantonese opera are *yangqin*, houguan, *gaohu*, *dizi,* and *zhuhu*. All of these have quite a high register.[279] The introduction of western instruments like tenor saxophone and cello allowed for a fuller range of octaves to be expressed in the orchestra.

The saxophone, specifically, works well in Cantonese-music groups because, as Chen points out, its natural register and timbre complement but do not interfere with the singers' voices. Zhang Weihua of the Guangdong Cantonese Opera Troupe writes "the saxophone has the

[277] Yung, *Cantonese Opera*, 9.

[278] Chan, *Improvisation in a Ritual Context*, 1.

[279] Fangyi Chen陈芳毅, interview by Jason Pockrus, March 22, 2018.

reputation of being one of the musical instruments that most closely resembles the human voice, while the character of Cantonese opera accompanying instruments is extremely bright."[280] Also, the range of the saxophone is well suited to composition in Cantonese musical ensembles. Zhang Weihua goes on to write "the original range of the saxophone, two octaves and a fifth, lends itself well to use in the accompanying orchestra, presenting no limitations of range, and can be of great service in operatic groups."[281] The timbral flexibility is also one of the reasons the saxophone has enjoyed success in Cantonese musical groups. Chen Fangyi related that the saxophonist could change the timbre of the instrument to suit the needs of the composition: mimicking the erhu in some places, acting as a bass houguan in others, or even adopting a jazz-influenced timbre for more modern compositions. Again, Zhang writes "In addition, the plasticity of the saxophone's timbre is truly great; not only capable of expressing beauty, sadness, or passion, but can also be intricate, sentimental, agitated, aesthetically moving, and mellifluous."[282]

Yeung also confirms Chen's information, writing "During the 1930s, Western instruments such as the violin, saxophone, cello, banjo, and jazz drums were introduced to support the orchestra. Traditional orchestras lack instruments in the low register for support…Following the adoption of Western instruments of this period, equal temperament was achieved in Cantonese opera music."[283]

---

[280] Weihua Zhang张伟华, "Sàkèsī yǔ yuèjù bànzòu 萨克斯与粤剧伴奏 [Saxophone and Cantonese Opera Accompaniment]," *Běifāng yīnyuè 北方音乐 [Northern Music]* 11 (2016): 84.

[281] Ibid.

[282] Ibid.

[283] Loretta Siuling Yeung, "Red Boat Troupes and Cantonese Opera" (University of Georgia, 2010), 50.

The timbre of the saxophone is also important in the way that it can relate to the houguan. The timbral flexibility of the saxophone is such that it can mimick that of the houguan, the only reed instrument of the traditional Cantonese opera ensemble. Because of this, the saxophone will often replace the houguan altogether (as was seen and described in various performances discussed in the *Ethnography of Cantonese Opera Today* section below), or, as described by Chen Fangyi, serve a supporting role as a substitute for bass houguan (an instrument which does not exist).[284]

The other reason that the saxophone and other western instruments were adopted during the Golden Age of Cantonese opera was as a marketing strategy. In the 1920s, a newly urbanized Cantonese opera had to compete with many different genres of music within the city, both Chinese and foreign.[285] These western instruments were often adopted and put onstage alongside other foreign cultural imports like popular music, Broadway theater, Hollywood scores, and jazz.[286] As Loretta Yeung writes "To attract spectators…Western instruments such as the saxophone, violin, cello, jazz drum, and guitar were also introduced into the orchestra."[287] Although railed against by many traditionalists, these new changes were a sensation amongst the lower, working classes. Xu writes that "the style of these Cantonese songs was largely sensationalism but also served as an escape for the common people. In the teahouses, dances halls, and even radio broadcasts of the era, it was these Cantonese songs that attracted many

[284] Chen, interview.

[285] NG, *The Rise of Cantonese Opera*, 74.

[286] Clark, Pang, and Tsai, *Listening to China's Cultural Revolution*, 140.

[287] Yeung, "Red Boat Troupes and Cantonese Opera," 64.

middle and lower-class citizens."[288] In these early years of the adoption of western instruments, they even more ubiquitous than can be seen today. Bell Yung writes

> Occasionally certain Western instruments may be substituted for the melodic instruments: the violin, the saxophone, the electric guitar, the banjo, and the cello. For an explanation of this curious anomaly, one must look into the recent history of the opera. During the 1920s and 1930s the general influx of Western culture exerted a great influence over performance practice of Cantonese opera, including the introduction of Western musical instruments. For two or three decades traditional Chinese melodic instruments were completely replaced by Western ones.[289]

As is discussed more in later chapters, the trend of using western instruments in Chinese opera ensembles changed dramatically during and after the Mao era. However, since the 1980s, instruments like the saxophone and cello have made a comeback in the Cantonese musical ensembles of Guangzhou and represent some of the most oft-used western instruments.[290]

Finally, Chen Fangyi noted that one of the other reasons the saxophone became popular at the time was one of the reasons it remains popular for musicians today: it is an instrument that can perform both western and Chinese music. This allows free-lance musicians a much broader range from which to collect gigs.

Cantonese Musical Groups

Performance opportunities for saxophonists involved in Cantonese music take two generalized forms. The first, most common, and most influential form is that as an accompanying musician for Cantonese opera performances of various kinds. However,

---

[288] Huixi Xu许锡挥, "20 Shìjì 20 Zhì 40 Niándài de Yuè Gǎng Wénhuà Hùdòng 20世纪20至40年代的粤港文化互动 [The Cultural Interaction Between Guangdong and Hongkong 1920s to 1940s]," 当代港澳 2 (2000): 40.

[289] Yung, *Cantonese Opera*, 31.

[290] Chen, interview.

professional and amateur groups that perform Cantonese music outside of the operatic tradition also exist in the form of Chinese Traditional Orchestras and their associated chamber groups.

Chinese Traditional Orchestras came into existence after the first National Music Association in 1956 Beijing.[291] As part of an impromptu speech with the leaders of the event, Mao Zedong advised musicians to "apply appropriate foreign principles and use foreign musical instruments."[292] In response, the first traditional Chinese orchestras, modeled after western symphony orchestras, were created.[293] Some regional variations of these Traditional Chinese Orchestras exist, of which the Cantonese Music and Song Art Troupe (CMSAT), tasked with performing and preserving Cantonese music, is one.

For saxophonists performing in these orchestral or chamber groups, performance practice is derived from and directly follows that of Cantonese opera tradition.[294] Because of this, the focus of this chapter is Cantonese Opera and its direct traditions. However, since other performance opportunities exist within the genre, the sections discussing performance practice will describe these saxophonists as Cantonese-music performers, Cantonese musical ensemble saxophonists, etc., rather than a strict definition as a Cantonese opera musician.

How to Become a Cantonese-Music Saxophonist

Although the traditional way for musicians to join a Cantonese musical ensemble would be through an apprenticeship program, studying with older members of an of an opera troupe,

[291] Melvin and Cai, *Rhapsody in Red*, 206.

[292] "Chairman Mao's Talk to Music Workers," Marxists.org, 2004, https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-7/mswv7_469.htm.

[293] Melvin and Cai, *Rhapsody in Red*, 209.

[294] Chen, interview.

modern musicians will follow a much more scholastically minded path.[295]

Chen Fangyi began studying houguan as a child. His first teacher was a relative of his, a respected Cantonese Opera musician from Tai Shan. He began performing with the CMSAT shortly after, but at that time the organization was more of an educational organization. He studied at the Guangdong Cantonese Opera School (广东粤剧学校, Guǎngdōng yuèjù xuéxiào), graduating in 1988. About the same time, he became interested in saxophone, hearing it being performed in popular music of the era, especially that from Hong Kong. In the late 80s and early 90s he would perform in dance halls or accompanying singers to make money. He then began working in accompanying ensembles for Cantonese opera. Here, he was expected to be able to perform all of the winds: suona, houguan, dizi, and saxophone. He continued to perform with the CMSAT and took on more responsibilities as he advanced within the ensemble. Currently, he is the Director and Head cum President of the Arts Office of the CMSAT and also serves as the Director of the Guangdong Musician Association and Vice-chairman of the Guangzhou City Musician Association, an Exponent of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Cantonese Music of Guangzhou City.

Chen notes that the typical path for students today interested in becoming Cantonese Musical Ensemble musicians is to begin performing in Cantonese musical groups in school, begin studying with a private teacher, pursue Cantonese opera performance at the university level, and then to join an ensemble upon graduation. [296]

In this way, the majority of saxophonists performing in Cantonese-music ensembles will typically be houguan or suona specialists, that are proficient doublers on saxophone.

---

[295] Ibid.

[296] Note: this can only be undertaken in suona and houguan, since there is no saxophone Cantonese Opera major

Role of the Saxophone in the Cantonese Music Ensemble

In Cantonese-music ensembles, the saxophonist can play the role of accompaniment, melodic instrument, or even a solo instrument. These roles can be performed on any saxophone and even switch in the middle of a single piece. However, it is most typical to see certain saxophones perform certain roles based on their range/size (see saxophone selection below).

As Chen Fangyi pointed out, the traditional instruments of the Cantonese musical ensemble are all relatively high-pitched soloistic instruments: erhu, gaohu, yangqin, houguan, etc. One of the main functions of the saxophone, and the reason it continues to be integrated into ensembles where other western instruments such as violin, trumpet, or guitar have been phased out, is because it fills the role of a middle to lower pitched instrument. In performance, the saxophone will often mimic the cello line and play in the same or a similar range. This also points to the reason why the tenor saxophone, rather than high pitched members of the saxophone family, are popular in Cantonese musical ensembles. Also, the range of the saxophone complements that of erhu, so that few adjustments need to be made in performing from the same score.[297]

Another reason the saxophone is often used in Cantonese musical ensembles is the ability to shift timbre to match different situations as needed by the performer. In different performances, or sometimes even within the same performance, a saxophonist may be called upon to match timbres and vibrato styles with the erhu, the higher winds such as houguan, or even play with a more-jazz influence timbral and vibrato style. The ability of the saxophone to

[297] Huarui Chen陈华瑞, "Tán Sàkèsī Yǔ Yuèjù Yīnyuè de Guānxì 谈萨克斯与粤剧音乐的关系 [A Discussion on the Relationship Between Saxophone and Cantonese Opera Music]," *Yīnyuè Sōusuǒ 音乐搜索 [Music Search]* 22 (2015): 78; Zhang, "Sàkèsī yǔ yuèjù bànzòu 萨克斯与粤剧伴奏 [Saxophone and Cantonese Opera Accompaniment]."

perform these different functions is extremely important for the use of the saxophone in Cantonese musical ensembles.[298]

Finally, several sources note that the tone of the saxophone is well suited to accompanying singers. Chen notes that the saxophone, especially the range and timbre of the tenor saxophone, accompanies singers quite well without getting in the way of their voices.[299]

As to the use of saxophone at all or situations in which it might be used in place of houguan, Chen Fangyi relates that it is primarily up to the discretion of the musicians. However, in concerts or select pieces that are meant to display a more 'traditional' feeling, the saxophone (and other western instruments) will be purposely left out entirely. Chen Fangyi said of a recent recording produced by the CMSAT, *Cantonese Style* (粤风), there are many pieces in which the saxophone could easily have been incorporated. However, since the goal of that particular set of recordings was a 'traditional' approach, the houguan was chosen in every situation.

Saxophone Selection and Equipment

Since the first inception of the saxophone into Cantonese musical ensembles, the tenor saxophone has been the overwhelmingly most used instrument of the saxophone family.[300] As described above, this is due mostly to the ways in which the saxophone is utilized within the ensemble. In the 1920s and 30s, the C-melody saxophone (tenor saxophone pitched in C) was the most common and most popular choice.[301] This is primarily due to the fact that the C-melody

[298] Chen, interview; Chen, "Tán Sàkèsī Yǔ Yuèjù Yīnyuè de Guānxì 谈萨克斯与粤剧音乐的关系 [A Discussion on the Relationship Between Saxophone and Cantonese Opera Music]"; ibid.

[299] Chen, interview; Chen, "Tán Sàkèsī Yǔ Yuèjù Yīnyuè de Guānxì 谈萨克斯与粤剧音乐的关系 [A Discussion on the Relationship Between Saxophone and Cantonese Opera Music]."

[300] Chen, interview.

[301] Chan, *Improvisation in a Ritual Context*, 47; Chen, interview.

saxophone was the most commonly used type of saxophone in use at the time that the instrument was first being incorporated into Cantonese musical ensembles, spurred on by popular players like Rudy Weidoft.[302] Although the use of the C-melody has since fallen out of fashion, likely due to its relative unavailability, saxophonists today describe it as the 'traditional' choice, compared to the Bb model commonly used today.[303] In all but one of the performances the author attended, the tenor saxophone was the only member of the saxophone family in use.

Chen Fangyi, however, describes the use of the alto and soprano saxophones as well in the modern Cantonese music ensemble. Referring to a recent concert given in Hong Kong, Chen Fangyi listed several compositions that made use of the alto saxophone, soprano, and tenor saxophones, or switched between instruments depending on the needs of the composition and/or the inclinations of the performer. Unless specifically called for by a composer (a very rare occurrence) the choice of the saxophone is in itself a type of improvisation and is at the discretion of the performer. Chen says that compositions that require a lower or smoother voice, those that call mainly for accompaniment will be performed on tenor saxophone. In their March, 2018 Hong Kong concert, these pieces included *Sky with Falling Petals* and portions of *Spirit Music* (see Figure 7). For lines that need additional 'presence', to be more obvious, or those that have a further soloistic quality, the alto saxophone will be used. Pieces using the alto from the recent concert included the majority of *Spirit Music* (see Figure 7). The soprano, Chen Fangyi related, is used mainly in songs or melodic passages that are faster, rhythmically driven, and have a certain 'style' (风格). Pieces using the soprano saxophone in the recent concert include *Lion Dance* (Figure 7) and *Thunder in a Drough* (Figure 6). Saxophones can also occasionally be

[302] Cottrell, *The Saxophone*, 165.

[303] Chen, interview; Chen, "Tán Sàkèsī Yǔ Yuèjù Yīnyuè de Guānxì 谈萨克斯与粤剧音乐的关系 [A Discussion on the Relationship Between Saxophone and Cantonese Opera Music]."

utilized in concerto settings with Cantonese opera musical ensembles. In such cases, the performer can again decide which instrument is best suited to the piece, but alto or soprano would be most common.

節目 Programme

15 三月 MAR 香港大會堂音樂廳 Concert Hall, Hong Kong City Hall

粵韻響遍省港滬音樂會 'Cantonese Music Gala Guangdong, Hong Kong and Shanghai' Concert

合奏 Ensemble	賽龍奪錦 The Dragon Boat Race	何柳堂 Ho Lau-tong
	孔雀開屏 The Peacock in Its Full Glory	何大傻 Ho Tai-sor
高胡獨奏（何克寧） *Gaohu* Solo (He Kening)	醉月 Intoxicated under the Moon	陳文達 Chan Man-tat
	春到田間 Spring Comes to the Fields	林韻 Lin Yun
喉管獨奏（陳芳毅） *Houguan* Solo (Chen Fangyi)	流水行雲 The Flowing Water and the Drifting Clouds	邵鐵鴻 Siu Tit-hung
	春風笑語 Lively Chatter in the Spring Breeze	陳添壽 Chen Tianshou
琵琶（李燦祥） *Pipa* (Li Canxiang)	平湖秋月 Autumn Moon over a Placid Lake	呂文成 Lui Man-shing
	獅子滾球 Lion Rolling a Ball	丘鶴儔 Yau Hok-chau
硬弓組合 'Hard-bow' Ensemble	醉翁撈月 A Drunkard Drags the Moon out of Water	何柳堂 Ho Lau-tong
	廣東小曲聯奏—百花亭鬧酒 Medley of Guangdong Ditties - The Drunken Lady Yang at the Pavilion of a Hundred Flowers	小曲聯奏 Short Set Ditties

中場休息十五分鐘 Intermission of 15 minutes

彈撥樂合奏 Plucked-string Ensemble	銀河會 Lovers' Reunion at the Milky Way	呂文成 Lui Man-shing
	午夜遙聞鐵馬聲 Wind Bells Tinkling from Afar at Midnight	何與年 He Yunian
高胡（李肇芳） *Gaohu* (Li Zhaofang)	凱旋 A Victorious Return	陳俊英 Chen Junying
	火樹銀花 Fiery Trees and Silver Flowers	陳日英 Chen Riying
琵琶彈唱（陳玲玉） *Pipa* and Vocal Music (Chen Lingyu)	二泉映月 Reflections of the Moon on the Spring	華彥鈞 Hua Riying
唱曲（陳玲玉） Vocal Music (Chen Lingyu)	風流夢 Enchanting Dreams	胡文森 Woo Man-sum
高胡獨奏（余其偉） *Gaohu* Solo (Yu Qiwei)	鳥投林 Birds Returning to the Woods	易劍泉 Yi Jianquan
	雙聲恨 Lovers' Sorrow	古曲 Ancient Tune
合奏 Ensemble	娛樂昇平 In Celebration of Good Times	丘鶴儔 Yau Hok-chau
	旱天雷 Thunder in a Drough	古曲 嚴老烈編 Ancient Tune Arr. Yan Laolie

節目長約 2 小時，包括中場休息 15 分鐘。
The performance will run for about 2 hours including a 15 minute intermission.

Figure 6: CMSAT March 15, 2018 Concert Program

節目 Programme

16 三月 MAR　荃灣大會堂演奏廳 Auditorium, Tsuen Wan Town Hall

粵韻歌樂賀百年音樂會
'Celebrating a Century of Cantonese Music and Songs' Concert

合奏 Ensemble	賽龍奪錦 The Dragon Boat Race	何柳堂 Ho Lau-tong
	柳浪聞鶯 Orioles Singing among the Billowing Willows	譚沛鋆 Tan Peijun
木琴獨奏（黃麗萍） Xylophone Solo (Huang Liping)	驚濤 Billowing Waves	陳文達 Chan Man-tat
	走馬英雄 Galloping Stallion and the Hero	古曲 Ancient Tune
古箏彈唱（潘千芊） *Guzheng* and Vocal Music (Pan Qianqian)	紅燭淚 Tears of Red Candle	王粵生 Wong Yuet-sang
	紅鸞喜 Auspicious Signs	王粵生 Wong Yuet-sang
硬弓組合 'Hard-bow' Ensemble	雙飛蝴蝶 Butterflies Flying in Pairs	古曲 Ancient Tune
	漁歌晚唱 Song of the Homebound Fishermen	呂文成 Lui Man-shing
唱曲（陳玲玉） Vocal Music (Chen Lingyu)	雙聲恨 Lovers' Sorrow	古曲 陳錦榮詞 Ancient Tune Lyrics by Chen Jinrong
	風流夢 Enchanting Dreams	胡文森 Woo Man-sum
中場休息十五分鐘 Intermission of 15 minutes		
軟弓組合 'Soft-bow' Ensemble	陌頭柳色 Willows by the Road	何少霞 He Shaoxia
	春風得意 Joy and Success	梁以忠 Leung Yee-chung
喉管獨奏（陳芳毅） *Houguan* Solo (Chen Fangyi)	楊翠喜 Yang Cuixi	古曲 Ancient Tune
	漁村夕照 Fishing Village at Dusk	呂文成 Lui Man-shing
高胡獨奏（何克寧） *Gaohu* Solo (He Kening)	魚游春水 Fish Frolic in the Water in Spring	劉天一 Liu Tianyi
	月圓曲 The Full Moon	黃錦培 Huang Jinpei
琵琶、古箏彈唱（陳玲玉、潘千芊） *Pipa*, *Guzheng* and Vocal Music (Chen Lingyu and Pan Qianqian)	劍合釵圓 When the Sword and the Hairpin Reunite	古曲 Ancient Tune
精神音樂 Spirit Music	醒獅 The Lion Dance	呂文成 Lui Man-shing
	落花天 Sky with Falling Petals	呂文成 Lui Man-shing
	狂歡 Joyous Celebrations	陳文達 Chan Man-tat

節目長約 2 小時，包括中場休息 15 分鐘。
The performance will run for about 2 hours including a 15 minute intermission.

Figure 7: CMSAT March 16, 2018 Concert Program

As to the actual equipment itself, there is not much consensus. Chen Fangyi performs on King,[304] Conn,[305] and occasionally Chinese brand saxophones. He said that other saxophonists he knows use similar instruments and this corresponds with what the author observed at various performances.

Chen Fangyi currently uses Selmer C* series mouthpieces for all of his saxophones, though also mentioned owning and previously experimenting with other mouthpieces including those by Vandoren. Chen notes that the C* and similar 'classical' mouthpieces are better suited to the needs of Cantonese music saxophonists. He states that jazz mouthpieces are too difficult to control in terms of timbre, pitch, and especially volume. The brand or types of reeds he uses is not a distinct concern, using "whatever is most convenient." Chen stated that he uses reeds varying in strength from 1-3 depending on the instrument, using softer reeds for tenor, harder for soprano.

Freelancing

There is an ever-dwindling market for the types of freelance performances I observed in the parks (see below). Chen Fangyi noted that, at one time, musicians could be full time freelance performers in the Cantonese music genre. Time would be split between teaching private students, performing with various smaller Cantonese-music ensembles, and playing for amateur or semi-professional singers in parks or for private performances. These types of performance opportunities are fairly rare however, as both the singers and musicians supporting them age, with very few younger replacements interested in the genre.

[304] Note: he called this instrument a king, but it wasn't clear from quick inspection, the front had engraving that read "The New King"

[305] Note: his alto is a conn 20m

Technique

Saxophonists performing in Cantonese music ensembles typically utilize the common single-lip embouchure (wherein the bottom lip covers the teeth while the upper teeth rest lightly on the mouthpiece), and Chen Fangyi noted that this was the correct form. Despite performing primarily on a double-reed instrument, and thereby using a double-lip embouchure (wherein both the top and bottom lip cover the teeth), saxophonists seemed comfortable switching to the standard saxophone embouchure.

Finger technique for the saxophone in Cantonese musical ensembles is similar to typical technique in western schools of thought – a comfortably arched hand and keys being depressed by the fingertips. This is in contrast to the techniques utilized on houguan, in which the holes are covered by the pad of the finger further in from the tips, creating a somewhat flat-fingered shape.

When performing houguan, performers will often be called upon to perform advanced techniques including circular breathing, double tounging, and several sound-effects produced via reed-manipulation (i.e. replicating the chirping of birds by pinching the reed tightly with the lips and quickly expelling air). Despite this, when performing on saxophone, these techniques are never utilized. According to Chen, this is a result of the size of the saxophone and the relative difficulty in producing these effects. It seems likely that it is also due to the fact that the performers are primarily houguan specialists, doubling on saxophone.

Tonal Considerations

In listening to a number of performances and speaking with Chen Fangyi, saxophonists performing in Cantonese opera groups will often change the timbre of the instrument to suit the needs of the ensemble and/or the piece. When playing accompaniment or secondary lines,

saxophonists will tend to perform without vibrato. In the various performances the author attended vibrato was used very sparingly. Chen noted that this was common practice to allow the sound of the saxophone to better blend in with the other instruments. In these situations, the saxophonist, Chen notes, has to be careful not to overpower the lead instruments (usually erhu). In practice, this meant that saxophonists would often play sotto-voce in very exposed sections and would utilize sub-tone technique in the lower register in nearly every situation. The only exception would be louder, full-ensemble sections in which case the saxophonist would be able to perform full-tone. As noted by the author in performances (and confirmed by Chen), vibrato is used only in situations in which the saxophonist doubles or carries the main line and in a register similar to that of the melodic instruments. In these cases, the saxophonist will match the vibrato style of the lead player, typically erhu.

Finally, Chen Fangyi noted that timbre could be changed based on the needs of the composition. If a piece were more modern and/or jazz influenced, especially if the saxophonists was performing alongside drum set and bass, a more jazz-like timbre would be adopted. If the song drew from more traditional idioms, the saxophonist would likely perform in the manner of houguan so as to better fit the style.

Improvisation

As Sau Chan states "…the essence of Cantonese opera performance lay in the fact that the same script, if performed by two different troupes, or even by the same troupe in two different performances, would be rendered very differently."[306] The kind of extended instrumental improvisation described by Sau Chan in chapter 7 of *Improvisation in a Ritual*

[306] Chan, *Improvisation in a Ritual Context*, 81.

Context, which is to say intricate improvised melodic patterns based on the singer's line, was not observed by the author, nor was it described by saxophonists with whom the author interviewed. Instead, the kind of improvisation in wide-spread use throughout the amateur and professional performances witnessed by the author was that of the ornamentation style improvisation. Chen Fangyi described this as the performer using the provided score as a skeleton melody onto which ornaments can be added. Sau Chan states this as well, writing

> The concept of ornamentation is based on recognition of a 'skeletal melody,' with 'extra notes' added to it either in writing or improvisation. The study of ornamentation in Cantonese operatic music is difficult because the 'skeletal melody,' if such a concept does exist in the genre, is often impossible to obtain in any type of vocal or instrumental music.[307]

In the author's interview with Chen and in listening to performances, improvisation is utilized, but in a somewhat simplified approach. This use of a simplified form of improvisation is not entirely surprising. As Sau Chan notes

> Actors who adopt the use of [improvisation] tend to be extensively read in books on theatrical theories both Eastern and Western, and often know something about the different stylistic characteristics of Western theatre and Cantonese opera and of Peking and Cantonese opera. Their reading has led some of them to believe that Western opera and Peking opera are more 'sophisticated' because they employ less improvisation.[308]

The first consideration as to improvisation on the part of the performer will often be the notation used. As described below, several different types of music notation are used by Cantonese musical groups. Chen notes that when a piece is notated using five-line notation it is an implied notification that the music is to be strictly followed, with no use of improvisation at all. When simplified notation is given, the performer has more leeway to improvise small ornaments, but the written notation is still given precedent. On occasions where the gongche

[307] Ibid., 153–54.

[308] Ibid., 81–82.

notation is used, this is an indication to the performer that the piece is meant to be performed in a more traditional way, including the more liberal use of improvisation. These are all of course not hard-and-fast rules, but rather guidelines in which exceptions will also be encountered.

According to Chen Fangyi, and as heard at several performances, the most common type of improvisation encountered in modern performances of Cantonese music in Guangzhou are the exclusion or inclusion of ornaments not indicated in the score. For saxophonists, this often takes the form of omitting notes from the written score to perform a more 'bare-bones' version of the melody (see figures 11 and 12). This style of improvisation is what is utilized most often and allows the lead voices, typically erhu, to be heard while the saxophone plays a supporting role.

Notation

Saxophonists performing in various Cantonese music ensembles regularly encounter and are expected to be familiar with five forms of musical notation:

Five-line/Western Notation: Five-line notation was introduced to China by Jesuit missionaries in the seventeenth century.[309] It has been used by saxophonists in Cantonese musical groups since their first introduction into the ensemble, but on the whole, it is rarely used in Cantonese opera and related ensembles, and only used in larger Cantonese musical groups when the composer writes for a large ensemble that will utilize several western instruments.[310]

Chen Fangyi notes that pieces demanding a large number of performers, an ensemble large enough to require a conductor, will often use five-line notation. This notation system was

---

[309] Qi Yi 齐易, "Wǔxiànpǔ -jiǎnpǔ de chǎnshēng-fāzhǎn jí xiàng zhōngguó de chuán rù 五线谱_简谱的产生_发展及向中国的传入 [Five Line Notation - Production of Simplified Notation: Development and Appearance in China]," *Héběi dàxué chéngrén jiàoyù xuéyuàn bào 河北大学成人教育学院报 [Journal of Adult Education of Hebei University]* 5, no. 2 (June 2003): 27.

[310] Chen, interview.

also present at park performances that the author witnessed, like those at Fangcun Park. Since the singers distribute the music as they step on stage, the performers must be ready to play from any score that is given to them. Although simplified notation is the most common, followed by gongche notation, five-line notation still made an appearance. It is not unusual for even university educated musicians specializing in traditional instruments to be uncomfortable reading from a five-line notation staff. They will be able to read it of course, but it will be much more of an analytical process rather than an ingrained or automatic one. Sight reading from a five-line score for them might be nearly impossible, depending of course on their previous experiences.[311]

Simplified/Numbered Notation: Simplified notation (简谱, Jiǎnpǔ), often known in the west as numbered or cipher notation, was introduced to China relatively recently.[312] The earliest example of the publication of jianpu can be found in Jiangsu (江苏, jiāngsū) province in a magazine published in 1903, by a Chinese student who had studied in Japan (where the notation system had been introduced by an American scholar in 1882). The notation system gradually spread throughout the country, but only became a staple notation system after WWII.[313] Simplified notation has been adopted so readily in China because it mixes the easy to read solfeggio-based system of China's traditional gongche notation, and the rhythmic accuracy of western five-line notation.

Simplified notation is quite similar to five-line notation but is based on solfege numbers rather than a graphical notation system. Time signature, measured bars, accidentals, dynamic markings, etc. will all be familiar to readers of five-line notation. The simplified notation system

[311] Based on the author's own experience studying Chinese music at the China Conservatory of Music in 2015-2016

[312] Qi, "Wǔxiànpǔ -jiǎnpǔ de chǎnshēng-fāzhǎn jí xiàng zhōngguó de chuán rù 五线谱_简谱的产生_发展及向中国的传入 [Five Line Notation - Production of Simplified Notation: Development and Appearance in China]," 28.

[313] Ibid.

has two main advantages that make it popular in China compared with five-line notation. The first is that, making use of a numbered solfege system, it is easier for amateurs to learn than the graphical representation of five-line notation. Because of its solfege system, there is also no need for different clefs, as the tonal center and range is indicated at the top of the page (or determined by the performer based on common performance practice). The second advantage offered by the simplified notation system is the ability to easily change the tonal center of the entire piece. Since the key is indicated by a marking at the top of the music (i.e. 1=F), the performer can quickly change keys by simply 'thinking' in the new key. There is no need to change the notation on the page. It also has an advantage over the traditional *gongche* notation in that rhythm is clearly indicated.

For musicians throughout China, especially those dealing with traditional Chinese music, this is the most common form of musical notation. Amateur musicians and students are more likely to be able to read simplified notation than five-line notation. Cantonese-musical ensembles are no different. The vast majority of music published for use in the ensembles utilizes simplified notation. Books of recently composed or adapted music by the CMAST use simplified notation in their publications. Chen Fangyi notes that simplified notation often is the most practical notation system to use not only because it is most easily read by all performers, but because it allows the entire orchestra to change keys easily, without the need to reprint music.

Gongche Notation (工尺谱, Gōngchě pǔ): In the years following the Song Dynasty, Chinese opera became a dominant, prestigious musical form within China.[314] It was also during

[314] Hongfeng Li李宏锋, "Míng Qīng Xìqǔ Chuánchéng Zhōng Gōng Chě Pǔ de Zuòyòng Jí Shǒu Diào Chàng Míng Fǎ Dí Quèlì 明清戏曲传承中工尺谱的作用及首调唱名法的确立 [The Establishment and Use of Qing and Ming Dynasty Traditional Opera's First Solfege System Gongche Notation]," *Xīnghǎi Yīnyuè Xuéyuàn Xuébào 星海音乐学院学报 [Journal of Xinghai Conservatory of Music]* 1 (2014): 53–53.

this time, the beginning of the Ming Dynasty, that performers turned to a new way of preserving and transmitting the music. Previously, the performance of Chinese opera, like the folk music upon which most of it is based, was passed on as an aural tradition. However, the widespread popularity of the genre to far-spread reaches of China and the increasing length and complexity of the art form gave rise to the need for a notational system.[315] This system became known as gongche notation.

Gongche notation derives its name from the reading of two characters within the scale: 上尺工凡六五乙仩 (shàng chě gōng fán liù wǔ yǐ shàng). This corresponds to solfege syllables Do Re Mi Fa Sol La Ti Do respectively. Therefore, the name of this notation system would be directly translated to MiRe notation. It is a 'moveable Do' notation system and is written in the traditional style of Chinese literature, from top to bottom and from right to left. In its early incarnations, gongche was a memory tool for experienced musicians that were already familiar with the melodies. Early styles would not have indicated any rhythmic value at all and often times may not have even made clear delineations in octave placement.[316] There were many different regional variations that varied in terms of the characters used, the ways in which or extent to which rhythm and range were indicated, and the realization practices of the performers.

In all, saxophonists performing in Cantonese musical groups must be able to read from three types of gongche notation. Modern gongche notation, based on the northern variant, delineates octaves via slightly modified Characters: 工，凡，合四一上尺工凡六五乙仩伬 (Mi,

[315] Li, "Míng Qīng Xìqǔ Chuánchéng Zhōng Gōng Chě Pǔ de Zuòyòng Jí Shǒu Diào Chàng Míng Fǎ Dí Quèlì 明清戏曲传承中工尺谱的作用及首调唱名法的确立 [The Establishment and Use of Qing and Ming Dynasty Traditional Opera's First Solfege System Gongche Notation]."

[316] Alan Robert Thrasher, *Sizhu Instrumental Music of South China: Ethos, Theory and Practice* (Leiden, Netherlands: BRILL, 2008), 89.

Fa, Sol, La, Ti, Do, Re, Mi, Fa, Sol, La, Ti, Do, Re). As can be seen, a lower octave is indicated first by a tail added to the corresponding character (here represented by a comma) and an octave higher will be indicated by the addition of 亻 (rén). Should additional octaves be need, additional tails or 亻 can be added i.e. 工 or 彳.[317]

While it does not contain a rhythmic-notation component, modern gongche notation does give 'beats' known as *banyan* (板眼). These beats are either strong (x) or weak (o). These indications give a rudimentary sense of meter and tempo, but more importantly, provide an important tie-in with what the percussionists will perform.[318]

Saxophonists performing with Cantonese music ensembles will, unsurprisingly, most often encounter the Cantonese variant of gongche notation. This is, in many respects, in keeping with the northern styles, save for a few important differences. First, the characters used are slightly different, including those indicating octaves: 仜仮合士乙上尺工反六五亿生伋彳彷 (Mi, Fa, Sol, La, Ti, Do, Re, Mi, Fa, Sol, La, Ti, Do, Re, Mi, Fa).[319] It is also important to note that these variants would be realized with their Cantonese rather than Mandarin pronunciation. Another key difference is the indications for the rhythmic outline banyan, where '\' will often be used to indicate the weak beats.[320]

Finally, saxophonists performing in Cantonese music ensembles must be proficient in, though not necessarily be fluent in, other regional or older styles of gongche notation.[321] These would include older or unedited versions of gongche where no octaves or rhythmic indications

[317] Ibid., 90.

[318] Ibid., 91.

[319] Ibid., 90.

[320] Ibid.

[321] Chen, interview.

are given, Chaozhou and Hakka style gongche notations where higher octaves are not indicated and strong beats are instead indicated by ‘o’, and others.[322]

Cheng Fangyi describes the use of gongche notation as being utilized only in the most traditional of pieces, or in situations where the performers are expected to perform in a more ‘traditional’ style. gongche notation is somewhat rare in the modern Cantonese musical ensembles of Guangzhou, though Chen notes that it is more popular in Hong Kong. However, the use of gongche notation can be seen quite readily in the groups accompanying amateurs in the park. In these groups, simplified notation was the most common, but gongche notation was by no means unusual.

Significance of the Saxophone in Cantonese Music

Those involved with the performance of Cantonese music, be it as performers, composers, audience members, or otherwise, take a special pride in the unique place that Cantonese opera holds within the spectrum of Chinese Opera as a whole. This special place is in the incorporation of many different forms of Chinese and foreign music and, most importantly, the use of folk traditions, everyday idioms, and the language (both literally and metaphorically) of the street. In this way, the incorporation of the saxophone into Cantonese musical ensembles is not an addition to the traditions of Cantonese music, but a direct representation of those traditions.

As described in *Listening to the Cultural Revolution* “Cantonese opera has always been proud of its inclusiveness, welcoming distant topics, novel visual designs, Western musical

[322] Thrasher, *Sizhu Instrumental Music of South China*, 90.

instruments, and even foreign words."[323] This sentiment, a pride in being open to outside influences, was remarked upon by Chen Fangyi in our conversation together as well. The use of saxophone, cello, or marimba, he noted, is a reflection of the ways that Cantonese-music performers are always looking for new forms to incorporate into their music. The inclusion of these instruments, and the sounds and styles that Cantonese-music groups are able to achieve as a result make Cantonese opera a truly unique genre of Chinese opera. Pang Laikan writes

> The intimate relationship between local dialect and operatic music was particularly important after the 1920s when foreign cultural influences grew considerably. In the Republican era, not only were saxophones, violins, banjos, and guitars used profusely on Cantonese opera stages but also were lines and arias with English terms such as 'sorry' and 'bye-bye'. These terms were incorporated into the opera because they were already part of the Cantonese vernacular, and could be heard in everyday life.[324]

Finally, the incorporation of the saxophone and other western instruments into Cantonese-music groups represented a trend sweeping China at during the 'Golden Age' of the genre which has come to be known as the New Culture Movement. Musicians, poets, novelists, and artists of all kinds were trying to "make use of Western techniques and to locate distinctively Chinese music as a national marker…"[325] There was a general consensus amongst these artists that Chinese art, including music, had fallen behind that of the rest of the Western world.[326] The only remedy, as they saw it, was to find a blend of Chinese and Western ideals, a new cultural direction. As Gong Hong-Yu writes

> few of the reformers of Chinese music believed that the problem could 'be solved by borrowing all these things from foreign sources.' …most proponents of the [National Music] ideal maintained that traditional Chinese values and aesthetics were relevant, even

[323] Clark, Pang, and Tsai, *Listening to China's Cultural Revolution*, 140.

[324] Ibid.

[325] Gong, "Music, Nationalism and the Search for Modernity in China, 1911-1949," 55.

[326] Ibid., 57.

> in a rapidly changing environment, and all their efforts were aimed at finding a way to create music that was both modern and Chinese.[327]

Cantonese opera, then, with its mix of Western and Chinese, modern and traditional, national and regional, was a model product of this movement. As to why the saxophone was chosen as one of the emissaries of this movement, perhaps the best explanation can be summed up by Michael Segell when he writes "The saxophone's ability to insinuate itself into the classical music of cultures whose traditional music predates the instrument by hundreds of years might be the most striking example of its flexibility."[328]

Ethnography of Cantonese Opera Performances in Guangzhou

Introduction

In preparation for the discussion on performance opportunities for saxophonists in Cantonese musical ensembles, I attended several Cantonese-music concerts and interviewed professional musicians performing with Cantonese musical groups. Performance practice and performance opportunities within professional organizations or structured troupes has been well documented,[329] but in order to better understand these practices from the saxophonist's perspective, concert attendance was a necessary step. These observations also serve to compensate for a lack of primary sources on the subject and chronicle when, where, and how the saxophone is utilized in Cantonese opera performances in modern Guangzhou.

This ethnography also serves to describe the presence, albeit a small market, of freelance Cantonese music performance. I began exploring this aspect of performance opportunities and

---

[327] Ibid., 60.

[328] Michael Segell, *The Devil's Horn: The Story of the Saxophone, from Noisy Novelty to King of Cool* (New York: Picador, 2005), 35.

[329] See: Yung, *Cantonese Opera*; Chan, *Improvisation in a Ritual Context*; NG, *The Rise of Cantonese Opera*.

seriously examining parks as performance spaces on the advice of a colleague with whom I interacted while we were both based at the China Conservatory of Music in Beijing (2015-2016). Originally from Hong Kong, she related information about freelance Cantonese-music performers, including saxophonists, that were paid per-service to accompany amateur or semi-amateur performers; a better alternative to the ubiquitous boombox of the public squares throughout China. Since this performance venue for Cantonese-music saxophonists is an important and overlooked one, I made multiple visits to eight different parks in Guangzhou, China over the course of one year.

Liuhua Lake Park (流花湖公园, Liú huā hú gong yuán)

- March 19, 2017; (April 8, 2017); April 9, 2017; Multiple times passing by

My first time witnessing a live Cantonese opera performance (or performance including Cantonese opera) was at Liuhua Lake Park, a 5-minute walk from my apartment in Guangzhou. I would often go there on weekends to walk, enjoy the views, and watch the various amateur musicians that would set up in small groups about the park to perform music together. Parks in China are an important meeting place and leisure area for Chinese city-dwellers that, living in high-rise apartments, have no outdoor space to call their own. Instead, public parks are a place to for friends and families to gather, have tea, play cards, play sports of various kinds, join the local photography club, join in with an excercise group, or play music.

The Liuhua Lake Park has a small stage situated at the center of the park, overlooking one of the smaller lakes. Every weekend on this small stage, volunteers come together to lead passersby in group singing, karaoke style. These volunteers take turns leading the impromptu orchestra and chorus by standing on the stage themselves, facing the audience and orchestra

seated or standing facing the stage. Next to the volunteer director is placed an over-sized easel on which rests an over-sized notebook, on which is written the song, in simplified notation with lyrics, for the audience and often orchestra to follow.

The orchestra consists of an assortment of instruments: whomever happens to arrive that day and whatever instrument they carry is what is accepted. On the three occasions that I attended the sing-a-longs (and the other numerous times passing by), the orchestra regularly consisted of 2-3 electric keyboard players, 4-5 erhu players, a saxophonist (alto), one jazz drum-set played by a rotating staff of 2-3 drummers, a pipa player, an electric guitar player, an accordionist on one occasion, a trumpet player on one occasion, and 2-3 dizi players. The chorus usually numbers around 30-40 singers, of which 15-20 are regulars that will stay for the entire event. The other 15-20 singers are onlookers that will stay for one or two songs before moving on with their walk.

The sing-a-longs at the park are by no means an ioperatic performance in the traditional sense. Songs called by the volunteer conductors range from patriotic songs like “I Love You, China” (我爱你中国, Wǒ ài nǐ zhōngguó) to popular folk-inspired tunes like “Road in the Sky” (天路, Tiān lù) but would occasionally include popular songs from taken from the Cantonese opera cannon. The audience, conductors, and orchestra were all retirees, judging by appearances. The only time someone under the age of 60 could be seen at these events is if they were accompanying an older family member, and even then, they only constituted the passersby, not the regulars.

Living so near to the park, I witnessed these sing-a-long sessions numerous times, probably around 20 in all. However, as an observer looking for detailed information, I attended three times over the course of two months.

- March 26, 2017; May 14, 2017; May 21, 2017

My next park foray took me to Liuwan Lake Park on the west side of Guangzhou city. This park truly lives up to the name as a lake park, as the majority of the area is taken up by a large lake with three smaller off-shoots connected by large canals. The east side of the park features a moderately-sized performance area where Cantonese opera performances are staged (see Figure 8).

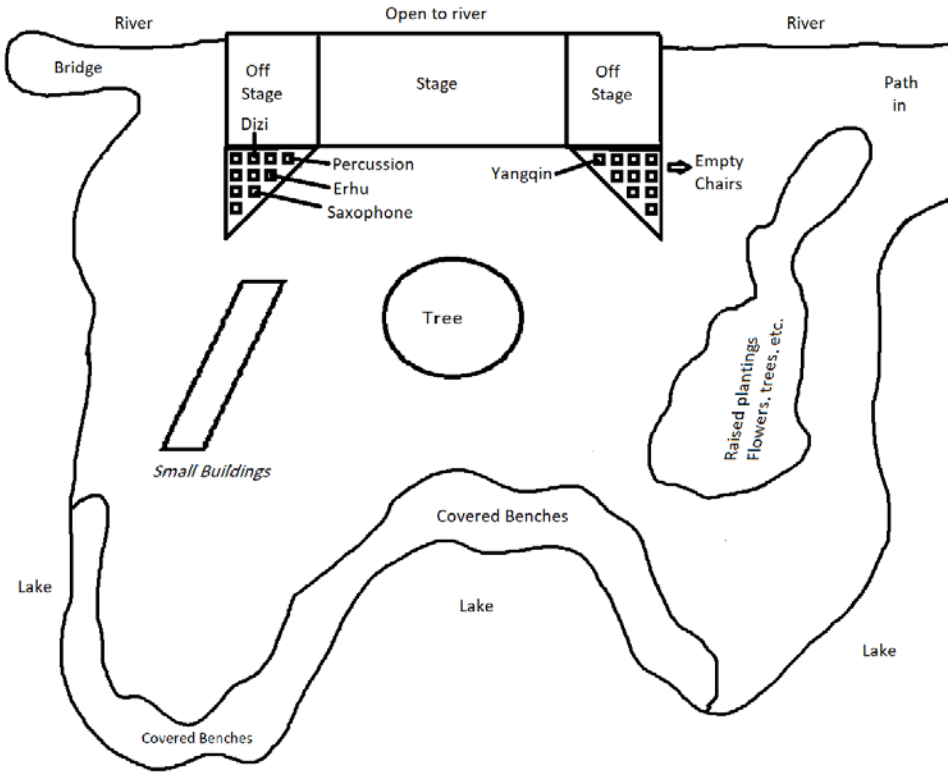

Figure 8: Liuwan Lake Park Stage Diagram

The stage area is a slightly misshapen half-circle that can be entered from a walkway on the right that skirts the shoreline of the lake or accessed by a bridge on the left that leads to a row of shops selling everything from street snacks to scented candles and homemade jewelry. The stage itself backs against a small man-made river or culvert that, if accessed by a bridge on the far side of the stage area, separates the stage from a touristy old-town area that includes, amongst

other attractions, the Guangzhou Puppet Theater Troupe. The area just in front of the stage and around the tree is, like most of the pathways in the park, set with brick. It is a large area where audience members had spread out blankets to sit on or, for the better prepared, set up folding chairs. Continuing directly away from the front of the stage is a series of covered benches that hug the shore-line of the lake. The area is big enough (and the tree so large) that most of the covered bench seating at the back of the stage area does not actually provide a very good view of the action on stage.

The stage in total is a rectangular building with two, small, right-triangle shaped corrals on either side of the front for the orchestra. The performance area is a square in the middle of this building, with the sides serving as the offstage/backstage area. The back of the performing area is open and looks over the small river and onto the old-town area.

The performance was already underway as I arrived, and I saw that the performers were in full costume, but there was no backdrop or scenery per say. The orchestra consisted of a percussionist, erhu player, dizi player, and saxophonist (tenor), on the left side of the stage (from the audience perspective), and a yangqin player on the right. There were plenty of empty seats and room for more musicians on both sides of the stage. The orchestra members were all in their 40s to late 50s.

The musicians each had their own music stand,[330] and as I walked around different vantage points I could see they were all reading from the same jianpu score. The scores were set into 3-ring binders which they would leaf through before each new singer took the stage; the music order obviously pre-arranged. The use of the tenor saxophone in the small orchestra added

[330] See: Chan, *Improvisation in a Ritual Context*., discussion on orchestra layout

to the overall sound of the group, the lower sonority contributing a depth that was otherwise lacking.

While I was there, having arrived just after intermission I believe, the singers consisted of four women and one man all in their 50s or 60s. As I watched the performance, inconsistencies in pitch, a general stiffness on stage, and the occasional glance at lyrics written onto hands made it apparent that the singers are amateurs, competent amateurs, but amateurs nonetheless. The orchestra on the other hand, while small, seems much more confident and rehearsed. The yangqin player seems to be the principal chair in the orchestra, leading the group via body language, facial expressions, and small hand gestures. Interestingly, it was also obviously that she, and by extension the orchestra, was leading the singers through their performances as well; a distinct change from the typical singer-orchestra musical relationship.[331]

As one performance ended, I saw that this was not a full opera production, but rather a series of scenes from various operas. The name of each song was announced at the beginning of each performance. However, it being in Cantonese, I could not understand what was being said. Instead, the fact that these were individual scenes was revealed by the lack of a strong story line which comes through in full productions even if the lyrics are not entirely understood. During three of the performances I noticed a few audience members walking to the front of the stage (while the performance was still going) and bowing. From my vantage point I couldn't see what exactly what they were doing, but it seemed a strange behavior.

The performance ended with little fanfare and I saw some money being passed around to the instrumental performers by an older woman that appeared from backstage. I couldn't see the exact amount, but the flash of a bright green note indicated an amount of over 50RMB. The

[331] See: Ibid., discussion on actor-orchestra interaction

performance ended just before 4:00pm so I decided that the next time I should arrive around 2:30pm, the typical start time for most events and government offices, especially in Southern China where mid-day naps are strictly observed.

On May 21, 2017 I made my way back to the stage area, arriving around 2:00pm. The audience and musicians began arriving and, by the start of the show, there was once again a crowd of 50-60 people. The orchestra, however, was a bit sparser this time, short a dizi player. The saxophonist, interestingly, brought an alto saxophone to this performance. I did not see any other saxophones with him, so it must have been a pre-arranged choice. The performances went on much as before, and, also like last time, the saxophonist as well as other melodic instruments didn't engage in any extra ornamentation that I heard, performing strictly from the score.

The third performance consisted of a man in his late 30s or so and a girl of about 8 to 10 years old. The man, though, sang in falsetto, imitating a woman's role, which has a long history in Cantonese Opera.[332] Just like I had seen at the previous performance, during several performances, and especially for this performance with the man and young girl, I saw patrons going to the front of the stage and bowing. This time, however, I was in a position to see that they were not paying their respects, but rather, paying: there was a small wicker basket set at the front of the stage that patrons would place money into for, presumably, performances they especially enjoyed. The money was usually 2-4 RMB, with the largest contribution being 10RMB for the aforementioned duet. The basket was emptied and replaced by a worker sitting directly in front of the stage who would hurry backstage if money had been deposited. I did not see the orchestra receive any money at the end of this event. Perhaps the agreed upon amount is only paid once per month or only on select performances.

[332] Yeung, "Red Boat Troupes and Cantonese Opera," 71.

I made one other attempt on May 14th, 2017, to observe performances at Liuwan Lake park, but was rained out.

Fangcun Park (芳村公园, Fāng cūn gong yuán)

- June 5, 2017; June 6, 2017; June 12, 2017

Fangcun park is by far the smallest park I visited, but also one of the most active for Cantonese Opera performances. On Monday June 5, 2017, I made my first trip to observe the performances. The park is relatively small, just a local community park as opposed to the large lake parks I had been to before that are meant to serve huge swaths of the city. It only takes about 5 minutes to walk along the main path across the park from north to south. Along the side paths, small paved open areas, rock gardens, covered seating areas and gazebos. It was in one of these covered seating areas, on the east side of the park, where I saw the performance taking shape.

The covered gazebo area is not large, so the musicians set up tightly with a small space in the middle for the singer (see Figure 9). The percussion section was set up on the left side (audience perspective) with one of the two percussionists taking turns playing while the other would sit behind and not play at all. Opposite the percussionist was the orchestra composed of dizi, tenor saxophone, two cellos, yangqin, 2-3 erhu players (explained below), and a pipa/guitar player (see below).

I arrived around 9:00am and the music was already underway. The musicians were setup in an arc around the singer, each with their own music stand. Behind the singer was a large speaker with a microphone plugged in, that served as both amplifier and monitor for the group. The orchestra was made up of musicians in their early 40s to 50s, younger than the singers by ten

years or more. The various singers that came to the stage also made up a majority of the audience. Represented equally in both men and women, the singers would perform scenes from operas, recitative sections included, in solos and occasionally duets.

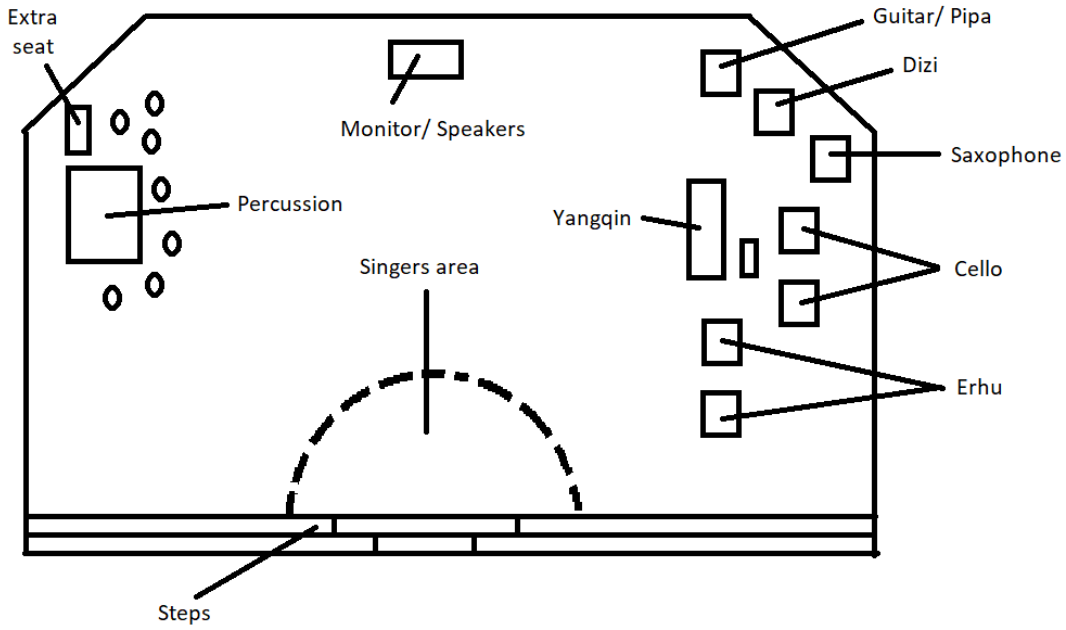

Figure 9: Fangcun Park Stage Diagram

As a singer took the stage, they would distribute sheet music to the musicians. Almost as soon as the scores were on the stands, the music would start. The whole process was quite fast and seamless. Moving around the side of the gazebo, where several other audience members were observing the orchestra as well, I could see the scores being used. Every musician read from the same score and, on this day all of the scores given utilized jianpu notation. When the singer was done, they would collect the scores and give way to the next performer. The performances continued until around 10:30am, which appeared to be the pre-arranged time to finish.

Occasionally after a performance I would see a performer slip some money to the percussionist or erhu players. At the end, several of the singers, the ones that hadn't paid already,

presumably, paid money as well, again only to the erhu or percussionist. The musicians packed up their instruments, one of the singers from before took the portable speaker and the gazebo was cleared.

The next morning, I wanted to make sure I was there in time for the full event, so I reached the park around 8am. By 8:30 the first music score was being passed out and performances under way. Walking around during the various performancers as they played, I once again saw that the majority of pieces used jianpu notation. However, one piece used gongche notation and one was even given in five-line notation. Interestingly, when the five-line score was given out the singer made small apologies saying "this is the only version in my book." The musicians, however, seemed unbothered by it.

The woman that brought the speaker, and had been one of the singers last time, joined the orchestra in the beginning playing pipa. She took to the stage for the 3rd performance of the morning and then returned to the orchestra. For the last 3 or so songs, she switched to acoustic guitar to finish out the morning. Throughout the event and at the end payments happened as before.

The next day, on June 12, I arrived at the park early once again. The performances went on as before, this time however, one of the erhu players, one that I didn't recognize from my last visits, left the orchestra to sing a song before returning once again to the orchestra. Payments happened as before, but this time at the conclusion of the event, around 10:30am, the yangqin, percussionists (2), one erhu player, and the saxophonist stayed back as the audience dispersed. After, I saw the percussionist and erhu player pool their money together, presumably the week's earnings, and then distribute it amongst the musicians present.

In terms of performance practice at the three events I attended, the saxophonist, and indeed the entire orchestra, played mostly directly from the score, with very little improvisation. Even though I was not watching the score intently throughout the mornings, when the entire group is performing the melodic line in unison, it is quite easy to determine when, where, or if improvisation and/or ornamentation is being utilized. When the saxophonist performed ornamental improvisation, he did so by simplifying the melody somewhat. This approach was obvious from listening alone because the other melodic instruments, erhu, dizi, and yangin, would continue playing in unison. The saxophonist's simplification of the melody in these cases served to make the written melody appear more ornamented by comparison.

CMSAT Cantonese Opera Performance

- March 24, 2018

I arrived at the Cantonese Music and Song Art Troupe (CMSAT) building around 7:15 in preparation for their 7:30 performance. The performance hall is a small but well-equipped auditorium consisting of 15 total tiered-rows of seating. The first three tiers of seating are rows of typical wooden tables and high-backed chairs that would be found in any tea shop or traditional restaurant throughout China. The first row where I was seated had four tables each of which had four chairs, one on each side left and right, and two on the side opposite the stage. Behind me was a row of 6 tables and chairs and behind that a row of 8 tables and chairs. The 4th row and up consisted of traditional theater seating, with red, folding, cushioned seats.

The stage itself was set up for a Cantonese opera performance (see Figure 10).

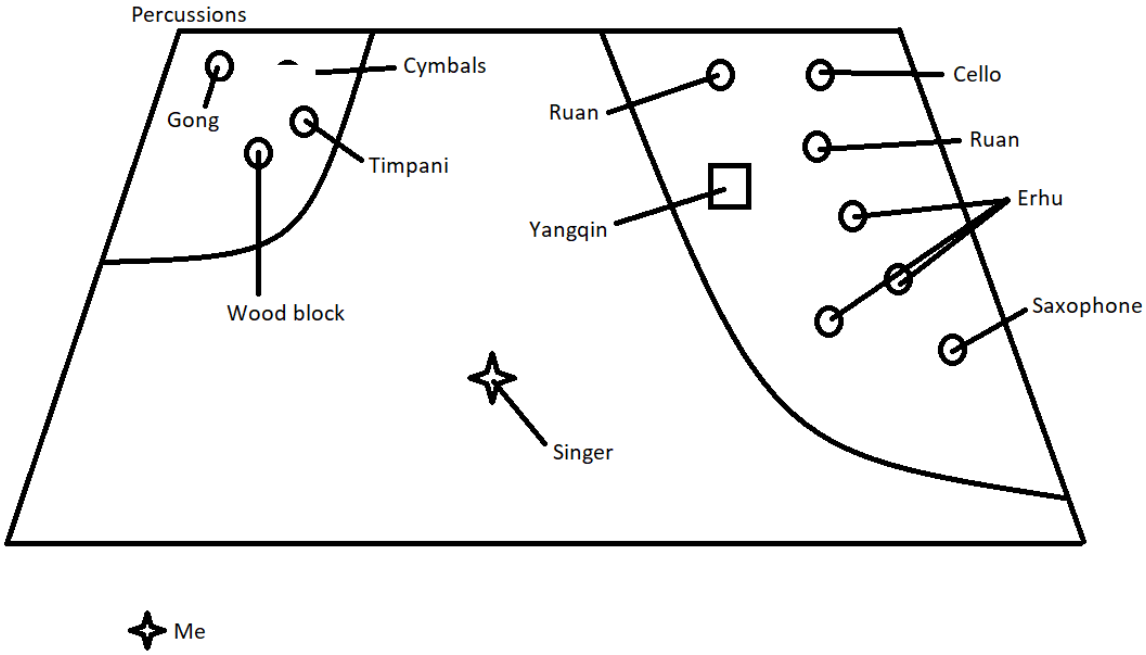

Figure 10: CMSAT Stage Diagram

The center of the stage was open, while the back-left corner (from the audience perspective) was corralled off with a very short wooden fence for the percussion section. I saw timpani, an assortment of Chinese gongs, and a bangu (板鼓), a small Chinese drum that is similar in appearance to a small conga. On the right was another, larger, corral for the melodic musicians, about 10 musicians total. The room had a large sound system, very large considering the size of the room. There were two small wedge monitors at the front of the stage pointed toward the performers, two huge speakers suspended from the ceiling on either side of the stage, directly below the suspended speakers were two smaller but still quite sizeable speakers held aloft by large poles set on the stage, directly below these were two more large speakers (likely subwoofers). The only microphones that could be seen were a few interspersed throughout the orchestra. The saxophonist's position was in the row closest to the front of the stage, but nearly off stage to the right. In fact, it seems that he was just behind the curtain, and if I were at a slightly different angle I probably wouldn't have been able to see him at all.

As the performance began, it was obvious that the singers were professionally trained, all performing excellently. The orchestra on the whole was good but sounded unrehearsed. I could hear improvisation as well, but this just had a rather unrehearsed quality about it.

The performances, except that they were obviously professionals, reminded me of so many other performances I've seen around Guangzhou (at the Cantonese opera museum, or with the retirees in the park) where selected scenes from various operas were performed.

The saxophonist was utilized for every song in the concert. Performing the tenor saxophone throughout the evening, his performance style was largely contained to the written score. This can be ascertained by the fact that the entire orchestra was playing from the same score in unison. In the vast majority of instances, the saxophone and cello played together, in similar octaves, ornamenting in similar ways, performing at similar times. This is in line with many of the performances I saw in the parks, when cello was present. When there was deviation, it took the form of simple ornamentation as described by Sau Chan,[333] wherein the saxophonist will deviate slightly from the 'bare-bones' melody. In most cases, this took the form of the saxophonist performing a simpler version of the melody while the other instruments, erhu and yangqin in particular, played the more ornamented full version. This was often performed as rhythmic simplification (Figure 11) or by simply inserting rests and entering the melodic figure already in motion to create contrasting timbres. (Figure 12)

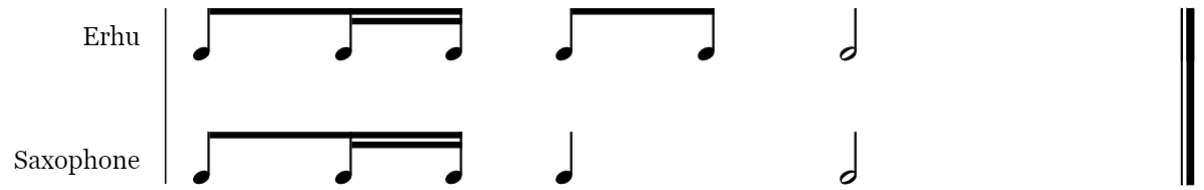

Figure 11: Improvisatory Rhythmic Simplification Example

[333] Chan, *Improvisation in a Ritual Context*.

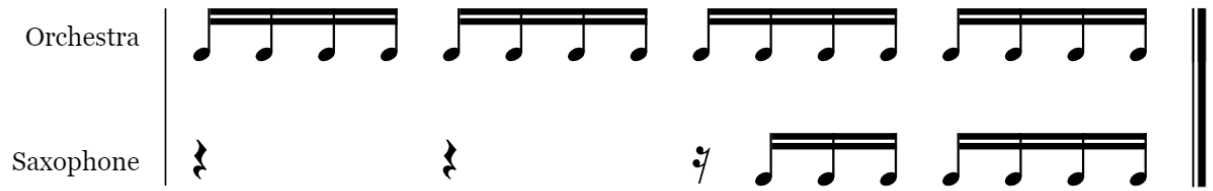

Figure 12: Improvisatory Simplification by Resting Example

Timbrally, the saxophonist played with a fairly neutral tone color and, most of the time, without vibrato. The orchestra was fairly small and filled with mostly smaller stringed instruments and, as a result, there were times when it seems the saxophonist was struggling to control his volume, in order to blend with the rest of the group. This often presented itself through the use of sub-tone in the lower range of the instrument. In one piece, the saxophone and erhu performed a duet alone, the only two instruments accompanying the singer, for a short melodic phrase. In this instance, the saxophone employed vibrato and matched that of the erhu in both speed and pitch. When, on a few, very rare occasions, the saxophonist stopped playing altogether, the change in the depth of the orchestra's sound was very noticeable. When the saxophonist began performing again, the difference was remarkable, and could even be perceived when the saxophone's voice could not be heard distinctly. The performance came to a close around 9:30.

Fruitless Endeavors

In addition to the above, I also visited Yuexiu Park (越秀公园, Yuèxiù gōngyuán), Shamian Park (沙面公园, Shāmiàn gōngyuán), and Central Lake Park (中心湖公园, Zhōngxīn hú gōngyuán) 3 times each, the Cantonese Opera Museum and Cultural Park (文化公园, Wénhuà gōngyuán) twice, and Nansha Tianhou Park (南沙天后, Nánshā tiānhòu gōngyuán)

once, at varying times and on different days of the week when possible. Although music was being performed at all of these, from pre-recorded accompaniment at professional performances at Cultural Park and amateur performances at the Cantonese Opera Museum, to a lone trumpet player in a quiet corner, or a group of *hulusi* (葫芦丝, Húlusī) players facing each other in a circular gazebo, and even a healthy showing of karaoke lovers, no other instances of saxophonists perfroming Cantonese opera were found.

Ethnography Conclusions

This ethnography was undertaken to better understand the performance styles and situations that exist for Cantonese-music saxophonists today, both those that work outside of the established Cantonese opera troupes and those that are full-time employees. Since the goal of this document is to chronicle the developments in historical performance of the saxophone in China, this ethnography was necessary to fill-in the gaps left by a lack of primary sources on the subject. In this sense, the ethnography was a success. I was able to find opportunities at both established ensembles and freelance groups and interview with Chen Fangyi who understands all aspects of Cantonese-music performance. Working conditions within the established organizations or the troupe system are well documented, but information specific to the saxophone is scarce. Discussing the freelance saxophonists' performance conditions, however, is also important. On the whole, the free-lance market for saxophonists is very small. Out of the 9 total possible venues I searched for free-lance Cantonese opera performances, only 2 were found.

CHAPTER 5

THE TRANSITION YEARS AND THE TURBULENT 60s: 1931-1976

Introduction

The years of and surrounding the Second Sino-Japanese War were a transitional and unstable time for the cultural elements of China. What had been a golden age for jazz, Chinese pop music, and Cantonese opera came to a crashing halt with the onset of World War II. Instead of the rapid advancements that had been seen just a few years prior, musicians throughout China were forced to just hold on and wait until the situation calmed. When it did finally settle down, it settled into a radically different path, one deliberately charted by Mao Zedong and his political beliefs toward the arts.

The Second Sino-Japanese War and WWII

The Second-Sino Japanese War is traditionally noted as starting with the Marco Polo Bridge Incident of 1937. However, for musicians living in the city of Harbin and throughout the rest of the northeastern region known as Manchuria, the trouble began in 1931. In September of 1931 the Japanese Empire began its invasion of Manchuria under the pretext of an explosion near Shenyang, or the city of Mukden in Japanese.[334] The invasion continued swiftly and by the end of February 1932 Japan controlled all of Manchuria with the deposed Qing emperor Henry Puyi sitting on the throne of the puppet-state Manchukuo.[335]

For musicians in the Russian-cultural stronghold of Harbin, the majority of musical

[334] Paine, *The Wars for Asia, 1911–1949*, 13.

[335] Ibid., 14.

activities were allowed to continue, albeit under new economic and military restrictions.[336] For saxophonists in the city, some new opportunities even presented themselves. In 1934 Russian students studying at the Harbin Institute of Technology established the city's first jazz band. Led by Oleg Longstrom, the 6-member band performed in dance halls, large restaurants, and even recorded at the Harbin Radio station.[337]

> By 1936 however, with war looming, Longstrom and his band moved on. As Liu writes "In 1936, Japan completely took over the Harbin Institute of Technology and renamed the university "Harbin Advanced Industrial School." The six student musicians left Harbin and traveled to Yantai, Qingdao, Shanghai and amongst other places. They became one of the leading bands of the "Paramount" hotel in Shanghai and were selected as the first-class band by the Shanghai-based English-language magazine "Olympia"."[338]

Newspapers in Harbin continue to report on Russian jazz bands performing in other Chinese cities. In a 1937 issue of *The Rubesk News* of Harbin, Manchuria, Sergei Ermolaeff and His Russian Jazz Orchestra, including saxophone, are pictured performing at the Qingdao Café.[339] The same newspaper also pictures the band performing in 1937 Shanghai, again with saxophones, this time noting that Ermolaeff was collaborating with band leader Alexander Vertinsky.[340]

Although Japanese encroachment had already begun after the Mukden incident in 1931,[341] the Second Sino-Japanese war, and what would become WWII, began in earnest on July 28, 1937 with the Marco Polo Bridge Incident.[342] For the Chinese people living in Beijing and

---

[336] Liu Xinxin 刘欣欣, *Hā'ěrbīn xīyáng yīnyuè shǐ 哈尔滨西洋音乐史 [The History of Western Music in Harbin]* (Rénmín yīnyuè chūbǎn shè 人民音乐出版社 [People's Publishing], 2002), 130.

[337] Ibid., 174–75.

[338] Ibid., 175.

[339] Tatiana Pentes, "Shanghai, Harbin, Russian Jazz,1930s, Sergei Ermolaeff," *Strange Cities* (blog), July 9, 2007, http://strangecities.blogspot.com.au/2007/07/shanghaiharbinrussian-jazz1930s-sergei.html.

[340] Ibid.

[341] Paine, *The Wars for Asia, 1911–1949*, 2.

[342] Wolfram Eberhard, *A History of China* (University of California Press, 1977), 329.

Shanghai, the effects were almost immediate. By the end of the same day, Beijing was under Japanese control, and the nearby city Tianjin to the south, fell just two days later.[343] Nanjing and Shanghai fell by the end of same year and by 1938 both the inland central city of Wuhan and the southern economic powerhouse of Guangzhou came under Japanese rule.[344]

For better or for worse, the saxophone was present for at least one of these events as well. A special report in the form of a film clip from the Asahi News titled "Entering Nanjing Ceremony" (南京入城式, nánjīng rùchéng shì) shows hundreds of Japanese troops marching through war-torn Nanjing. At the 1 minute 22 second mark a large marching band of the Japanese army is shown parading down the street. Three tenor saxophones can be seen in the band.

In Shanghai and the rest of China, the foreign settlements and their jazz clubs remained untouched. Even as the rest of the city suffered under Japanese control the Fourth Marine Band (whose main mission was protection of the embassy and other foreign holdings[345]) presented one of their regular musical performances for church services; the *North China Daily News* reported:

> Chaplain Frank R. Hamiltion of the Fourth Marines will conduct the Service, delivering the Sermon on the subject 'The Art of Hearing.' A special musical feature is a Saxophone Quartet rendered by four members of the band personnel. Selection by the band in the worship include the Prelude 'Indilio' by Lack and Tobani's 'Hearts and Flowers' for the Offertory.[346]

As late as February 1941 advertisements for saxophone teachers were appearing in Shanghai's *North China Daily News*: "Professional teacher (State Conservatory Vienna), teaches accordion,

[343] Paine, *The Wars for Asia, 1911–1949*, 131.

[344] Ibid., 135.

[345] Chester M. Biggs, *The United States Marines in North China, 1894–1942*. McFarland, 2003.

[346] *North China Daily News*,"Today's Church Services," January 16, 1938.

saxophone, flute to beginners and advanced."[347]

As Melvin and Cai put it "because they were ruled by nations with whom Japan was not at war, Shanghai's International Settlement and French Concession together escaped the scourge of the invasion but were largely cut off from the rest of China and the world, an 'orphaned island' afloat in a sea of suffering and devastation."[348] Unfortunately the same couldn't be said for local Chinese activities, and this fact could be deeply felt amongst the Cantonese opera communities of Guangzhou.

The Japanese occupation of Guangzhou in 1938 and later Hong Kong in 1941, led to dramatic changes in Cantonese opera performances. Many popular forms of the genre, especially those enjoyed by the lower classes like all female troupes of singers, suffered dramatic decline.[349] One of the first Cantonese opera victims to the war was the famed Red Boat troupes that had long toured the water ways of the Pearl River Delta with their traveling shows. These Red Boats, large enough to conceal troops or be converted for military use, were destroyed, many by air bomb. Those that remained were seized by the Japanese for other uses.[350] Yeung writes "The [Red Boat Troupe] practice began flourishing in the 1910s. More than 30 Red Boat Troupes coexisted. Each troupe used two to three boats that toured the waterway of the Pearl River. The practice ended in 1938 when Guangzhou, the capital city of Guangdong, was seized by the Japanese."[351] The Cantonese opera guild building in the Huangsha district, that served as

[347] *North China Daily News*, "Educational," February 25, 1941.

[348] Melvin and Cai, *Rhapsody in Red*, 136.

[349] Yung, *Cantonese Opera*, 38.

[350] Yeung, "Red Boat Troupes and Cantonese Opera," 35.

[351] Ibid., 4.

de-facto headquarters for the Cantonese opera community was destroyed early on in the Japanese invasion.[352]

The Japanese occupation of Guangzhou led to a creative drain from the area. Seeking shelter in the British controlled, and as-yet unoccupied Hong Kong, many of the best-known Cantonese opera stars fled. Loretta Yeung notes that "because of fear of being used as tools for propaganda of the Japanese, both Sit [Sit Kok Seen] and Ma [Ma Sze Tsang] fled to China from Hong Kong."[353] Sau Chan also states that "during the Sino-Japanese War, [Ben Loeng] fled from Guangzhou to Hong Kong, worked as an office boy for the famous Cantonese opera playwrights Lei Siu-Wen and Tong Dik-seng."[354]

In some other ways, Cantonese opera performances continued on much as they had before the war. Loretta Yeung notes that "the Japanese occupation in 1941 did not stop staging these operas. In fact, the Japanese encourage entertainment in order to promote a peaceful atmosphere."[355] Later, she also notes that western instruments were still in common use by Cantonese opera orchestras during the occupation,[356] of which saxophone was an inseparable member.[357]

December 7, 1941 was not just the day the Japanese Navy attacked Pearl Harbor, but also when the Imperial Military declared war on of the Allied Nations. The foreign settlements throughout China that had been islands of peace in the sea of chaos surrounding them were suddenly under Japanese control. Within hours of the Pearl Harbor attack, international

[352] NG, *The Rise of Cantonese Opera*, 27.

[353] Yeung, "Red Boat Troupes and Cantonese Opera," 64.

[354] Chan, *Improvisation in a Ritual Context*, 62.

[355] Yeung, "Red Boat Troupes and Cantonese Opera," 64.

[356] Ibid., 82.

[357] Chen, interview.

settlements like Shanghai and others throughout China were overrun by Japanese troops, and by December 25 Hong Kong was also under Japanese control.[358] Within months, under pressure from their Nazi allies, Japan established a Jewish ghetto in the Hongkou (虹口, Hóngkǒu) area where more than 18,000 stateless Jewish refugees from Central and Eastern Europe were relocated. European Jews that had arrived after 1937 were forced into, as Tang describes, "…a run down district in north east Shanghai at that time. The Hongkew [*sic*] Ghetto period lasted for two and a half years from February 1942 until the Japanese surrendered and the ghetto was liberated in 1945."[359]

The Japanese occupation of Shanghai dampened the cultural aspects of that city in significant ways. In *Rhapsody in Red*, Melvin and Cai note that "Since the autumn of 1942, foreigners deemed 'enemy nationals' had been required to wear numbered armbands and were frequently refused entry to public places of amusement, including cinemas and concert halls."[360] As the occupation continued, Japanese censorship was applied to performances in occupied areas. Speaking of Shanghai, Tang writes

> As the Japanese occupied the city centre and most shops were closed, it was hard for musicians to go there to give regular performances. Programmes had to pass Japanese censorship to meet the occupiers' interest and taste. Even if a concert were approved, it was subject to interference by Japanese patrols of police. However, the demand for musical life persisted in in the face of such restrictions, with musicians often volunteering their services.[361]

As to what was permitted by Japanese censors in China, not much can be certain, but policies present in Japan and thereby the rest of the Empire shed some light. Just two years after the

[358] Paine, *The Wars for Asia, 1911–1949*, 187.

[359] Tang, "Reconstructing the Vanished Musical Life of the Shanghai Jewish Diaspora," 111.

[360] Melvin and Cai, *Rhapsody in Red*, 150.

[361] Tang, "Reconstructing the Vanished Musical Life of the Shanghai Jewish Diaspora," 111.

Marco Polo Bridge incident (The China Incident as it was known in Japan) jazz was banned from Japanese radio.[362] For a short time, occupied Shanghai still employed jazz clubs, stocked with ever increasing numbers of Japanese musicians. Until 1941, when even the remaining Japanese-owned dance halls were shut down, "[Shanghai] was sanctuary from the suppression of jazz culture in the homeland [Japan]."[363]

In 1941 Tokyo, an anonymous police report detailed the types of jazz that might be permitted in the city in order to effectively censor the unwanted elements. This included limiting the number of saxophones.[364] And just two years later, as Kasza notes "the CIB compiled a list of one thousand songs, both foreign and Japanese, to be banished from entertainment, and after April 1944 music played on the banjo, ukulele, and steel guitar was outlawed altogether, while use of the saxophone was narrowly restricted."[365]

Despite obvious suppression of jazz and even saxophone specifically in Japan and, likely, occupied China, there is evidence that the saxophone, in its classical form, was still allowed. Radio broadcast listings in Dairen, which give time and program information for upcoming broadcasts, continue to provide saxophone performances in their line-up from 1932, with a saxophone solo by Dimitrieff,[366] to as late as 1940, with an unnamed saxophone solo.[367] In a 1939 edition of the *Manchuria Daily News*, there are even advertisements for the purchase of records including saxophone performances: "Agitato (Mendelssohn, arr. Meyet), Theme et

---

[362] Hector Berlioz, "Soire de M. Massart," *Journal Des Débats Politiques et Littéraires,* April 13, 1851, 256–57.

[363] E. Taylor Atkins, *Blue Nippon: Authenticating Jazz in Japan* (Duke University Press, 2001), 89.

[364] E. Taylor Atkins, "The War on Jazz, or Jazz Goes to War: Toward a New Cultural Order in Wartime Japan," *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* 6, no. 2 (1998): 361–63.

[365] Gregory J. Kasza, *The State and the Mass Media in Japan, 1918-1945* (University of California Press, 1993), 256–57.

[366] *Manchuria Daily News,*"Radio Programme," June 25, 1932.

[367] *Manchuria Daily News,*"Radio Program," February 13, 1940.

Scherzo du Quatuor (Glazounow [*sic*]) by Quartet of the Garde Republicaine (Mule, Romby, L'homme, Chauvet), 10-inch Black [record] 1.65yen" and "La Cinquantaine (Marle) Saxophone Solo by Marcel Mule with Piano, 10-inch Black [record] 1.65yen."[368]

Within a year of the 1941 occupation, foreigners from 'enemy nations' were rounded up and corralled into internment camps spread throughout China.[369] One of the largest and best documented camps was the Weihsien Internment Camp (潍县集中营, Wéixiàn jízhōngyíng) opened in 1943. Located Shandong province, the camp was home to foreigners from around China until the end of the war in 1945. Here, the 1,400 internees were responsible for their own schooling, cooking, cleaning, and entertainment.[370] Here, too, saxophonists could be found performing. Tyrer writes

> Among the internees in Weihsien were some entertainment groups which had formed part of the Western community in the big cities of north China. This included a black jazz band, which provided a vibrant contrast to the largely religious music favoured by the choir…many of the newer internees brought musical instruments in with them and eventually a twenty-strong orchestra was formed. [One teenaged internee] palled up with a musically gifted Jewish lad who played the guitar, saxophone and accordion, and he taught him the basic chords so that he could join in and strum along with the band.[371]

Among the musically inclined internees was saxophonist Early Whaley, who had been one of the top billed jazz musicians in Shanghai before the war, performing in clubs like St. Anna's Ballroom.[372] When the Japanese invasion began in 1937, many foreign jazz musicians took the cue to return to America. Whaley and several other musicians, though, had stayed on. In

[368] *Manchuria Daily News*, "New Columbia Records," February 23, 1939.

[369] Mary Taylor Previte, "A Song of Salvation at Weihsein Prison Camp," *Weisein Paintings* (blog), August 25, 1985.

[370] Nicola Tyrer author, *Stolen Childhoods the Untold Story of the Children Interned by the Japanese in the Second World War* (Charnwood, Leicester., 2011).

[371] Ibid.

[372] "Earl Whaley Band."

the following years he continued to tour throughout the foreign communities of northern China, especially Tianjin.[373]

When the Japanese declared war on the United States and other Allied powers in December of 1941, Whaley and his band were remanded to the confines of the Tianjin foreign settlement. In 1943 he was moved to the Weihsien camp where he met up with other prominent jazz musicians including Lope Sarreal, Reggie Jones, Wayne Adams, and Earl West. Guitarist Earl West became the leader of the new jazz band at Weihsien, where they performed at dances for fellow internees. In 1945, after the end of the war, the internees including the band members sailed back to the US via Qingdao aboard the USS Lavaca.[374]

After Japanese surrender, musicians in formerly Japanese Manchuria, now under Stalinist Soviet control, were subject to Soviet law. Political policies in Russia at the time meant that jazz was outlawed and so, in 1945 "…the KGB arrested the entire jazz orchestra of young musicians right at the end of their performance, sent them in their tail-coats straight into one of the Siberian concentration camps."[375]

Little is known about musical opportunities for Chinese saxophonists during the war years, but one location would seem to have been as a member of the Chinese Nationalist Army band. On October 10, 1945 John Stanfield, then a Major in the Royal Signals, photographed the official surrender of the Japanese Armies in the Forbidden City, Beijing. Appearing in the photo

---

[373] Ibid.

[374] Desmond Power, "Jazz in Occupied China: Black Jazzmen at the Japanese Prison Camp in Weihsien, China During World War II," *Black Past: Remembered and Reclaimed* (blog), 2007, http://www.blackpast.org/perspectives/jazz-occupied-china-black-jazzmen-japanese-prison-camp-weihsien-china-during-world-war-.

[375] Tatiana Erohina, *Growing up Russian in China: A Historical Memoir* (Bloomington, IN: iUniverse, 2011), 47.

is a Nationalist Army band including two baritone saxophones, situated next to the sousaphone section.[376]

The effects of WWII were also felt in a creative drain from China. Military bands like the United States 4th Marine Band that had been in Shanghai since 1927 and listed saxophone amongst its ranks were forced to leave as tensions began to escalate just before December 1941.[377] Donald Versaw, a French hornist with the band, recalls marching one last time on the way to the transport ships. He wrote "We stopped playing then and listened to a jazz band from one of the favorite cabaret haunts in the "Paris of the Orient", play us off from the back of a truck."[378]

Musicians like Oleg Longstrom, who had established the first jazz band in Manchuria, returned to the Soviet Union with his band in 1947,[379] Cantonese opera stars and rivals Sit Kok Seen and Ma Sze Tsang moved to Hong Kong permanently, and all of the foreign performers and audiences that were forced to withdraw from the now dissolved foreign settlements left a gap in cultural activities.

This gap, however, also created opportunities for local musicians. The racial divides that once kept Chinese and other musicians from performing opportunities dissolved. In *Shanghai Nightscapes*, Chinese saxophonist Bao Zhengzhen relates how the exodus of foreign residents allowed Chinese musicians to finally "take center stage".[380] There's also the story of Fan Shengqi (范圣琦, Fàn shengqí) who was able to purchase a saxophone from a Japanese-owned

[376] "Chinese Band, Civilians and Allied Forces Marching."

[377] Versaw, *The Last China Band*, 7-.

[378] Ibid.

[379] Liu, *Hā'ěrbīn xīyáng yīnyuè shǐ 哈尔滨西洋音乐史 [The History of Western Music in Harbin]*, 175–76.

[380] Farrer and Field, *Shanghai Nightscapes*, 133.

shop, that was "urgently trying to settle accounts" in 1945 Harbin. This saxophone would later carry him to perform in the China Railroad Art Troupe in 1951 and be one of the few saxophonists allowed to perform during the cultural revolution, performing at Mao Zedong's private parties. [381]

The joy that must have been felt with the ending of WWII would surely have been short lived, as the Chinese civil war resumed in earnest. In 1949, the communists won, and almost immediately began implementing their new cultural values on the musical communities of China.

Music in the "New China"

Long before October 1, 1949 and the establishment of the People's Republic of China, Mao Zedong had already cemented his ideology about the use of music and art. In his *Forum on Literature and Art* in 1942 Yenan, Mao stated:

> To defeat the enemy we must rely primarily on the army with guns. But this army alone is not enough; we must also have a cultural army, which is absolutely indispensable for uniting our own ranks and defeating the enemy…[we] must ensure that literature and art fit well into the whole revolutionary machine as a component part, that they operate as powerful weapons for uniting and education the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy, and that the help the people fight the enemy with one heart and one mind.[382]

When, seven years later, he defeated his enemy, Mao and his followers wasted no time in establishing new cultural guidelines. Almost immediately model plays like *The White-Haired Girl*, and compositions by communist composers like Xian Xinhai (冼星海, Xiǎn xīnghǎi) and

[381] Zhou 远洲 Yuan, "Běijīng Yǒu Gè 'Lǎo Shù Pí' 北京有个 '老树皮' [Beijing Has an 'Old Tree Bark']," *Jīnqiū 金秋 [Golden Autumn]*, 2002, 5; JOSEF WOODARD, "East-West Jazz Link : Chinese Reed Player, Visiting UCSB, Will Perform with the Campus Band," *Los Angeles Times*, April 16, 1998, http://articles.latimes.com/1998/apr/16/entertainment/ca-39687.

[382] "Chairman Mao's Talk to Music Workers."

Nieer (聂耳, Niè ěr) became popular, state sponsored, and the only works that could be performed without restriction.[383] In *Jazz and Totalitarianism* Bruce Johnson describe it as:

> …nearly every aspect of China's popular culture, art and urban lifestyle was changed, and its music industry was nationalized and reorganized accordingly, to serve the needs and disseminate the ideology of the new communist state. The consequence for cosmopolitan Shanghai and its bubbling jazz scene was immediate, and in a few years its legendary reputation as the 'Paris of the East' was no more than a memory.[384]

Early additions of the *People's Music Journal* (人民音乐, rénmín yīnyuè) were very critical of all types popular music, jazz in particular, because of their immoral and corrupting influences. "In February 1951, for example, Wu Yongyi published his article 'Comments on American Jazz' in the *People's Music Journal* 6-7, in which he condemned jazz as an unrefined, vulgar dance music, a symbol of immorality and an artefact of the hedonist capitalist class."[385] By 1956, jazz was labeled 'unhealthy' for young people and authors of the *People's Music Journal* recommended readers to "Fight against the appearance of American jazz music in our lives."[386] Tony Lopez's 1955 article "The History of Jazz in South China" also gives some insight into the fate of jazz in the 1950s writing:

> Peking: There exists a shortage of instruments but a few night clubs are still open. The musicians are mostly Chinese with a sprinkling of White Russians and Filipinos.[387]
>
> Shanghai: A Jazz Concert which was to be held at the French Club did not materialize through lack of support. The most famous night-club is the once-owned-by American CAT pilots, Airlines, now owned and operated by the waiters of the Club…American music was banned last year, but the waiters complained that they were losing out, and the compromise was that Imperialistic music could be continued by no vocals in English were to sung. Because of the American and Hongkong Government bans on the export of records to China, no new music is heard and played, outside of the music heard and

[383] Mao Yu Run, "Music Under Mao, Its Background and Aftermath," *Asian Music* 22, no. 2 (1991): 105.

[384] Bruce Johnson, *Jazz and Totalitarianism* (New York: Routledge, 2016).

[385] Ibid.

[386] Zhang Jin 章瑾, "Fǎnduì juéshì yīnyuè zài wǒmen shēnghuó zhòng chūxiàn 反对爵士音乐在我们生活中出现 [Opposing Jazz Music as it Appears in Our Lives]," *Rénmín yīnyuè 人民音乐 People's Music*, 1956.

[387] Lopes, "The History of Jazz in South China," 11.

> transcribed from the Voice of America in China today. Some of the musicians here, write in letter-form, sheet music the latest songs and send these to their friends in China which sometimes get through. The arrangements made are, of course, local arrangements. These are the only loop-holes in the Bamboo Curtain.[388]

Chinese opera also began to change under Mao Zedong thought as early as 1942. After his "Talks at Yenan"[389] *yanggeju* (秧歌剧, Yānggē jù) style opera was created with song and dance based in folk traditions.[390] Between 1949 and 1955 government agencies actively encouraged the writing of new operas with revolutionary themes and actively banned others for their reactionary content. These government policies were relaxed somewhat during the Hundred Flowers movement of 1956 and continued to allow more popular and traditional forms of opera to be performed until 1963.[391] As a result of Mao's "Address to the Music Workers" in August of 1956 many musical government organizations were established throughout the country. One such organization was the Cantonese Music and Song Art Troupe. [392] As stated in their program from a 2018 performance in Hong Kong:

> Cantonese music continued to develop after the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949. In 1958, the Cantonese Music and Song Art Troupe was formed according to the government's culture and art policy. The Troupe is a state unit of music organization, and is responsible for the creation, performance and research of Cantonese music and song. It is also designated the preservation unit for safeguarding the properties of Cantonese music and Cantonese operatic songs, two representatives of national intangible cultural heritage. This is the artistic and professional mission of the Troupe.
>
> From 1963 to 1965 the escalation to what would become the Cultural Revolution was

[388] Ibid., 11–12.

[389] "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art," Marxists.org, 2004, https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-3/mswv3_08.htm.

[390] Bell Yung, "Model Opera as Model: From Shajiabang to Sagabong," in *Popular Chinese Literature and Performing Arts in the People's Republic of China, 1949-1979*, ed. Bonnie S. McDougall (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984), 146.

[391] Ibid., 147.

[392] "Chairman Mao's Talk to Music Workers."

under way. Operas that did not follow Jiang Qing's model were denounced as "feudalistic, superstitious, and vulgar."[393] Starting in 1966, with the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, only Jiang Qing's model operas were allowed to be performed throughout the country. These operas used a mix of western and Chinese instruments, usually relying heavily on the former; saxophone, however, was not to be seen. Though these operas continued to be performed until Mao's death and the subsequent fall of the Gang of Four, during the height of the cultural revolution, all performances stopped.[394] As Laikwan Pang writes "In the case of Cantonese opera, a blackout period resulted from this extreme politicization: all the opera troupes were disbanded in the years 1967 and 1968, and no operas were staged."[395] Forcing adherence only to the approved model operas and aggressively eradicate regionalized opera, Jiang Qing described Cantonese opera and Cantonese folk songs as a "decadent and obscene sound, a sound that won't make people progress, but will make people regress."[396] As a result, during the height of the Cultural Revolution "not a single person associated with Cantonese music was spared the 'cow shed' or sent to reeducation."[397]

The Fate of the Saxophone Under Mao Zedong

Common knowledge tells us that the saxophone came under intense scrutiny at the establishment of the People's Republic of China and, after years of sharp decline, disappeared

[393] Yung, "Model Opera as Model: From Shajiabang to Sagabong," 147.

[394] Ibid., 148.

[395] Clark, Pang, and Tsai, *Listening to China's Cultural Revolution*, 131.

[396] Weiming Liu刘炜茗, "Wénhuà Zài Mínjiān·yuè Qū: Guǎngzhōu Rén Chuàngzào de Shìjiè Míngqǔ 文化在民间粤曲：广州人创造的世界名曲 [Cantonese Song, Culture Amongst the People: The World Famous Songs Created by the People of Guangzhou]," *Guǎngzhōu Túshū Guǎn 广州图书馆 [Guangzhou Library]* (blog), September 28, 2006, http://www.gzlib.gov.cn/gzms/47402.jhtml.

[397] Ibid.

completely during the cultural revolution, only to be re-introduced as the country opened to foreign investment and culture under the 'Opening Reforms' of Deng Xiaoping.

In *Listening to the Cultural Revolution* Pang states that the inclusion of saxophone, which had once shown "a tacit respect for the local audience's everyday life was radically destroyed by the Cultural Revolution."[398] She also mentions that although the combination of western and Chinese instruments became a necessity of the Model Operas "the saxophone was not allowed to be used during the Cultural Revolution."[399] Likewise Professor Li Yusheng, professor of saxophone at the Sichuan Conservatory, in his interview with John Robert Brown states that the saxophone was forbidden during the years of the Cultural Revolution as an "unhealthy" instrument.[400] There is also the fact that many modern Chinese saxophonists describe the first time the saw or heard the saxophone in person was in the 1980s and 90s from musicians outside of China.[401] All of these statements would tell us that the saxophone disappeared in 1966 only to be seen again after the reforms of 1978. The truth, however, is a bit more complicated.

The first indication that this story might not be in line with actuality came in the form of interviews with two prominent Chinese musicians. Li Manlong, professor of saxophone at the China Conservatory of Music, mentioned that the saxophone was not to be found in the hands of ordinary citizens during the Cultural Revolution, but that it could still be heard in the military bands throughout the period.[402] The other interview challenging conventional assertions was that with Chen Fangyi, leader of the CMSAT. He stated that, although the saxophone disappeared

[398] Clark, Pang, and Tsai, *Listening to China's Cultural Revolution*, 140.

[399] Ibid.

[400] Brown, "A View from China."

[401] Chen, interview.

[402] Manlong Li李满龙, interview by Jason Pockrus, Telephone, March 21, 2018.

throughout the rest of the country during the Cultural Revolution, it could still be heard in Cantonese opera ensembles throughout Guangdong.[403]

The first allegation is most easily answerable, due to the existence of some remnants of archival video and photographic evidence. The history of the saxophone in military bands in China, as discussed in Chapter 1, dates to as early as Robert Hart's 1886 Shanghai-based band.[404] This tradition did not dwindle but continued in Mao's China, where saxophonists were a part of some of the most important moments in CCP history.

On October 1, 1949 Mao Zedong declared the People's Republic of China officially established. The events of that day, the speeches, the festivities, and the ensuing parade were caught on film and presented in a 40-minute presentation called the Founding of the Nation Ceremony (开国大典, kāiguó dàdiǎn). The first 12 minutes of the film are dedicated to the first CCP meeting wherein the plans for the celebration are discussed. The video then cuts to the opening ceremony itself, beginning with public speeches by the key members of the newly established PRC. After the committee meeting and public speeches, where-in Mao Zedong officially declared the establishment of the PRC, Mao took to an open top car to make the first ever inspection of the troops. Many different divisions were represented including the 199th infantry division, the temporarily established 4th artillery division, the 3rd panzer division, and the 3rd cavalry division. In total, 16,400 soldiers, 119 cannons, 152 tanks and armored vehicles, 222 cars, 2,344 warhorses, and 17 planes paraded by for two and a half hours.[405] Also in attendance was a People's Liberation Army band, though the exact detachment is not given.

---

[403] Chen, interview.

[404] Cheng, *Hǎishàng sàkèsī fēng 海上萨克斯风 [Saxohone on the Sea]*.

[405] "1949: Highlight of the PRC Founding Ceremony," CPC China, accessed April 15, 2018, http://cpcchina.chinadaily.com.cn/2010-12/03/content_13917361.htm.

Several cut-away shots feature the band, from which we can see that it includes a full contingent of trumpets, trombones, baritone horns, snare drums, bass drums, crash cymbals, and at least one saxophone. In fact, on first pass, it would seem that the saxophone is not represented in the ensemble. However, during one of the shortest shots of the video, at 19 minutes 44 seconds and lasting just over a second, the faint outline of a saxophone can be seen on the far right of the screen, standing in-front of and to the right (from the audience perspective) of the right-most sousaphone player. The image is quite low quality and very dark in that area, but after digital enhancement, the contrasting lines and colors of the saxophone are quite clear. The saxophone would appear to be a tenor, judging by the proportions compared to the musician, and is likely one of a full section of saxophones that never made it onto the film reel.

On October 19, 1950 Mao Zedong sent troops into North Korea, crossing the Yalu River.[406] As can be seen on a Chinese-produced documentary called "Crossing the Yalu: The Korean War", Chinese troops cross a narrow land bridge into north Korea.[407] At the 2 minute 54 second mark, a conductor can be seen in the bottom left corner of the screen. Directly in front of the conductor is a line of saxophones, tenors judging by their size relative to the performers and the curve of the neck. No further context is given by the film, but it would seem that these musicians were sent as part of a ceremonial send off for soldiers heading to fight for North Korea in the war.[408]

[406] Xiaobing Li, *The Cold War in East Asia* (New York: Routledge, 2018), 86.

[407] *Cháoxiǎn Zhànzhēng: C Máozédōng Kuàguò Yālǜjiāng Kàngměiyuáncháo 朝鲜战争：C毛泽东 跨过鸭绿”抗美援朝 [The Korean War: Chairman Mao Zedong Crossing the Yalu River to Resist America and Aid Korea]*, accessed April 16, 2018, http://v.youku.com/v_show/id_ca00XMTc3OTU5OTY=.html.

[408] Note: the same shot can be seen in a BBC produced documentary called One Man's Revolution: Mao's China, and still frame of the same area at the same time, no band visible, on the People's Daily website

As to the types or origins of the saxophones in use by the PLA bandsmen, little is known. However, as early as 1953 there is evidence that China was producing its own saxophones for export. In December of that year, the Hong Kong Ta Kung Pao newspaper reported that the city of Tianjin was exporting several types of instruments and that the saxophones in particular were of quality comparable to foreign-made violins:

> [Headlines:]Supplies of Violin and Accordion Can't Meet Demand.
>
> Tianjin Making Large Quantities of Musical Instruments
>
> [Text:] The quality of the saxophone is comparable to that of imported high-quality violins. These, along with 120 large bass accordions that have been transported to foreign exhibitions, have also been produced.[409]

Instrument production continued at least until 1959. In this year an export schedule collected by the United State Central Intelligence Agency notes that Chinese factories were exporting a number of different instruments, among them four alto and four tenor saxophones in wooden cases.[410] This would seem to indicate that the saxophones being used in China at this time were being produced locally.

In October 30, 1960 saxophones again make an appearance, this time at a music festival in Shenyang, Liaoning China. Pictured in Musical Life (音乐生活, Yīnyuè shēnghuó), the saxophones are performing as part of the Shenyang Garrison at an event called 'Liaoning Province and Shenyang City Literary and Art Circles Remembrance concert' held in honor of composers Xian Xinghai and Nie Er. The photo accompanying the article shows the military

[409] "Supplies of Violin and Accordion Can't Meet Demand," *Ta Kung Pao 大公报*, December 2, 1953.

[410] "Exports from Communist China Handled by the China National Sundries Export Corporation" (China: U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, January 1959).

ensemble consisting of western instruments and includes a row of saxophones, both alto and tenor.[411]

By the summer of 1966 the Cultural Revolution was fully under way.[412] In order to bolster the fervent worship of the Red Guards, Mao invited them to visit Tiananmen square, traveling for free, in a series of rallies held from August 18 to November 3, 1966. These rallies were filmed and shown as propaganda. At the fifth or sixth rallies (the footage was edited into a single propaganda film) on October 18 and November 3 saxophones can clearly be seen in the PLA band present for the festivities. At the 28 minute 58 second mark, a whole row of saxophones is front and center in the camera shot.

This is significant for two reasons. First, the fact the saxophone is present at all when the Red Guard are actively engaged in attacking the 'Four Olds'[413] with a special penchant for attacking all things western of which the saxophone, with its ties to jazz and other unhealthy music, may be seen as representative.[414] The second reason it is significant is the way in which it is presented. The row of saxophones, at least 11 visible on screen ranging from alto to tenor, takes up nearly the entire camera frame and the shot itself last for an incredible 5 seconds. This shows that the saxophone was not only present at the meeting of the Red Guard, but when the footage was edited into this propaganda film later on, the saxophone was not just shown, but

[411] Jianhua Guan管建华, "Měiguó juéshìyuè jiàoyù gōngzuò zhě xiéhuì 美国爵士乐教育工作者协会 [American Jazz Music Educators' Association]," *Yīnyuè shēnghuó 音乐生活 [Musical Life]* 11, no. 218 (1990): 24–26.

[412] Li, *The Cold War in East Asia*, 145–46.

[413] Note: the four olds 'old ideology, old culture, old customs, and old habits' were first published in the *People's Daily* newspaper on June 1, 1966 and restated by Lin Biao in August the same year during a Red Guard rally

[414] Xing Lu, *Rhetoric of the Chinese Cultural Revolution: The Impact on Chinese Thought, Culture, and Communication* (Columbia, SC: Univ of South Carolina Press, 2004), 61; Cottrell, *The Saxophone*.

featured. This must indicate that, in this carefully crafted propaganda film, the saxophone represented more than its earlier associations with jazz, sex, and all things bourgeois.[415]

In order to regain control of the Red Guard movement as the Cultural Revolution wore on, Mao and the remaining leadership instituted Revolutionary committees to mediate between the people, the PLA, and the CCP staring in 1967.[416] On February 20, 1968 the Revolutionary Committee of Guangzhou and Guangdong was established, in an event that included large-scale celebrations and of which archival video-footage exists. Here again, even at the height of the cultural revolution, the saxophone is present. The band is again a PLA detachment, though no identifying information is available. The band is packed tightly into a very large crowd and consists of around 20 musicians that can be seen in the shot, of which 4 are playing saxophones, alto estimating by the size of the instruments and shape of the neck.

Judging from the video quality alone, it may seem that this video is too old to be authentic. It is a very poor quality, black and white, silent film; nowhere near to the quality of other similar productions in the late 1960s. However, the availability of high-quality camera equipment at this time in China was likely very constrained. As late as 1980 Frances Fremont-Smith, one of the first foreign English teachers in the newly opened China talks about her first group photo at a school in Changchun being taken a camera, in her words, "like the wild west," wherein the camera operator has to duck under a black cloth to view the image and take the photo.[417] If there was any doubt as to authenticity, the clothes of the PLA Band, the ubiquitous

[415] Note: See Chapter 3, China in the Jazz Age

[416] Maurice Meisner, *Mao's China and After: A History of the People's Republic, Third Edition* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1999), 331.

[417] Peng Sun孙鹏, "Fànwǎnzhēn 范婉珍 [Frances Fremont-Smith]," *Bié Jiào Wǒ Lǎowài 别叫我老外 [Laowai Not]* (China: China Daily, 2014), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tZCKVQ6YKjc.

presence of little red books, and the clearly legible banners naming the event place this clearly as the founding of the Revolutionary Committee of Guangzhou.

National Day parades were one of the main events for the CCP and several films were produced for them over the years. At the 1969 National Day parade, the saxophone again makes an appearance. In this clip, the band is shown performing the Chinese national anthem near the beginning of the 2 hours 15-minute-long film. This time, the French horn section is featured prominently in the shot, but behind them a tenor saxophone, and likely a row of saxophones, can be clearly seen.

In 1972, the saxophone was present for yet another important political event in China: the official state visit of President Richard Nixon. Following the events of the famed 'ping-pong diplomacy' trip in 1971, President Nixon traveled to China on February 21, 1972 to open relations between the two countries[418]. The foreign press was granted unprecedented access to the entire proceedings, and it is because of them that a great deal of archival footage is available.

Greeted by Premier Zhou Enlai, Nixon was treated to a formal dinner at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing on February 21. The musical ensemble in attendance, set up at the back of the hall, was a PLA detachment, no identifying information shown, that included saxophones. Given the video quality and camera angle, the exact details are hard to determine, but it appears to be two alto saxophones, positioned between the bassoon and clarinet sections. The band is performing (if the overlaid soundtrack is to be believed) *America the Beautiful*.

After several years of failing health, Mao Zedong died in 1976. His funeral was a large, formal event to which the saxophone was a party. Standing in formation in Tiananmen square, a large PLA band detachment performs the national anthem. At 1:17:44 the camera gives a close-

[418] Li, *The Cold War in East Asia*, 153.

up shot of a line of snare drum players. Behind them stands a row of saxophonists, 2 altos and 2 tenors, visible in the shot. Behind them a row of trombonists followed by sousaphones.

In the other years and at other events where a military band can be seen, the saxophone is not seen. However, that is likely due to the fact that the saxophone section just was not featured in that particular camera angle on that particular year. Despite several gaps in available archival material, the presence of the saxophone in several instances of military processions at many different events and over many different years seems to serve as proof that the saxophone was indeed in continuous use during the Mao years, including the Cultural Revolution.

As to the other claim, that saxophone was present in Cantonese opera ensembles throughout the Cultural Revolution, no evidence can be found. Given the political situation at the time, this is not unexpected. However, there are some pieces of evidence which may lend credence to Chen Fangyi's assertion.

The first piece of evidence comes from a video mentioned earlier. At the establishment of the Guangzhou Revolutionary committee in 1968, saxophonists can be seen in the band present for the ceremonies. What is also noteworthy during this event is the use of some very traditional elements of Chinese culture including the lion dance and the use of firecrackers. At the 00:27 mark, next to a group of young girls dancing with streamers is a group of 6 traditional lion dancers. Though none of the traditional instruments that would typically accompany the dance, such as large drums, cymbals, or woodblocks, can be seen next to the dancers at first, at 3:23 they are shown quite clearly. Then, at 3:26, the smoke and flashes from a large number of firecrackers can be seen. Not only are these traditions significant for being allowed during the

height of the Cultural Revolution, when the 'Four Olds' were actively destroyed,[419] but these traditions are specifically associated with Chinese New Year Celebrations.[420]

In 1967 Chinese New Year Holidays and celebrations were banned nationwide by the CCP. This included the traditional celebrations like firecrackers, exchanging gifts, or any other aspects of traditional culture that might be seen as counter-revolutionary.[421] The establishment of the Revolutionary Committee took place January 30th, just over a month after the Chinese New Year celebrations would have been held that year, and so it is not difficult to believe that the citizens of Guangzhou decided to transplant their long-held traditions onto a politically acceptable mold. Guangzhou has always been removed from the capital, both geographically and politically. "Due to its economic strength, cultural and linguistic uniqueness, and physical distance from the central administration, Guangdong province has always exercised a certain degree of autonomy beyond state control, from the imperialist ear to the present."[422] Therefore, it can be surmised that a sense of independence was felt amongst private musicians at the time, and that the saxophone may have continued to be used.

The second piece of evidence comes from the fact that the saxophone could still be found in the hands of private citizen during the cultural revolution. In a 2017 interview in the New Straits Times, 76-year-old Shanghai saxophonist Li Minsheng states that he got his saxophone during the 1960s and has been playing it ever since, stating "We were not able to play before the opening-up due to the political situation then…back then I would play at home a little bit and

[419] Lu, *Rhetoric of the Chinese Cultural Revolution*, 61.

[420] Gunde, *Culture and Customs of China*.

[421] Wei Huang and Ying Xie, "The New Year That Wasn't | NewsChina Magazine," *News China Magazine*, January 2012, https://web.archive.org/web/20150224083413/http://www.newschinamag.com/magazine/the-new-year-that-wasnt.

[422] Clark, Pang, and Tsai, *Listening to China's Cultural Revolution*, 133.

enjoy it by myself. I didn't play outside."[423] Another example is Bao Zhengzhen who began playing saxophone in Shanghai's nightclubs and dance halls just before the communist era.[424] In *Shanghai Nightscapes* Bao reports that he and other jazz lovers would get together to play jazz in secret even during the height of the Cultural Revolution. Only the apartment being high enough from street level and like-minded neighbors kept Bao and his friends out of forced labor in the countryside.[425]

Finally, there are records of prominent Cantonese opera musicians that were known to perform on saxophone travelling to and performing in the Guangzhou area. Huang Zhuangmou (黄状谋, Huáng zhuàngmóu), member of the 'Three Huangs', (皇家三杰, Huángjiā sānjié) a Cantonese opera performing family from Hong Kong, fled to Guangzhou after the Japanese invasion of Hong Kong in 1941.[426] A multi-instrumentalist, he performed regularly on gaohu, zhuhu, and saxophone. Arriving in mainland China at the age of 15, Huang found that the city of Guangzhou was also unsafe and politically unstable, but the countryside surrounding the city offered opportunities. Huang recalled "The surrounding countryside area was wide, at the very least there was enough to eat."[427] Huang Zhuangmou remained in China after the establishment of the People's Republic of China, an event he referred to as 'a turn for the better'.

[423] "A 97-Year-Old Trumpeter? Meet World's Oldest Jazz Band in Shanghai," South China Morning Post, September 7, 2017, http://www.scmp.com/culture/music/article/2110028/worlds-oldest-jazz-band-shanghai-rare-constant-amid-chinas-breakneck.

[424] Farrer and Field, *Shanghai Nightscapes*, 134.

[425] Ibid., 134–35.

[426] "Wǒmen Shì Bànzòu, Ér Bùshì Yǎnzòu: Fǎng Yuèjù Yīnyuè Rén Huángzhuàngmóu 我们是伴奏，而不是演奏: 访粤剧音乐人黄壮谋 [We Are Accompanists, Not Performers: Interview with Cantonese Opera Musician Huang Zhuangmou]."

[427] Ibid.

Huang continued performing in Guangzhou and the surrounding countryside throughout the Cultural Revolution period. When asked about difficulties faced during that time, he noted that he did have to perform pieces like *Sha Family Creek* (沙滨家, Shābīn jiā) (one of the model operas). He also revealed an episode in which the Red Guard invaded his home to 'Clear out the Four Olds'. Although it was a terrifying incident, the family was only forced to destroy decorative fans given to the family from the famous Ma Sze Tsang but survived otherwise unscathed. This episode is interesting in that he made no mention of his instruments being in peril, which a musician surely would have noted. This would seem to indicate that his instruments, including saxophone, remained intact and he was able to continue performing.

Although no hard evidence can be provided, given all of these disparate factors, it seems quite possible that the saxophone may still have been used to perform Cantonese opera throughout the Cultural Revolution. Rural communities especially seemed to vary in their participation in the movement. A CIA report on the 1968 Cultural Revolution noted that, while much of the country was in chaos, the destruction associated with the movement was largely an urban phenomenon.[428] Even in rural communities where gruesome acts of violence were carried out during the time, as described in Yang Su's *Collective Killings in Rural China during the Cultural Revolution*, the destructive acts were largely based on old vendettas and perceived slights rather than a top-down initiated, fervent belief in Maoist ideology.[429]

[428] "The Chinese Cultural Revolution," National Intelligence Estimate (U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, May 25, 1967), 10.

[429] Yang Su, *Collective Killings in Rural China during the Cultural Revolution* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

The Saxophone under Fascist and Communist Regimes

The fascist governments of Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan, and the communist regimes of Stalinist Russia and Maoist China all had a special relationship with music and a profound understanding of its use as a cultural and propaganda tool. Japan and China, as could be suspected, had regulations and ideas about the use of foreign instruments that would not have been experienced in Germany or Russia. However, all of these countries had ideologies against jazz, and most against the saxophone specifically, even if no such policies existed for other western instruments or their music. These ideologies would have directly impacted saxophonists in China, both under Japanese occupation from 1931-1945, and in Maoist China from 1949-1976.

Japanese attitudes towards jazz and all foreign music began to change almost immediately after the invasion of Manchuria. The Manchurian Incident, as it was known in Japan, saw a sudden shift toward nationalism. Young writes "suddenly the languorous jazz rhythms which had been the rage only weeks before were replaced by a boom in gunka (war songs)."[430] As the war raged on policy restrictions became tighter and tighter. By 1941 the last of the famed dance halls of Shanghai were closed.[431] In the same year Tokyo police began cracking down on jazz performances, and saxophone in particular. A 1941 police report detailed the permissible forms of jazz for residents and how to effectively censor. Atkins writes "the police report went on to elucidate how this might be accomplished, first by outlining the structure and instrumentation of jazz (including the "lascivious" sound of the saxophone), then by specifying

[430] Louise Young, *Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999), 72.

[431] Atkins, *Blue Nippon*, 89.

the elements to eliminate to create healthy light music."[432] He writes how further restrictions were placed as the war drew to a close:

> By 1944, in response to the changing tide of the war in favor of the Allies, the various patriotic music organizations tried to make it hard for Japanese to play jazz. In April, the Japan Music Culture Association issued detailed guidelines for the instrumentation and sound of light-music orchestras to "rid light music of the stink of jazz." A ban on jazz and Hawaiian-style band setups was instituted; the banjo, steel guitar, ukulele, and jazz percussion instruments were banned; the number of saxophones in a band was limited; the trumpet mute was outlawed…[433]

In Mao Zedong's China especially during the Cultural Revolution decade, Chinese attitudes towards western instruments and music were distinctly diametric. On the one hand there are numerous accounts of western music of all kinds be violently attacked:

> …Red Guards in particular, first turned their attention towards any public display of the so-called old world. They vandalized shops. They turned over street signs with names that come from the past or invoke a feudal culture. They will vandalize churches, tear down temples, overturn tombstones, burn books in public - massive bonfires. But also, bit by bit, they start raiding homes of people suspected of still having sympathies for the old regime - of playing piano, of reading bourgeois literature, of harboring capitalist thoughts.[434]

> He Luting, who had drawn fire from a proletarian-minded critic for defending the music of Debussy, was subjected to a physically abusive interrogation but refused to apologize.[435]

> In 1981, in response to [a] visit, for the first time musicians from the People's Republic were invited to Berlin: the conductor Huan Yijun, the composer Wu Tsu-Chian, and the piccolo player Liu Teh-Hai. When the manager Peter Girth invited these guests to his home after the concert, the conductor – and former pianist – told him that all of his fingers had been broken during the Cultural Revolution and that he had been held prisoner for a long time in a cellar.[436]

---

[432] Atkins, "The War on Jazz, or Jazz Goes to War," 362.

[433] Ibid., 378.

[434] Frank Dikötter, Newly Released Documents Detail Traumas Of China's Cultural Revolution, interview by Terry Gross, Radio Interview, May 5, 2016, https://www.npr.org/2016/05/05/476873854/newly-released-documents-detail-traumas-of-chinas-cultural-revolution.

[435] Alex Ross, *The Rest Is Noise: Listening to the Twentieth Century* (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007), 564–65.

[436] Annemarie Kleinert, *Music at Its Best: The Berlin Philharmonic: From Karajan to Rattle* (Norderstedt, Germany: BoD – Books on Demand, 2009), 81.

> Criticizing the bureaucratization of art, Orovio cited the hair-raising story of how a Chinese pianist, during the time of the Cultural Revolution, had his hand cut off in public for refusing to stop playing that 'decadent western music' (meaning jazz).[437]

As Li Yusheng pointed out, saxophone was described as unhealthy during the cultural revolution, and those that dared play the instrument never did so in public.[438] In Stalinist Russia, where Mao had strong ties, saxophone was specifically targeted when:

> …proletarian ideologues succeeded in closing [Krenek's *Jonny spielt auf*] and then launched a campaign to ban saxophones from the Soviet Union. Although this first attempt to proscribe the saxophone was unsuccessful, when the campaign against jazz and the saxophone became particularly acute in the Stalinist purges after World War II a second attempt did briefly succeed. Many jazz and light-music players were arrested, imprisoned or exiled. Saxophonists, obviously identified as specializing in the instrument most closely associated with the officially despised jazz tradition, were particularly persecuted. In 1949–50 all the saxophonists in the Radio Committee Orchestra were summarily fired. On a particular day in 1949, every saxophonist in Moscow was ordered to bring his instrument and identity card to the office of the State Variety Music Agency…The determined persecution of jazz and its players by the Soviet authorities had the unintended effect of transforming them into something resembling cultural martyrs; jazz became a symbol of resistance and non-conformity in the face of the State's heavy-handed authoritarianism. By association, the saxophone also became a symbol of such resistance and of what was taken to be an ideologically dangerous individualism that was otherwise frequently circumscribed.[439]

However, at the same time that 500 pianos were being destroyed at the Shanghai conservatory,[440] "western classical music playing was a crime,"[441] and saxophone couldn't be played outside,[442]

---

[437] Paquito D'Rivera, *My Sax Life: A Memoir* (Evanston, Il: Northwestern University Press, 2005), 88–89.

[438] Brown, "A View from China."

[439] Cottrell, *The Saxophone*, 326–27.

[440] Madeleine Thien, "After the Cultural Revolution: What Western Classical Music Means in China," the Guardian, July 8, 2016, http://www.theguardian.com/music/2016/jul/08/after-the-cultural-revolution-what-western-classical-music-means-in-china.

[441] Alissa Wang, "Western Artistic Influences in the Cultural Revolution (Primary Source Analysis of 'Creating the Socialist New, Fostering Proletarian Originality' in the Peking Review, 1968)," *Synergy: The Journal of Contemporary Asian Studies* Synergy Online (March 2, 2017), http://utsynergyjournal.org/2017/03/02/western-artistic-influences-in-the-cultural-revolution-primary-source-analysis-of-creating-the-socialist-new-fostering-proletarian-originality-in-the-peking-review-1968/.

[442] *South China Morning Post.* "A 97-Year-Old Trumpeter? Meet World's Oldest Jazz Band in Shanghai." September 7, 2017.

playing violin or piano in Jiang Qing's model operas was seen as the height of revolutionary expression. Mao Zedong himself, in his 1956 talk with the music workers, stated that "We must learn from foreign countries and absorb the good things from the foreign countries…"[443]

Why then was there this political duality wherein some instruments were targeted and others weren't or some instruments targeted in certain situations and allowed at other times? There are perhaps two considerations. The first is that an important aspect to understanding the Cultural Revolution and its most extreme measures, especially those carried out during the peak 1966-68, is that they may have been government sanctioned, but were by no means government controlled. The Red Guard directive to destroy the 'four-olds' was purposely and dangerously ambiguous. As Xing Lu writes "The slogan 'Destroy the four olds and establish the four news' was vague and ambiguous…even indoor plants and pet birds fell under scrutiny and were considered threats to the new order."[444] Therefore while no official policies existed in China against the saxophone or other western instruments, to be seen with one was to risk being labeled bourgeois or anti-revolutionary, and those ambiguous charges could be deadly.

Secondly, writing on the use of the piano in model opera *The Red Lantern*, Alissa Wang states that "the mere appearance of piano music in this iconic Peking opera is sufficient irony to question the general contention of China's rejection of all foreign influence…This sentence suggests cultural exchange rather than cultural rejection."[445] The use of the piano in *The Red Lantern* was explained as "successfully assimilating the fine elements of foreign piano music, critically [using] the traditional means of expression of the piano and [sweeping] away the

[443] "Chairman Mao's Talk to Music Workers."

[444] Lu, *Rhetoric of the Chinese Cultural Revolution*, 62.

[445] Wang, "Western Artistic Influences in the Cultural Revolution (Primary Source Analysis of 'Creating the Socialist New, Fostering Proletarian Originality' in the Peking Review, 1968)."

decadent, demoralizing, formalistic or corrupting elements of bourgeois piano music."[446] This statement could explain why instruments that were anti-revolutionary in private hands were model instruments in government hands. While, in the hands of the government, the bourgeois elements of western instruments could be swept away, in the hands of ordinary citizens the mere hint of bourgeois elements was a dangerous and possibly deadly prospect.

[446] *Peking Review*, "Creating the Socialist New, Fostering Proletarian Originality," 38 (1968): 28–32; Wang, "Western Artistic Influences in the Cultural Revolution (Primary Source Analysis of 'Creating the Socialist New, Fostering Proletarian Originality' in the Peking Review, 1968)."

CHAPTER 6

THE 1980s AND BEYOND

Historical Background

The death of Mao Zedong September 9, 1976 brought a final end to the period known as the Cultural Revolution. After the downfall of the Gang of Four, and the quick exchange of power from Mao's appointed successor Hua Guofeng (华国锋, Huá guófēng) to the long-time politician Deng Xiaoping (邓小平, Dèng xiǎopíng), China began to open up economically and culturally in the reforms known as Opening Reforms (改革开放, Gǎigé kāifàng).[447]

The Gang of Four, Jiang Qing (江青, Jiāng qīng), Zhang Chunqiao (张春桥, Zhāng chūnqiáo), Yao Wenyuan (姚文元, Yáo wényuán), and Wang Hongwen (王洪文, Wáng hóngwén), were communist party members largely responsible for the policies of the cultural revolution and who had set themselves up for a power grab after Mao's death. Led by Jiang Qing, Mao's wife, the group sought to continue under Cultural Revolution rules that had always kept them in power.[448] Instead, public support for moderate reformers like Deng Xiaoping and Zhou Enlai "meant that the Chinese people now rejected Mao as the unique and godlike guide to their future."[449] Backed by public and political support, and preempting an imminent coup by the group, Premier Hua Guofeng had the Gang of Four quietly arrested on October 6, 1976.[450]

The fall of the Gang of Four marked a rapid change amongst the Chinese populace and political entities away from the policies of Mao and the Cultural Revolution. During this time

[447] Roderick MacFarquhar, *The Politics of China: The Eras of Mao and Deng* (Cambridge University Press, 1997).

[448] Ibid., 309.

[449] Ibid., 303.

[450] Ibid., 309.

public banners admonishing these policies and praising reformers like Deng Xiaoping began appearing around the country. As Harry Harding writes, "some Chinese were holding up five fingers when discussing the Gang of Four, suggesting that Mao should be counted among them."[451] Due to this changing tide, Mao's chosen successor Hua Guofeng, quickly fell to the rising power of Deng Xioaping and his Opening Reform policies.

The Opening Reforms were a set of economic and political policies enacted by the Chinese Communist Party in 1978. Economically, China was opened to the rest of the world for foreign trade and investment. Special economic zones, such as Shenzhen in Guangdong province, were established to allow for capitalistic industry and financial services that would have been unthinkable under Mao.[452] Political liberalizations under these policies also allowed for an influx in new music, art, and other forms of culture from around the world, and the west in particular.[453] Young people began to begin listening to and preferring rock and disco music from Hong Kong and the West, considering traditional music old-fashioned. [454] Riding this wave of cultural influx, the saxophone was reintroduced to the general public in Mainland China.

Pop Music

After the strict and radical decade of the Cultural Revolution, the saxophone, which had been relegated to institutional functions and secret, private-ownership, was reintroduced to the general Chinese public after the opening reforms of 1978.[455] Although today most Chinese

[451] Harry Harding, *China's Second Revolution: Reform after Mao* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2010), 11.

[452] MacFarquhar, *The Politics of China*.

[453] Harding, *China's Second Revolution*.

[454] Ibid., 197.

[455] Ibid., 71.

people would recognize the saxophone through its associations with western pop music, especially saxophonist Kenny G,[456] the conduit through which the instrument was reintroduced to the general Chinese public was actually native forms of popular music.

Cantopop

The 1920s and 30s Shidaiqu movement, spearheaded by Shanghainese musicians like Li Jinhui, was disrupted by the transitionary period of WWII and the establishment of Communist China. As Marc Moskowitz writes in *Cries of Joy, Songs of Sorrow: Chinese Pop Music and Its Cultural Connotations* "Most Chinese intellectuals fled Shanghai during the Japanese occupation (November 12, 1937, to August 15, 1945), and for the most part they headed south to regions such as Hong Kong."[457] In addition, when the communist takeover became evident a few years later, a wave of musicians, artists, and intellectuals affirmed Hong Kong as the center of Chinese popular music for the next twenty years.[458] The imported "Period Songs" mixed with local Cantonese folk and opera music, which was still the most popular genre in early 1950s Hong Kong,[459] incorporated foreign forms like American singers Elvis Presley and Frank Sinatra in the 1960s,[460] and through its powerful recording industry became a powerhouse of popular music throughout the region.[461]

---

[456] Dan Levin, "China Says Goodbye in the Key of G: Kenny G," *The New York Times*, May 10, 2014, sec. Asia Pacific, https://www.nytimes.com/2014/05/11/world/asia/china-says-goodbye-in-the-key-of-g-kenny-g.html.

[457] Marc L. Moskowitz, *Cries of Joy, Songs of Sorrow: Chinese Pop Music and Its Cultural Connotations* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2010), 18.

[458] Ibid.

[459] J.J. Wong, "The Rise and Decline of Cantopop: A Study of Hong Kong Popular Music (1949-1997)" (University of Hong Kong, 2003), 43.

[460] Ibid., 50.

[461] Wong, "The Rise and Decline of Cantopop: A Study of Hong Kong Popular Music (1949-1997)."

For musicians in southern China, this new form of pop-music introduced after the Opening Reforms, often referred to as Cantopop,[462] was the main conduit through which the saxophone was reintroduced. Even preeminent folk musicians, like houguan player Chen Fangyi, came to the instrument via Cantopop and began performing the music around Guangzhou for enjoyment and extra income.[463] As the genre evolved, it continued to incorporate musical elements and instrumentation from Japanese and Western popular music.[464] The mix of various genres that contributed to the formation of Cantopop all utilized saxophone as a major voice in their ensembles: Li Jinhui's period songs (as described in Chapter 2 of this document), American popular musicians like Elvis Presley (collaborating with famous saxophonists like Boots Randolph[465]), jazz singers like Frank Sinatra (with his well known, full jazz-band contingent), and Japanese enka (discussed below).

Taiwanese Pop

Meanwhile, by the late 1970s and early 80s, Taiwanese pop-music had become a distilled amalgamation of the mainland Chinese, Hong Kong, and Japanese pop styles. The native forms of pop-music, sung in the Taiwanese language[466] "like Chinese-language popular music of the time, was a mixture of Western instruments and the extremely high-pitched singing style of

[462] Note: A portmanteau of Cantonese Popular Music

[463] Chen, interview.

[464] Joanna Ching-Yun Lee, "Cantopop Songs on Emigration from Hong Kong," *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 24 (1992): 14.

[465] Piers Beagley, "Boots Randoph, Elvis' Finest Saxophone Player," Elvis Information Network, July 2017, http://www.elvisinfonet.com/spotlight_boots_randolph.html.

[466] Note: Taiwanese (台语) is also known as Southern Min (闽南语), or Hokkien (福建话) and is a Chinese dialect spoken as a native language in Taiwan and nearby Fujian province, China. It is distinct from and mutually unintelligible with Mandarin Chinese

Peking opera."[467] A former colony of Japan, and still retaining cultural ties to the nearby island nation, enka, sung in Hokkien was a widely popular and very influential genre in Taiwan.[468] Enka is a fusion of Western and Japanese musical elements that can incorporate indigenous instruments, [469] but whose typical instrumentation since the 1970s "include[s] saxophone (tenor, and later, soprano), trumpet, electric guitar, electric bass, piano, and strings."[470] The saxophone is an integral part of the enka accompanying ensemble, and by extension the Taiwanese popmusic accompanying ensemble. The saxophone is important in the enka ensemble because of its ability to sustain pitch "as easily as a singer does" and with an "extensive soft-to-loud dynamic range." [471] Writing on the importance of saxophone in enka Ho Wai-Chung writes "The instrument is closely associated with mudo enka (mood enka), popularized in the 1960s and the most common subgenre in the1990s. In its ability to bend pitches, undulate between notes, and swell in volume, the saxophone transmits a kind of aural sensuality. Furthermore, its distinctive timbre can easily cut through a typical stringed instrument background to produce a wail-like sound."

Teresa Teng (邓丽君, Dèng lìjūn)

Teresa Teng, who first rose to international fame performing enka songs, was

[467] Moskowitz, *Cries of Joy, Songs of Sorrow*, 31–32.

[468] Richard Li, "How Did Kenny G's 'Going Home' Become China's Official 'Closing Time' Anthem?," Answer, *Quora*, January 29, 2018, 29–31, https://www.quora.com/How-did-Kenny-Gs-Going-Home-become-Chinas-official-Closing-Time-anthem.

[469] Wai-Chung Ho, "A Historical Review of Popular Music and Social Change in Taiwan," *Asian Journal of Social Science* 34, no. 1 (2006): 125–26.

[470] Christine R. Yano and Christine Reiko Yano, *Tears of Longing: Nostalgia and the Nation in Japanese Popular Song* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ Asia Center, 2003), 42.

[471] Ibid., 106.

instrumental in reintroducing the saxophone to the general public in mainland China.[472] Teresa Teng was born in 1953 Taiwan to KMT[473] parents that had fled from mainland China after the 1949 defeat.[474] Her upbringing was often described as "unpleasant and even miserable" due to the fact that "her family was poor and she had to help earn money from a young age."[475] She began her professional singing career at age 14, when she released her first album Fengyang Flower Drum (鳳陽花鼓, Fèngyáng huāgǔ), which "consisted of popular songs from the Huang-Mei opera tradition favored by her mother and other Mainlanders."[476] By the 1970s her musical style had changed, where it often "fused pop and opera styles, integrating western jazz to expand her marketability and attract younger, more contemporary audiences."[477]

This new style came to define Teng's music and she became immensely popular throughout East and Southeast Asia including Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Vietnam, and even Mainland China.[478] Teng's success in mainland China likely had several contributing factors, as Moskowitz writes

> For one, Taiwan and Hong Kong music companies have far more experience in a capitalist supply-and-demand market. Second, the PRC effectively eliminated all but a very few political songs for close to thirty years (1949-1978). Third, both Taiwan and Hong Kong benefited from housing diverse cultural traditions that produced different forms of popular music.[479]

---

[472] Trong Shawn Ta, "Becoming Teresa Teng: Becoming Taiwanese" (University of Southern California, 2009).

[473] Note: an abbreviation of Kuo Min Tang, the period Romanization of the National Party of China 国民党, guomindang

[474] MacFarquhar, *The Politics of China*, 119.

[475] Xianrong Zhang, "Teresa Teng: Taiwan's Controversial Diva," *GB Times*, May 4, 2014, https://gbtimes.com/teresa-teng-taiwans-controversial-diva.

[476] Ta, "Becoming Teresa Teng: Becoming Taiwanese," 32–33.

[477] Ibid., 39.

[478] MacFarquhar, *The Politics of China*.

[479] Moskowitz, *Cries of Joy, Songs of Sorrow*, 5.

In spite of a sweet and wholesome public image, Teresa Teng's music was initially labeled "bourgeois, decadent, and pornographic" by the Chinese Communist Party.[480] Still, her music was incredibly popular in mainland China where "in the 1970s, Western music and Gang-Tai[481] pop began to be smuggled into the PRC through Taiwan and Hong Kong. This was assisted by Taiwan's government, which routinely floated balloons with canned food and tapes of Teresa Teng's music across the Taiwan Strait."[482] This new underground music, for many people in mainland China, "produced some of the earliest samples of contemporary life coming from the outside world."[483] A Shanghainese woman living in China at the time noted that "before Teresa Teng no one listened to pop music. It was all revolutionary songs. It was Teng that ushered in love songs. Her stuff was really great because she sang about real life issues, not just about politics."[484] Her music became so popular there that it was often said that "Old Deng rules by day, little Deng[485] rules by night."[486] Or in other words "by day, everyone listened to 'old Deng' because they had to. At night, everyone listened to 'little Teng' because they wanted to."[487]

And so, it was through this avenue that the saxophone was reintroduced to general audiences in Mainland China. Teng's frequent use of jazz or jazz-influenced ensembles in her

[480] Ryan General, "One of Most Famous Chinese Singers in History Was Also Banned in China," *NextShark: The Voice of Global Asians* (blog), January 30, 2018, https://nextshark.com/teresa-teng-taiwanese-singer/.

[481] Note: Gang-tai (港台) is a common abbreviation referring to Hong Kong and Taiwan

[482] Moskowitz, *Cries of Joy, Songs of Sorrow*, 19.

[483] Ibid.

[484] Ibid.

[485] Note: Teresa Teng and Deng Xiaoping share the same surname;

[486] MacFarquhar, *The Politics of China*, 122.

[487] Hua Hsu, "The Melancholy Pop Idol Who Haunts China," *The New Yorker*, August 3, 2015, https://www.newyorker.com/culture/cultural-comment/the-melancholy-pop-idol-who-haunts-china.

music[488] became one of the "samples of contemporary life coming from the outside world."[489] The saxophone was a mainstay in her accompanying band and, as a result, her style set the standard for saxophone performance practice in Mainland pop music as well. Many of her most famous songs including "Goodbye My Love" (再見，我的愛人, Zàijiàn, wǒde àirén), "The Moon Represents My Heart" (月亮代表我的心, Yuèliàng dàibiǎo wǒde xīn), "Sweet as Honey" (甜蜜蜜, Tián mì mì), and "When Will He Come Back" (何日君再来, Hérì jūn zàilái) featured recorded studio and live versions with saxophone accompaniment.

Influenced by Teng's style, saxophone continues to be a mainstay in mainland pop today. As Tsang relates:

> her appeal did not subside and fade away significantly, even as Mainland China successfully modernized itself in the post-Deng Xiaoping decades. She still remains highly popular today despite the fact that indigenous artists such as Wang Fei or Faye Wong, who were deeply inspired by her, established their own style and gained widespread popularity.[490]

It is also important to note that even as late as 2002 Taiwan's Mandopop (Mandarin-language pop music), heavily influenced by Teng, "accounted for an estimated eighty to ninety per cent of Chinese language music sales in the PRC."[491]

Unfortunately, Teng never had the opportunity to perform live in mainland China. Throughout the 1970s and 80s her music went through differing levels of government censorship. As a New York Times article describes "…for much of the 1980s she was a litmus test of the political winds: when the authorities eased controls, her music sold briskly in stalls in

---

[488] Ta, "Becoming Teresa Teng: Becoming Taiwanese."

[489] Moskowitz, *Cries of Joy, Songs of Sorrow*, 19.

[490] Steve Tsang, ed., *Taiwan's Impact on China: Why Soft Power Matters More than Economic or Political Inputs* (Cham, Switzerland: Springer, 2017), 13.

[491] Marc L. Moskowitz, "Mandopop Under Seige: Culturally Bound Criticisms of Taiwan's Pop Music," *Popular Music* 28, no. 1 (January 2009): 70.

the tiniest towns; when the hard-liners clamped down, her music was banned."[492] When, in the 1990s tensions began to ease, Liu Zhongde (刘忠德, Liú zhōngdé), named Minister of Culture in 1992, officially invited Teng to perform, but shortly after it was reported she had joined a Nationalist organization and so the offer was rescinded.[493] Teresa Teng passed away in 1995 from an acute asthma attack while on holiday in Thailand.[494]

Kenny G

Although American saxophonist Kenny G was not China's first reintroduction to the saxophone, his importance in the modern reception of the instrument should not be overlooked. As Li Yusheng wrote "the saxophone music of Kenny G's *Going Home* can be heard all over the country. Many people know about the saxophone because of Kenny G's *Going Home*. Kenny G is making the saxophone well known to Chinese people."[495]

Born in 1956 Seattle, Washington, Kenny G's professional career took off when he began playing with Barry White at age 17. After releasing his debut, self-titled solo album in 1982, it was the 1986 album "Duotones" that propelled him into international fame.[496] His popularity was no different in China, where access to foreign artists was often thought of as a luxury and novelty only recently available to a newly opened China.[497] This, along with rising economic advantage

[492] Sheryl Wudunn, "Teresa Teng, Singer, 40, Dies; Famed in Asia for Love Songs," *The New York Times*, May 10, 1995, sec. Obituaries, https://www.nytimes.com/1995/05/10/obituaries/teresa-teng-singer-40-dies-famed-in-asia-for-love-songs.html.

[493] "Why Teresa Teng Could Not Visit Mainland China," accessed May 3, 2018, http://www.zonaeuropa.com/culture/c20060805_1.htm.

[494] Wudunn, "Teresa Teng, Singer, 40, Dies; Famed in Asia for Love Songs."

[495] Li, "The Saxophone In China," 57.

[496] "Kenny G," Biography, November 30, 2015, https://www.biography.com/people/kenny-g-21212793.

[497] Li, "How Did Kenny G's 'Going Home' Become China's Official 'Closing Time' Anthem?"

and the wide-spread availability of inexpensive tape players and cassette tapes[498] only added to the fervor.

> Speaking of Kenny G's popularity in 1980s China, one Chinese netizen wrote
>
> You see, Kenny G was HUGE in China back then. His music was played everywhere, I mean everywhere, in the shops, street corner vendors, on the buses, basically anywhere you can hook up a sound system you will be guaranteed to hear his music, together with Richard Clayderman and Yanni, I call them the three musketeers of early Chinese adoption of western pop music.[499]

This popularity maybe attributed to a number of different factors. First, the height of Kenny G's popularity coincided with the Opening Reforms. As Liang Xiaofen writes "In the late 1980s, China had just began listening to European and American music. Not long after, many of Kenny G's famous songs could be heard on the main streets and small alleys."[500] His style of music, often called smooth jazz, was likely to be more pleasing to a Chinese audience unfamiliar with bebop or other forms of jazz in the vein of Thelonious Monk, Ella Fitzgerald, or Duke Ellington. Even in the United States at the time "being jazzy [was] a downright handicap." [501] Record companies would often release two versions of the same song, one in the original form and one without all of the soloing or dissonant sections.[502] In China, many amateur saxophonists will avoid jazz, finding it "beautiful but too difficult" and instead perfering "Chinese songs [that] are more familiar and easy to play." [503]

---

[498] Ta, "Becoming Teresa Teng: Becoming Taiwanese," 7.

[499] Li, "How Did Kenny G's 'Going Home' Become China's Official 'Closing Time' Anthem?"

[500] Xiaofen Liang梁晓奋, "Kěn Ní·jī de 'Yǒnggǎn' Kuà Jiè 肯尼·基的「勇敢」跨界 [Kenny G's Brave Crossover]," *Yīnyuè Àihào Zhě 音樂愛好者 [Music Lover]*, September 2013, 40.

[501] Christopher J. Washburne and Maiken Derno, eds., *Bad Music: The Music We Love to Hate* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 133–34.

[502] Ibid.

[503] Javier C. Hernández, "China's 'Saxophone Capital,' a Factory Town Transfixed by Kenny G," *The New York Times*, January 3, 2018, sec. Asia Pacific, https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/03/world/asia/china-sidangkou-saxophone.html.

Another factor contributing to Kenny G's popularity in China is his crossover work with Chinese music and musicians. Over the years, Kenny G has recorded and performed renditions of "Jasmine Flower" (茉莉花, Mòlì huā) (a popular Chinese folk song), and Teresa Teng's "The Moon Represents My Heart".[504] He also joined forces with "Heart-throb Andy Lau Tak-wah…to a produce a Cantonese love song" in 1998.[505] This song, "You are My Woman" (你是我的女人, Nǐ shì wǒde nǚrén) was nominated for best song at the 18th Hong Kong Film Awards.[506] Crossover in the other direction is not unheard of either. As Sun Wu writes "In Hong Kong definitely has people taking Kenny G's songs, filling them in with Cantonese lyrics, and making them popular love songs."[507]

One song in particular has a special meaning for people throughout China. Since at least the 1990s, Kenny G's hit song *Going Home* can be heard everyday as a sign to pack up and go home.[508] As the New York Times reported "For years the tune, in all its seductive woodwind glory, has been a staple of Chinese society. Every day, 'Going Home' is piped into shopping malls, schools, train stations, and fitness centers as a signal to the public that it is time, indeed, to go home."[509]

---

[504] Bei Hu, "King of Sax," *Global Times*, September 9, 2013, sec. Metro Shanghai, http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/809750.shtml.

[505] Jacky Wong, "Andy Lau Teams Up with Kenny G," *South China Morning Post*, May 5, 1998, Online edition, http://www.scmp.com/article/239630/andy-lau-teams-kenny-g.

[506] "Dì 18 Jiè Xiānggǎng Diànyǐng Jīn Xiàng Jiǎng Tímíng Jí Dé Jiǎng Míngdān 第18届香港电影金像奖提名及得奖名单 [List of Nominees and Awardees of the 18th Hong Kong Film Awards]," Xiānggǎng diànyǐng jīn xiàng jiǎng 香港电影金像奖 [Hong Kong Film Awards], 1999, http://www.hkfaa.com/.

[507] Wu Sun孙吴, "Sàkèsī de Mèilì: Fēi Juéshì Dì Sàkèsī 萨克斯的魅力：非爵士的萨克斯 [Sax's Charm: Non-Jazz Saxophone]," *Shìtīng Jìshù 视听技术 [China Audiophile]*, 1999, 105.

[508] Levin, "China Says Goodbye in the Key of G."

[509] Ibid.

Today many saxophonists, and more importantly audiences, in China identify Kenny G's style and sound as the quintessential jazz performance. As such, his style is what is most often performed by saxophonists and called for by patrons in jazz and pop settings of all kinds around the country.[510]

Cui Jian (崔健, Cuī jiàn) and Liu Yuan (刘元, Liú yuan)

Another important avenue of the saxophone into the lives of ordinary Chinese audiences in the early years of the opening reforms was through another popular-music genre: rock. Rock music got its start in China largely through unofficial channels like underground clubs and black-market cassette tapes.[511] Access to music in this way was novel where, unlike government-controlled radio and television broadcasts, listeners could choose their own individual musical preferences.[512]

Cui Jian, the man who would come to be known as the "Godfather of Chinese rock 'n' roll",[513] was born into an ethnically Korean family in northern China. The son of a professional trumpet player and a Korean ethnic-dancer, Cui Jian studied trumpet and became a member of the prestigious Beijing Philharmonic Orchestra in that capacity in 1981. In 1985 he began attracting attention as a rock musician after entering into a televised talent contest in Beijing. One year later, after performing his now famous "Nothing to My Name" (一无所有,

[510] Li, "The Saxophone In China"; Xiaolu 章啸路 Zhang, interview by Jason Pockrus, Telephone, May 4, 2018; Chen, interview.

[511] Hao Huang, "Voices from Chinese Rock, Past and Present Tense: Social Commentary and Construction of Identity in Yaogun Yinyue , from Tiananmen to the Present," *Popular Music and Society* 26, no. 2 (January 2003): 187, https://doi.org/10.1080/0300776032000095512.

[512] Ibid.

[513] Sheila Melvin, "Cui Jian: China's Rock Rebel Updates His Appeal," *The New York Times*, March 1, 2008, sec. Arts, https://www.nytimes.com/2008/01/31/arts/31iht-melvin.1.9608490.html.

Yīwúsuǒyǒu) at a concert commemorating the Year of World Peace in Beijing, Cui Jian was catapulted into popular fame, leaving the Beijing Philharmonic Orchestra in 1987 to pursue rock full time.[514]

Cui Jian's music combined western music with traditional Chinese idioms including instruments and melodies. As discussed in the introduction to an interview with the UCLA International Institute:

> Musically, Cui Jian's music is an amalgamation of '80s rock and traditional Chinese music, employing both western instruments and traditional Chinese flutes and horns. Lyrically, his work is reminiscent of the political songs of the '60s. Growing up in the Cultural Revolution and its aftermath, Cui Jian incorporated social themes about liberation and individualism in his lyrics. Contending with the highly restrictive Chinese cultural industry censors, these themes were often thinly veiled through analogies and symbolism.[515]

This incorporation of traditional elements with jazz, electronic music, and even hip-hop became Cui Jian's signature sound. [516] The famed "Nothing to My Name", for example, was based on folk songs of north-western China, known as *xintianyou* (信天游, Xìn tiān yóu), and featured a large suona solo, performed by saxophonist and mulit-instrumentalist Liu Yuan.[517] Liu Yuan's prowess on saxophone, which would later be harnessed to launch a jazz career, and a number of Chinese traditional instruments including suona and bamboo flute, became an inseparable part of the ensemble.

---

[514] "Cui Jian Biography," accessed May 5, 2018, http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/bjweekend/2006-04/21/content_573181.htm.

[515] "Cui Jian: Father of Chinese Rock 'N' Roll," UCLA International Institute, June 3, 2005, http://international.ucla.edu/institute/article/11612.

[516] Melvin, "Cui Jian," March 1, 2008.

[517] Gupta and Omoniyi, *The Cultures of Economic Migration*, 169.

For China's youth, Cui Jian's music became a symbol of China's counter-culture.[518] He was quoted as saying "Rock is an ideology, not a set musical form," suggesting that the genre "provided youth with a collective desire for social transformation."[519] This ideology led Cui to perform in Tiananmen Square in the spring of 1989, when "Nothing to My Name", "a coded paean to love conquering all"[520] became the unofficial anthem for student protesters in the square.[521]

The aftermath of the Tiananmen Square incident was felt in the Chinese rock community. Scores of prominent rock musicians went into hiding as security forces were ordered to locate an imprison the musicians, who were considered equal to the student prodemocracy leaders. Not long after though, most rock musicians began returning to low-profile performances in Beijing.[522] As Hao Hong writes

> Astonishingly, less than half a year after the government crackdown, Cui Jian persuaded the CCP regime to sanction the first official rock concert in the PRC on the second day of the "Spring Festival," January 28, 1990. He offered to donate 1 million yuan from concert proceeds towards recouping major financial losses that the government had incurred by producing the 1989 Asian Games. PRC government authorities gave Cui permission to go on a countrywide tour in March of that year—ten concerts in Zhengzhou, Wuhan, Xi'an, and Chengdu opened to unprecedented mass enthusiasm.[523]

The Semiotics of Chinese Pop Music

In his paper "Semiotics of Music: Analysis of Cui Jian's "Nothing to My Name," the

---

[518] Matthew Corbin Clark, "Birth Of A Beijing Music Scene," PBS Frontline: China in the Red, February 13, 2003, https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/red/sonic/.

[519] Huang, "Voices from Chinese Rock, Past and Present Tense," 188.

[520] Clark, "Birth Of A Beijing Music Scene."

[521] Melvin, "Cui Jian," March 1, 2008.

[522] Nimrod Baranovitch, *China's New Voices: Popular Music, Ethnicity, Gender, and Politics, 1978-1997* (University of California Press, 2003), 189.

[523] Huang, "Voices from Chinese Rock, Past and Present Tense," 189.

Anthem for the Chinese Youths in the Post-Cultural Revolution Era" Jonathan Matusitz describes the symbolic place of pop music within China. He notes that, as a sign, popular music "or rock and pop, denotes a cultural object."[524] This cultural object was an ingrained part of Chinese culture in the 1980s and served to speak "to, of, and for" the culture itself. For many, it served as a "warning sign against the oppression of the Chinese government."[525] This became evident when "Nothing to My Name" became the unofficial anthem of the 1989 protests.[526]

Pop music also served as a sign of Chineseness and youth. Matusitz writes that "unlike other Asian countries, such as Malaysia, where American pop culture predominates, China has […] its own 'Cantopop' and 'Mandopop' artists." [527] For these youth, then, pop music was "a language by which the youths can signify their identities as members of a particular generation (breaking from a previous generation)…what matters is not only the music, but also cultural images and symbols surrounding the music."[528]

In searching for cultural images and symbols, then, the saxophone must have been a likely candidate. As mentioned by prominent musicians like Chen Fangyi and Li Manlong, pop music was their introduction to the instrument and they were drawn to it, and in some ways that means drawn away from their own, traditional instruments.[529] In the years after the opening reforms, the adoption of the saxophone by pop musicians, or the inclusion of the instrument in

[524] Jonathan Matusitz, "Semiotics of Music: Analysis of Cui Jian's 'Nothing to My Name,' the Anthem for the Chinese Youths in the Post-Cultural Revolution Era," *The Journal of Popular Culture* 43, no. 1 (January 28, 2010): 157, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5931.2010.00735.x.

[525] Ibid.

[526] Sheila Melvin, "Cui Jian: China's Rock Rebel Updates His Appeal," *The New York Times*, March 1, 2008, sec. Arts, https://www.nytimes.com/2008/01/31/arts/31iht-melvin.1.9608490.html.

[527] Matusitz, "Semiotics of Music," 161.

[528] Ibid., 165.

[529] Chen, interview; Li, interview.

their bands also must have been a signifier of generational identity: unlike trumpet, guitar, violin, or so many other instruments, the saxophone was one of the few that was relegated to only a very few performance styles, and was completely thrust out of the model operas and other state-sanctioned musical genres of the preceding Cultural Revolution era.[530]

Jazz

The Opening Reforms of the 1980s saw the reestablishment of China's jazz scene, which had been suppressed under Mao's communist regime. Having been suppressed for so many years, the jazz scene, in many ways, had been frozen in time, with musicians still performing 1930s and 40s style dancehall music. As the LA Times wrote, "in China, jazz was banned for many years, deemed corrupt in the wake of the Cultural Revolution. The music reemerged in recent years, but has picked up where it left off, with a '40s sensibility embracing swing-era and bebop styles."[531] This idea of a jazz scene stuck in time became a recurring theme for many musicians travelling to the newly opened country. On seeing a performance at the famed Peace Hotel in Shanghai, one reporter wrote

> The band played with enthusiasm, the place was packed, and the crowd clearly loved the old duffers, but I must say we were disappointed. Along with '30s and '40s Glenn Miller- and Benny Goodman-like arrangements, the musicians played such non-jazz chestnuts as "Waltzing Matilda" and "New York, New York" for visitors. Even on jazz arrangements, the band was stiffly "boom-chick"; musicians appeared not to improvise, and they did not swing.[532]

[530] Paul Clark, Laikwan Pang, and Tsan-Huang Tsai, eds., *Listening to China's Cultural Revolution: Music, Politics, and Cultural Continuities* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 140.

[531] WOODARD, "East-West Jazz Link."

[532] J. Robert Bragonier, "Jazz in Shanghai, China: A Study in Contrasts," All About Jazz, May 24, 2004, https://www.allaboutjazz.com/jazz-in-shanghai-china-a-study-in-contrasts-by-j-robert-bragonier.php?page=1.

Saxophonist Liu Yuan, who got his start performing with Chinese rocker Cui Jian, also had difficulty in starting a true jazz scene in China. Liu Yuan was born into a family of well-known folk musicians and began his musical training on suona, just like his father.[533] After graduating from the Beijing Art School at age 19, he began working as a full-time musician with the Beijing Song and Dance Troupe. It was here that he met Cui Jian and other members of what would become the famous rock band.[534] The Beijing Song and Dance Troupe toured frequently and performed concerts both inside and outside of China.[535] It was during one of the international tours that Liu Yuan first became interested in jazz. In a café one night in a Romanian city near the Hungarian border, he heard jazz for the first time. It left such an impression on him that he borrowed money from his family to buy his first saxophone in 1984.[536]

He began learning to play the saxophone "through tapes that his western friends brought back from overseas, while performing rock 'n' roll with Chinese rock legend Cui Jian."[537] Creating a jazz scene in China was not easy at first as, in the mid-1980s "there were only four or five professional jazz musicians in Beijing."[538] The jazz scene grew, though, and by 1994 Liu Yuan and his group, Liu Yuan's Jazz Band, were performing regularly at the Hilton Hotel in

[533] Tara Shingle Buzash, "Liu Yuan, the CD Cafe, and Jazz in China," *Geocities* (blog), October 25, 2009, https://www.webcitation.org/5kmpQ7MWg.

[534] "Pioneering Saxophonist, 50, Still Hitting the Right Note," accessed May 3, 2018, http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/life/2010-03/29/content_9655355.htm.

[535] Buzash, "Liu Yuan, the CD Cafe, and Jazz in China."

[536] "Pioneering Saxophonist, 50, Still Hitting the Right Note."

[537] Shen Lu, "Beijing's Jazz Scene Is Buzzing," CNN Travel, December 18, 2015, https://www.cnn.com/travel/article/china-beijing-jazz-scene-blue-note/index.html.

[538] Ibid.

Beijing.[539] In 1995 he became co-partner of jazz night-club CD Café and has performed there regularly ever since, turning into one of the hotspots of jazz in the city.[540]

Another pioneering saxophonist in China's reemerging jazz scene was Fan Shengqi. Born in 1933 Harbin, Fan began playing saxophone at age 11.[541] In 1956 he entered the Central Conservatory of music as a clarinetist and by age 18 was the principal saxophone player of the Chinese Railroad Art Troupe (中国铁路艺术团, Zhōngguó tiělù yìshù tuán).[542] Here, he played both saxophone and clarinet until the arrival of the Cultural Revolution when "ironically, he was only allowed to play the sax at Chairman Mao's private dance parties, otherwise focusing on Chinese reed instruments such as the reed pipe, suona, and bamboo flute."[543] In the mid-1980s he formed what would become an iconic jazz band in China: the Old Tree Bark Band (老树皮乐队, Lǎo shùpí yuèduì). The band was formed when director Chen Kaige needed a jazz band to perform and appear on film for his movie "The Wind and Moon"（风月). The band's sound and appearance in the movie made them an overnight sensation, and Fan Shengqi has been performing regularly with them ever since.[544]

Thanks to the efforts of these early pioneers, the jazz scene in China is thriving. The famed Blue Note club opened Blue Note Beijing in March 2016,[545] internationally recognized artists like The Yellowjackets, Herbie Hancock, Kurt Rosenwinkel, Robin Eubanks, Jaleel Shaw,

---

[539] Buzash, "Liu Yuan, the CD Cafe, and Jazz in China."

[540] Ibid.

[541] Woodard, "East-West Jazz Link."

[542] Dayu Fan范大宇, "Lǎo shù pí: Zhōngguó de juéshì yuèduì 老树皮：中国的爵士乐队 [Old Bark: China's Jazz Band]," *Zhōngguó tiělù wényì 中国铁路文艺 [China Railroad Art Troupe]*, 2006, 61.

[543] Woodard, "East-West Jazz Link."

[544] *China Daily*,"范圣骑做客胡同里的百家讲坛讲述音乐情缘," September 15, 2017.

[545] Lu, "Beijing's Jazz Scene Is Buzzing."

Snarky Puppy, Richard Sussman, and more have headlined in Beijing,[546] and China his home to scores of annual jazz festivals.[547] As CNN reported "China's largest city [Shanghai] has become home to a new generation of jazz players."[548] This new generation includes young performers like Li Gaoyang (李高阳, Lǐ gāoyáng) and Chen Jiajun (陈嘉俊, Chén jiājùn).

Li Gaoyang "is regarded almost as a veteran of the Chinese jazz scene, having first made his mark when he joined the Yinjiao Big Band as a tenor saxophonist in 2009."[549] Li has toured with artists including Dave Liebman, Jerry Bergonzi, and Adam Nussbaum and was the opening performer at the Hong Kong International Jazz Festival and Ninegates Jazz Festival in Beijing 2011[550] The Li Gaoyang quartet regularly performs as the group in residence at Liu Yuan's famed CD Jazz Café in Beijing.[551]

Born in 1985, saxophonist Chen Jiajun is the director of the Shanghai Saxophone Institute and a regular performer throughout China. Studying with Zhang Xiaolu at the Shanghai Conservatory of Music, Chen began playing professionally at age 18, performing in the city's nightclubs and hotels. In 2012 he performed alongside Eric Marienthal at the Jazz It Up event

[546] Terence Hsieh, "Why Beijing Is (Still) A Great City For Jazz Music," Forbes, accessed May 6, 2018, https://www.forbes.com/sites/terencehsieh/2016/07/26/why-beijing-is-still-a-great-city-for-jazz-music/.

[547] Robin Lynam, "The Jazz Scene in China Is Booming as More Young Musicians Discover the Genre," South China Morning Post, July 9, 2014, http://www.scmp.com/magazines/48hrs/article/1546605/jazz-scene-china-booming-more-young-musicians-discover-genre.

[548] Jaime FlorCruz, "Shanghai Sizzles Again with Jazz," CNN Travel, August 3, 2004, http://www.cnn.com/2004/TRAVEL/08/02/shanghai.jazz/.

[549] Robin Lynam, "Sax Assault: Four Top Jazz Saxophonists Play Hong Kong in a Week," *South China Morning Post*, May 30, 2015, http://www.scmp.com/lifestyle/arts-entertainment/article/1812084/sax-assault-four-top-jazz-saxophonists-play-hong-kong.

[550] Ian Patterson, "Li Gao Yang: Locks, Stock and Smoking Barrel," All About Jazz, December 6, 2012, https://www.allaboutjazz.com/li-gao-yang-locks-stock-and-smoking-barrel-li-gao-yang-by-ian-patterson.php.

[551] Ibid.

and became the first Chinese musicians ever reviewed by Down Beat Magazine.[552] More recently, he performed on the Chinese leg of Dave Kos' 2015 tour.

The Saxophone in Chinese Conservatories

Jazz and Pop

The first avenue for saxophonists to obtain a degree in music was at the establishment of the popular-music department at the Shenyang conservatory in 1993. In 1993 the Shenyang conservatory began accepting applications for their newly established popular music department, seeking teachers of saxophone, guitar, bass, etc popular-music instruments.[553] Having just graduated that year, Liu Yan (刘焱, Liú yàn) began teaching in the popular music department and became among the first saxophone teachers at a Chinese university.[554] Although this degree program was considered popular music, rather than jazz, the curriculum for saxophonists included studying many different forms of western music, and so can be considered an important first step for jazz education in the country.

It should be mentioned that this program, although offering the first opportunity for saxophonists to study the saxophone at a Chinese university, is typically not considered the first

[552] Kang Sun孙康, "Zhōngguó Sàkèsī Shílì Pài Dàibiǎo - Chénjiājùn 中国萨克斯实力派代表 – 陈嘉俊 [A Powerful Representative of Chinese Saxophone - Chen Jiajun]," SaxChina, May 31, 2015, https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MjM5NTE1NTcyMA==&mid=207684165&idx=1&sn=bb6bab2f0c57814cf98afdd58cdfe5d1&pass_ticket=6qSvKGT4ooWaDBg05Gk0QhGIWwVJsj2XyGyb63Vr6CZDGka83l%2ByqrAIPEE79r8B.

[553] "沈阳音乐学院萨克斯教授--刘焱萨克斯中国专访," accessed May 6, 2018, https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MjM5NTE1NTcyMA==&mid=209508187&idx=1&sn=695618955184670c72dbd6052d0e5092&pass_ticket=3ePB4js6w6Z%2BNn7bSruAV283Sus3tFxrv7idodw3Pj%2FSpx8H4Hmn8HyINGbwBCUa.

[554] Ping Pan潘平, "Liú Yàn 刘焱 [Liu Yan]," Shěnyáng yīnyuè xuéyuàn: Xiàndài yīnyuè xuéyuàn 沈阳音乐学院：现代音乐学院 [Shenyang Conservatory of Music: Modern Music Conservatory], January 16, 2017, http://www.sycm.com.cn/display_son.aspx?Vid=-1&Nid=7273&DWid=101.

saxophone degree program. This is because the degree offered was in popular-music, with the study of saxophone being one option. By contrast, Li Yusheng's 1997 degree program at the Sichuan Conservatory was explicitly in saxophone performance and concentrated on the performance and pedagogy of that instrument specifically.[555]

Another major step for jazz education was the establishment of the jazz saxophone major at the Shanghai Conservatory. Considered among the first generation of jazz musicians since the genre's rebirth in China,[556] Zhang Xiaolu was introduced to jazz by his grandfather, himself a jazz/shidaiqu musician during Shanghai's jazz age.[557] Zhang studied clarinet at the Shanghai conservatory before pursuing a master's degree in saxophone at Boston University.[558] In 2002 he obtained his degree and returned to the Shanghai Conservatory to teach. In 2007, 2012, 2014 and 2016 he organized the China Jazz Competition and Education Seminar at the Shanghai Conservatory.[559] In his approach to jazz education, he says "we must first popularize the instrument and increase the overall ability level, we must first see to the educational side of things and then from there build a strong performance market."[560]

Jazz education in Chinese conservatories follows that found in American universities. Zhang Xiaolu, being educated in the USA, draws from the "Great American Songbook" in

---

[555] Li, "Lùn Sàkèsī Guǎn Zài Xiàndài Qìyuè Tǐxì Zhōng de Dìngwèi Hé Fāzhǎn 论萨克斯管在现代器乐体系中的定位和发展 [On the Place and Development of the Saxophone in Modern Instrumental Music Departments]."

[556] FlorCruz, "Shanghai Sizzles Again with Jazz."

[557] Eugene Marlow, "Saxophonist & Teacher Zhang Xiaolu: The Jazz-Man at the Shanghai Conservatory of Music," *Eugene Marlow* (blog), August 20, 2012, http://www.eugenemarlow.com/2012/08/20/saxophonist-teacher-zhang-xiaolu-the-jazz-man-at-the-shanghai-conservatory-of-music/.

[558] Zhang, interview.

[559] Sheng Yue越声, "Zhāng Xiào Lù: Zài Zhǐ Jiān Wǔdǎo de Sàkèsī Yǎnzòu Jiā 章啸路：在指间舞蹈的萨克斯演奏家 [Zhang Xiaolu: Finger-Dancing Saxophonist]," Tà jī xún yīn 踏迹寻音 [Tracking Music], February 16, 2017, http://www.360doc.com/content/17/0216/13/17976275_629433181.shtml.

[560] Pan, "Liú Yàn 刘焱 [Liu Yan]."

lessons and encourages students to be familiar with the improvisatory style of saxophonists like Lester Young, Charlie Parker, John Coltrane, etc.[561] Although based primarily in this American-style education, he also advocates for new compositions by Chinese composers and even regularly writes and arranges new pieces himself.[562]

Classical Saxophone

In 1990, at the invitation of the Chinese government, Canadian saxophonist Paul Brodie performed in Beijing, and thereby jumpstarted the classical saxophone scene in China.[563] During this trip, considered the "first ever visit from an international sax pro" to China he gave several concerts, made "China's first digital recording with the People's Liberation Army Band" and "gave seven master classes to over 500 saxophonists from as far away as Tibet, Mongolia, and Manchuria."[564] Hearing of this upcoming performance in the local paper, Li Yusheng, then teaching traditional Chinese instruments at the Sichuan conservatory, made the two-day train trip to attend.[565] During another of Brodie's tours in China two years later, Li met with Brodie and embarked down the path that would lead to the establishment of the first saxophone class at a Chinese conservatory.[566] Paul Brodie considered his performances in China among the top three

[561] Zhang, interview.

[562] Yue, "Zhāng Xiào Lù: Zài Zhǐ Jiān Wǔdǎo de Sàkèsī Yǎnzòu Jiā 章啸路：在指间舞蹈的萨克斯演奏家 [Zhang Xiaolu: Finger-Dancing Saxophonist]."

[563] John Terauds, "Ambassador of the Sax Was Beloved Worldwide," *The Star*, November 24, 2007, https://www.thestar.com/news/2007/11/24/ambassador_of_the_sax_was_beloved_worldwide.html.

[564] Ibid.

[565] Sheldon Jerome Johnson Jr., "The Political Suppression of the Saxophone and Its Subsequent Pedagogical Development in Select Non-Democratic Countries.," DMA diss (University of South Carolina, 2017), 62.

[566] Liu Liu, "Yusheng Li," *Saxophone Journal* 24, no. 3 (February 2000).

accomplishments of his life. The other two were establishing the World Saxophone Congress (along with Eugen Rousseau), and his marriage with his wife Rima.[567]

Li Yusheng was born in Chongqing, China and began his musical studies on suona at age 10.[568] After graduating from the Sichuan Conservatory of music in 1982, Li began teaching suona in the Chinese Instruments Department. At age 30 he began teaching himself the saxophone[569] and when the opportunity to hear Canadian saxophonist Paul Brodie perform in 1990 presented itself, he took it.[570]

In 1992, Li began saxophone studies with Paul Brodie at the Royal Conservatory of Music in Toronto, Canada. Four years later, in 1996, he was awarded a diploma in saxophone performance with high distinction and became the first Chinese saxophonist to study and earn a degree certificate abroad. On returning to China that year, where his position had been held for him, he set about to the establishment of the first saxophone degree program in China. [571]

As Li wrote, "the saxophone in China has never been a professionally regarded instrument. Since the 40s and 50s all the way through the Opening Reforms and to today, the saxophone has mainly been used as accompaniment at dance halls…Saxophonists have never received formal, professional education."[572] Because of this, the saxophone in China had a reputation largely, if not solely, as a jazz or pop-music instrument. There was doubt as to

---

[567] Willem Moolenbeek, "Paul Brodie: Ambassador of the Saxophone," *Singing Sax* (blog), January 10, 2000, http://singingsax.com/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/Paul_Brodie_interview.pdf.

[568] Liu, "Yusheng Li," 27.

[569] Brown, "A View from China."

[570] Johnson Jr., "The Political Suppression of the Saxophone and Its Subsequent Pedagogical Development in Select Non-Democratic Countries.," 62.

[571] Sheldon Jerome Jr. Johnson, "The Political Supression of the Saxophone and Its Subsequent Pedagogical Development in Select Non-Democratic Countries" (University of South Carolina, 2017), 62.

[572] Li, "Zài Zhōngguó Zǔjiàn Sàkèsī Guǎn Sìchóngzòu de Gòuxiǎng 在中国组建萨克斯管四重奏的构想 [Conception of the Formation of the Saxophone Quartet in China]," 74.

whether or not the instrument was even capable of performing classical music.[573] In order to dispel this myth and prove to the administrators that a saxophone class should be established, Li presented a concert at the Sichuan Conservatory of Music to display the classical possibilities of the instrument. The concert, whose program included Paul Creston's *Sonata for Saxophone*, was a success, and in 1997 China's first degree-granting program for classical saxophone was established at the Sichuan Conservatory of Music.[574]

Soon, classical similar programs were being established throughout the country. In 2000, Li Manlong established the saxophone program at China's flagship conservatory, the Central Conservatory of Music. Li Manlong started his musical training as a clarinetist, studying the instrument at the Central Conservatory with Tao Chunxiao (陶纯孝, Táo chúnxiào). He first became interested in the saxophone in 1982 after hearing a Chinese musician playing pop-music on the instrument.[575] For Li, chamber ensembles and even small saxophone orchestras are of upmost importance to the future of the instrument.[576] He says that it is these types of performances that "show the versatility and richness" of the saxophone, and that "only by breaking out of the single-solo model can listeners truly appreciate the multi-faceted beauty of the instrument."[577] Currently all of the major conservatories in China, Central Conservatory of

[573] Johnson, "The Political Supression of the Saxophone and Its Subsequent Pedagogical Development in Select Non-Democratic Countries," 63.

[574] Ibid.

[575] Li, interview; Songkang 张颂康 Zhang, "Zhōngguó Gǔdiǎn Sàkèsī Yǎnzòu de Tàhuāng Zhě Lǐmǎnlóng Xiānshēng 中国古典萨克斯演奏的拓荒者李满龙先生 [Pioneering Chinese Classical Saxophonist Li Manlong]," SaxChina, September 12, 2015, https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MjM5NTE1NTcyMA==&mid=210719481&idx=1&sn=c2ee83ec2b9967c6bd570c1cde28969d&pass_ticket=6qSvKGT4ooWaDBg05Gk0QhGIWwVJsj2XyGyb63Vr6CZDGka83l%2ByqrAIPEE79r8B.

[576] Li, interview.

[577] Zhang, "Zhōngguó Gǔdiǎn Sàkèsī Yǎnzòu de Tàhuāng Zhě Lǐmǎnlóng Xiānshēng 中国古典萨克斯演奏的拓荒者李满龙先生 [Pioneering Chinese Classical Saxophonist Li Manlong]."

Music (中央音乐学院, Zhōngyāng yīnyuè xuéyuàn), China Conservatory of Music (中国音乐学院, Zhōngguó yīnyuè xuéyuàn), Tianjin Conservatory (天津音乐学院, Tiānjīn yīnyuè xuéyuàn), Shanghai Conservatory (上海音乐学院, Shànghǎi yīnyuè xuéyuàn), Xinghai Conservatory (星海音乐学院, Xīnghǎi yīnyuè xuéyuàn), Sichuan Conservatory (四川音乐学院, Sìchuān yīnyuè xuéyuàn), Xian Conservatory (西安音乐学院, Xī'ān yīnyuè xuéyuàn), Wuhan Conservatory (武汉音乐学院, Wǔhàn yīnyuè xuéyuàn), and Shenyang Conservatory (沈阳音乐学院, Shěnyáng yīnyuè xuéyuàn), offer degrees in classical saxophone performance.

Today, classical saxophone programs in China continue to develop, propelled by what can be considered the second generation of Chinese saxophonists. Unlike their predecessors, the vast majority of these musicians pursued performance study abroad and, in many cases, returned to teach and perform in China. Some representatives of this generation, discussed briefly below, include Gao Xin (高欣, Gāo xīn), Xie Liang (解亮, Xiè liàng), and Yang Tong (杨桐, Yáng tóng).

Gao Xin began studying clarinet at age 8 but switched to the saxophone at age 13 when Li Yusheng opened his saxophone class at the Sichuan Conservatory.[578] After attending the Sichuan Conservatory Affiliated Middle/High School, where he studied with Li Yusheng, Gao pursued his undergraduate education in saxophone with James Houlik at Duquesne University in Pittsburgh. Gao made the decision to study with Houlik after the American saxophonist made tours of China in 2000 and 2002. On graduation, he spent one year pursuing his master's degree

[578] Johnson, "The Political Supression of the Saxophone and Its Subsequent Pedagogical Development in Select Non-Democratic Countries," 45.

at the University of Tennessee with Connie Frigo, but, when she moved to a position in Washington D.C., he returned to Duquesne to finish his degree.

Gao Xin currently serves as Assistant Professor of Saxophone and Music Theory at Truman State University[579] and continues to present frequent concerts and masterclass throughout the United States and China.[580]

Xie Liang, originally from Shenyang, China pursued his bachelor's degree at the Central Conservatory of Music in Beijing, China with Li Manlong. In 2008, he traveled to France and undertook studies at the Regional Conservatory Saint-Maur with Nicolas Prost. In 2011, Xie became the first Chinese saxophonist to be granted entry into the class of Claude Delangle at the Paris Conservatory and later the first to obtain a masters degree from that institution. He currently resides in Shenyang, China where he is a frequent recitalist and clinician.[581]

Yang Tong is professor of saxophone at the Central Conservatory of Music in Beijing, China. Born in Beijing, he began his musical studies on the violin at age 4, but by age 13 had entered in to the class of Su Jianpei (苏坚培, Sū jiānpéi) studying clarinet and saxophone at the Central Conservatory. He received a master-performer's diploma from the National Conservatory of Bordeaux in 2005, where he studied with Marie-Bernadette Charrier, and a master's degree in saxophone from the Lausanne Conservatory of Music in Switzerland under Pierre-Stéphane Meugé. Yang has been teaching at the Central Conservatory since 2011.[582]

---

[579] Xin Gao, "Faculty & Staff," Truman State University, 2018, http://www.truman.edu/faculty-staff/.

[580] Xin Gao, "About," Xin Gao - Saxophonist, 2013, http://xingaosax.com/about-2017132057.html.

[581] "Musicians: Liang Xie," Selmer Paris, accessed May 5, 2018, https://www.selmer.fr/musicfiche.php?id=792.

[582] Songkang Zhang张颂康, "Zhōngyāng Yīnyuè Xuéyuàn Sàkèsī Jiàoshī Yáng Tóng--Sàkèsī Zhōngguó Wǎng Dújiā Zhuānfǎng 中央音乐学院萨克斯教师杨桐--萨克斯中国网独家专访 [Saxophone Teacher at the Central Conservatory Yang Tong - Exclusive Interview]," SaxChina, June 28, 2015, https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MjM5NTE1NTcyMA==&mid=208855017&idx=1&sn=4f7b32eb78fec83b76836774b1924d49&pass_ticket=6qSvKGT4ooWaDBg05Gk0QhGIWwVJsj2XyGyb63Vr6CZDGka83l%2ByqrAIPEE79r8B.

Classical saxophone education in Chinese conservatories follows that of American and European schools, depending on the background and preferences of the teacher. Reperotire studied in Chinese studios, including Paul Creston's *Sonata for Alto Saxophone and Piano*, Jacques Ibert's *Concertino da Camera*, Heitor Villa-Lobos' *Fantasia*, etc. would be familiar to the majority of American and European saxophonists. Method books used in the conservatories, including those by Klosé,[583] Mule,[584] Rousseau,[585] Voxman,[586] etc. are also based on Western conservatory and university pedagogical standards.[587]

Outside of the wide-spread adoption of Western pedagogy, native Chinese pedagogical and performance styles are beginning to emerge. In his D.M.A. document *Project China*, Gao Xin provides an annotated listing of contemporary music for saxophone by Chinese composers, stating "in recent years, performances of newly composed Chinese music have become more common at national and international saxophone conventions."[588] Li Manlong also occasionaly incorporates the study of Chinese folk-music into the curriculum for his students. Largely transcribed by Li himself, these songs serve as a pedagogical tool for reinforcing fundamental performance habits using a melodic form with which students are more likely to be familiar. Both of these new trends though, saxophone compositions by Chinese composers and transcribed

[583] Hyacinthe Klosé, *25 Daily Exercises for Saxophone* (C. Fischer, 1995).

[584] Franz W. Ferling and Marcel Mule, *Quarante Huit Etudes (Forty Eight Studies) for All Saxophones* (Aphonse Leduc, 1946).

[585] Eugene Rousseau, *Saxophone High Tones: A Systematic Approach to the Extension of the Range of All the Saxophones: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Baritone* (Etoile Music, 2002).

[586] H. Voxman, *Selected Studies for Saxophone: Advanced Etudes, Scales and Arpeggios in All Major and Minor Keys* (Hal Leonard Corporation, 1991).

[587] Li, interview.

[588] Xin Gao, "Project China: A Resource of Contemporary Saxophone Music Written by Chinese-Born Composers" (University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 2016), http://libres.uncg.edu/ir/uncg/f/Gao_uncg_0154D_11908.pdf.

folk songs, are typically only a small portion of the course of study for saxophonists at Chinese conservatories.[589]

Wind Bands

Since the Opening Reforms of the 1980s, wind bands have continued to be an important venue for saxophone performers. Although the PLA Band, where the saxophone has had a home since 1949 (see chapter 5), has given rise to saxophone performers and educators including Wang Qingquan (王清泉, Wáng qīngquán), Du Yinjiao (杜银鲛, Dù yínjiāo), and Xie Jinqi (谢进岐, Xiè jìnqí), little published information is available about them, and all three were unavailable for interview. Amongst the three, Xie Jinqi in particular is known for promoting saxophone in important ways. Described as "a household name in the world of Chinese Saxophone,"[590] Xie won the PLA Band top prize in saxophone in 1989, and thereby was able to give China's first ever solo saxophone concert.[591] He also recorded the first ever album of solo saxophone in China for China International Radio, CRI, (中国国际广播电台, Zhōngguó guójì guǎngbò diàntái) in the same year.[592]

Just within the last two decades, though, China has seen a surge in privately established wind bands, at the forefront of which is undoubtedly the Dunshan Symphonic Wind Orchestra, DSWO, (顿山交响管乐团, Dùnshān jiāoxiǎng yuètuán). These wind bands are often the

[589] Li, interview.; Based on the author's experience as guest researcher at the Sichuan Conservatory 2014-2015

[590] HBH, "Sàkèsī yǎnzòu jiā xièjìnqí lǎoshī tán xuéxí 萨克斯演奏家谢进歧老师谈学习 [Saxophone Performer Mr. Xie Jinqi Discusses Studies]," *Chuī sàkèsī wǎng 吹萨克斯网 [Play Saxophone]*, April 1, 2009, http://www.chuisax.com/forum.php?mod=viewthread&tid=2497.

[591] Ibid.

[592] Ibid.

marketing arm of large instrument manufacturers in China and have the potential to be one of the most important performance opportunities for classical saxophonists in the coming years. In May of 2018 the author interviewed Wu Chih-Huan (吴志桓, Wú zhìhuán), principal saxophonist and concertmaster of the DSWO to understand more about performance opportunities for saxophonists in these newly established ensembles, the DSWO itself, and his position there.

Wu Chih-Huan

Wu Chih-Huan is originally from Taiwan where he currently serves as Assistant Professor of saxophone at National Taiwan University of the Arts, and also teaches saxophone at the University of Taipei and Fu-Jen Catholic University of Taiwan.[593] After completing a B.M. in sociology from National Taiwan University in 1999, Wu went on to study saxophone with John Sampen at Bowling Green State University and Ramon Ricker at Eastman School of Music, earning a Master of Music in 2004 and Doctor of Musical Arts in 2009 from those institutions respectively. After finishing the coursework portion of his degree at the Eastman School of Music, Wu returned to Taiwan in 2008 and began teaching at the National University of Tainan, creating the first ever saxophone class there with four students. He finished his degree in 2009 and began teaching at several other universities throughout Taiwan.

In 2010 the newly formed Dunshan Symphonic Wind Orchestra held auditions in Taipei, after which Wu was offered a position in the group. He was forced to decline the offer, however, because of conflicts with his teaching duties: the DSWO was eager to start and required him to be present in Beijing within two weeks. Continuing to teach and perform throughout Taiwan over the next several years, Wu was contacted by the DSWO in 2012 as they were seeking a

[593] "Wu, Chih-Huan," Macao Young Musicians Competition, 2016, http://icm.gov.mo/cjmm.

substitute for their recently departed principal saxophonist and were anticipating an important festival performance in Lucerne, Switzerland. He joined the group for their September 2012 performance at the Lucerne World Band Festival and thereafter was offered the position of principle saxophonists on a permanent basis. This time, having thoroughly enjoyed performing with the group, he accepted. About this same time, the orchestra was seeking a new concertmaster and Chih-Huan Wu was among the top candidates. What finally swayed the group's Art Director in Wu's direction, says Wu, is when he learned that Tokyo Kosei orchestra had for many years been under saxophonist Nuboya Sugawa's leadership as concertmaster.

As concertmaster, Wu's duties include helping with the management of orchestra personnel and occasionally conducting rehearsals if the primary directors are away. He has also had the opportunity to play numerous concertos throughout his tenure with the group, performing in a soloistic role more than any other member. Wu says that he has been afforded the opportunity to perform substantial works like Libby Larson's *Holy Roller* and newly commissioned pieces like Lee Feng-Hsu's *The Voice of the Children* and Yen Ming-Hsiu's *Concerto for Saxophone and Wind Ensemble*.[594] However, as audience appeal is also an important consideration, Wu admits that most of his performances take the form of lighter fare such as *Grenada* or *Georgia on My Mind*.

Outside of the orchestra, Wu teaches private lessons on demand and also conducts several school wind bands in the Beijing area. He also continues to teach at universities throughout Taiwan, taking the 3-hour flight to Taipei at least once a month to meet with students. Interestingly, Chih-Huan Wu is the only saxophonist currently working in China that holds a doctoral degree in performance (D.M.A. or equivalent). When asked about the opportunities this

[594] Po-Fang Chang, "An Annotated Bibliography of Saxophone Works by Taiwanese Composers," n.d., 70.

afford him, Wu states that it may have helped him secure the position of concertmaster, but the vast majority of people do not understand the significance of the degree. This is perhaps due to the fact the no university in China currently offers beyond a master's degree in performance.

Wu Chih-Huan is undoubtedly one of the most important and influential saxophonists performing in China today. As the importance of wind orchestras continues to grow within China, so too will Wu's part in the growth of that industry come to be realized.

Dunshan Symphonic Wind Orchestra

The DSWO was formed in 2010 under the patronage of the Dun Shan Art Group. The Dunshan Art Group, established in 1991 seeks to "develop the musicianship and aesthetic judgment of the youth, to find and develop talents together with wind instrument education, and to promote international cultural exchange together with music performance."[595] With 17 branches throughout China, the Dunshan art group is involved with music education via large scale instrument manufacturing and trading, being an authorized retailer of "many famous musical instrument brands including, Yamaha, Pearl drums, Pearl flutes, Buffet, Besson, Coutois and Bergerault" as well as their own instrument brand, Golden Scarab wind instruments.

The primary function of the DSWO, then, is an educational and promotional tool for the Dunshan Art Group. Although approximately 85% of their performances take the form of educational concerts for school-aged children, the orchestra is allowed great leeway in its ability to program artistically important repertoire. Wu Chih-Huan describes it as the art director's tug-of-war between commercial and artistic considerations. The group has toured internationally

[595] Hua Li, "Dūn Shàn Jiāoxiǎng Guǎn Yuètuán 敦善交響管樂團 [Dunshan Symphonic Wind Orchestra]," Dunshan Symphonic Wind Orchestra Facebook Page, accessed May 7, 2018, https://www.facebook.com/pg/DSWO.China/about/?ref=page_internal.

three times since its formation and tours domestically annually. The group was the official orchestra for the 2016 inaugural Asian Saxophone Congress held in Chiayi, Taiwan.

Members of the orchestra are from a wide range of professional backgrounds. The five-members of the saxophone section, for example, all hold advanced degrees from institutions throughout China, the United States, and Ukraine. Employed as full-time musicians within the group (which also allows foreign passport holders to join the group), members rehearse every morning throughout the week and are free in the afternoon. Most, like Wu Chih-Huan, are also employed with the Dunshan art group to teach private lessons or conduct school bands during this time. In the past, auditions for the ensemble were held on an ongoing basis: anyone that was interested in auditioning would be heard and, if acceptable, placed on the substitute list. When new positions became available, members would then be chosen from amongst this list. In the past two years, however, auditions are posted online if popular forums and auditions are then held over the internet via video-conferencing.

The DSWO epitomizes a new trend in private wind orchestras in China and represents a very important performance opportunity for saxophonists. The saxophone not being a regular member of symphony orchestras, wind orchestras like the DSWO provide one of the few avenues of employment for classical saxophonists outside of an academic setting. The group is based on and has goals similar to the famed Tokyo Kosei Wind Orchestra and could very well come to have the same impact on the musical scene in China, and saxophone in particular, that the TKWO has had on Japan.[596] Wind orchestras of this kind are a growing industry in China. Currently, there are four other privately-operated groups in the country:

- Beijing Wind Orchestra (北京管乐图, Běijīng guǎnyuètuán) in Beijing

[596] Wu, interview.

- Shenzhen Wind Orchestra (深圳管乐团, Shēnzhèn guǎnyuètuán) in Shenzhen
- Eastern Wind Orchestra (东方管乐团, Dōngfāng guǎnyuètuán) in Nanjing
- Santori Wind Orchestra (三多里管乐图, Sānduōlǐ guǎnyuètuán) in Qingdao

Conclusions and the Future of the Saxophone in China

Today the range of opportunities available to saxophonists in China parallels those seen in any other developed nation throughout the world: jazz clubs, hotel bars, military bands, private bands, rock bands, jazz bands, major conservatories, and international venues have all become possible performance opportunities for saxophonists in China. Over the decades since the open reforms, the saxophone was once again present for some of the most exciting moments in China's musical history: the reintroduction of popular music, the politically charged rock music of Cui Jian, the reestablishment of high-level conservatory programs, and the establishment of private orchestras.

The next wave in Chinese saxophone performance will undoubtedly be increased emphasis on the cultivation of a 'Chinese' style of performance and education. As the level of saxophone pedagogy continues to increase (led by the second generation of Chinese saxophonists), the level of musicianship rises due to new performance opportunities, and Chinese composers show an increased interest in composing for the instrument, the saxophone in China will make the necessary move from derivative to unique. As Li Yusheng wrote:

> After WWII, the level of Japanese saxophone playing was also quite low, but as a result of Japan's soaring economy, Japanese saxophonists constantly went to the West to ask for advice and invited famous European and American performers to come to Japan for lectures and performances. At the same time, the Japanese musical instrument manufacturing industry has grown by leaps and bounds. In just over 40 years, the Japanese saxophone ability has caused Westerners to look on. Today, Japan has become one of the major centers for the development of Saxophone in the world. In China, we should often invite some high-level performers from abroad to perform, give lectures, and ourselves to go abroad and join the relevant organizations for saxophone in the world, participate in related activities organized, broaden our horizons, and learn from the

essence. With the talents of the Chinese people, as long as the momentum of development is maintained, in the near future, the level of Chinese saxophone will greatly increase, and China will also appear as the world's leading saxophone player.[597]

[597] Li, "Zài Zhōngguó Zǔjiàn Sàkèsī Guǎn Sìchóngzòu de Gòuxiǎng 在中国组建萨克斯管四重奏的构想 [Conception of the Formation of the Saxophone Quartet in China]," 75.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this document was to describe the developments in performance opportunities for saxophonists in China from the instrument's first introduction in 1856 Guangzhou to the present. Common knowledge and a number of published, researched articles describe the history of the saxophone as a series of fits and starts: Appearing in Robert Hart's 1886 band, disappearing until the warlord bands and Shanghai cabarets of the jazz age, only to disappear again during the Cultural Revolution and reappear via foreign pop-music performers like Kenny G. This paper was able to dispute and disprove these claims and describe the uninterrupted appearance and use of the saxophone from its regular use in amateur music societies continuously through to the 1980s, when the saxophone was heard in forms of native pop-music reintroduced to the mainland via Taiwan and Hong Kong, and into present day.

Inaccuracy on the part of past researchers, though, should not be taken as the result of poor research. Instead, an accurate picture as provided in this document is only possible with the availability of sources both inside and outside of China, including many internet-based sources. These include newspapers from Japanese-controlled Manchuria, turn of the century France and Tasmania, and even sources like the New York Times that are inaccessible from within mainland China.

Also discussed in this document were the changing perceptions and reactions to the instrument over time. In Ali Ben Sou Alle's day, the saxophone represented the modern innovations that were the result of the industrial revolution. Not only was the instrument itself only recently possible with modern innovations like new metal-working techniques, but his

world-travels themselves, a performer traveling in this way, would surely have been aided greatly by new steam and paddle-boat technology.

During China's jazz age, the saxophone came to represent sexuality, the west, and a move away from traditional conventions. As seen through editorial comment and popular literature, the saxophone was a move away from traditional ideals not only for the foreign communities of China, but also Chinese musicians themselves. The new forms of music that blended elements of Chinese and western music, became a representation of colonial modernity in the period, in which Chinese musicians sought to mix the local and the global.

For Cantonese opera musicians, the inclusion of the saxophone started out as largely a pragmatic move that allowed them to extend the range of the ensemble and compete with the influx of western genres. However, it came to represent the inclusiveness that is at the heart of what makes Cantonese opera unique from other forms of Chinese opera. The inclusion of folk idioms, language of the street, and musical styles of all kinds has become a hallmark of the genre.

Under the fascist and communist regimes of WWII and Mao Zedong, the saxophone often came to represent many political dualities: the dual nature of political ideology vs public appeal in the extremist policies of Imperial Japan, the dual nature of government control and private mistrust in the way that saxophone was included in Chinese military bands and yet was deadly to own by private citizens during the Cultural Revolution, and even the dual nature of ruler vs ruled with Mao's own personal saxophonist during the Cultural Revolution.

After the opening reforms of the 1980s, the saxophone was reintroduced to the general public and represented the new wave of creative, political, and economic freedoms. The instrument that was once unavailable to the general public could now be seen in nearly every

modern musical genre, could be studied in university, and could be heard by amateur musicians in neighborhood parks.

Opportunities for Further Research

As a document that covers a long stretch of time and a wide breadth of subjects, this paper contains many topics that deserve further, concentrated research. First among these is the multi-ethnic nature of China's urban music scenes prior to WWII. From the Iraqi-Jewish businessman Elias David Sassoon that set up shop just after the establishment of the foreign concession in Shanghai, to the Japanese constructed Jewish ghetto of WWII, the story of the Jewish experience in China deserves further development. There is also the important place of Filipino musicians in the establishment and performance of jazz in China. Reported to have introduced jazz to southern China, being considered second only to American musicians in Shanghai's musical hierarchy, and often being granted seats in American jazz bands in China, their contribution to China's musical history is woefully underreported. Finally, examples of how jazz allowed black musicians to travel to Europe and escape the constrains of racism in America are relatively accessible. Those same experiences as relates to China, however, have been far less documented and discussed.

The other main theme that merits deeper research is the social implications of the saxophone and the musical forms in which it was used. The sonic features of the saxophone were a recurring theme in several sections of this paper, its relation to the voice and native instruments being an important part of its inclusion in several genres. This theme, though, could be developed further in many genres and also be used to describe the place of the instrument in Chinese imaginings of modernity, novelty, and urbanity. Finally, the semiotic features of the

saxophone are a topic that merit additional discussion. The nature of the saxophone as a symbol of multiple modernities, a symbol of political, cultural, and even sexual liberalization, and a signifier of generational identity were briefly discussed in this document and should serve as a basis for future researchers.

APPENDIX

LIST OF CHINESE TERMS AND NAMES

Amoy (厦门，Xiàmén)

Andy Lau Tak-Wah（刘德华，Liú déhuá)

Asahi News (朝日新闻简报，Chāorì xīnwén jiǎnbào)

Bangu (板鼓，Bǎngǔ)

Bangzi (梆子，Bāngzi)

Beijing (北京，Běijīng)

Beijing Wind Orchestra (北京管乐团，Běijīng guǎnyuètuán)

Brass winds (铜管乐队，Tóngguǎn yuèduì)

Canton（广州，Guǎngzhōu)

Cantonese Music and Song Art Troupe (广州音乐曲艺团，Guǎngzhōu yīnyuè qǔyì tuán)

Central Conservatory of Music (中央音乐学院，Zhōngyāng yīnyuè xuéyuàn)

Changchun (长春，Chángchūn)

Changzhou (常州，Chángzhōu)

Chen Fangyi（陈芳毅，Chén fāngyì)

Chen Jiajun (陈嘉俊，Chén jiājùn)

Chen Kaige（陈凯歌，Chén kǎigē)

Chen Zhuren (陈主任，Chén zhǔrèn)

Cheng Naishan (程乃珊，Chéng nǎishān)

Chengdu (成都，Chéngdū)

Chiang Kai-shek (蒋介石，Jiǎng jièshí)

China Conservatory of Music (中国音乐学院，Zhōngguó yīnyuè xuéyuàn)

China International Radio (中国国际广播电台，Zhōngguó guójì guǎngbò diàntái)

Chinese Railroad Art Troupe (中国铁路艺术团，Zhōngguó tiělù yìshù tuán)

Chinese Traditional Orchestras (民乐团，Mínyuè tuán)

Chongqing (重庆，Chóngqìng)

Cui Jian (崔健，Cuī jiàn)

Cultural Park (文化公园，Wénhuà gōngyuán)

Dabu (大埔，Dàbù)

Dairen (Dalian, 大连，Dàlián)

Dalian (大连，Dàlián)

Deng Xiaoping (邓小平，Dèng xiǎopíng)

Dizi (笛子，Dízi)

Dongguan (东莞，Dōngguǎn)

Drizzle (毛毛雨，Máomaoyǔ)

Drum and Wind (鼓吹，Gǔ chuī)

Du Yinjiao (杜银鲛，Dù yínjiāo)

Dunshan Symphonic Wind Orchestra (顿山交响管乐团，Dùnshān jiāoxiǎng yuètuán)

Eastern Wind Orchestra (东方管乐团，Dōngfāng guǎnyuètuán)

Entering Nanjing Ceremony (南京入城式，Nánjīng rùchéngshì)

Erhu (二胡，Èrhú)

Fan Shengqi（范圣琦，Fàn shengqí)

Fan Shengqi (范圣骑，Fàn shèngqí)

Fangcun Park (芳村公园，Fāngcūn gōngyuán)

Feng Wenci (冯文慈，Féng wéncí)

Fengge（风格，Fēnggé)

Fengyang Flower Drum (凤阳花鼓，Fèngyáng huāgǔ)

Foochow (福州，Fúzhōu)

Foshan (佛山，Fóshān)

Founding of the Nation Ceremony (开国大典，Kāiguó dàdiǎn)

Fujian（福建，Fújiàn)

Gang-Tai pop (港台音乐，Gǎng tái yīnyuè)

Gao Xin (高欣，Gāo xīn)

Gaohu (高胡，Gāohú)

Gong (宫，Gōng)

Gongche (公尺谱，Gōngchǐ pǔ)

Goodbye My Love (再见，我的爱人，Zàijiàn, wǒde àirén)

Guangdong (广东，Guǎngdōng)

Guangdong Cantonese Opera School (广东粤剧学校，Guǎngdōng yuèjù xuéxiào)

Guangzhou (广州，Guǎngzhōu)

Guzheng (古箏，Gǔzhēng)

Hakka (客家，Kèjiā)

Hangao Chronicle (汉皋旧谱，Hàngāo jiùpǔ)

Harbin (哈尔滨，Hā'ěrbīn)

He Yuzhai (何育斋，Hé yùzhāi)

Hebei (河北，Héběi)

Hokkien (福建话，Fú jiànhuà)

Hong Kong (香港，Xiānggǎng)

Hongkew (虹口，Hóngkǒu)

Hongkou (虹口，Hóngkǒu)

Houguan (喉管，Hóuguǎn)

Hua Guofeng (华国锋，Huá guófēng)

Huang Zhuangmou (黄状谋，Huáng zhuàngmóu)

Huang-Mei opera (黄梅调，Huáng méidiào)

Huangsha (黄沙，Huángshā)

Hubei (湖北，Húběi)

Hulusi (葫芦丝，Húlusī)

Humen (虎门镇，Hǔmén zhèn)

Hunan (湖南，Húnán)

I love you China (我爱你中国，Wǒ ài nǐ zhōngguó)

Jasmine Flower (茉莉花，Mòlì huā)

Jiang Qing (江青，Jiāng qīng)

Jiangnan (江南，Jiāngnán)

JiangSu (江苏，Jiāngsū)

Jiangxi (江西，Jiāngxī)

Jianpu (简谱，Jiǎnpǔ)

Koo-chow (福州，Fúzhōu)

Kunqu (昆曲，Kūnqǔ)

Kuo Min Tang (国民党，Guó mín dǎng)

Kwong Chau Wan (广州湾，Guǎngzhōu wān)

Li Gaoyang (李高阳，Lǐ gāoyáng)

Li Jinhui (黎锦晖，Lí jǐnhuī)

Li Minghui (黎明辉，Lí mínghuī)

Liaoning (辽宁，Liáoníng)

Lin Biao (林彪，Lín biāo)

Lin Zexu (林则徐，Lín zéxú)

Lingnan (岭南，Lǐng nán)

Liu Tianhua (刘天华，Liú tiānhuá)

Liu Yan (刘焱，Liú yàn)

Liu Yuan (刘元，Liú yuán)

Liu Zhongde (刘忠德，Liú zhōngdé)

Liuhua Lake Park (流花湖公园，Liúhuāhú gōngyuán)

Liushengyinjie (六声音阶，Liùsheng yīnjiē)

Liuwan (遛弯，Liùwān)

Liuwan Lake Park (遛弯湖公园，Liùwānhú gōngyuán)

Li Yusheng（李雨生，Lǐ yǔshēng)

Loc Tee Kun Stin (落地金钱，Luòdì jīnqián)

Loc Tee Kun Tzin (落地金钱，Luòdì jīnqián)

Luodijinqian (落地金钱，Luòdì jīnqián)

Luodijinqianwu (落地金钱舞，Luòdì jīnqián wǔ)

Macau (澳门，Àomén)

Manlong Li (李满龙，Lǐ mǎnlóng)

Mao Zedong (毛泽东，Máo zédōng)

Mei County (梅县，Méi xiàn)

Meizhou (梅州，Méizhōu)

Military bands (军乐队，Jūn yuèduì)

Ming (明朝，Míng cháo)

Modern Song (时代曲，Shídài qū)

Mu Shiying (穆時英，Mù shíyīng)

Mukden (沈阳，Shěnyáng)

Music Life (音乐生活，Yīnyuè shēnghuó)

Nanjing (南京，Nánjīng)

Nanking (南京，Nánjīng)

Nansha Tianhou Park (南沙天后公园，Nánshā tiānhòu gōngyuán)

New Army (新军，Xīn jūn)

New military bands (新军，Xīn jūn)

Nier (聂耳，Niè ěr)

Ningpo (宁波，Níngbō)

Nothing to My Name (一无所有，Yīwúsuǒyǒu)

Opening reforms (改革开放，Gǎigé kāifàng)

People’s Music Journal (人民音乐，Rénmín yīnyuè)

Period Song (时代曲，Shídài qū)

Pingyuan County (平远县，Píngyuǎn xiàn)

Pipa (琵琶，Pípá)

Puyi (溥仪，Pǔ yí)

Qing (清朝，Qīng cháo)

Qingdao (青岛，Qīngdǎo)

Qingjue (清角，Qīng jué)

Santori Wind Orchestra (三多里管乐团，Sānduōlǐ guǎnyuètuán)

Sha Family Creek (沙滨家，Shābīnjiā)

Shamian Park (沙面公园，Shāmiàn gōngyuán)

Shandong (山东，Shāndōng)

Shanghae (上海，Shànghǎi)

Shanghai (上海，Shànghǎi)

Shanghai Conservatory (上海音乐学院，Shànghǎi yīnyuè xuéyuàn)

Shanxi (山西，Shānxī)

Shenxi (陕西，Shǎnxī)

Shenyang (沈阳，Shěnyáng)

Shenyang Conservatory (沈阳音乐学院，Shěnyáng yīnyuè xuéyuàn)

Shenzhen Wind Orchestra (深圳管乐团，Shēnzhèn guǎnyuètuán)

Shidaiqu (时代曲，Shídàiqū)

Sichuan (四川，Sìchuān)

Sichuan Conservatory (四川音乐学院，Sìchuān yīnyuè xuéyuàn)

Sky Road (天路，Tiān lù)

Song (宋朝，Sòng cháo)

Southern Min (闽南语，Mǐnnán yǔ)

Su Jianpei (苏坚培，Sū jiānpéi)

Sun Yat-Sen (孙中山，Sūn zhōngshān)

Suona (唢呐，Suǒnà)

Suzhou (苏州，Sūzhōu)

Sweet as Honey (甜蜜蜜，Tián mì mì)

Symphonic bands (管弦乐队，Guǎnxián yuèduì)

Ta Kung Pao (大公报，Dà gong bào)

Taiichi (太极拳，Tài jí quán)

Taiwan (台湾，Táiwān)

Taiwanese (台语，Táiyǔ)

Tao Chunxiao（陶纯孝，Táo chúnxiào)

Teresa Teng (邓丽君，Dèng lìjūn)

The Moon Represents My Heart (月亮代表我的心，Yuèliàng dàibiǎo wǒde xīn)

The Old Tree Bark Band (老树皮乐队，Lǎo shùpí yuèduì)

The Warrior’s Record Keeping (兵略录存，Bīng lüè lù cún)

The Wind and Moon (风月，Fēng yuè)

Three Huangs (皇家三杰，Huángjiā sānjié)

Tiananmen Square (天安门广场，Tiān'ānmén guǎngchǎng)

Tianjin (天津，Tiānjīn)

Tianjin Conservatory (天津音乐学院，Tiānjīn yīnyuè xuéyuàn)

Tientsin (天津，Tiānjīn)

Wang Hongwen (王洪文，Wáng hóngwén)

Wang Linheng (王临亨，Wáng línhēng)

Wang Qingquan (王清泉，Wáng qīngquán)

Weihsien Interment Camp (潍县集中营，Wéixiàn jízhōngyíng)

When Will He Come Back (何日君再来，Hérì jūn zàilái)

Wu Chih-Huan (吴志桓，Wú zhìhuán)

Wuchang (武昌，Wǔchāng)

Wuhan (武汉，Wǔhàn)

Wuhan Conservatory (武汉音乐学院，Wǔhàn yīnyuè xuéyuàn)

Xi’an (西安，Xīān)

Xian Xinhai (冼星海，Xiǎn xīnghǎi)

Xie Jinqi (谢进岐，Xiè jìnqí)

Xie Liang (解亮，Xiè liàng)

Xian Conservatory (西安音乐学院，Xī'ān yīnyuè xuéyuàn)

Xinghai Conservatory (星海音乐学院，Xīnghǎi yīnyuè xuéyuàn)

Xinhai Revolution (辛亥革命，Xīnhài gémìng)

Xintianyou (信天游，Xìn tiānyóu)

Xu Lai (徐来，Xú lái)

Yalu River (鸭绿江，Yālǜ jiāng)

Yang Tong (杨桐，Yáng tóng)

Yanggeju (秧歌剧，Yāng gējù)

Yangqin (扬琴，Yángqín)

Yangzi (长江，Chángjiāng)

Yantai (烟台，Yāntái)

Yao Wenyuan (姚文元，Yáo wényuán)

Yenan (延安，Yán'ān)

Yiyang (弋阳，Yì yáng)

You are My Woman (你是我的女人，Nǐ shì wǒde nǚrén)

Yuan (元朝，Yuán cháo)

Yuan Shikai (袁世凯，Yuán shìkǎi)

Yuefeng (粤风，Yuè fēng)

Yuexiu Park (越秀公园，Yuèxiù gōngyuán)

Zaju (杂剧，Zá jù)

Zhang Chunqiao (张春桥，Zhāng chūnqiáo)

Zhang Wu（张五，Zhāng wǔ)

Zhang Xiaolu (章啸路，Zhāng xiàolù)

Zhang Zhidong (张之洞，Zhāng zhīdòng)

Zhengzhou (郑州，Zhèngzhōu)

Zhi (徵，zhǐ)

Zhongwaiyinyuejiaoliushi (中外音乐交流史，Zhōngwài yīnyuè jiāoliú shǐ)

Zhongzhou Classics (中州古调，Zhōngzhōu gǔdiào)

Zhou Enlai (周恩来，Zhōu ēnlái)

Zhuhu (竹胡，Zhúhú)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

"386: Le brevet d'invention de quinze ans [386: The Fifteen-year Patent]." *Bulletin des Lois de L'Empire Française [Bulletin of the Laws of the French Empire]* 11, no. 19 (June 1, 1862).

"1949: Highlight of the PRC Founding Ceremony." CPC China. Accessed April 15, 2018. http://cpcchina.chinadaily.com.cn/2010-12/03/content_13917361.htm.

"1950 Nián 10 Yuè 19 Rì Kàngměiyuáncháo Bǎo Jiā Wèi Guó Zhōngguó Rénmín Zhìyuànjūn Kuàguò Yālǜjiāng Fù Cháoxiǎn Qiánxiàn 1950年10月19日 抗美援朝 保家卫国中国人民志愿军跨过鸭绿江赴朝鲜前线 [October 19, 1950 Korean War, Protect The Homeland, China Volunteer Force Crosses the Yalu River onto the Korean Frontline]." Rénmín wǎng 人民网 [People's Web], 2002. http://www.people.com.cn/GB/historic/1019/3490.html.

"Ali Ben Sou Alle." Bibliotechque National Francais, June 23, 2014. http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb13994856s.

Anderson, Laura. "West Vancouver Man Shares Internment Story." *North Shore News*, June 2, 2013. http://www.nsnews.com/lifestyle/seniors/west-vancouver-man-shares-internment-story-1.358786.

"Anglo-Chinese Calendar for the Year 1847: Corresponding to the Year for the Chinese Cycle Era 4484, or the 44th Year of Teh 75th Cycle of Sixty." Canton: Office of the Chinese Repository, 1847.

Argus. "Advertising." June 10, 1853.

Atkins, E. Taylor. "The War on Jazz, or Jazz Goes to War: Toward a New Cultural Order in Wartime Japan." *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* 6, no. 2 (1998): 345–92.

Atkins, E. Taylor. *Blue Nippon: Authenticating Jazz in Japan*. Duke University Press, 2001.

———, ed. *Jazz Planet*. Jackson, Miss: Univ. Press of Mississippi, 2003.

Baranovitch, Nimrod. *China's New Voices: Popular Music, Ethnicity, Gender, and Politics, 1978-1997*. University of California Press, 2003.

Barlow, Tani E., ed. *Formations of Colonial Modernity in East Asia*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1997.

Barros, Paul De. *Jackson Street After Hours: The Roots of Jazz in Seattle*. Seattle: Sasquatch Books, 1993.

Bau, Joshua Mingchien. *The Foreign Relations of China: A History and Survey*. Second Edition. New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1921.

Beagley, Piers. “Boots Randoph, Elvis’ Finest Saxophone Player.” Elvis Information Network, July 2017. http://www.elvisinfonet.com/spotlight_boots_randolph.html.

Běijīng Yīnyuè Bào北京音乐报 [Beijing Music Report] “Juéshì Yīnyuè Jiǎnjiè: Dì Bā Jí” 爵士音乐简介：第八集 [Introduction to Jazz Music: Part 8]. Vol. 14. 148, 1985.

Bell, Daniel Michaels. “The Saxophone in Germany 1924-1935.” DMA Dissertation, University of Arizona, 2004.

Berlioz, H. “Soirée de M. Massart [Mr. Massart’s Party] Journal des débats politiques et littéraires.” *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires [Journal of Politics and Literary Debates]*. April 13, 1851.

“Bibliographie de la France [Bibliography of France].” *Journal Général de l’imprimerie et de la Librairie [General Journal of Printing and Bookstores]* 2 (1861).

Bickers, Robert. “Favourites: Robert Hart’s Band.” Visualising China, July 11, 2012. http://visualisingchina.net/blog/2012/07/11/favourites-robert-harts-band/.

Biggs, Chester M. *The United States Marines in North China, 1894–1942*. McFarland, 2003.

Bowblis, John. “China in the 20th Century.” King’s College History Department, April 11, 2000. http://departments.kings.edu/history/20c/china.html.

Bowles, Edmund. “The Impact of Technology on Musical Instruments.” *Cosmos Journal*, 1999.

Boxer, C. R., ed. *South China in the Sixteenth Century (1550-1575)*. New York: Routledge, 2017.

Bragonier, J. Robert. “Jazz in Shanghai, China: A Study in Contrasts.” All About Jazz, May 24, 2004. https://www.allaboutjazz.com/jazz-in-shanghai-china-a-study-in-contrasts-by-j-robert-bragonier.php?page=1.

Brown, John Robert. “A View from China.” *John Robert Brown* (blog), 2005. http://www.john-robert-brown.com/yusheng-li.htm.

Brown, Richard Harvey. “The Opium Trade and Opium Policies in India, China, Britain, and the United States: Historical Comparisons and Theoretical Interpretations.” *Asian Journal of Social Science* 30, no. 3 (September 1, 2002): 623–56.

Buzash, Tara Shingle. “Liu Yuan, the CD Cafe, and Jazz in China.” *Geocities* (blog), October 25, 2009. https://www.webcitation.org/5kmpQ7MWg.

“Cantonese Opera.” Hong Kong Heritage Museum, May 5, 2015. http://www.heritagemuseum.gov.hk/en_US/web/hm/services/history/copera.html.

Carre, B. “Revue Musicale [Musical Review].” *Jean qui rit : journal littéraire, artistique, fantaisiste, humouristique, judiciaire et non agricole [Laughing Jean: The Literary,*

Artisitic, Fanciful, Humorous, Judicial, and Non-Agricultural Newspaper]. January 25, 1866.

Carter, James. "Struggle for the Soul of a City: Nationalism, Imperialism, and Racial Tension in 1920s Harbin." *Modern China* 27, no. 1 (January 2001): 91–116.

Ceng, Xiangwei 曾祥委. "Guǎngdōng Dìyù Wénhuà Zhī Guǎng Fǔ Wénhuà 广东地域文化 之 广府文化 [The Place of Cantonese Culture in Guangdong Regional Culture]." Lecture presented at the Bǎo tú xīngqí jiǎngzuò 宝图星期讲座 [Baotu Weekly Lectures], Shenzhen, China, May 6, 2012.

"Chairman Mao's Talk to Music Workers." Marxists.org, 2004. https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-7/mswv7_469.htm.

Chan, Marjorie K.M. "Cantonese Opera and the Growth and Spread of Vernacular Written Cantonese in the Twentieth Century." In *Proceeding of the Seventh North American Conference on Chinese Linguistics*, edited by Qian Gao, 1–18. University of Southern California: GSIL Publications, 2005.

Chan, Sau Y. *Improvisation in a Ritual Context: The Music of Cantonese Opera*. Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1991.

Chang, Po-Fang. "An Annotated Bibliography of Saxophone Works by Taiwanese Composers." DMA Document, University of South Carolina, 2015.

Chen, Chen. "Development of the Western Orchestra in China." DMA Dissertation, Ball State University, 1998.

Chen, Fangyi 陈芳毅. Interview by Jason Pockrus, March 22, 2018.

Chen, Huarui 陈华瑞. "Tán Sàkèsī Yǔ Yuèjù Yīnyuè de Guānxì 谈萨克斯与粤剧音乐的关系 [A Discussion on the Relationship Between Saxophone and Cantonese Opera Music]." *Yīnyuè Sōusuǒ 音乐搜索 [Music Search]* 22 (2015): 78.

Chen, Szu-Wei. "The Rise of and Generic Features of Shanghai Popular Songs in the 1930s and 1940s." *Popular Music* 24/1 (2005): 107–25.

Chen, Szu-wei. "The Music Industry and Popular Song in 1930s and 1940s Shanghai: A Historical and Stylistic Analysis." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Stirling, 2007.

Chen, Ziming 陈自明. "Fēi Lǔ Bīn Yīnyuè Kǎochá Jiànwén 非鲁宾音乐考察见闻. [Insights into Philippine Music]." *Běijīng Yīnyuè Bào北京音乐报 [Beijing Music Report]* 18, no. 18 (September 25, 1985): 3.

Cheng Naishan 程乃珊. *Hǎishàng sàkèsī fēng 海上萨克斯风 [Saxohone on the Sea]*. Shanghai: Wén huì chūbǎn shè 文汇出版社 [Wenhui Press], 2004.

Chiasson, Blaine R. *Administering the Colonizer: Manchuria? S Russians under Chinese Rule, 1918-29*. UBC Press, 2011.

China Daily Online. "China's Hospital Ship Peace Ark Arrives in Fiji." August 23, 2014. http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/world/2014-08/23/content_18473813.htm.

China Mail. "Notice." August 7, 1856.

———. "The Canton Community." August 7, 1856.

———. "The Right Real Jazz." June 13, 1919.

———. "Tragic Death: Leader of Savoy Havana Band." February 7, 1927.

China Mail, The. "$2,000 Saxophone Stolen from Colony Nightclub." June 20, 1958.

———. "Ladysmith Church Campaign." April 13, 1934.

———. "M. Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle." August 21, 1856.

———. "On Monday Evening Last." August 14, 1856.

———. "Saxophone at Church." March 11, 1946.

———. "We Observe the Return by Steamer Shanghae." October 16, 1856.

"Chinese Band, Civilians and Allied Forces Marching." Historical Photographs of China, 2011. https://www.hpcbristol.net/visual/na04-56.

"Chinese Cultural Revolution, The." National Intelligence Estimate. U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, May 25, 1967.

Christian Ahrens, and Irene Zedlacher. "Technological Innovations in Nineteenth-Century Instrument Making and Their Consequences." *The Musical Quarterly* 80, no. 2, (1996): 332–40.

Chung, Winnie. "Music for the Masses." *South China Morning Post*, July 16, 2001. http://www.scmp.com/article/352480/music-masses.

Clark, Matthew Corbin. "Birth Of A Beijing Music Scene." PBS Frontline: China in the Red, February 13, 2003. https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/red/sonic/.

Clark, Matthew Corbin, and Dennis Rea. "Biography of Cui Jian." Cuijian.com, 2007. http://www.cuijian.com/english/pages/bio/bio.html.

Clark, Paul, Laikwan Pang, and Tsan-Huang Tsai, eds. *Listening to China's Cultural Revolution: Music, Politics, and Cultural Continuities*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.

"Classical Artists & Educators." Alexander Reeds. Accessed May 6, 2018. http://www.superial.com/endor_classedu.html.

Clayton, Buck, and Nancy Miller Elliott. *Buck Clayton's Jazz World*. A&C Black, 1995.

Colonial Times. "The Turkophone." October 14, 1854.

Conn. *C.G. Conn New Wonder Saxophones*. C.G. Conn, 1922.

Cottrell, Stephen. *The Saxophone*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013.

Coulter, John Wesley. "Harbin: Strategic City on the Pioneer Fringe." *Pacific Affairs* 5, no. 11 (November 1932): 967–72.

Courier. "Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle's Farewell Concert." November 8, 1854.

Craig, Timothy J., ed. *Japan Pop: Inside the World of Japanese Popular Culture: Inside the World of Japanese Popular Culture*. New York: Routledge, 2015.

"Creating the Socialist New, Fostering Proletarian Originality." *Peking Review* 38 (1968): 28–32.

"Cui Jian: Father of China's Rock Music." China Through a Lens, December 6, 2003. http://www.china.org.cn/english/NM-e/81724.htm.

"Cui Jian: Father of Chinese Rock 'N' Roll." UCLA International Institute, June 3, 2005. http://international.ucla.edu/institute/article/11612.

"Cultural Revolution." Filmed February 1968 in Guangzhou, China. Video, 10:25.

Culver, Annika A. *Glorify the Empire: Japanese Avant-Garde Propaganda in Manchukuo*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013.

Da Veiga Jardim, Neto Oswaldo. "The Role of the Military and Municipal Bands in Shaping the Musical Life of Macau, ca. 1820 to 1935." Master of Philosophy, University of Hong Kong, 2002.

"De L'Imprimerie et de La Librairie [From the Printing and Bookstore]." *Journal General* 12, no. 5 (1861): 574.

Denison, Edward, and Guang Yu Ren. *Building Shanghai: The Story of China's Gateway*. Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons, 2006.

"Desk Hong List, The: A General and Business Directory for Shanghai and the Northern and River Ports." Shanghai: North-China Herald, 1884.

"Dì 18 Jiè Xiānggǎng Diànyǐng Jīn Xiàng Jiǎng Tímíng Jí Dé Jiǎng Míngdān 第18届香港电影金像奖提名及得奖名单 [List of Nominees and Awardees of the 18th Hong Kong Film

Awards].” Xiānggǎng diànyǐng jīn xiàng jiǎng 香港电影金像奖 [Hong Kong Film Awards], 1999. http://www.hkfaa.com/.

Dikötter, Frank. Newly Released Documents Detail Traumas Of China’s Cultural Revolution. Interview by Terry Gross. Radio Interview, May 5, 2016. https://www.npr.org/2016/05/05/476873854/newly-released-documents-detail-traumas-of-chinas-cultural-revolution.

Donahue, Tori. “Berklee and Shanghai Conservatory of Music Establish Institute.” Berklee College of Music, June 14, 2017. https://www.berklee.edu/news/berklee-college-music-and-shanghai-conservatory-music-establish-institute.

Dong, Stella. *Shanghai: The Rise and Fall of a Decadent City*. New York: Harper Collins, 2001.

D’Rivera, Paquito. *My Sax Life: A Memoir*. Evanston, Il: Northwestern University Press, 2008.

“Earl Whaley Band.” Black Past: Remembered and Reclaimed, 2007. http://www.blackpast.org/aaw/earl-whaley-band.

Eaton, Joseph. “The Mandopop Counter-Invasion.” Website. Taiwan Today, September 1, 2011. taiwantoday.tw/news.php?post=7629&unit=4,4,29,31,31,45.

Eberhard, Wolfram. *A History of China*. University of California Press, 1977.

Empire. “Mauritius.” November 30, 1857.

Eppstein, Ury. “Musical Means to Political Ends - Japanese School Songs in Manchuria: Songs Before the Establishment of Manchukuo,” 01–03:209–27. Kyoto, Japan, 1996.

Erohina, Tatiana. *Growing up Russian in China: A Historical Memoir*. Bloomington, IN: iUniverse, 2011.

“Exports from Communist China Handled by the China National Sundries Export Corporation.” China: U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, January 1959.

Fairbank, John King, and Merle Goldman. *China: A New History*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006.

Fan, Dayu 范大宇. “Lǎo shù pí: Zhōngguó de juéshì yuèduì 老树皮：中国的爵士乐队 [Old Bark: China’s Jazz Band].” *Zhōngguó tiělù wényì 中国铁路文艺 [China Railroad Art Troupe]*, 2006.

Farrer, James, and Andrew David Field. *Shanghai Nightscapes: A Nocturnal Biography of a Global City*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015.

Feng, Wenci 冯文慈. *Zhōngwài yīnyuè jiāoliú shǐ 中外音乐交流史 [The History of Chinese and Foreign Musical Exchange]*. Beijing: Rénmín yīnyuè chūbǎn 人民音乐出版 [People’s Music Publishing], 2013.

Feng Zhengguan 冯正官. “Pǔtōng gāoxiào sàkèsī guǎn jiàoxué xiànzhuàng tànjiù 普通高校萨克斯管教学现状探究 [Researching the Status of Saxophone Education in Higher Education].” *Běifāng yīnyuè 北方音乐 [Northern Music]* 10 (2016): 176.

Ferling, Franz W., and Marcel Mule. *Quarante Huit Etudes (Forty Eight Studies) for All Saxophones*. Aphonse Leduc, 1946.

Ferguson, Jane M. “I Was Cool When My Country Wasn’t: ‘Mao’ and ‘Deng’ Making Transnational Music in the Golden Triangle.” *Asian Music* 47, no. 2 (Summer/Fall 2016): 114–37.

Field, Andrew David. *Mu Shiying: China’s Lost Modernist*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2014.

Figaro : Journal non Politique [Figaro: The Non-Political Newspaper]. “Une Future Célébrité Parisienne [A Future Parisian Celebrity].” December 12, 1875.

Fisher, Max. “Is Bill Clinton Responsible for China’s Saxophone Santas?” *Washington Post*, December 25, 2012, sec. World Views. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2012/12/25/is-bill-clinton-responsible-for-chinas-saxophone-santas/.

FlorCruz, Jaime. “Shanghai Sizzles Again with Jazz.” CNN Travel, August 3, 2004. http://www.cnn.com/2004/TRAVEL/08/02/shanghai.jazz/.

Freire, Ricardo Jose Dourado. “The History and Development of the Clarinet in Brazil.” DMA Dissertation, Michigan State University, 2000.

Gao, Xin. “About.” Xin Gao - Saxophonist, 2013. http://xingaosax.com/about-2017132057.html.

Gao, Xin. “Project China: A Resource of Contemporary Saxophone Music Written by Chinese-Born Composers.” DMA Dissertation, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 2016.

Garfield, Eugene. “How Rudy Wiedoeft’s Saxophobia Launched the Saxual Revolution.” *Essays of an Information Scientist: Creativity, Delayed Recognition, and Other Essays* 12, no. 10 (March 6, 1989): 68.

General, Ryan. “One of Most Famous Chinese Singers in History Was Also Banned in China.” *NextShark: The Voice of Global Asians* (blog), January 30, 2018. https://nextshark.com/teresa-teng-taiwanese-singer/.

Gilley, Bruce. *Tiger on the Brink: Jiang Zemin and China’s New Elite*. University of California Press, 1998.

Gold, Thomas B. “Go with Your Feelings: Hong Kong and Taiwan Popular Culture in Greater China.” *The China Quarterly* 136 (December 1993): 907–25.

Gong, Hong-Yu. “Music, Nationalism and the Search for Modernity in China, 1911-1949.” *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies* 10, no. 2 (December 2008): 38–69.

Guan, Jianhua管建华. “Měiguó juéshìyuè jiàoyù gōngzuò zhě xiéhuì 美国爵士乐教育工作者协会 [American Jazz Music Educators’ Association].” *Yīnyuè shēnghuó 音乐生活 [Musical Life]* 11, no. 218 (1990): 24–26.

Guǎngdōng Yìshù 广东艺术 [Guangdong Arts]. “Wǒmen Shì Bànzòu, Ér Bùshì Yǎnzòu: Fǎng Yuèjù Yīnyuè Rén Huángzhuàngmóu 我们是伴奏，而不是演奏：访粤剧音乐人黄壮谋 [We Are Accompanists, Not Performers: Interview with Cantonese Opera Musician Huang Zhuangmou].” August 11, 2017.

“Guǎngzhōu Yuèjù Tuán 广州粤剧团 [Guangzhou Cantonese Opera Troupe].” Xìjù wǎng 戏剧网 [Chinese Opera Web], April 7, 2010. http://www.xijucn.com/html/yue/20100407/15984.html.

“Guānyú Yīnyuè Jié 关于音乐节 [About the Music Festival].” Shànghǎi zhī chūn - guójì guǎn yuè yīnyuè jié 上海之春-国际音乐管乐艺术节 [Shangai Spring: International Band Festival], 2018. http://www.sh-festival.com/guan_01_EN.htm.

Gunde, Richard. *Culture and Customs of China*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2002.

Guo, Yu 郭玉. “Cóng Wénxiàn Kàn Sàkèsī Guǎn Yìshù Zài Wǒguó de Fǎ Zhǎn 从文献看萨克斯管艺术在我国的发展 [The Devolopment of Chinese Saxophone Arts as Seen Through Publications].” *Yīnyuè Dàguān 音乐大观 [Music Overview]* 5 (2012): 100–101.

“Guóqìng yuèbīng 国庆阅兵 [China National Day Parade].” Filmed October 1, 1969 in Beijing, China. Video, 28:33. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i7ePwwAvVCw.

Gupta, Suman, and Tope Omoniyi, eds. *The Cultures of Economic Migration: International Perspectives*. New York: Routledge, 2007.

Haan, J.H. “Thalia and Terpsichore on the Yangtze: A Survey of Foreign Theatre and Music in Shanghai 1850-1865.” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch* 29 (1989): 158–251.

Hamm, Charles. “Music and Radio in the People’s Republic of China.” *Asian Music* 22, no. 2 (1991): 1.

Hanafusa, Chiaki. “The Influence of Japanese Composers on the Development of the Repertoire for the Saxophone and the Significance of the Fuzzy Bird Sonata by Takashi Yoshimatsu.” DMA Document, University of North Texas, 2010.

Harding, Harry. *China's Second Revolution: Reform after Mao*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2010.

Harmsen, Peter. "Shanghai: Wicked Old Paris of the Orient." *China in WW2* (blog), August 24, 2016. http://www.chinaww2.com/2016/08/24/shanghai-wicked-old-paris-of-the-orient/.

Hart, Sir Robert, and James Duncan Campbell. *The I. G. in Peking: Letters of Robert Hart, Chinese Maritime Customs, 1868-1907*. Harvard University Press, 1975.

HBH. "Sàkèsī yǎnzòu jiā xièjìnqí lǎoshī tán xuéxí 萨克斯演奏家谢进歧老师谈学习 [Saxophone Performer Mr. Xie Jinqi Discusses Studies]." *Chuī sàkèsī wǎng 吹萨克斯网 [Play Saxophone]*, April 1, 2009. http://www.chuisax.com/forum.php?mod=viewthread&tid=2497.

Hé, Yùzhāi何育斋, ed. Luòdì jīnqián 落地金钱 [Gold Coins Falling to the Floor]. Score. Publisher and location unknown, 1932.

Hemke, Fred. "The Early History of the Saxophone." DMA Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1975.

Heng, Lena. "Chinese Music During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution - The 'New' Art." *2 Cents Music* (blog), April 23, 2011. http://2centsmusic.blogspot.com/2011/04/chinese-music-during-great-proletarian_23.html.

Hernández, Javier C. "China's 'Saxophone Capital,' a Factory Town Transfixed by Kenny G." *The New York Times*, January 3, 2018, sec. Asia Pacific. https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/03/world/asia/china-sidangkou-saxophone.html.

Hershatter, Gail. "The Hierarchy of Shanghai Prostitution, 1870-1949." *Modern China* 15, no. 4 (October 1989): 463–98.

Hershorn, Tad. "Can Jazz Thrive in China?" The Conversation. Accessed May 5, 2018. http://theconversation.com/can-jazz-thrive-in-china-43903.

Hester, Michael Eric. "A Study of the Saxophone Soloists Performing with the John Philip Sousa Band, 1893-1930." DMA Dissertation, University of Arizona, 1995.

Higgenbottom, Chad. "Searching for Jazz in Shanghai." *SupChina* (blog), April 19, 2018. https://supchina.com/2018/04/19/searching-for-jazz-in-shanghai/.

Hillgrove, Thomas. *A Complete Practical Guide to the Art of Dancing: Containing Descriptions of All Fashionable and Approved Dances, Full Directions for Calling the Figures, the Amount of Music Required; Hints on Etiquette, the Toilet, Etc*. Dick & Fitzgerald, 1888.

Ho, Wai-Chung. "A Historical Review of Popular Music and Social Change in Taiwan." *Asian Journal of Social Science* 34, no. 1 (2006): 120–47.

Ho, Wai-chung. *School Music Education and Social Change in Mainland China, Hong Kong and Taiwan*. Leiden, Netherlands: BRILL, 2011.

Ho, Wai-Chung. *Culture, Music Education, and the Chinese Dream in Mainland China*. Singapore: Springer, 2018.

Hoffman, Malcolm. *The Shanghai: A Redowa Waltz*. Lewis H. Embree, 1854.

"Hongkong Almanack, and Directory for the Year of Our Lord 1850, and of the Reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria the Fourteenth: General Directory for Canton, Shanghae, Amoy, Ningpo, Fuh0Chau-Fu, Macao and Manila, The." Hong Kong: Noronha's Office, 1850.

"Hongkong Directory: With List of Foreign Residents in China, The." Printed at the "Armenian press," 1859.

Hong Kong Telegraph, The. "Boons of War: Fewer Saxophones." January 9, 1940.

———. "First a Concert Then a Saxophone." May 11, 1933.

———. "Radio." November 14, 1939.

Hsia, R. Po-chia. *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City: Matteo Ricci 1552-1610*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Hsieh, Terence. "Why Beijing Is (Still) A Great City For Jazz Music." *Forbes*, July 26, 2016. https://www.forbes.com/sites/terencehsieh/2016/07/26/why-beijing-is-still-a-great-city-for-jazz-music/.

Hsu, Elizabeth. "Teresa Teng's Heavenly Voice Continues to Echo Transcendently." Focus Taiwan, May 7, 2015. http://focustaiwan.tw/news/aftr/201505070023.aspx.

Hsu, Hua. "The Melancholy Pop Idol Who Haunts China." *The New Yorker*, August 3, 2015. https://www.newyorker.com/culture/cultural-comment/the-melancholy-pop-idol-who-haunts-china.

Hu, Bei. "King of Sax." *Global Times*. September 9, 2013, sec. Metro Shanghai. http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/809750.shtml.

Huang, Hao. "Voices from Chinese Rock, Past and Present Tense: Social Commentary and Construction of Identity in Yaogun Yinyue , from Tiananmen to the Present." *Popular Music and Society* 26, no. 2 (January 2003): 183–202.

Huang, Wei, and Ying Xie. "The New Year That Wasn't | News China Magazine." *News China Magazine*, January 2012. https://web.archive.org/web/20150224083413/http://www.newschinamag.com/magazine/the-new-year-that-wasnt.

Jang, Jihae. “Chinese Pop Music: Teresa Teng, Ai Jing.” *Chinese 157: Contemporary Chinese Pop Culture* (blog), July 13, 2010. http://uclachinese157.blogspot.com/2010/07/teresa-teng-was-one-of-famous-pop.html.

Johnson, Bruce. *Jazz and Totalitarianism*. New York: Routledge, 2016.

Johnson, Sheldon Jerome Jr. “The Political Supression of the Saxophone and Its Subsequent Pedagogical Development in Select Non-Democratic Countries.” DMA Dissertation, University of South Carolina, 2017.

Jones, Andrew F. *Yellow Music: Media Culture and Colonial Modernity in the Chinese Jazz Age*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2001.

Jones, Derek. *Censorship: A World Encyclopedia*. New York: Routledge, 2001.

Jonze, Tim. “A Tale of Two Jazz Men: How a Chinese City Got Its Own Jazz Festival.” *The Guardian*, October 10, 2014, sec. Music. http://www.theguardian.com/music/musicblog/2014/oct/10/how-a-chinese-city-got-its-own-jazz-festival

“Juéshì Yīnyuè Jiǎnjiè: Shénme Shì Juéshì Yīnyuè 爵士音乐简介：什么是爵士音乐 [Introduction to Jazz Music: What Is Jazz Music].” *Běijīng Yīnyuè Bào北京音乐报 [Beijing Music Report]* 3, no. 137 (February 10, 1985): 3.

“Juéshì Yīnyuè Jiǎnjiè: Yěmǎ 爵士音乐简介：野马. [Introduction to Jazz Music: Wild Horse].” *Běijīng Yīnyuè Bào北京音乐报 [Beijing Music Report]* 12, no. 146 (June 25, 1985): 3.

Kasza, Gregory J. *The State and the Mass Media in Japan, 1918-1945*. University of California Press, 1993.

Keith, Caroline P, and William C Tenney. *The Conflict and the Victory of Life: Memoir of Mrs. Caroline P. Keith, Missionary of the Protestant Episcopal Church to China*. New York: Appleton, 1864.

“Kenny G.” Biography, November 30, 2015. https://www.biography.com/people/kenny-g-21212793.

“Kenny G to Stage Concerts in China.” China.Org, August 22, 2002. http://www.china.org.cn/english/culture/40128.htm.

King, Richard, Ralph C Croizier, Scott Watson, and Sheng Tian Zheng. *Art in Turmoil: The Chinese Cultural Revolution, 1966-76*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2010.

Kleinert, Annemarie. *Music at Its Best: The Berlin Philharmonic: From Karajan to Rattle*. Norderstedt, Germany: BoD – Books on Demand, 2009.

Klosé, Hyacinthe. *25 Daily Exercises for Saxophone*. C. Fischer, 1995.

Knott, Kylie. "Five Quirky Facts About Teresa Teng, Singer Born 65 Years Ago." *South China Morning Post*, January 29, 2018. http://www.scmp.com/lifestyle/article/2130978/taiwanese-singer-teresa-teng-remembered-google-doodle-mark-65th-birthday.

Kraus, Richard Curt. *Pianos and Politics in China: Middle-Class Ambitions and the Struggle over Western Music*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Kristof, Nicholas D. "A Taiwan Pop Singer Sways the Mainland." *The New York Times*, February 19, 1991, sec. Arts. https://www.nytimes.com/1991/02/19/arts/a-taiwan-pop-singer-sways-the-mainland.html.

Kutschke, Beate, and Barley Norton, eds. *Music and Protest in 1968*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Lang, H. "Shanghai: Considered Socially." Lecture presented at the American Presbyterian Mission, Shanghai, China, 1875.

Laskowski, Christine. "Pioneering Saxophonist, 50, Still Hitting the Right Note." *China Daily*, March 29, 2010, sec. Life: Performing Arts.

Leck, Greg. *Captives of Empire: The Japanese Internment of Allied Civilians in China, 1941-1945*. Bangor, PA: Shandy Press, 2006.

Lee, Joanna Ching-Yun. "Cantopop Songs on Emigration from Hong Kong." *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 24 (1992): 14–23.

Lee, Sherry. "The Ghost and Mrs Mop." *South China Morning Post*, April 24, 2018. http://www.scmp.com/article/367623/ghost-and-mrs-mop.

Le Monde Illustré [The Illustrated World]. "La Fortune et la Clarinette [Fortune and teh Clarinet]." November 9, 1872.

Leng, Mo 冷默. "Qiǎn Xī Sàkèsī Zài Zhōngguó de Fǎ Zhǎn Xiàn Kuàng Jí Cúnzài de Wèntí 浅析萨克斯在中国的发展现况及存在的问题 [Analysis of the Development and Current Problems for the Saxophone in China]." *Húnán Shīfàn Dàxué Yīnyuè Jiàoyù 湖南师范大学音乐教育 [Hunan Normal University Music Education]*, Yīnyuè shíkōng 音乐时空 [Musical Time and Place], 11 (July 9, 2014): 101.

Leong, Sow-Theng. *Migration and Ethnicity in Chinese History: Hakkas, Pengmin, and Their Neighbors*. Edited by Tim Wright. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997.

L'Europe Artiste {The European Artist]. "La dernière visite d'Abd-El-Kader [The Last Visit of Abd-El-Kader]." January 1, 1865.

Levin, Dan. “China Says Goodbye in the Key of G: Kenny G.” *The New York Times*, May 10, 2014, sec. Asia Pacific. https://www.nytimes.com/2014/05/11/world/asia/china-says-goodbye-in-the-key-of-g-kenny-g.html.

Li, Anita. “Yellow Music: A Transcultural Musical Genre’s Role in Heterogeneous Community Unification.” *Student Library Research Awards* 6 (May 2013): 21.

Li, Hongfeng 李宏锋. “Míng Qīng Xìqǔ Chuánchéng Zhōng Gōng Chě Pǔ de Zuòyòng Jí Shǒu Diào Chàng Míng Fǎ Dí Quèlì 明清戏曲传承中工尺谱的作用及首调唱名法的确立 [The Establishment and Use of Qing and Ming Dynasty Traditional Opera’s First Solfege System Gongche Notation].” *Xīnghǎi Yīnyuè Xuéyuàn Xuébào 星海音乐学院学报 [Journal of Xinghai Conservatory of Music]* 1 (2014): 53–65.

Li, Hua. “Dūn Shàn Jiāoxiǎng Guǎn Yuètuán 敦善交響管樂團 [Dunshan Symphonic Wind Orchestra].” Dunshan Symphonic Wind Orchestra Facebook Page. Accessed May 7, 2018. https://www.facebook.com/pg/DSWO.China/about/?ref=page_internal.

Li, Huaiyu 李怀宇. “Dāngnián de Yuèjù, Yě Huì Chā Guǎnggào当年的粤剧，也会插广告 [In Those Days, Cantonese Opera Still Stuck in Advertisements].” Xìjù wǎng 戏剧网 [Chinese Opera Web], March 29, 2012. http://www.xijucn.com/html/yue/20120329/34866.html.

Li, Jian 黎鍵, ed. *Xiānggǎng yuèjù xù lùn 香港粵劇敘論 [An Introduction to Hong Kong Cantonese Opera]*. Hong Kong: Sānlián shūdiàn 三聯書店 [Joint Publishing], 2010.

Li, Jinhui 黎錦暉. *máomaoyǔ毛毛雨 [Drizzle]*. Li Minhui 黎明辉, singer. Released by EMI, Shanghai, 1929.

———. *tèbié kuàichē 特别快车 [A Very Fast Train]*. Shanghai Victory Records 54690B, 1935.

Li, John Fangjun. “The Development of China’s Music Industry During the First Half of the 20th Century.” *Journal for Higher Degree Research Students in the Social Sciences and Humanities* 4 (2011): 1–20.

Li, Manlong 李满龙. Interview by Jason Pockrus. Telephone, March 21, 2018.

Li, Richard. “How Did Kenny G’s ‘Going Home’ Become China’s Official ‘Closing Time’ Anthem?” Answer. *Quora*, January 29, 2018. https://www.quora.com/How-did-Kenny-Gs-Going-Home-become-Chinas-official-Closing-Time-anthem.

Li, Xiaobing. *The Cold War in East Asia*. New York: Routledge, 2018.

Li, Yixuan 李逸轩. “Sàkèsī guǎn zài zǒng wài yīnyuè yìshù shàng de fā zhǎn tànxī 萨克斯管在总外音乐艺术上的发展探析 [Discussion and Analysis of the Saxophone in ‘Outsider’ Musical Arts].” *Běifāng yīnyuè 北方音乐 [Northern Music]* 6 (2015): 2–3.

Li, Yusheng 李雨生. “Lùn Sàkèsī Guǎn Zài Xiàndài Qìyuè Tǐxì Zhōng de Dìngwèi Hé Fāzhǎn 论萨克斯管在现代器乐体系中的定位和发展 [On the Place and Development of the Saxophone in Modern Instrumental Music Departments].” *Yīnyuè Sōusuǒ 音乐搜索 [Music Search]* 2 (2007): 100–103.

———. “Zài Zhōngguó Zǔjiàn Sàkèsī Guǎn Sìchóngzòu de Gòuxiǎng 在中国组建萨克斯管四重奏的构想 [Conception of the Formation of the Saxophone Quartet in China].” *Yīnyuè Sōusuǒ 音乐搜索 Music Search* 4 (1998): 73–75.

“Li Yusheng (China).” *Clasax* (blog), May 12, 2011. https://www.clasax.org/festival-2011/international/li-yusheng/.

Liang, Xiaofen 梁晓奋. “Kěn Ní·jī de ‘Yǒnggǎn’ Kuà Jiè 肯尼·基的‘勇敢’跨界 [Kenny G’s Brave Crossover].” *Yīnyuè Àihào Zhě 音樂愛好者 [Music Lover]*, September 2013.

Liu Chen. “Noise in Guangzhou: The Cultural Politics of Underground Popular Music in Contemporary Guangzhou.” *Area* 46, no. 3 (May 13, 2014): 228–34.

Liu, Jingzhi, and C. C. Liu. *A Critical History of New Music in China*. Chinese University Press, 2010.

Liu, Liu. “Yusheng Li.” *Saxophone Journal* 24, no. 3 (February 2000).

Liu, Weiming 刘炜茗. “Wénhuà Zài Mínjiān·yuè Qū: Guǎngzhōu Rén Chuàngzào de Shìjiè Míngqǔ 文化在民间粤曲：广州人创造的世界名曲 [Cantonese Song, Culture Amongst the People: The World Famous Songs Created by the People of Guangzhou].” *Guǎngzhōu Túshū Guǎn 广州图书馆 [Guangzhou Library]* (blog), September 28, 2006. http://www.gzlib.gov.cn/gzms/47402.jhtml.

Liu Xinxin 刘欣欣. *Hā’ěrbīn xīyáng yīnyuè shǐ 哈尔滨西洋音乐史 [The History of Western Music in Harbin]*. Rénmín yīnyuè chūbǎn shè 人民音乐出版社 [People’s Publishing], 2002.

“Lǐyǔshēng李雨生 [Li Yusheng] Rénwù zhuānfǎng人物专访 [Profiles].” SaxChina. Accessed January 6, 2018. http://saxchina.com/teacher.php.

Lockhart, Bruce. “Southward Ho!” *North China Herald*. August 30, 1924.

Londeix, Jean-Marie. “Pour un Véritable Histoire du Saxophone [For a True History of the Saxophone].” Lecture presented at the Conference at CNR Saint-Maur des Fossés, Saint-Maur des Fossés France, November 2004.

London Stratford Times and South Essex Gazette. “A Concert at the Cape.” January 7, 1859.

Lopes, Tony. “The History of Jazz in South China.” *Blue Rhythm*, May 1953.

Lu, Shen. “Beijing’s Jazz Scene Is Buzzing.” CNN Travel, December 18, 2015. https://www.cnn.com/travel/article/china-beijing-jazz-scene-blue-note/index.html.

Lu, Xing. *Rhetoric of the Chinese Cultural Revolution: The Impact on Chinese Thought, Culture, and Communication*. Columbia, SC: Univ of South Carolina Press, 2004.

Lynam, Robin. “The Jazz Scene in China Is Booming as More Young Musicians Discover the Genre.” South China Morning Post, July 9, 2014. http://www.scmp.com/magazines/48hrs/article/1546605/jazz-scene-china-booming-more-young-musicians-discover-genre.

———. “Sax Assault: Four Top Jazz Saxophonists Play Hong Kong in a Week.” *South China Morning Post*, May 30, 2015. http://www.scmp.com/lifestyle/arts-entertainment/article/1812084/sax-assault-four-top-jazz-saxophonists-play-hong-kong.

MacFarquhar, Roderick. *The Politics of China: The Eras of Mao and Deng*. Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Manchuria Daily News. “Cabaret Babylon.” September 4, 1926.

———. “Ladies’ Amateur Dramatic Society.” March 11, 1926.

———. “Mukden Notes.” March 8, 1928.

———. “New Columbia Records.” February 23, 1939.

———. “Radio Program.” February 13, 1940.

———. “Radio Programme.” June 25, 1932.

———. “Yamato Hotel Orchestra.” November 22, 1927.

“Máo zhǔxí dì wǔliù cì jiējiàn hóng wèibīng毛主席第五六次接见红卫兵 [Chairman Mao Receives the Red Guard for the Fifth and Sixth Time].” Filmed October 18 and November 3, 1966 in Beijing, China. Video, 34:41. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3J3uV0IGA5c.

Marlow, Eugene. *Jazz in China: From Dance Hall Music to Individual Freedom of Expression*. Jackson, Miss: University Press of Mississippi, 2018.

———. “Fan Shengqi: ‘King of the Saxophone’ Before, During & After Mao.” *Eugene Marlow* (blog), June 3, 2013. http://www.eugenemarlow.com/2013/06/03/fan-shengqi-king-of-the-saxophone-before-during-after-mao/.

———. “Saxophonist & Teacher Zhang Xiaolu: The Jazz-Man at the Shanghai Conservatory of Music.” *Eugene Marlow* (blog), August 20, 2012. http://www.eugenemarlow.com/2012/08/20/saxophonist-teacher-zhang-xiaolu-the-jazz-man-at-the-shanghai-conservatory-of-music/.

———. “To and From China: The International Jazz Scene.” *Eugene Marlow* (blog), May 6, 2013. http://www.eugenemarlow.com/2013/05/06/to-and-from-china-the-international-jazz-scene/.

Matusitz, Jonathan. “Semiotics of Music: Analysis of Cui Jian’s ‘Nothing to My Name,’ the Anthem for the Chinese Youths in the Post-Cultural Revolution Era.” *The Journal of Popular Culture* 43, no. 1 (January 28, 2010): 156–75.

Maugans, Stacy. “The History of Saxophone and Saxophone Music in St. Petersburg, Russia.” D. Mus. dissertation, Indiana University, 2000.

McGrath, Rick. “An Hour with Desmond Power.” *J.G. Ballard* (blog), 2012. http://www.jgballard.ca/shanghai/desmond_power.html.

“Meet Gaoyang Li - China’s Premier Saxophonist.” *JodyJazz* (blog), August 20, 2014. http://jodyjazz.com/jjblog/meet-gaoyang-li-chinas-premier-saxophonist/.

Meisner, Maurice. *Mao’s China and After: A History of the People’s Republic, Third Edition*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1999.

Mellor, William. “What the Old Jazz Band Says About Shanghai.” Nikkei Asian Review, February 1, 2018. https://asia.nikkei.com/Business/Markets/Stocks/What-the-Old-Jazz-Band-says-about-Shanghai.

Melvin, Sheila. “Cui Jian: China’s Rock Rebel Updates His Appeal.” *The New York Times*, March 1, 2008, sec. Arts. https://www.nytimes.com/2008/01/31/arts/31iht-melvin.1.9608490.html.

Melvin, Sheila, and Jindong Cai. *Rhapsody in Red: How Western Classical Music Became Chinese*. New York: Algora Publishing, 2004.

Merry. “Masa Waxes Philosophical on Cui Jian.” *One Day in May* (blog), July 8, 2007. http://onedayinmay.net/blog/?p=217.

M.E.T. “Shanghai in a Looking Glass: Taketh Joy in the Little Things.” *North China Herald*. September 20, 1919.

Ming, Li 明理. “Túpiàn Zhī Chuāng 图片之窗 [The Window of Pictures].” *Běijīng Yīnyuè Bào 北京音乐报 [Beijing Music Report]* 21, no. 203 (July 30, 1987): 4.

Moolenbeek, Willem. “Paul Brodie: Ambassador of the Saxophone.” *Singing Sax* (blog), January 10, 2000. http://singingsax.com/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/Paul_Brodie_interview.pdf.

Moon, Krystyn R. *Yellowface: Creating the Chinese in American Popular Music and Performance, 1850s-1920s*. Rutgers University Press, 2005.

Moore, Ray. *Moondani Kyema: Embrace the Dawn*. Traralgon: Kyema Publishing, 2016.

Moser, David. “The Book of Changes: Twenty-Five Years in Chinese Jazz.” The Anthil., November 27, 2015. http://theanthill.org/jazz.

Moskowitz, Marc L. “Mandopop Under Seige: Culturally Bound Criticisms of Taiwan’s Pop Music.” *Popular Music* 28, no. 1 (January 2009): 69–83.

Moskowitz, Marc L. *Cries of Joy, Songs of Sorrow: Chinese Pop Music and Its Cultural Connotations*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2010.

Mullin, Kyle. “Q&A With Dreadlocked Saxophone Prodigy Li Gaoyang Ahead of His Aug 12 East Shore Gig.” *The Beijinger*, August 11, 2017. https://www.thebeijinger.com/blog/2017/08/11/li-gaoyang-east-shore-jazz-cafe.

“Murtogh D. Guinness Collection, The.” Morris Museum, May 22, 2012. http://morrismuseum.org/mechanical-musical-instruments-automata/.

“Musicians: Liang Xie.” Selmer Paris. Accessed May 5, 2018. https://www.selmer.fr/musicfiche.php?id=792.

Nathaniel. “Chronique [Chronicle].” *La Semaine des Familles [Family Weekly]*. May 7, 1864.

Neslon Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle. “Shipping Intelligence.” April 11, 1855, Volume XIV Issue 4 edition.

New Zealander. “Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle’s Concert.” March 14, 1855.

Ng, Josiah, and Jojo Yip. “Rising Stars: Why Cantonese Opera Is on the Up and Up.” Time Out: Hong Kong, July 4, 2016. https://www.timeout.com/hong-kong/theatre/rising-stars-why-cantonese-opera-is-on-the-up-and-up.

Ng, Wing Chung. *The Rise of Cantonese Opera*. Urbana; Chicago; Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 2015.

Ni, Tianzuo 倪天祚. “Máo Zhǔxí Bā Cì Jiējiàn Hóng Wèibīng de Zǔzhī Gōngzuò 毛主席八次接见红卫兵的组织工作 [Chariman Mao Meets the Red Guard Organization Eight Times].” Zhōngguó gòngchǎndǎng xīnwén wǎng 中国共产党新闻网 [Chinese Communist Party News Web], April 7, 2011. http://dangshi.people.com.cn/GB/85039/14329784.html.

North China Daily News. “An Instrument Has Just Been Invented.” June 7, 1931, Magazine Supplement edition.

———. “Before the Camera This Week.” April 9, 1933, Easter Greetings edition.

———. “Educational.” February 25, 1941.

———. “For Sale - Miscellaneous.” April 16, 1932.

———. “For Sale - Miscellaneous.” April 2, 1925.

———. “For Sale - Miscellaneous.” October 22, 1924.

———. “From Day to Day.” April 5, 1927.

———. “Have Your Musical Instrument Repaired by Expert Workmen.” June 11, 1927.

———. “Indisputably the Best.” September 7, 1929.

———. “Judge Not, That Ye Be Not Judged.” July 19, 1937.

———. “Minstrels and Cotton Pickers Band.” May 11, 1929.

———. “Municipal Orchestra - Town Hall.” February 22, 1927.

———. “Phonograph Records at Half Price.” March 13, 1924.

———. “Sir, Would You Give...” September 28, 1930, Magazine Supplement edition.

———. “The Deadly Saxophone.” October 2, 1924.

———. “The Listener.” April 24, 1932.

———. “Today’s Church Services.” January 16, 1938.

———. “Wanted to Purchase.” December 17, 1924.

———. “What Are You Doing To-Night?” December 11, 1917.

———. “Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle.” September 20, 1856.

———. “Chinese Tariff of 1786: Scale of Duties.” January 11, 1851.

———. “For Sale - On Sale.” July 5, 1851.

———. “Fourth Regiment Church.” February 9, 1929.

———. “Journalese and the Big Headings.” June 19, 1926.

———. “Ladies’ Day at the Rotary Club: An Attractive Programme of Music.” August 29, 1925.

———. “Mascagni on Jazz.” July 31, 1926.

———. “Minutes of a Meeting Held in the Reading Room of The Shanghai Library.” September 26, 1857.

———. “Obituary.” March 21, 1925.

———. “Shanghai Philharmonic Society: Report of the Season 1888-1889.” October 4, 1889.

———. “The Age of Jazz.” December 5, 1925.

———. “Tuesday the 26th Instant….” November 30, 1850.

———. “We Are Glad to See the Announcement….” September 27, 1856.

North China Standard. “Goofus Feathers.” March 7, 1924.

———.Jordan, Virgil. “Jazz and American Life.” October 3, 1924.

“Notice de Personne [Personal Record].” Catalogue Général [General Catalogue], June 23, 2014. http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb13994856s.

Ollivry, P. “Bulletin des Cours [Course Bulletin].” *Le Mémorial Diplomatique [The Diplomatic Memorial]*. April 2, 1865.

Ord-Hume, Arthur W. J. G. *Musical Box: A History and Collector’s Guide*. Crows Nest, NSW Australia: G. Allen & Unwin, 1980.

Paine, S. C. M. *The Wars for Asia, 1911–1949*. Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Pan, Ping 潘平. “Liú Yàn 刘焱 [Liu Yan].” Shěnyáng yīnyuè xuéyuàn: Xiàndài yīnyuè xuéyuàn 沈阳音乐学院：现代音乐学院 [Shenyang Conservatory of Music: Modern Music Conservatory], January 16, 2017. http://www.sycm.com.cn/display_son.aspx?Vid=-1&Nid=7273&DWid=101.

Patterson, Ian. “Li Gao Yang: Locks, Stock and Smoking Barrel.” All About Jazz, December 6, 2012. https://www.allaboutjazz.com/li-gao-yang-locks-stock-and-smoking-barrel-li-gao-yang-by-ian-patterson.php.

Pentes, Tatiana. “Shanghai, Harbin, Russian Jazz,1930s, Sergei Ermolaeff.” *Strange Cities* (blog), July 9, 2007. http://strangecities.blogspot.com.au/2007/07/shanghaiharbinrussian-jazz1930s-sergei.html.

“People and Organisations: Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle.” Trove. Accessed March 7, 2018. https://nla.gov.au/nla.party-780052.

Perkins, Dorothy. *Japan Goes to War: A Chronology of Japanese Military Expansion from the Meiji Era to the Attack on Pearl Harbor (1868-1941)*. Darby, PA: DIANE Publishing, 1997.

Pieterse, Jan Nederveen. *Globalization and Culture: Global Melange*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015.

Pires, Tomé. *The Suma Oriental of Tome Pires*. Asian Educational Services, 1990.

Power, Desmond. *Little Foreign Devil*. West Vancouver: Pangli, 1996.

———. "Jazz in Occupied China: Black Jazzmen at the Japanese Prison Camp in Weihsien, China During World War II." *Black Past: Remembered and Reclaimed* (blog), 2007. http://www.blackpast.org/perspectives/jazz-occupied-china-black-jazzmen-japanese-prison-camp-weihsien-china-during-world-war-.

———. "The Jazz Scene at Japanese Prison Camps in China." *Scribd* (blog), June 2012. https://www.scribd.com/document/98238963/The-Jazz-Scene-at-Japanese-Prison-Camps-in-China.

Previte, Mary. "Speech at the Sixtieth Anniversary Celebration of the Liberation of the Weihsien Concentration Camp." Speech presented at the Sixtieth Anniversary Celebration of the Weihsien Concentration Camp, Weifang, Shandong Province, China, August 17, 2005.

Previte, Mary Taylor. "A Song of Salvation at Weihsein Prison Camp." *Weisein Paintings* (blog), August 25, 1985.

Puccini, Giacomo. *Turandot*. Score. Milan: Ricordi, 1926.

Qi Yi 齐易. "Wǔxiànpǔ -jiǎnpǔ de chǎnshēng-fāzhǎn jí xiàng zhōngguó de chuán rù 五线谱_简谱的产生_发展及向中国的传入 [Five Line Notation - Production of Simplified Notation: Development and Appearance in China]." *Héběi dàxué chéngrén jiàoyù xuéyuàn bào 河北大学成人教育学院报 [Journal of Adult Education of Hebei University]* 5, no. 2 (June 2003): 27–28.

Qin, Amy. "In China, Rejuvenating a Classical Music Heritage Linked to a Jewish Community." *The New York Times*, August 9, 2016, sec. Music. https://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/10/arts/music/in-china-rejuvenating-a-classical-music-heritage-linked-to-a-jewish-community.html.

Rao, Nancy Yunhwa. "Chinese Opera in Turn-of-the Century Canada: Local History and Transnational Circulation." *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* 11, no. 2 (December 2014): 291–310.

———. "Transnationalism and Everyday Practice: Cantonese Opera Theatres of North America in the 1920s." *Ethnomusicology Forum* 25, no. 1 (April 2016): 107–30.

Rea, Christopher. *The Age of Irreverence: A New History of Laughter in China*. Univ of California Press, 2015.

"Releases: Breathless - Kenny G." AllMusic, 2018. https://www.allmusic.com/album/breathless-mw0000616278/releases.

Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris. "Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle." May 1, 1857.

———. "Ali Ben Sou Alle." June 21, 1857.

Roberts, John A. G. *A History of China*. Macmillan International Higher Education, 2011.

Ronald, Landon. “Why Do We Eat to Jazz Music?” *North China Daily News* October 23, 1924.

Rosenkaimer, Eugen. “The Saxophone in Its Earliest Stages and in the Judgment of Renowned Musicians.” *Sackbut* 11 (October 1930): 72–76.

Ross, Alex. *The Rest Is Noise: Listening to the Twentieth Century*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007.

Rousseau, Eugene. *Saxophone High Tones: A Systematic Approach to the Extension of the Range of All the Saxophones: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Baritone*. Etoile Music, 2002.

Rowntree, Joshua. *The Imperial Drug Trade: A Re-Statement of the Opium Question, in the Light of Recent Evidence and New Developments in the East*. Memphis, Tenn.: General Books, 2010.

Ruiya, Tang. “Jazz Strikes a Chord in China Again.” *The National*, October 14, 2008. https://www.thenational.ae/world/asia/jazz-strikes-a-chord-in-china-again-1.542432.

Run, Mao Yu. “Music Under Mao, Its Background and Aftermath.” *Asian Music* 22, no. 2 (1991): 97–125.

Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. New Dehli: Penguin Books India, 2006.

“Saxophone Kreisler, The.” *The Hong Kong Telegraph*, September 29, 1926, 12.

Scarr, Deryck, Jennifer Terrell, and Neil Gunson, eds. *Echoes of Pacific War: Papers from the 7th Tongan History Conference Held in Canberra in January 1997*. Tongan History Conference. Canberra: Target oceania, 1998.

Segell, Michael. *The Devil’s Horn: The Story of the Saxophone, from Noisy Novelty to King of Cool*. New York: Picador, 2005.

Shanghae Almanac for the Bissextile or Leap Year 1856, and Miscellany. Shanghai: North China Herald, 1856.

Sheppard, W. Anthony. “Puccini and the Music Boxes.” *Journal of the Royal Music Association* 140, no. 1 (April 30, 2015): 41–92.

“Shīzī Tuánduì - Yáng Tóng 师资团队 – 杨桐 [Preparatory School - Yang Tong].” Zhōngyāng yīnyuè xuéyuàn dǐng shí shíyàn xuéxiào 中央音乐学院鼎石实验学校 [Central Conservatory of Music Dingshi Experimental School]. Accessed May 5, 2018. http://www.ccom-prep.org/contents/jxtd/YT.html.

Silverton, Kate. *Captured by Pirates*. BBC Radio 4 Extra. Accessed January 3, 2018. http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b00rdwm5.

Siu, Helen F., and Agnes S. KU, eds. *Hong Kong Mobile: Making a Global Population*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009.

Smialek, Thomas. "Performance Practices of Early Twentieth-Century Concert Saxophonists in North America." *The Saxophone Symposium* 27 (2002): 33–50.

Smith, Norman. *Resisting Manchukuo: Chinese Women Writers and the Japanese Occupation*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011.

Soon, Lee Tong. "Chinese Theatre, Confucianism, and Nationalism: Amateur Chinese Opera Tradition in Singapore." *Asian Theatre Journal* 24, no. 2 (Fall 2007): 397–421.

Sou Alle, Ali Ben. *Shanghai Redowa Waltz*. Score. Revised by Paul Wehage. Publisher and location unknown, 1861. Revision published Lagny sur Marne, France : Musique Fabrique, 2008.

——. *Souvenirs de la Chine*. Revised by Paul Wehage. Score. Publisher and location unknown, 1861. Revision published Lagny sur Marne, France : Musik Fabrik, 2008.

South China Morning Post. "A 97-Year-Old Trumpeter? Meet World's Oldest Jazz Band in Shanghai." September 7, 2017. http://www.scmp.com/culture/music/article/2110028/worlds-oldest-jazz-band-shanghai-rare-constant-amid-chinas-breakneck.

Spence, Jonathan D. *To Change China: Western Advisers in China, 1620-1960*. Harmondsworth, Eng.; New York: Penguin Books, 1969.

Starr, S. Frederick. *Red and Hot: The Fate of Jazz in the Soviet Union, 1917-1980*. New York: Limelight Editions, 1985.

Stewart, D. Travis. *No Applause--Just Throw Money: The Book That Made Vaudeville Famous*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2006.

Straits Times. "M. Ali Ben Sou Alle." November 13, 1855.

Su, Yang. *Collective Killings in Rural China during the Cultural Revolution*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Sun, Kang 孙康. "Zhōngguó Sàkèsī Shílì Pài Dàibiǎo - Chénjiājùn 中国萨克斯实力派代表 - 陈嘉俊 [A Powerful Representative of Chinese Saxophone - Chen Jiajun]." SaxChina, May 31, 2015. https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MjM5NTE1NTcyMA==&mid=207684165&idx=1&sn=bb6bab2f0c57814cf98afdd58cdfe5d1&pass_ticket=6qSvKGT4ooWaDBg05Gk0QhGIWwVJsj2XyGyb63Vr6CZDGka83l%2ByqrAIPEE79r8B.

Sun, Peng 孙鹏, ed. *Bié jiào wǒ lǎowài 别叫我老外[Laowai Not]*. "Half My Life in China." Originally aired 2014, China Daily Video. http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/video/laowainot/index.html

Sun, Wu 孙吴. “Sàkèsī de Mèilì: Fēi Juéshì Dì Sàkèsī 萨克斯的魅力：非爵士的萨克斯 [Sax’s Charm: Non-Jazz Saxophone].” *Shìtīng Jìshù 视听技术 [China Audiophile]*, 1999.

Ta, Trong Shawn. “Becoming Teresa Teng: Becoming Taiwanese.” Master of Arts, University of Southern California, 2009.

Ta Kung Pao 大公报. “Supplies of Violin and Accordion Can’t Meet Demand.” December 2, 1953.

“Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art.” Marxists.org, 2004. https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-3/mswv3_08.htm.

Tang, Yating. “Reconstructing the Vanished Musical Life of the Shanghai Jewish Diaspora: A Report.” *Ethnomusicology Forum* 13, no. 1 (2004): 101–18.

Tatsumi, Inoue 田畑井上, reporter. “nánjīng rùchéng shì: yěcūn tèpài tái bào yǐng 南京入城式: 野村特派台报影 [Entering Nanjing: Special Field Report].” Asahi World, December, 1937. http://www.criticalpast.com/video/65675031294_Sino-Japanese-War_triumphal-march_Japanese-officers_Japanese-troops.

Teal, Larry. *The Art of Saxophone Playing*. Alfred Music, 1963.

Terauds, John. “Ambassador of the Sax Was Beloved Worldwide.” *The Star*, November 24, 2007. https://www.thestar.com/news/2007/11/24/ambassador_of_the_sax_was_beloved_worldwide.html.

Thien, Madeleine. “After the Cultural Revolution: What Western Classical Music Means in China.” *The Guardian*, July 8, 2016. http://www.theguardian.com/music/2016/jul/08/after-the-cultural-revolution-what-western-classical-music-means-in-china.

Thrasher, Alan Robert. *Sizhu Instrumental Music of South China: Ethos, Theory and Practice*. Leiden, Netherlands: BRILL, 2008.

Tidmarsh, John, narrator. *Twentieth Century History*. Episode 1, “One Man’s Revolution: Mao Tse-Tung.” Originally aired June 11, 1990, on BBC One. https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p00fj1mw/broadcasts/1990/06.

Tiffen, Mary. *Friends of Sir Robert Hart: Three Generations of Carrall Women in China*. Crewkerne, UK: Tiffania Books, 2012.

Times. “Bombay by Steam.” March 2, 1852. The Times Digital Archive.

———. “Her Majesty’s Theatre - The Grand.” December 3, 1850. The Times Digital Archive.

———. “Her Majesty’s Theatre - The Grand.” November 19, 1850. The Times Digital Archive.

———. “M. Jullien’s Concerts.” November 11, 1851. The Times Digital Archive. https://www.gale.com/c/the-times-digital-archive.

Tsang, Steve, ed. *Taiwan’s Impact on China: Why Soft Power Matters More than Economic or Political Inputs*. Cham, Switzerland: Springer, 2017.

Tyrer, Nicola. *Stolen Childhoods: The Untold Story of the Children Interned by the Japanese in the Second World War*. Leicester: Hachette UK, 2011.

Tyrrell, John. “Redowa.” *Grove Music Online*. Oxford University Press, 2018. http://libproxy.library.unt.edu:2173/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000023038.

Van Aalst, J. A. *Chinese Music*. Statistical Department of the Inspectorate General of Customs, 1884.

Vermazen, Bruce. *That Moaning Saxophone : The Six Brown Brothers and the Dawning of a Musical Craze: The Six Brown Brothers and the Dawning of a Musical Craze*. Oxford University Press, USA, 2004.

Versaw, Donald LeRoy. *The Last China Band*. Ebook: Self Published, 2001.

Victoir, Laura, and Victor Zatsepine. *Harbin to Hanoi: The Colonial Built Environment in Asia, 1840 to 1940*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013.

Villiers, Abraham Albertus de. “The Development of the Saxophone 1850-1950: Its Influence on Performance and the Classical Repertory.” MM Thesis, University of Pretoria, 2014.

Vincent, Sybil. “Oh! Those Saxes!” *North China Daily News*. September 19, 1924.

Voxman, H. *Selected Studies for Saxophone: Advanced Etudes, Scales and Arpeggios in All Major and Minor Keys*. Hal Leonard Corporation, 1991.

Wang, Alissa. “Western Artistic Influences in the Cultural Revolution (Primary Source Analysis of ‘Creating the Socialist New, Fostering Proletarian Originality’ in the Peking Review, 1968).” *Synergy: The Journal of Contemporary Asian Studies* Synergy Online (March 2, 2017). http://utsynergyjournal.org/2017/03/02/western-artistic-influences-in-the-cultural-revolution-primary-source-analysis-of-creating-the-socialist-new-fostering-proletarian-originality-in-the-peking-review-1968/.

Wang, Jueshe 王珏摄. “Liáoníng shěng hé shěnyáng shì wényì jiè jǔxíng jìniàn yīnyuè huì 辽宁省和沈阳市文艺界举行纪念音乐会. [Liaoning Province and Shenyang City Literature and Arts Commemorative Concert].” *Yīnyuè shēnghuó 音乐生活 [Musical Life]* 11 (October 10, 1960): 28.

Wardega, Artur K., and Antonio Vasconcelos de Saldanha, eds. *In the Light and Shadow of an Emperor: Tomás Pereira, SJ (1645–1708), the Kangxi Emperor and the Jesuit Mission in China*. Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012.

Washburne, Christopher J., and Maiken Derno, eds. *Bad Music: The Music We Love to Hate*. New York: Routledge, 2013.

Wasserstrom, Jeffrey N. *Global Shanghai, 1850–2010: A History in Fragments*. New York: Routledge, 2008.

Waters, Dan. "Hong Kong Hongs with Long Histories and British Connections." *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 30 (1990): 219–256.

Wehage, Paul. "List of Published Works by Ali Ben Sou Alle." Ali Ben Sou Alle, 2011. http://www.alibensoualle.com/works.htm.

———. "Musician and Voyager." Ali Ben Sou Alle, 2011. http://www.alibensoualle.com/english.htm.

———. "Ali Ben Sou Alle: A 19th Century Frenchman in Mysore." *Serenade*, November 14, 2016. https://serenademagazine.com/features/ali-ben-sou-alle-19th-century-frenchman-mysore.

———. "The Forgotten Voyager." *Serenade Magazine*, July 30, 2017. https://serenademagazine.com/features/the-forgotten-voyager/.

Wěidà de lǐngxiù hé máozédōng zhǔxí yǒngchuíbùxiǔ 伟大的领袖和导师毛泽东主席永垂不朽 [The Memory of the Great Leader and Great Teacher Chairman Mao Zedong Will Live Forever]. Zhōngyāng xīnwén jìlù diànyǐng zhì piàn chǎng 中央新闻纪录电影制片厂 [Central News Documentary Film Studio], November, 1976. https://archive.org/details/china-communist-history/funeral-of-mao-1976.mp4.

Weidman, Amanda J. *Singing the Classical, Voicing the Modern: The Postcolonial Politics of Music in South India*. Duke University Press, 2006.

Witmer, Phil. "Let's Talk About the Chinese Village That Worships the Sax and Kenny G." Noisey, January 5, 2018. https://noisey.vice.com/en_us/article/yw5bqj/lets-talk-about-the-chinese-village-that-worships-the-sax-and-kenny-g.

Wong, Jacky. "Andy Lau Teams Up with Kenny G." *South China Morning Post*, May 5, 1998, Online edition. http://www.scmp.com/article/239630/andy-lau-teams-kenny-g.

Wong, Jum Sum. "The Rise and Decline of Cantopop: A Study of Hong Kong Popular Music (1949-1997)." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Hong Kong, 2003.

Woodard, Josef. "East-West Jazz Link : Chinese Reed Player, Visiting UCSB, Will Perform with the Campus Band." *Los Angeles Times*, April 16, 1998. http://articles.latimes.com/1998/apr/16/entertainment/ca-39687.

Wright, David Curtis. *The History of China*. ABC-CLIO, 2011.

"Wu, Chih-Huan." Macao Young Musicians Competition, 2016. http://icm.gov.mo/cjmm.

Wu, Chih-Huan 吴志桓. Interview by Jason Pockrus. Telephone, April 30, 2018.

Wudunn, Sheryl. “Teresa Teng, Singer, 40, Dies; Famed in Asia for Love Songs.” *The New York Times*, May 10, 1995, sec. Obituaries. https://www.nytimes.com/1995/05/10/obituaries/teresa-teng-singer-40-dies-famed-in-asia-for-love-songs.html.

“Xiānggǎng Yuèjù Xiǎoshǐ 香港粵劇小史 [Short History of Hong Kong Cantonese Opera].” Hong Kong Culture. Accessed January 5, 2018. https://hk.chiculture.net/0519/html/b08/0519b08.html.

Xie, Liang 解亮. “Xiè Liàng 解亮 [Xie Liang].” Hàn lè jiàoyù 瀚乐教育 [Han Music Education], December 27, 2016. http://m.hanyuejiaoyu.com/nd.jsp?id=45&groupId=0.

Xu, Chengbei. *Peking Opera*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Xu, Huixi 许锡挥. “20 Shìjì 20 Zhì 40 Niándài de Yuè Gǎng Wénhuà Hùdòng 20世纪20至40年代的粤港文化互动 [The Cultural Interaction between Guangdong and Hongkong 1920s to 1940s].” 当代港澳 2 (2000): 38–40.

Yang, Hon-Lun, and Michael Saffle, eds. *China and the West: Music, Representation, and Reception*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2017.

Yang, Rae. *China: Fifty Years Inside the People’s Republic*. New York: Aperture, 1999.

Yano, Christine R., and Christine Reiko Yano. *Tears of Longing: Nostalgia and the Nation in Japanese Popular Song*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ Asia Center, 2003.

Ye, Dewei 叶宧薇. “Kèjiā Chuántǒng Mínjiān Wǔdǎo: ‘Luòdì Jīnqián’ Sùyuán Jí Wénhuà Nèihán Chūtàn 客家传统民间舞蹈：‘落地金钱’溯源及文化内涵初探 [Traditional Folk Dance of the Hakka: A Study on the Origin and Cultural Connotation of ‘Gold Coins Dropping’].” *Jiā Yīng Xuéyuàn Xuébào (Zhéxué Shèhuì Kēxué) 嘉应学院学报（哲学社会科学）[Journal of Jiaying University (Philosophy and Social Sciences)]* 29, no. 12 (December 2011): 9–11.

Ye, Lang, Zhenggang Fei, and Tianyou Wang, eds. *China: Five Thousand Years of History and Civilization*. Kowloon, Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong Press, 2007.

Yeh, Catherine. *Love: Courtesans, Intellectuals, and Entertainment Culture, 1850-1910*. Seattle: Unniversity of Washingon Press, 2006.

Yeh, Catherine Vance. *Shanghai Love: Courtesans, Intellectuals, and Entertainment Culture, 1850-1910*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006.

Yeung, Loretta Siuling. “Red Boat Troupes and Cantonese Opera.” Master of Arts, University of Georgia, 2010.

Yoshihara, Mari. *Musicians from a Different Shore: Asians and Asian Americans in Classical Music*. Temple University Press, 2008.

Young, Louise. *Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999.

Yuan, Zhou 远洲. "Běijīng Yǒu Gè 'Lǎo Shù Pí' 北京有个 '老树皮' [Beijing Has an 'Old Tree Bark']." *Jīnqiū 金秋 [Golden Autumn]*, 2002.

Yue, Sheng 越声. "Zhāng Xiào Lù: Zài Zhǐ Jiān Wǔdǎo de Sàkèsī Yǎnzòu Jiā 章啸路：在指间舞蹈的萨克斯演奏家 [Zhang Xiaolu: Finger-Dancing Saxophonist]." Tà jī xún yīn 踏迹寻音 [Tracking Music], February 16, 2017. http://www.360doc.com/content/17/0216/13/17976275_629433181.shtml.

"Yuèjù Dàbān Zhōng de Zhùmíng Yuèshī 粤剧大班中的著名乐师 [Famous Performers of Cantonese Opera]." Yìshù zhōngguó 艺术中国 [Art X China], January 12, 2015. http://www.artx.cn/artx/xiqu/225680.html.

"Yuèjù lìshǐ 粤剧历史 [History of Chinese Opera]." Xìjù wǎng戏剧网 [Opera Web], March 11, 2010. http://www.xijucn.com/html/yue/20100311/15263_2.html.

Yung, Bell. *Cantonese Opera: Performance as a Creative Process*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

———. "Model Opera as Model: From Shajiabang to Sagabong." In *Popular Chinese Literature and Performing Arts in the People's Republic of China, 1949-1979*, edited by Bonnie S. McDougall. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984.

Zhang Jin 章瑾. "Fǎnduì juéshì yīnyuè zài wǒmen shēnghuó zhòng chūxiàn 反对爵士音乐在我们生活中出现 [Opposing Jazz Music as it Appears in Our Lives]." *Rénmín yīnyuè 人民音乐 People's Music*, 1956.

Zhang, Songkang 张颂康. "Shěnyáng Yīnyuè Xuéyuàn Sàkèsī Jiàoshòu--Liú Yàn Sàkèsī Zhōngguó Zhuānfǎng 沈阳音乐学院萨克斯教授--刘焱萨克斯中国专访 [Shenyang Conservatory Professor of Saxophone - An Interview with Liu Yan]." SaxChina, July 15, 2017. https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MjM5NTE1NTcyMA==&mid=209508187&idx=1&sn=695618955184670c72dbd6052d0e5092&pass_ticket=3ePB4js6w6Z%2BNn7bSruAV283Sus3tFxrv7idodw3Pj%2FSpx8H4Hmn8HyINGbwBCUa.

———. "Sìchuān Yīnyuè Xuéyuàn Sàkèsī Jiàoshòu Lǐyǔshēng--Sàkèsī Zhōngguó Wǎng Zhuānfǎng 四川音乐学院萨克斯教授李雨生--萨克斯中国网专访 [Sichuan Conservatory Saxophone Professor Li Yusheng - An Interview with SaxChina]." SaxChina, July 9, 2015. https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MjM5NTE1NTcyMA==&mid=209368428&idx=1&s

n=77f57fd51413b2cc89d35065fe34500a&pass_ticket=6qSvKGT4ooWaDBg05Gk0QhGIWwVJsj2XyGyb63Vr6CZDGka83l%2ByqrAIPEE79r8B.

———. “Zhōngguó Gǔdiǎn Sàkèsī Yǎnzòu de Tàhuāng Zhě Lǐmǎnlóng Xiānshēng 中国古典萨克斯演奏的拓荒者李满龙先生 [Pioneering Chinese Classical Saxophonist Li Manlong].” SaxChina, September 12, 2015. https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MjM5NTE1NTcyMA==&mid=210719481&idx=1&sn=c2ee83ec2b9967c6bd570c1cde28969d&pass_ticket=6qSvKGT4ooWaDBg05Gk0QhGIWwVJsj2XyGyb63Vr6CZDGka83l%2ByqrAIPEE79r8B.

———. “Zhōngyāng Yīnyuè Xuéyuàn Sàkèsī Jiàoshī Yáng Tóng--Sàkèsī Zhōngguó Wǎng Dújiā Zhuānfǎng 中央音乐学院萨克斯教师杨桐--萨克斯中国网独家专访 [Saxophone Teacher at the Central Conservatory Yang Tong - Exclusive Interview].” SaxChina, June 28, 2015. https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MjM5NTE1NTcyMA==&mid=208855017&idx=1&sn=4f7b32eb78fec83b76836774b1924d49&pass_ticket=6qSvKGT4ooWaDBg05Gk0QhGIWwVJsj2XyGyb63Vr6CZDGka83l%2ByqrAIPEE79r8B.

Zhang, Weihua 张伟华. “Sàkèsī yǔ yuèjù bànzòu 萨克斯与粤剧伴奏 [Saxophone and Cantonese Opera Accompaniment].” *Běifāng yīnyuè 北方音乐 [Northern Music]* 11 (2016): 84–85.

Zhang, Xianrong. “Teresa Teng: Taiwan’s Controversial Diva.” *GB Times*, May 4, 2014. https://gbtimes.com/teresa-teng-taiwans-controversial-diva.

Zhang, Xiaolu 章啸路. Interview by Jason Pockrus. Telephone, May 4, 2018.

Zhao, Hong 赵虹, dir. *Jiěmì1972 解密1972 [Open the Secret 1972]*. Shanghai, China: Zhongshi Media, 2012.

Zhao Lei 赵蕾. “Duìhuà wénhuà bù qián bùzhǎng: Méi ràng dènglìjūn lái dàlù shìgè yíhàn 对话文化部前部长：没让邓丽君来大陆是个遗憾 [Conversation with the Minister of Culture: The Regret of Not Allowing Teresa Teng into Mainland China].” *Nánfāng xīnwén wǎng-nánfāng zhōumò 南方新闻网-南方周末 [Sina Weekend Edition]*, August 3, 2006, Sina Online edition. http://news.sina.com.cn/c/2006-08-03/094610617886.shtml.

Zheng, Yangwen. *The Chinese Chameleon Revisited: From the Jesuits to Zhang Yimou*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013.

Zhong, Zheping 钟哲平. “Jí Zhòng Yōu Yú Yīshēn, Hǎinàbǎichuān Wèi Wǒ Suǒyòng 集众优于一身, 海纳百川为我所用 [Gather the Best Qualities, Make Use of All Means for My Own Use].” Fènghuáng wǎng 凤凰网 [Phoenix Web], May 27, 2016. http://news.ifeng.com/a/20160527/48856053_0.shtml.

Zhōngguó Rìbào 中国日报 [China Daily]. “Fànshèngqí Zuòkè Hútòng Lǐ de Bǎi Jiā Jiǎngtán Jiǎngshù Yīnyuè Qíngyuán 范圣琦做客胡同里的百家讲坛 讲述音乐情缘 [The Hutong Lectures of Fan Shengqi: The Love of Music].” September 15, 2017.

Zinsser, William. “Shanghai Blues.” *The New Yorker*, September 14, 1981. https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/1981/09/21/shanghai-blues.

Zoelen, Van. “Andreas van Zoelen.” Vanzoelen.eu, n.d. http://www.vanzoelen.eu/biography.htm.

Zoelen, Andreas van. *De ontwikkeling van de klassieke saxofoon in Nederland [The Development of Classical Saxophone in the Netherlands]*. Tilburg: Fontys Conservatorium, 2014.